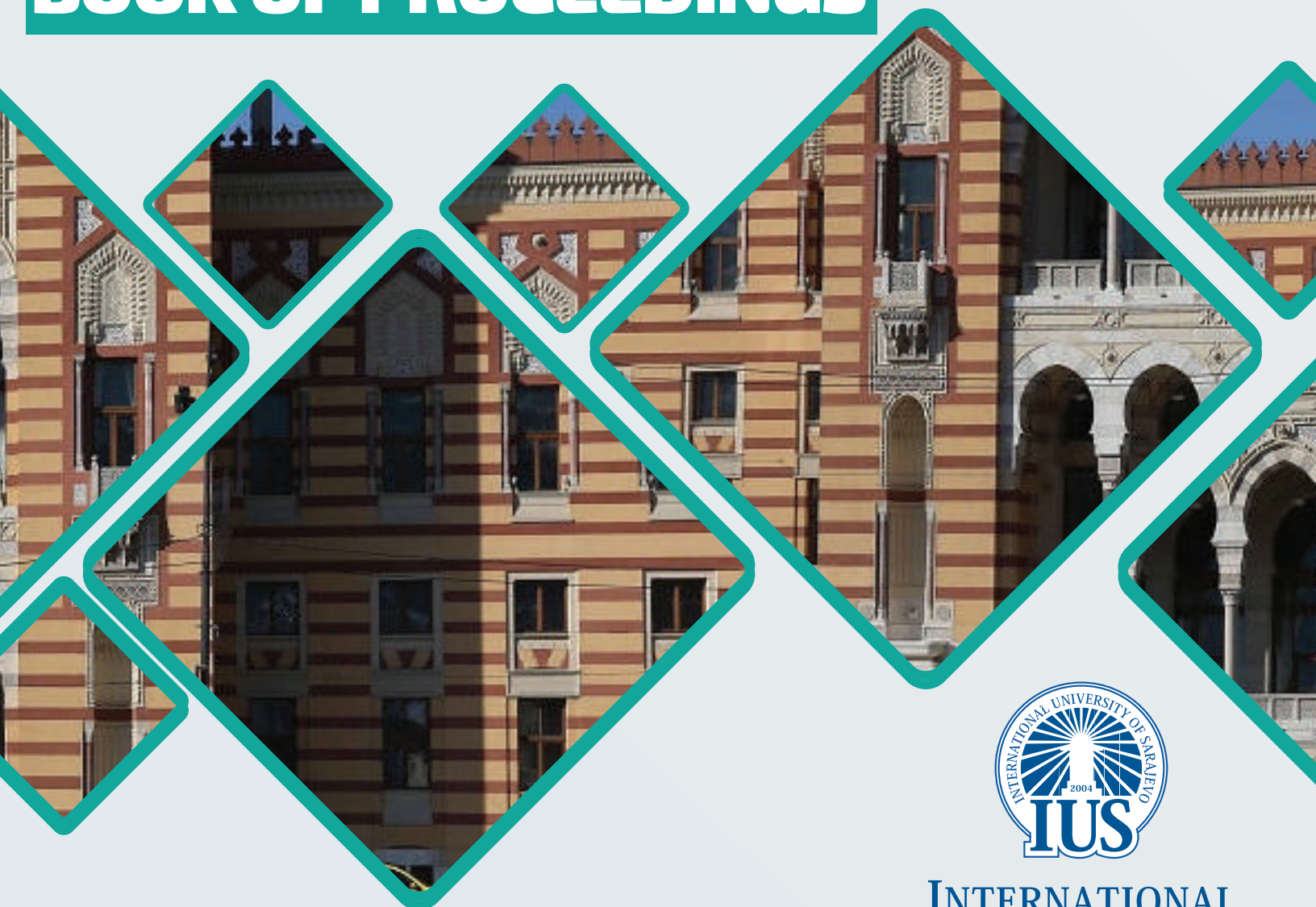


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ON EDUCATION, CULTURE  
AND IDENTITY

# The Future of **Humanities, Education and Creative Industries**

**OCTOBER 12 – 13, 2017**

**BOOK OF PROCEEDINGS**



**INTERNATIONAL  
UNIVERSITY OF SARAJEVO**

# **BOOK OF PROCEEDINGS**

**Education, Culture and Identity:**



**THE FUTURE OF HUMANITIES, EDUCATION AND  
CREATIVE INDUSTRIES**

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## Foreword

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS) organized the *1st International Conference on Education, Culture and Identity* in 2013. The Conference was initiated by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Abdulserdar Ozturk, FASS Dean, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Muhidin Mulalic, FASS Vice-Dean and Assist. Prof. Dr. Tuba Boz, Head of the Department of Cultural Studies. An initial aim of the conference was to introduce interdisciplinary approach in the study of different social and humanistic issues and topics as to integrate various interrelated and interconnected disciplines such as political sciences, psychology, literature, linguistics, history, sociology, cultural studies and arts. The conference was successful in gathering international and local academicians, researchers and experts from various fields to present, discuss and share their ideas, research findings and overall experience. Around 100 international and local academicians and scholars from around the world presented their papers at this conference. With the help of the conference organizing committee and especially with the involvement of Dr. Mulalic, Dr. Ozturk and Dr. Boz as editors the Book of Proceeding was published and made available online.

Two years after with more experience and the University support, the *2nd International Conference of Education, Culture and Identity* was organized under the specific title *New Trends and Challenges of Today's Europe* in 2015. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Muhidin Mulalic, in his capacity as the Dean of Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences provided full support to the conference organizing committee. Assis. Prof. Dr. Nudzejma Obralic as the Conference Chair had excellent conference promotion and planning which brought together 140 scientists and researchers from different scientific fields, such as pedagogy, politics, media, anthropology, cultural studies, linguistics, literature, and arts. The second conference was widely promoted and as a result besides the international and local representations, the regional academic representation was excellent. The conference organizing committee in collaboration with the Editor-in-Chief of *Epiphany: Journal of Transdisciplinary Studies* prepared the special issue of the journal in 2015, whereby selected double-peer reviewed conference papers were published. In addition, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Muhidin Mulalic, Assist. Prof. Dr. Nudzejma Obralic, Assist. Prof. Dr. Almasa Mulalic

and Mrs. Emina Jeleskovic edited 66 double-peer reviewed papers in the field of education, culture and identity and prepared edited book entitled “New Trends and Challenges in Today’s Europe”.

In 2017, FASS faculty successfully organized the *3rd International Conference on Education, Culture and Identity* entitled '*The Future of Humanities, Education and Creative Industries*'. The third conference was organized in partnership with University of Zielona Gora, Poland; Deakin University, Australia, International University of Novi Pazar, Serbia and Karabuk University, Turkey. For the third conference, Assist. Prof. Dr. Nudzejma Obralic and conference organizing team received 120 abstracts including 225 authors and co-authors. Two-day conference explored the questions of education, culture, and identity in an international context drawing experts from different academic fields. Therefore, the researchers were provided with an opportunity to exchange views, experiences, findings and review knowledge related to education, culture and identity from interdisciplinary perspectives. The conference hosted participants from 32 countries: Bosnia, Turkey, Serbia, the USA, Slovenia, India, Poland, Romania, Spain, Malaysia, Nigeria, Cyprus, Iran, Iraq, Croatia, Montenegro, Hungary, Pakistan, the UAE, Australia, Kuwait, Georgia, Canada, Saudi Arabia, Bulgaria, Algeria, Slovakia, Russia, Greece and Spain.

Thanks to the conference initiators, conference chairs, organizing members of all three conferences and FASS Faculty support an academic and scholarly platform for local, regional and international researchers has been created. These conferences were used to foster international cooperation among different universities, join research projects, networking of the academicians who shared similar scholarly interests and, more importantly, the promotion of interdisciplinary studies on education, culture and identity. I strongly believe that upcoming conference in 2019 will again attract prominent scholars and researchers, who will again be given an opportunity to share their knowledge, experience and original ideas by using ICECI platform.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Nudžejma Obralić

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The Future of Humanities,  
Education and Creative Industries



**EDUCATION**

## **Making the Future of Humanities, Education and Creative Industries**



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*Victoria University & Edith Cowan University, Australia*

### **Abstract**

As academics, what can we do to influence the future of humanities, education and creative industries? One way is to empower and equip our brightest students to value their own imaginative potential and take greater responsibility for their own outcomes. Demystifying the Thesis (DTT) is a strategic framework that provides research students with the knowledge and skills to take charge of their own researcher development. Students from more than a third of all Australian universities have taken part in DDT programs—and customised versions of the programs have been run for students and staff from more than thirty universities in Latin America, Oman, Indonesia, Thailand, Hong Kong, Nepal, Fiji, Papua New Guinea and East Timor. Evaluation and feedback has been overwhelmingly positive, and confirms the profound impact DTT is having on researcher development, supervisory practice and institutional capacity-building. In recognition of its contribution, in 2004 DDT was awarded the Victoria University Vice-Chancellor's Medal for Excellence in Research Training, and in 2010 the Australian Learning and Teaching Council Award for Programs that Enhance Learning: Postgraduate Education. DTT comprises four programs: the flagship Demystify Your Thesis for PhD candidates, Beginning a Thesis for new international students, Demystifying Thesis Supervision for supervisors and intending supervisors, and the six-day Performing the Word Writing Retreat for students keen to explore and experiment with making their writing even more engaging. In addition, DTT strategies inform other Victoria University programs, including the compulsory coursework programs for newly-enrolled PhD students, and a work-based unit for intending supervisors completing the (mandatory) Graduate Certificate of Tertiary Education. All these programs share the commitment to empowering and equipping PhD students to take primary responsibility for their own researcher development and research outputs—and in this way not accept the future as a given, but take greater control over making the future.

Key words: making the future, demystifying the thesis, agency, threshold, liminality

## Introduction

The theme of the conference is the future of humanities, education and creative industries. The question I want to focus on in this paper is: ‘As academics, what can we do to influence the future of humanities, education and creative industries?’ To answer the question, I propose to outline an approach to how we might view the future—the future generally in conceptual and philosophical terms, and the future specifically of fields of inquiry such as humanities, education and creative industries. This will establish the context for the proposition implied in the title of my paper: that the future is something that is *made*, which implies that we can influence the future. Within that context, a key question is: what can we, as academics, do to encourage and facilitate a future in which humanities, education and creative industries are valued and nurtured for what they offer society? To contribute to an answer, in this paper I will outline a strategic pedagogical framework for empowering and equipping research students in all disciplines—including humanities, education and creative industries—to realise their own imaginative potential and take greater responsibility for their own research. These outcomes are important because our students are closer to the future than we are, and it is *they*, not us, who will largely influence the kind of future we have.

## Making the future

In talking about the future, the first point I would make—and I make this point as an historian—is that the future is not a given. We *make* the future. I say ‘we’, but this needs to be qualified. Clearly, some individuals and groups have more influence than others over how that future is made—media moguls, powerful politicians and bureaucrats, religious leaders and pop stars and (importantly, given the context in which we are speaking) even anonymous university committees. Obviously, power and influence is not spread evenly in society, in any society, including—perhaps especially—today’s society. But the point remains that the future is not a given.

The futures we make are conditioned by the past. But—and here I speak again as an historian—like the future, the past is not a given. Existentially, there is only the present. The past—in the sense of how the past is understood, interpreted, used and manipulated—exists only in the present. And the thing about the present is that it is malleable. It is context-specific. Change the context, the people and the power relations and the meanings we attach to the present,

the experience we have of the present, shifts. With that shift, the past is also viewed and experienced differently. Patterns that were not there previously—that is, were not there in our minds, in our understanding—can be discerned. Or, in processual terms, can be *created* or *made*.

In the same way, we create and make the future. Change the present context, the people, the power relations—change how we view ourselves as agents acting autonomously, and the trajectory changes. The future takes on new possibilities. I am not meaning to be flippant. It is not easy to change things in the present. It is not easy to confront and contest the influence of those with power. It is not easy to take on the media moguls, politicians, religious leaders, pop stars or members of anonymous university committees. But even to recognise that making the future is not necessarily their exclusive prerogative already constitutes a shift in the power relations. Already anticipates a different future.

Sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman explained it this way in *The Social Construction of Reality*:

Reality is socially defined. But the definitions are always *embodied*, that is, concrete individuals and groups of individuals serve as definers of reality. To understand the state of the socially constructed universe at any given time, or, its change over time, one must understand the social organization that permits the definers to do their defining. Put a little crudely, it is essential to keep pushing questions about the historically available conceptualizations of reality from the abstract ‘What?’ to the sociologically concrete ‘Says who?’<sup>1</sup>

Berger and Luckman were building on the insights of another American sociologist, C. Wright Mills, who just seven years before had attacked American sociology for its preoccupation with either statistical investigation of the minutiae of trivia, or abstract grand theory disconnected with the social problems of the present. Mills’ *The Sociological Imagination*<sup>2</sup> highlighted the crippling effect of prevailing functionalist and consensus paradigms, and called on American sociologists to exercise a new imagining of the interplay of the individual and society. The book’s title and Mills’ thesis capture what I want to say in relation to making the future of humanities, education and creative industries. For Mills, the sociological imagination was a disposition or outlook, a quality of mind that steers us away from uncritically accepting taken-

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<sup>1</sup> P. Berger and T. Luckman, *The Social Construction of Reality* [1966]. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991:134.

<sup>2</sup> C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959.

for-granted views, or conforming with prevailing ways of seeing things simply because they are prevailing. Imagination is thinking outside the familiar and the ‘obvious’, and looking at things anew. It is the capacity to shift from one perspective to another and embrace an alternative point of view—a different way of understanding something.

The Australian Nobel prize-winner Peter Doherty makes a similar point in his recent book, *The Knowledge Wars*. His opening page relates the achievements of two Francis Bacons: Francis Bacon the English-born natural scientist, who lived from 1561 to 1626, and Francis Bacon the Irish-born portrait artist, who lived from 1909 to 1992.

‘Knowledge is power’: that’s what Francis Bacon said way back in Elizabethan England. Writing in Latin, as savants did at the time, his actual words were *ipsa scientia potestas est* or ‘knowledge [*scientia*] itself is power’. We’re talking about the first, famous Francis Bacon (1561-1626), philosopher lawyer, prosecutor, parliamentarian, Attorney General and, ultimately, Lord Chancellor of England. Created Baron Verulam, then Viscount St Alban by Elizabeth’s successor King James I, Bacon wielded real power until, like so many leading politicians before and since, he was inevitably disgraced, and had the good fortune (for his time) to be allowed to retire to private life.

On the other hand, the lasting power of that more recent Francis Bacon (1909-1992), the celebrated Irish-born artist, is in his paintings, in an illumination of life that in no way involves access to the machinery of temporal might. Known for his portraits, Bacon interpreted the face or figure in front of him to set down a vision that departs from the obvious and provides an unfamiliar but compelling view.<sup>3</sup>

Bacon the scientist and Bacon the artist both made fantastic imaginative leaps, with profound consequences for the world. The first Francis Bacon’s inductive approach to understanding how the natural world operates overturned scientific orthodoxy and laid the foundation for the scientific revolution. The second Francis Bacon’s artistic representation disturbed and provoked us into seeing the world differently. Applying Berger and Luckman’s framework, both men embodied new ways of seeing and thereafter changed the way reality was defined.

## Creativity

Searching for new ways of seeing—or creativity—lies at the heart of humanities, education and creative industries. Discovering new ways of seeing might be thought of as

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<sup>3</sup> P. Doherty, *The Knowledge Wars*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2015:9.

looking at things sideways. Positivist psychologists and neuroscientists may beg to differ, but we don't *really* know where creativity comes from. In *The Art of Looking Sideways*, Alan Fletcher describes it as a compulsive human urge which demands more than ritual actions or routine responses. To be creative, he says, is to *trade beyond experience*.<sup>4</sup> George Nelson makes a similar point. 'What the creative act means', he wrote, 'is the ... sudden realization that one has taken a lot of disconnected pieces and *found, not done*, a way of putting them together.'<sup>5</sup> In saying 'found, not done', Nelson is warning against confusing creativity with 'ceaseless and frenetic activity ... which without anything new only produces noise and aggregate. No new thoughts, no magic moments, just more patchwork and fingerpainting. An activity in which *process becomes product*.'

Contrast this with the true creative act. That, says Fletcher, is something else. 'It produces something which never existed before.' This is what research is meant to do—produce knowledge which never existed before. This is what PhD examiners are meant to assess—whether the student has made an original and significant contribution to knowledge. The extent to which the contribution represents a true creative act is a moot point, to which I will return later.

In 1964, Arthur Koestler published a monumental book on creativity: *The Act of Creation*. Over its 500 pages, he set about defining the basic pattern shared by all creative activities—the conscious and unconscious processes underlying artistic originality, scientific discovery, and comic inspiration. He called it 'bisociative' thinking—a term he coined 'in order to make a distinction between the routine skills of thinking on a single "plane", as it were, and the creative act, which ... always operates on more than one plane. The former may be called single-minded, the latter a double-minded, transitory state of unstable equilibrium where the balance of both emotion and thought is disturbed.'<sup>6</sup> Unlike the various routines of associative thinking, the creative leap of bisociative thinking connects previously unconnected frames of reference and makes us experience reality on several planes at once.

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<sup>4</sup> Alan Fletcher, *The Art of Looking Sideways*. London: Phaidon, 2001:31.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Arthur Koestler, *The Act of Creation*. London: Picador, 1975:35-36.



Koestler quotes the mathematician Jacques Hadamard's personal experience of these moments of truth:

... One phenomenon is certain and I can vouch for its absolute certainty: the sudden and immediate appearance of a solution at the very moment of sudden awakening. On being very abruptly awakened by an external noise, a solution long searched for appeared to me at once without the slightest instant of reflection on my part—the fact was remarkable enough to have struck me unforgettably—and in a quite different direction from any of those which I had previously tried to follow.<sup>7</sup>

This and similar examples led Koestler to describe the psychology of the creative act as

... the displacement of attention to something not previously noted, which was irrelevant in the old and is relevant in the new context; the discovery of hidden analogies as a result of the former; the bringing into consciousness of tacit axioms and habits of thought which were implied in the code [of rules which enabled us to deal with similar problems in the past] and taken for granted; the un-covering of what has always been there.<sup>8</sup>

This gives rise, says Koestler, to the paradox that the more original a discovery the more obvious it seems afterwards. This creative act

... is not an act of creation in the sense of the Old Testament. It does not create something out of nothing; it uncovers, selects, re-shuffles, combines, synthesizes already existing facts, ideas, faculties, skills. The more familiar the parts, the more striking the new whole. Man's knowledge of the changes of the tides and the phases of the moon is as old as his observation that apples fall to earth in the ripeness of time. Yet the combination of these and other equally familiar data in Newton's theory of gravity changed mankind's outlook on the world.<sup>9</sup>

Echoing Thomas Kuhn's remarkably similar conclusions in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, published before the publication of *The Act of Creation* but after it had already been written, Koestler emphasises the irrational factors in scientific thought, both positive—the intuitive leap—and negative—snowblindness, closed systems and faulty integrations. These features, according to Koestler, are reflected in the evolution of every science as a corporate body, the histories of which 'refute the naïve belief that progress in science is an orderly, rational

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.:117.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.:119-120.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.:120.

affair, represented by a continuous curve which approaches the ultimate truth by ever closer approximations'.<sup>10</sup>

Most research—in non-science fields as well as the sciences—is overwhelmingly concerned with what Kuhn described as ‘mopping up’ exercises within prevailing ‘paradigms’. While a model or paradigm holds sway within a scientific community, its explanatory power goes largely uncontested. What scientists ‘know’ in terms of the paradigm are considered to be *all* that is knowable. Scientists within a paradigm, whether it be Newtonian mechanics, wave optics, analytical chemistry or whatever, practise what Kuhn calls *normal science*. Normal scientists will articulate and develop the prevailing paradigm in their attempt to account for and accommodate the behaviour of the real world as revealed through the results of experimentation. In so doing, they will inevitably experience difficulties and encounter apparent falsifications. If the difficulties get out of hand, a state of *crisis* develops. A crisis is resolved when an entirely new paradigm emerges and attracts the allegiance of more and more scientists until eventually the original, problem-ridden paradigm is abandoned. The discontinuous change constitutes the *scientific revolution* of the book’s title. The new paradigm, full of promise and not beset by apparently insuperable difficulties, now guides new normal scientific activity until it too runs into serious trouble, and a new crisis, followed by a new revolution, results.<sup>11</sup>

In the periods of ‘normal science’, the aim is *not* to call forth new sorts of phenomena. Indeed, wrote Kuhn, phenomena ‘that will not fit the box are often not seen at all. Nor do scientists normally aim to invent new theories, and they are often intolerant of those invented by others. Instead, normal scientific research is directed to the articulation of those phenomena and theories that the paradigm already supplies.’<sup>12</sup>

New paradigms, Kuhn argued, come to be established and accepted within the scientific community at particular times when anomalies that can’t be explained in terms of the existing paradigm become so obvious and pressing that a new way of looking at the phenomenon is

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.:249.

<sup>11</sup> This paragraph is from A.F. Chalmers, *What is this thing called Science?* 3rd edition, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1999:108.

<sup>12</sup> T. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* [1962]. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2nd edition 1970.

needed. Then a breakthrough occurs and a new perspective is introduced and scientists henceforth (as Kuhn says) put on a new 'thinking cap' and adopt a different view of their task.

Kuhn, like Koestler, showed how science is a social activity, with what is defined as a 'fact' or 'reality' at any given time being what science's discourse community as a whole chooses to accept as fact or reality. This is not confined to science. In a famous address to the 1972 ANZAAS Congress in Sydney, Greg Denning, Max Crawford Professor of History at the University of Melbourne, scandalised many history colleagues with his sociological take on how the discipline of history works as a social system. Invoking the insight of Berger and Luckman's *The Social Construction of Reality*, Denning pointed out, disciplines like history, are not disembodied entities.

History, sociology, anthropology, economics, psychology, are erroneously conceived of as logical universes, rationally distinct in object and method, each falling along some continuum between polar differences. Thus sociology is described as nomothetic, looking for laws, dealing with the present, the general and with institutions; history is described as ideographic, dealing with the past, the specific and with individuals. There is a temptation to reify the disciplines, to endow them with a life of their own, to make real the metaphors of growth and rationality and continuity with which we describe them.

In fact the disciplines are sets of individuals, socially related, differentiated in status and power. They offer their own systems of social control which sanction some forms of behaviour and reward others. They develop norms and value systems. They have mythologies which legitimate their structures and belief systems. They have rituals which re-enforce them. They have socialising and induction processes which not only impose acceptable measures of conformity, but like all such effective socialising processes objectify and internalise the limits of behaviour so that to the socialised they appear good, just and rational. The disciplines are established in a social environment. The physical geography of their dispersal in different buildings, the break-up of their work into quantifiable bits in courses and degrees, are realities which override any wistful desires for interdisciplinary work. Finally, like all social entities, their present life is conditioned by their past. The past offers them a paradigm within which acceptable forms of evidence, acceptable questions, acceptable criteria of judgment, acceptable languages of communications and acceptable modes of transmission from one generation to another, have a cultural and social form.<sup>13</sup>

Denning's observations apply to any discipline—as well as to multi- and cross-disciplinary groupings, which over time tend to operate like the disciplines from which they had broken away. This is a challenge for researchers who might want to fundamentally challenge what is

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<sup>13</sup> G. Denning, History as a Social System. Historical Studies. 15, 1973.

taken for granted within their particular discourse community. Recall Peter Doherty's sentence about the painter Francis Bacon with which he opens his book *The Knowledge Wars*: 'Bacon interpreted the face or figure in front of him to set down a vision that departs from the obvious and provides an unfamiliar but compelling view.' The next sentence reads: 'An artist of Francis Bacon's stature has ultimate power over the way a subject is portrayed, but those who are less successful may need to bow just a little to the power of convention if they want to be paid.'<sup>14</sup> Needing to bow to the power of convention can be read as code for stifling creativity.

So, what can we as academics do to encourage creativity in humanities, education and creative industries? Arthur Koestler provides us with a clue: 'Creativity', he declared, 'is the defeat of habit by originality.' Focussing on the defeat of habit by originality provides us, not only with an ideal, but also a pedagogical opening for what we do with students. It's a major challenge. Our systems of education are based on perpetuating and inculcating habit. As Robert Grudin has observed: '*the ways of creativity are infinite*', but '*the ways of formal learning are numbered*'. Restless, curious, playful, contriving, the innovative mind feeds on challenge and makes its home in the province of mystery.'<sup>15</sup> Because he doesn't equate challenge with defeat, Grudin's observation gives us ground for optimism. Challenge, he says, *feeds the innovative mind*. In operational terms, our question becomes: How do we to meet the challenge posed by the limited and limiting ways of formal learning and feed the innovative mind?

Again, I am going to take my cue from Arthur Koestler, who suggested that the 'prerequisite of originality is *the art of forgetting*, at the proper moment, *what we know*.'<sup>16</sup> This is a difficult art for academics. We practise and are attracted to the conventions of the discipline and the institutionalised routines of the university—the academic timetables, the lectures and tutorials, the arcane committee rules, the medieval graduation ceremonies. I'm not meaning to be dismissive here—I love the conventions and routines as much as the next professor. But it means we run the risk of becoming creatures of habit, and—and here I speak from 45 years' experience as an academic—turning our students into creatures of habit. Yet, as Koestler observed, originality and creativity requires defeating habit and forgetting at least some of what we know.

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<sup>14</sup> Doherty op. cit.:9-10.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in Fletcher op. cit.:33.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.:33.

Less so perhaps at undergraduate and Masters levels, where students acquire the foundational understanding of their discipline and academic success is measured in terms of their ability to remove ambiguity, establish consistency, and make sure everything is in its rightful place. These attributes are also important at doctoral level. But to achieve their doctorate, a student is expected to make an *original* contribution to knowledge. Of course, completing a PhD is a milestone in a longer journey—it is still *preparing* a person for their future. But it is important that we encourage our doctoral students to set their sights high—to aspire to make a truly original contribution to knowledge through their PhD. To provide a different way of understanding something. However, when I look at many of the research projects of our PhD students—by definition, our best and brightest—I am struck by how many are preoccupied with simply adding more to what we *already* have, to what we *already* know. *Not*with gaining new and wider ideas. Reflecting on what we do at universities, it seems to me that, typically, research students employ practices of associative thinking as the way of finding the new ‘pitch’ or ‘angle’ that will distinguish what they do from what previous researchers have done. This proceeds along the lines of: ‘So-and-so has used theory X to explain situation A. How applicable is theory X to situation B? How might one need to amend it to better explain situation B?’ This will earn the student a PhD—and I have no problem with that—and probably improve situation B to the benefit of industry or the community. But how do we also inspire and encourage our doctoral students to aim for the creative leaps of which Koestler writes?

### *Demystifying the Thesis*

One of the reasons I developed *Demystifying the Thesis* was to empower and equip students to take greater personal control of their own research outcomes, by giving them confidence in their own ability to be creative, and enabling them to experience agency and autonomy. To develop, if you like, the art of forgetting what they had come to accept through repetition and habit. To take nothing for granted. To be sensitive to underlying assumptions and prevailing paradigms. To be sceptical of appeals to authority over evidence. And to ask of the evidence—evidence for what, exactly?

I developed *Demystifying the Thesis* in the 1990s to meet the needs of higher degree by research students coming from non-traditional academic backgrounds—such as disadvantaged

refugee and migrant communities or families where they were the first to attend university. I was working at Victoria University, formed in 1992 from the amalgamation of two polytechnics: Footscray Institute of Technology and Western Institute. The origins of inner-suburban Footscray Institute can be traced back to 1916, when Footscray Technical School was established to train local working class boys for work in local factories. The factories were closing down by the 1980s as the economy shifted from manufacturing to knowledge-based industries. To meet the new educational and training needs of the largely migrant and working class communities in the west of Melbourne, Footscray Institute broadened its curriculum, and Western Institute was established to provide both Technical and Further Education (TAFE) and bachelor-level Higher Education (HE) in fields like management and logistics, psychology and social work, information systems and communication, and environmental science and food technology. I was appointed to Western Institute when it opened in 1986 to develop and teach sociology. Western Institute's targeted students in the early years included—in addition to traditional school leavers—dropouts from mainstream schools, women returning to study, and local ethnic groups with low post-secondary participation and success rates, such as the Maltese. A number went on to complete Honours years, coursework Masters, eventually research Masters, professional doctorates and PhDs. Devising successful methods for engaging with and ensuring successful learning outcomes for these 'non-traditional' return-to-study, TAFE and undergraduate students underlined the importance of 'de-mystifying' taken-for-granted educational expectations and processes, and the *Demystifying the Thesis* program was developed to meet the needs of students progressing to research (Masters and PhD) degrees.

Working with individual students was neither sustainable nor efficient, and in the early 1990s attention shifted to program delivery to *groups* of students and staff. The first time I ran *Demystifying the Thesis* was as an intensive residential workshop over three days. The inaugural group—about twelve of us—camped out in the old nurses' quarters of the former Sunbury lunatic asylum, which the university had just acquired as its latest campus. We brought in desks and mattresses. We slept on the floor. We pooled our food and wine. We thoroughly enjoyed the experience and established what has remained a core feature of *Demystifying the Thesis*: the emphasis given to the experiential and social relational base for successful student engagement and self-directed learning.

Since then, *Demystifying the Thesis* has expanded to four interrelated programs: *Beginning a Thesis*—a 1-day intensive workshop for students new to the Australian HE system; *Demystify Your Thesis*—the flagship 3-day program for doctoral and research Masters students; *Demystifying Thesis Supervision*—a 2-day program for supervisors/advisers; and *Performing the Word Writing Retreat*—a week-long residential retreat for doctoral and research Masters students who have completed a significant amount of writing and who want to experiment with more engaging ways of writing and communicating.

During the *Performing the Word Writing Retreat* students are encouraged to defeat the tired habits of academic writing inculcated into them during their undergraduate years and discover their own voice. The *Retreat* brings together twenty-five doctoral candidates from around Australia, who want to push the boundaries to how we present scholarly knowledge. It is an opportunity for them to develop a personal style of academic writing as a basis for a more direct and meaningful conversation with their readers. Together we explore how to **engage** with the reader. This goes beyond passing an examination, to having the reader **want** to read on—to read on beyond the sentence, the paragraph or the chapter that they've just read. Engaging with a reader is **intriguing** them. It's using words and phrases, metaphors and allusions, syntax and punctuation in ways that present their readers with a different way of looking at something, with the realization of a different possibility that they didn't have before.

To attend the *Retreat*, students have to write a short story. A story of 400 words. During the *Retreat*, they read their story out loud—they 'perform' it—and receive the feedback of their audience—the other students and the staff who attend. It's a strategy I borrowed from my own PhD supervisor, the late Professor Greg Denning, who had made it a precondition for doctoral students attending his renowned graduate workshop at the Australian National University, *Performing on the Beaches of the Mind*:

Take an event out of your research that is in some way critical for your thesis/project or part of it. Or a person or a place or an idea or an image or whatever. Transform it into a story—in whatever tense, whatever person, whatever voice you want. Gamble a bit. It is not going to cost you anything. Write it with the directness of a novelist, the choosiness of a poet, the rhythm of a musician, the colour of an artist. It might make a prologue to your thesis or a chapter of it. *Believe me it is not going to take you away from your work. It is your work.*

Dening offered some advice, which we continue to follow in the *Performing the Word Writing Retreat*. Be mysterious, he said. Be experiential. Be compassionate. Be entertaining. Be performative. Finally, be reforming. Change the world in some way with your story.

The *Retreat* provides a unique opportunity for research students to live and work together in a challenging but supportive intensive environment, experimenting in their writing, immersing and losing themselves in the act of writing, and critiquing their own and others' drafts. Like the other *Demystifying the Thesis* workshops, *Performing the Word* is not a blueprint, but an opportunity for students to explore through a series of structured exercises their own creative depths and to risk trying something new with words and language. Through intensively engaging with each other and acquiring the confidence and skills to push the boundaries to how scholarly knowledge is presented, students experience—for many, for the first time—the power they have to re-form a reader's understanding.

- I learned to trust my intuition about ideas and writing, which I have not done in the past when writing for an academic audience.
- It has helped me to feel confident in my own writing abilities and equipped me with tools to develop my writing further. As a result, I have come away from the retreat feeling freshly inspired and optimistic towards my thesis. I no longer feel daunted by the writing-up of my thesis and I can envision its completion much more definitely than ever before. I feel eager to tackle it head-on and write those sections that have been awaiting completion for some time. Overall, I feel like the retreat has given me the tools and the confidence to write the kind of thesis that I really want to write.

The guiding principle for the *Writing Retreat* and all the *Demystifying the Thesis* workshops is the inseparability of student learning, student engagement and the overall student experience. Through realising their own imaginative potential and taking personal responsibility for their own outcomes, students experience autonomy and express agency. They assert control over their own futures and contribute to—*make*—the broader future of the field of knowledge in which they will work. This entails both effort and risk-taking, and in the next section I will talk about the transition that students experience as they walk the pathway out of the comfort zone of what they already know and do into an unknown future.



## **Walking the path**

As my Victoria University colleague Dr Rose Lucas has noted in a paper from which this section draws heavily, walking is primarily an individual activity, involving the coordination of neurological, physical and emotional processes. Lucas was attracted to the metaphor of ‘walking’ because there are times when it is a reflective and largely solitary undertaking, while at the same time the walker will always need to look up and be aware of the environment in which they walk, and listen to the various companions or guides they encounter along the way. In this sense, walking functions literally and metaphorically as a bridge between what she terms ‘the necessary interiority and individual-focus of the doctoral experience and the external world in which so much of their “data” and questions are located, and toward which they must ultimately contribute and communicate.’

The metaphor of walking also captures the notion of incremental learning: ‘not only the rhythms of slow days and white hot days, but the notion that a steady moving or labouring through a physical and a cultural world will yield an accretion of insights.’ To walk a path, Lucas notes, one needs to pay attention, to have a certain kind of commitment, and at least an initial hunch of direction. The walker also needs, not only a willingness to wander in order to discover the richness and radical learnings which are possible only through digression and the risk of the loss of the trodden path, but also the self-discipline and rigor to regain direction, even if it involves considerable reorientation. The walker may be motivated by and focused on the ‘goal’, the prospect of the ‘solved problem’. Yet, as Lucas observes, much of the learning will necessarily occur on the ‘presentness’ of the path, visible only to the walker who is alert and open.

While there is a very definite and practical endpoint to the linearity of a doctorate—both for the graduate researcher and for the academy—it is also vital to recognise that necessary learning gains occur *along* the path, often at junctures where the drive for the ‘goal’ is actually relaxed or revisited with a new perspective. In this sense, the doctoral researcher must also juggle that linear, goal-oriented trajectory of the timely project alongside the recognition that finding or making new knowledges is also likely to involve an openness to creativity, digression and lateral thinking—even paradoxically, the willingness to risk the goal itself. Understanding and negotiating this movement from creative wandering to goal focused outcome is a necessary aspect of deep learning; it involves allowing the mind latitude of thought and experimentation as well as the ability

to harness that richness and capture it within a structured and communicative framework.<sup>17</sup>

Rose Lucas is a poet, and she uses the metaphor of walking the path to acknowledge the ways in which doctoral work operates at the nexus of self and other—the world which is critiqued and the individual who critiques it. Taking a stand against some of our positivist colleagues, she recognises that, regardless of discipline and methods, we are never mere observers and recorders of the exteriority of data. Rather, ‘we will always bring ourselves—complex, irascible, particular—to any choice about research questions and the ways in which we might approach them.’ Really, then, we understand the world through a heightened awareness of ourselves—and *vice versa*.

In the PhD coursework Dr Lucas and I team-teach at Victoria University, we emphasise to the students how, in undertaking doctoral research, they are committing to the labour of ultimately producing the communicative artefact of the thesis or (if a PhD by Publication) a series of research articles. One of our jobs—and in this we enlist the support of their supervisors—is to help them come to grips with the ways in which the process leading up to this act of outward-facing communication is difficult and demanding. To understand what it means intellectually, emotionally and even physically *to labour* at research is crucial to their moving out of the comfort zone of what is already known towards creating a new way of knowing implied by completing a PhD.

In so doing, the graduate researcher is embarking on a multivalent path, which will be characterised by a) self-learning and mindful awareness of the world which contextualises themselves and their project; b) the range of skill developments which will optimise performance in requisite professional and personal spheres; and c) engaging in active intellectual contribution to the understanding of the complexities of human experience in all its disciplinary facets and the creation of new knowledge in a specific discipline or field.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Walking the Path: Embedded learning and making new knowledges in the doctoral journey, Adelaide, Quality Postgraduate Research conference, 2016.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.:5.

In her paper, Lucas draws on Victor Turner's notion of the liminal space<sup>19</sup> and Margaret Kiley and Geraldine Wisker's discussion<sup>20</sup> of the ways in which the successful doctoral process involves undergoing a necessary 'threshold' experience, the transitional and by definition uncomfortable state of hiatus which is required for any kind of break-through. The experience will typically entail a series of incremental steps: the student bringing their interests and intellectual 'hunches' to the process, grappling with the knowledge already available to them in the public domain, testing the possibilities and limitations of their hunches (which metamorphose into hypotheses along the way), and undergoing a disciplinary 'deep-dive'—all of which, Lucas notes, can initiate a phase of creative (if destabilising) chaos.

A willingness to journey into the eye of this liminal storm—in which ideas may, or may not, take shape, in which the individual may, or may not, be able to cohere the various splinterings and complexities—requires a successful grappling with ... *radical learning*: a learning that doesn't reinforce what we already know but which is prepared to take it apart and find the illuminating gap.<sup>21</sup>

Lucas quotes the poet William Carlos Williams who, in writing about literary modernism—a politics and an aesthetic which was explicitly looking to find the 'new'—exhorted other poets to locate 'the flaw, the crack in the bowl'.<sup>22</sup> What Williams meant was that 'the only way to find or make new ways of perceiving and understanding comes through an awareness of gaps in previous ways of seeing—and a preparedness to move through such liminal spaces in which the known dissolves and the new can only glimmer.' Similarly, the doctoral student:

is involved in an experience of radical learning in which their previous conceptions of their discipline, their research question and even of themselves, need to come under the microscope of fearless re-examination and critique. There are probably only a handful of times in the span of a life when such radical upheaval might occur: say, at the point of language acquisition, gaining literacy and numeracy skills, personal/intimate

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<sup>19</sup> Victor Turner, *Liminality and Communitas. The Ritual process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, New Brunswick, Aldine Transaction Press, 2008:94-114.

<sup>20</sup> M. Kiley and G. Wisker, *Threshold concepts in research education and evidence of threshold crossing*. Higher Education Research & Development, 28:4, 431-441.

<sup>21</sup> Lucas 2016:5.

<sup>22</sup> W.C. Williams. Marianne Moore. *William Carlos Williams: Selected Essays*. New York: New Directions, 1969:121.

relationships, the experience of loss, becoming a parent etc. Embarking on the journey of the doctoral experience is ... one such time. Risking an implosion of a reassuring sense of themselves and their project, the graduate researcher will need significant support in order to reconstruct the fragments of that broken bowl into a shape—beautiful, useful, important—but not-yet imagined.

Lucas also quotes educational psychologist Carol Dweck, for whom all actual learning is radical by nature, a re-imagining of the world which is possible when we think beyond a ‘fixed’ mindset toward a ‘growth’ one,<sup>23</sup> and Ellen Langer, who observed that when ‘we pay attention to our questions, we increase the power of mindful learning’.<sup>24</sup> Dweck’s ‘actual learning’ and Langer’s ‘mindful learning’ are features of Victoria University’s PhD coursework and *Demystifying the Thesis*, both of which provide students with strategies for navigating the doctoral path and of eventually finding their own voice through paying attention to themselves and to their questions, while also listening to the accumulation of perspectives coming from other voices. To acquire meaningful skills and to exercise agency and autonomy entails a reflexive stance on the part of the student, an understanding of the factors that shape their own particular research and personal journey. Without such reflexivity, they might achieve a PhD, but they will not make the future.

VU’s PhD coursework and *Demystifying the Thesis* are based on the philosophical and pedagogical principle that graduate researchers need to move from relative passivity and incipient knowledge to an active engagement within wider debates, resulting in the framing of their own argument. This goes beyond simply acquiring skills. Our task as mentors and instructors is to help students come to a personal and philosophical accommodation with the reasons for their research journey, the sometimes bewildering complexity of its components, and how to knit them together in a way that will make a difference to the world. Like all of us, in order to learn, they must grapple with *why* as well as *what* it is that they are learning; they must find a particular and embedded conceptualization of where they are heading and what might be needed to achieve that goal. Our responsibility as academics is to encourage and work with our students to achieve that goal—and to conclude the paper I will share a simple and practical strategy for helping them get there.

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<sup>23</sup> C. Dweck, *Mindset: The new Psychology of Success*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2012.

<sup>24</sup> E. Langer, *The Power of Mindful Learning*. Cambridge, Mass.: Da Capo Press, 1997:139.

## **A strategy for exercising quality control over one's writing**

The strategy is a practical dot point summary techniques for reviewing what one has written—a chapter in a thesis or an article for a journal. To use the strategy effectively, the student needs to be familiar with the standard writing convention of one main idea per paragraph. They need to recall what they experience as a reader—how, in beginning a new paragraph, they don't have to be told that they are now moving onto a new point, but know without being told that this is what a new paragraph signifies. Knowing this function of paragraphsequips them as a writer to use paragraphing to signal to the reader that they are moving from one idea to another, or developing their analysis or description, or introducing a new example, or sequencing events.

Most students arefamiliar with the notion that the point of the paragraph is often expressed in a *topic sentence*. Using a highlighter pen if working with hard copy, or the highlighter function if working on a computer, they go through your text and highlight the topic sentence for each paragraph. If there is no topic sentence as such, they might highlight a key word or phrase that captures the point of the paragraph. Sometimes they need to extrapolate from the text and find new words to express the main idea of the paragraph.

They end up with a series of points—one per paragraph. I require my own research students to list the points on a separate sheet of paper, with no more than 5-10 words for each paragraph, and provide it as a separate document when they submit work for my feedback. They now have a succinct and accurate synopsis of the text against which they can themselves check if points that should be included in their description or analysis are missing, or if the same point is repeated, or is not really required for the argument or description they are wanting to make. Looking over their list, they gain a clear sense of what they need to introduce in the introductory paragraph—or conclude in the final paragraph—now that they have an accurate understanding of what is in the text that needs introducing or concluding.

Using the technique gives the student greater control over the writing process. It enables them to check for themselves that they are in fact developing and expressing a sequential narrative or constructing a logical argument. It allows them to make informed decisions about the order of their points—about how best to sequence them in their description or analysis. It

gives them a greater sense of which points need to be emphasised or further developed, so that the text expresses exactly what they want to convey to the reader.

As a supervisor, when I receive drafts of students' work together with the dot point summary of what they've written, this tells me that they have reflected already on their work before submitting it to me for my comment. It signals to me that they are assuming responsibility for maintaining 'quality control' over their own work. It also enables me to assess how effectively they are in fact communicating to the reader what they *think* or *hope* they are communicating. I can quickly establish from their dot point list what they are *intending* to say, and then when I read their text I can assess how well they are in fact communicating the point. Because I know what it is they believe they are conveying, I can work with them in redrafting the sections of text where their intended meaning is not being communicated.

I make the point to students that, when compiling their dot point list, *if they* have difficulty working out what a paragraph's main point is, to imagine how much more difficult it's going to be for a reader—who doesn't know what's in their head and doesn't have the advantage of their dot point list! If they identify two or more main points in the one paragraph, I have them reflect on the problem for the reader who, operating with the convention of one idea per paragraph, has to try to work out what their point is and how to read the text. (When we brainstorm at this point, most students catch onto the obvious solution of dividing the paragraph into two.)

As well as empowering and equipping the student as a writer and communicator, the technique leads to more useful feedback from their mentor or instructor—who now knows what it is they are attempting to argue, and is in a position to comment from a reader's perspective on how well this is being done. In this way, it contributes to a productive and mutually beneficial student-instructor relationship.

As well as submitting the chapter draft and dot point list to their instructor for feedback, I encourage students to include a covering email in which they can ask for specific comment if, for example, they have doubts about the point of a particular paragraph, or how well they are developing their argument at a certain point. By managing the process in this way they are providing their instructors with a framework to give the student relevant information and

guidance—rather than leaving it to chance and guesswork. And instructors have the reassurance of knowing that they are addressing issues that are real for the student.

Adopting this technique, instructors are better able to give feedback on whether they student is:

- establishing the main point of each paragraph (which might be clear to the student but not evident to the reader!)
- establishing logical sequence of paragraphs
- establishing and adequately supporting/explaining the argument
- being repetitive or omitting key points
- making effective use of sub-headings
- adequately cross-referencing within and beyond this chapter
- accurately introducing and concluding what the chapter covers.

Using this as a checklist, enables students to empower themselves to develop as effective writers, communicating their intended meaning to the reader. Because the technique implicitly encourages better writing and analysis, mentors and instructors are well placed to engage with both *what* the text says and *how* well it says it. In this way, they are able to provide students with more focused feedback on the content and the argument or analysis as well as on the readability and persuasiveness of their text.

## Conclusion

Like the other strategies of the *Demystifying Your Thesis* workshop, as well as empowering and equipping research students to take greater responsibility for their own researcher development, the dot point summary technique encourages a greater sense of connectedness and productive engagement between student and instructor. Using the strategies, both student and instructor share a framework for developing the qualities that should underpin any student-instructor relationship: **confidence, trust** and **mutual respect**.

Students are not only helping themselves. They are also doing us a favour—both in terms of receiving work that the student has already reflected on and refined, and in terms of our knowing that our feedback and guidance is directly addressing the student's concerns. I tell students attending the workshop that if they should encounter resistance on the part of an

instructor who may fear that the dot point technique with its draft chapter plus list plus covering email entails more work, to respectfully point out to them that one of the reasons they are doing it is to *reduce* their workload—and that by exercising quality control over their own writing they are becoming more independent researchers and writers, able to do more for themselves.

In this way, students in humanities, education and creative industries—indeed, in any discipline—are not simply accepting the future as a *given*, but are taking greater control over *making* the future.

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# Teachers on the Couch: Dynamics of an Educational Institution in India



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## **Abstract**

The dynamics of higher educational institutions are a key consideration in discussing the future of higher education. In India, while policy frameworks, have attracted attention, hardly any study has looked at how the human psyche affects institutional management and performance. This paper sets out to study an All Women's Undergraduate Institution in an Indian metropolis, as a case on the psychoanalytic couch. All group and individual processes in the Institution, are placed under the classical psychoanalytic lens, and how the unconscious plays a major role in teaching and learning is examined. The theoretical framework is provided by thinkers like Sigmund Freud, Melanie Klein, Manfred Kets de Vries, Nancy Chodorow, Sudhir Kakar, Heinz Kohut and others. This study problematizes the outer and inner world of the academics within the Institution. Unconscious phenomena such as processes of narcissism, mirroring, idealization, envy, jealousy, the depressive disposition, within the institution are explored. The charisma of the leader – the head of the institution – is focused on particularly. I argue that the struggle for dominance and power is closely linked with sexuality in the unconscious. The paper also reflects on the role of money. It looks at issues of governance that involve dealing with subordinate staff, as well as conflicts with other peers who oppose authority. This institution has on its faculty many women who are conditioned stereotypes of patriarchy, but espouse apparently independent political thought and ideology in their roles as academics. The reasons for this schism may be significant. It is interesting that, despite differences, a holding environment is provided. Though this present study is only a single case formulation, the attempt is to generalize these dynamics from a psychoanalytic organizational perspective and analyse how the gendered mind/body becomes a site for struggle for many women at the workplace.

Keywords: unconscious, organizational, institution, narcissism, idealization, envy

## **Introduction**

The dynamics of higher educational institutions are a key consideration in discussing the future of higher education in India. At the outset, it must be remembered that India is a country of linguistic plurality, diversity in cultures, and literary traditions. These are effective in sensitising and informing educators to the potential for inner connections and conflicts within the system. Nevertheless, while education policy frameworks have received much

attention, hardly any study has looked at how the human psyche affects institutional management and performance.

This paper sets out to study an All Women's Undergraduate Institution in an Indian metropolis, as a case on the psychoanalytic couch. All group and individual processes in the Institution are placed under the classical psychoanalytic lens, and how the unconscious plays a major role in teaching and learning is examined. This study is aimed at providing insight into the Institution as a "holding environment" as well as an "integrative container."

The study uses organisational concepts like leadership, interpersonal behaviour, group processes, and so on. Many believe that in an educational institution, the mind does not move beyond the conscious. This is where I argue that psychoanalysis is of immense significance and one must 'give the unconscious its due.'

The paper is structured as follows: "The Setting" describes the system of higher education in India, and situates the Institution in this context. The next section is called "The Inner Theatre", in which various personality prototypes are discussed. Subsections of this section highlight individual traits and processes: *Narcissism, Idealization and Devaluation, Envy, Gratitude, Loners*. The following section deals with "Group Processes". Winnicott's idea of a "Holding Environment" forms the subject of a subsection. Issues related to culture are discussed in the section "Cultures and Identities". This is followed by a short section on the "Role of Money". The section on "Mental Health Education" describes efforts within the Institution to sensitise members to issues of mental health, and includes a clinical case history. Some concluding remarks are made in the final section.

## **The Setting**

The university system in India comprises a variety of institutions – including single campus universities and specialised technical institutions. The Institution studied here is part of a large University. The Institution discussed here is free to run itself independently within the larger framework of the University. While many institutions are co-educational, a substantial number are all women institutions. In the Indian system, streaming is done at entry point with programmes in humanities and sciences being separate. Another feature of the Indian system is the existence of a ubiquitous commerce stream. The Institution under study has programmes under Humanities and Commerce. Curricula and examinations are prescribed by the University and are common to all institutions that fall under its purview.

Institution A is an All Women's Undergraduate Institution in an Indian metropolis, which has well absorbed different cultures, ideologies and identities. While the students come from different parts of the country, and have a middle class or lower middle-class socio-economic status, the teachers are largely based in the city and do not share a regional or socio-economic bonding with students. Most faculty members are women, though lately a few male teachers have also been recruited. The ethos of the Institution is largely shaped by the female faculty.

The students fall within the 17-21 age group and so are young adults who can often challenge their teachers more than school students. I begin the case study by looking at pedagogy and processes of teaching. The Institution's curricula, teaching strategies, teacher actions, and teacher judgments and decisions are formed by considerations of a bigger decision-making body. However, the Institution is responsible for its own students, their needs, and the backgrounds and interests. Pedagogy includes how the teacher interacts with students and the social and intellectual environment the teacher seeks to establish. Instruction is mainly in the lecture mode; however, teachers do make effective use of new media. The psychological growth of both teacher and student is crucial.

### **The Inner Theatre**

I would like to point out here that each participant of the Institution has to deal with his or her inner theatre. Sigmund Freud believed that neurotic symptoms can be used to decode why people behave the way they do. As conspicuous signifiers of a person's inner world, they can be seen, he believed as "the royal road to an understanding of the unconscious."

Manuel Kets de Vries, a pioneer in the psychoanalytic study of organisations, has emphasised the importance of the inner theatre, which

... describes various personality prototypes that are found within the organisation. As policy planners understand why people do what they do, how the shadow side of human behaviour manifests itself at work, and how people with different personality styles relate to each other, they can foster creativity and cooperation among their colleagues and subordinates. (Kets de Vries, 2006, p. xix)

It is individuals who constitute the Institution, and contribute to its individual and group processes. Educators need to reflect on the following issues: is the leader a balanced, dependable person? Are all members of the staff rational individuals? How should one cope

with highly destructive behavior? What really happens in the Institution is in the intra-psychic and interpersonal world of people at work, much beneath the conscious. Those underlying behaviours need to be comprehended in terms of anxieties, defence mechanisms and conflicts.

## Narcissism

Narcissists may broadly be defined as those who take their own selves as love objects, drawing upon the well-known myth of Narcissus who fell in love with his own reflection.

The term narcissism was first used by Sigmund Freud in a 1910 footnote to his 1905 monograph *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, and elaborated upon in *On Narcissism* (Freud, 1914). He describes

... a character organization with aggressiveness, leadership qualities and fascinating impact upon others as related to great libidinal cathexis of the ego. (Akhtar, 2009, p. 179)

I study narcissism as a part of human behavior and how it has worked in the given educational context. However, in the Institutional context, I use the term “healthy narcissism” as opposed to “reactive narcissism.”

I begin the analysis<sup>1</sup> with *Ms P*, a fifty-seven-year-old woman - a charismatic leader, also a quintessential teacher, devoted to teaching. Her dedication to teaching won her much respect among students. One thing that *Ms P* was particular about were her classes, and the students admired and respected her for it. She may not have been a very structured teacher but her spontaneity, idiomatic use of the English language, and a grip over her texts gave her the title of the most distinguished teacher in the Institution. Added to this was her personal charm, being both beautiful and slender. This, of course, caters to patriarchal prototypes of what a woman should be like, and remains within the collective unconscious.

Indeed, it heightened a sense of “healthy narcissism” in *Ms P* when the administrative post of Principal reached her. As an administrator, and the head of the Institution, she showed a good measure of hard work, self-esteem, and vision that extended beyond the immediate. However, she maintained that she had introjected these values from her father. Unconsciously, perhaps there was also a need in her to satisfy a punitive super ego and thus an intense need to excel. *Ms P*’s attitude to work can be examined more deeply and the concept of sublimation as a defense mechanism may be also be applied.

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<sup>1</sup> To protect the identities of individuals, names have been replaced by codes, and some details are fictionalised. Moreover, while the data used were collected over a long period of time, the sources of data are not revealed.

Sublimation was the label Freud originally gave to the expression of biologically based impulses... in a socially valuable form. This defense was considered to be the healthiest means of resolving psychological predicaments ... (McWilliams, 1994, p. 142)

As Salman Akhtar (2009) further elaborates, sublimation is “the capacity of the sexual instinct to alter its original aim into a non-sexual aim that yield socially valued activity.” (p. 273-274)

### **Idealization and Devaluation**

The personality of *Ms P* led to both idealization and devaluation amongst her colleagues. There was more of idealization amongst the younger faculty because they wished to be like her and envy, also jealousy, amongst her peers. In psychoanalysis, idealization refers to

... the tendency to exaggerate the ‘good’ qualities of a specific person ... Sigmund Freud traced the origin of idealization to the loss of primary narcissism...Freud’s ideas were given a different slant by Melanie Klein and Otto Kernberg.

They noted that idealization results from the incomplete integration of primitive love and hate during development. ...Idealization thus becomes a defence against aggression. Behind gushing enthusiasm for this or that object lies critical feelings and even hostility towards it. (Akhtar, 2009, p. 138)

In some cases, this idealization by was more of an exercise of establishing themselves as *narcissistic extensions* of *Ms P*.

As Kets de Vries (2006) observes,

We all idealise people important to us, beginning with our first caretakers, assigning powerful imagery to them. Through this idealizing process, we hope to combat feelings of helplessness and acquire some of the power of the person admired. ... It’s a two-way street, of course: followers project their fantasies on to their leaders and leaders mirror themselves in the glow of their followers. (p. 44)

It was not only *Ms P* who was idealized. Such equations existed between other members of the faculty as well. A case of devaluation is that of *Ms K*, a senior faculty member. I use the paranoid-schizoid position in *Ms K* to see the inability to sustain ambivalence in her. She felt victimised by *Ms P* and could not tolerate the “injustice”.

Ambivalence was used by Freud to indicate the simultaneous presence of love and hate towards the same object. According to Melanie Klein, love and hate start off as clearly differentiated emotions in the infant's life. If one were to see *Ms K* through this paradigm, as an infant, also wishing to seek the mother, it would be clear that both good and bad aspects of the self are split in her and later projected as love and hatred to the mother- in this case *Ms P* and the others around. During the paranoid-schizoid position, *Ms K* experienced the world, especially *Ms P* as good or bad, according to her experiences. Objects are bad when the infant's wishes are not met adequately and frustration prevails.

### **Envy**

Among *Ms P*'s peers there has been much envy and jealousy as well. As Melanie Klein argues:

Envy is the angry feeling that another person possesses and enjoys something desirable- the envious impulse being to take it away or to spoil it. Moreover, envy implies the subject's relation to one person only and goes back to the earliest exclusive relation with the mother. Jealousy is based on envy, but it involves the subject's relation to at least two people. (Klein, 1986, p. 212)

The peers would not accept hierarchy and wanted to be the power around the throne. *Ms U* is a case in example. She had no agency at home, lived with her in laws, which in her context meant remaining steeped in patriarchy, and the only place she could assert herself was in the Institution: in meetings etc., trying to act according to rules, posturing fair but at the same time, creating a "mini parliament" strongly opposing the Principal. *Ms U* was of a controlling disposition and saw her relationship with her former friend, now Principal *Ms P*, only in terms of dominance and submission. A sense of inferiority hounded her and she tried her level best to compete and feel superior, in an authoritarian and not in an egalitarian manner.

There are many teachers in the Institution who do not hold any power outside of their roles as academics. What Krishna Kumar observed as the "paradox of the teacher's personality" in the context of school education appears to apply here too. Teachers, devoid of agency at home and not asserting themselves elsewhere, turn authoritarian when faced with powerless students. They are thus "meek dictators". (Kumar, 2005, p. 73)

## Gratitude

I reiterate that younger faculty appointed by *Ms P* idealised her enormously. Most of it was gratitude about the job. There was enough movement in the Institution to be in her good books.

According to Melanie Klein:

A full gratification at the breast means that the infant feels he has received from his loved object a unique gift, which he wants to keep. This is the basis of gratitude. Gratitude includes belief in good objects and trust in them. It includes also the ability to assimilate the loved object -not only as a source of food – and to love it without envy interfering. ...Gratitude is closely bound up with generosity. (Klein, 1986, pp. 215-216)

*Ms V* was delighted when she took over as Staff Council Secretary, an important post in the Institution. *Ms P* also felt like a good internal object to *Ms A* who looked for reassurance, support and affirmation. Beautiful herself, *Ms A* seemed to identify with *Ms P*.

## Loners

*Ms I* seems to have schizoid tendencies. She is a loner, not seeming to care very much about relating to other colleagues. When spoken to, she is pleasant but retreats into her shell quickly. *Ms I* restricts social relationships out of fear that contact may become disruptive and painful.

*Ms N* is overweight. Since the conversations in the staff room are often about weight and weight loss, and also comparisons with *Ms P*, she finds it difficult to interact with colleagues.

An extreme case of psychosis – “the anti-social disposition” (Kets de Vries, 2006, pp. 125 -126) – is that of *Ms F*. Quite disturbed, with delusions of grandeur, auditory and other hallucinations, she had several breakdowns at work. Impulsive and reckless, self centred, abusive, aggressive to the point of violence, *Ms F* broke all peace within the Institution, particularly targeting *Ms P*. This can be identified as *narcissistic rage*, a term coined by Kohut (1972) for a profoundly angry reaction that follows an injury to self-esteem. She was suspended from work till she sought adequate psychiatric treatment. However, the doors are not closed forever and *Ms F* may return soon in a much-improved psychological state.

## Group Processes

There are many regressive group processes at work as well. I draw upon Bion's group assumptions of dependency, fight-flight and pairing. In bigger group processes the syndrome of Dependency is at work. The faculty assumes that the leader, "on whom it depends for nourishment, material and spiritual, and protection" (Symington and Symington, 1996, p. 139) shall provide what was offered earlier by parents. In the Institution, leaders (whether they are the formal chairs of committees, elected or self-assumed) often try to blend with unconscious wishes of the group. There are leaders in this Institution who believe they are omnipotent, which is once again a very primitive form of defense. They often go for political positions and fight elections at the university level. In *Ms P*, too, a degree of omnipotence cannot be denied.

In other committees, the Fight-flight syndrome may be observed. It is assumed that the workplace is dangerous and therefore fight-flight as a defense mechanism must be resorted to. Faculty splits into "camps of friends and enemies" which was much the case when *Ms P* took over. Common fight reactions are "Aggression against the self, against peers (in the form of envy, jealousy, competition...) Flight reactions include avoidance of others, absenteeism, and giving up." (Symington and Symington, 1996, p. 138)

Bion's third unconscious assumption is that of Pairing. "Pairing up with an individual or group perceived as powerful will help a person cope with anxiety, alienation and loneliness." *Ms B* held on to *Ms U*'s group despite her loud, defiant and almost hysterical behavior because deep in the unconscious was a frightened child in *Ms B*. (Symington and Symington, 1996, p. 139)

I further argue that the struggle for dominance and power, especially in *Ms P*, is based on sexuality in the unconscious. It may be noted that the non-teaching staff comprises mostly men. Here, I would like to illustrate the point with the narrative of *Mr X*, a senior member of the non-teaching staff, who was in love with *Ms P*. He bought her clothes, gifts etc., and made his feelings rather obvious. *Mr X* is of a depressive disposition and was seeking psychotherapy within the Institution, with *Ms N*. It was not just *Mr X* who felt for the Principal. *Mr L* had her photograph as wallpaper on his computer. The accompanist, not directly vocal about his feelings, called her 'Ma' meaning mother, thereby denying sexual feelings.

*Mr R* was a new recruit in the Institution as administrative officer. A man somewhat obsequious and polished and at the same time pompous, he earned the dislike of all amongst the non-teaching staff. He showed off his car, signifying a higher social status, wanted a peon



to carry his stuff around, and so on. The non-teaching staff went on a strike against him. However, the Principal, in all her fairness stood up for him.

*Mr R* reacted positively to this stressful situation and as a measure of gratitude, became very loyal to authority. He became more receptive to the attitudes of others and much less defensive, helping the Institution to work better collectively. However, *Mr X* could not accept *Mr R* as his boss: he remained with what I have earlier discussed as the fight flight syndrome in the group.

### **A Holding Environment**

The Institution strives to provide what D W Winnicott (1960) describes as “a holding environment” in all experiences described.

Holding Environment is a term coined by Donald Winnicott (1960) in connection with the ordinary function of a mother holding her infant. Holding in this context meant ‘not only the actual physical holding of the infant, but also the total environmental provision (43). ... Such an environment meets psychological needs and is reliable. It does not abandon nor does it impinge. It facilitates growth. (Akhtar 2009, p. 130)

Change is inevitable, yet change is not easy. It can happen only when participants feel safe and protected, and willing to experience in a new space. The Institution creates a transitional space, a secure, confidential space where there can be possibilities for “playing and reality” for both students and faculty. The Institution makes them feel motivated, and of course, the greater the need to change, the greater the keenness for self-exploration. Workshops are arranged where all can talk about significant events, evens out internal conflicts and arrives at a significant assimilation of life events. Listening to others is a sensitizing process. However, it must be noted that mere realization does not go too far, changing deep rooted behavior patterns and thought is another matter, and here the term “holding environment” is significant.

### **Cultures and Identities**

Even though the Institution represents only a microcosm of Indian society, it is not homogeneous and thereby, no generalization is easy. I quote Sudhir Kakar:

How can one generalize about a billion people—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, and Jains—who speak 14 major languages and are characterized by pronounced regional and linguistic identities? How can one postulate anything in

common among a people divided not only by social class but also by India's signature system of caste, and with an ethnic diversity typical more of past empires than of modern nation-states? (Kakar 2006)

*Ms G* belongs to the depressed class. Other faculty did not discriminate against her ostensibly, and *Ms G* even became popular with some members of the staff. However, a poor teacher, lacking in effort, she became very unpopular amongst students. Several students took this anxiety to *Ms P* and to other teachers too. On getting to know of this, *Ms G* turned malicious, and wrote a letter alleging discrimination based on caste and social class. *Ms G* is a person with a “paranoid disposition”. She engaged in the three primitive defences of splitting, projection and denial, blamed others for her own shortcomings, and made a routine hue and cry over small issues. Under Indian law, the charge of discrimination that she levelled is a serious one, and the sequence of events was highly disruptive for the Institution.

At the heart of the paranoid disposition – as with the other prototypes – there’s a frequently negative childhood experience. As children, paranoid individuals may have been exposed to an extremely intrusive parenting style that fostered feelings of inadequacy or helplessness. Shame and humiliation may have been used by parents as controlling devices. (Kets de Vries, 2006, p. 113)

Elaborating more on cultures and identities, the younger faculty get fashionably dressed, espousing independent political thought and ideology in their roles as academics and feminists. This comprises right wing academics as well, who otherwise do not believe in equality or autonomy for women in thought. Often, topics of discussion are family, particularly maids and their absence, food and designer outfits. There is no freedom around sexuality. To recount an incident, one of the teachers complimented another who was dressed well. The reply was ‘Not for you’.

*Ms C* pays much attention to glamour. Very active on social media, always well turned out in fashionable clothes, with much hype around feminism and a few publications to her credit, she has fast acquired the title of the ‘researcher’ in the Institution. Not responsible about her classes, she still manages to enjoy a lot of popularity amongst students. The economically privileged students, especially, identify/want to identify with her.

As Laplanche and Pontalis (1973) write:

Identification is defined as a psychological process whereby the subject assimilates an aspect, property or attribute of the other and is transformed, wholly or partially, after the model the other provides. It is by means of a series of identifications that the personality is constituted and specified. (p. 205)

*Ms Q* was an ex-student of the College, actively engaged in student politics. She decided to be male in her demeanor, changed her name to *Mr Q* and dressed completely like a boy; one could not tell the difference. She also ‘married’ another girl and thereby established a butch lesbian identity.

### **The Role of Money**

It is worthwhile to reflect on the role of money in the Institution. To begin with, issues of governance with the faculty in committees, as well as with non-teaching staff, arise primarily from the fee structure. Student fees for regular students are low, and funding comes largely from government sources rather than from students’ fees. Moreover, the Institution runs many extra-curricular societies, and funds have to be forked out for good productions. Since money is necessarily limited, it leads to a feeling of competition. A senior member of the faculty is appointed Bursar, and it becomes a position of power, inadvertently or otherwise.

As an example, the Dramatics Society of the Institution wanted to put up their annual production for which the budget was about Rs 75000/- (approximately 1000 euro). Having no experience of theatre and simply exercising authority, the Bursar did not sanction the money.

Another example to cite is that of add on courses. Although here the power is not with the Bursar alone, the committee scrapped a good, enriching course because of petty issues around money. This is described in more detail in the following section.

### **Mental Health Education**

Mental Health Education is a developing field in India. Right at the outset, the Institution decided to develop in-house capabilities for counselling and psychoanalytic psychotherapy. The Clinic has been managed by faculty members of the Institution and has been providing individual counselling to students as well as staff of the Institution. A case history is described in the following subsection.

It was proposed to extend the activities of the Clinic by running a short-term add-on course on psychodynamic counselling and psychoanalytic psychotherapy. There was a plan

to team up with a leading organization, based in the same city, to offer the proposed course, with a joint certification. This was a unique opportunity for the Institution to take a pioneering step in this area.

Any regular undergraduate student of the University would have been eligible to apply for the course. It was expected that the certification would enable students to apply for appropriate positions, with some students being selected for internship and other avenues of work with the partner organization.

As with all such courses, there would have to be a separate fee for the course, which would cover course material as well as preferential entry to selected events in the city. However, the decision to drop the course was taken keeping only the monetary aspects in view.

### **A case history**

All cases in therapy are supervised by a psychoanalytic psychotherapist. Students are not regular because fee is not charged, and it has been suggested (but not yet implemented) that a minimum of Rs 50 should be charged by the clinic.

Some years ago, a student *Ms E* threatened to kill herself as there was enormous parental pressure to marry. She had been a good student but her performance was patchy. She was in love with a boy who did not belong to the same caste. *Ms E* came from a conservative business class family. She was actually protesting against her father and uncle who were forcing her into an arranged marriage, while she wanted to study further. Finally, two faculty members associated with the Clinic decided to visit her family. It was a dramatic visit, with both parents threatening to kill themselves rather than suffer family dishonor. After prolonged engagement, the Clinic was successful in averting any suicide. However, nothing could be done to stop the forced marriage.

### **Conclusion**

It has been argued in this paper that it is crucial to give due importance to unconscious processes inside an institution, since these affect the functioning of the Institution. Whether a person is labelled 'normal' or 'abnormal', the same psychological processes are at work. Not much work along these lines has been done in the educational sector. Psychoanalytic study of organisations has emerged as an independent field of study in recent years, but its application has largely been confined to the corporate sector.

All-women institutions are common in India and many other Asian countries. They become necessary as, even in metropolitan cities, many parents will not let young girls study in a co-educational school. This breeds its own dynamics: many teachers will teach the value of feminist thought, while in practice they enforce the same code as many of the parents. The psyche of the participants is necessarily shaped by the patriarchal social system. There are crucial issues that must be considered while discussing the gendered mind body struggle at the workplace. Most of the female faculty exhibit male processes of culture and socialization though the setting is asymmetrical in gender terms (Chodorow, 1989).

While the face of education is changing, institutions like the one studied here play a major role in shaping students in their formative years. Students will continue to choose going to college over other means of learning because development is much more all round. Thus, it becomes imperative to understand the psychodynamics of this and other similar institutions. As observed here, the Institution, in spite of all the differences, does aim to provide a holding environment to all its members.

The concept of the Container was coined by Bion in 1962 for the maternal mind which receives the projections of the child and, by that very act, makes it possible for the latter to discover its needs. Symington and Symington (1996) have elaborated the concept as follows:

... Bion's concept of the container is frequently equated with Winnicott's idea of holding or holding environment. We wish here to differentiate them clearly. Bion's concept differs in three ways. The container is *internal*, whereas holding or the holding environment is external or in the transitional stage between internal and external; the container is non-sensuous but the holding environment is predominantly sensuous; the container together with the contained is active. (p. 58)

The individual and group narratives recounted here indicate that, although there is room for all kinds of emotional experiences, the Institution is not yet a container in the sense of Bion's theory.

Although this is a single case formulation, clearly such considerations can be applied to other institutions. As argued here, it is not possible to comprehend the dynamics of institutions without recognizing the unconscious processes at work. It is to be hoped that other such studies will be undertaken in future. Moreover, institutional mechanisms need to be worked out so that educational institutions can achieve the aim of containing the emotional experiences of all participants.

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# **The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon: Is It Beyond Language?**



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## **Abstract**

Conventionally, the Anglophone Problem in Cameroon is perceived as that of a language crisis. The Anglophone Problem is usually described as the emergence of an Anglophone consciousness derived from the feeling of being ‘marginalized’, ‘exploited’ and assimilated by the francophone-dominated state. In this context, a language crisis is understood as the forceful imposition of a language, on a group of people against their will (Hebert 2004) which is not the situation in Cameroon. However, my position is that this conflict goes way beyond that of a language crisis. This paper elaborates on the dynamics of this conflict by trying to examine other factors that place this conflict beyond being a mere conflict of language. It is argued in this paper that in addition to and more than a language crisis, the Anglophone problem has been accelerated by such factors as communal stratification, transition from a federal system to a unitary system, violation of constitutional provisions on judicial appointments and the fear of assimilation through education. Communal stratification refers to the political and economic inferior positions as well as under-representation in the Anglophone Community. Transition from a federal state to a unitary state resulted in the loss of autonomy of the Anglophone Community which generated the feeling of being ‘second class’ citizens in the unitary state. The violations of constitutional provisions on judicial appointments, through the imposition of the civil law administrators in Anglophone common law courts is destroying the Anglophone judicial system and finally the fear of assimilation through education derived from the recruitment of ‘French-oriented’ teachers into Anglophone schools are all aspects that aggravates this conflict. This paper will employ statistical data and secondary sources to study the perception of the Anglophone Community and show how this accelerates the Anglophone Problem in Cameroon.

Key words: Cameroon, Marginalization, Anglophone Problem, Francophone, stratification and ethno-regionalism

## **Anglophone problem**

The Anglophone Problem can be defined as the Anglophone Consciousness: the feeling of being ‘marginalized’, ‘exploited’ and ‘assimilated’ by the Francophone-dominated state, and even by the Francophone population as a whole in the R public of Cameroon.(Konings and Nyamnjoh,1997)

## **History and evolution of conflict**

This conflict can be traced back to 1884 when Cameroon was annexed by Germany. Upon Germany's defeat in World War One, it forfeited its colonies to the victorious powers which brought Cameroon under the rule of France and Britain as a mandate under the League of Nations and then a trust territory with the supervision of the United Nations. With the change in authority, came the division of Cameroon under the French and the British in what was known as the Milner-Simon 1919 (Elango 1985). This divide is the foundation of the Anglophone problem. However this problem remained dormant until the 1960s when the decolonization process was activated in Africa. Upon decolonization, French Cameroon was granted independence while British Cameroon was asked in a Referendum organized by the UN to join French Cameroon or Nigeria. The outcome of this referendum saw the further split of British Cameroon as the Northern part join Nigeria and the southern part join French Cameroon (Percival 2008).

After this referendum, British southern Cameroons joined La Republique du Cameroun in a centralized federal system of government which was meant to preserve the identities and colonial legacies of both parties. This union was officiated in the Foumban conference 1961 where the unequal terms of the federation were signed. This created the first pillars of the Anglophone problem as sentiments of betrayal and marginalization began to set in on the Anglophone community. Until this point, this conflict remained dormant but accumulated grievances stirred up tension that could not manifest in an active conflict as there was no elite participation to push the course (Konings and Nyamnjoh 2004). However, this gets worse when in 1972 under the authoritarian rule of Ahmadou Ahidjo, the federal state is abolished and transformed into a unitary state without a Union Act to legalize this union. At this point, the marginalization of the Anglophone community had been established (Engelbert 2009).

However, the change in political authority saw the rise of Paul Biya as the new president of the United Cameroon; this somehow instigated a possibility for a new order one which involved the Anglophone Community especially with the birth of his political party, Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) at the time under a single party system in Bamenda which is the heart of the Anglophone community in Cameroon. Unfortunately, the Anglophone community changed political direction when in 1990; the first Anglophone opposition party (Social Democratic Front) despite police oppression from the regime was born and headed by an Anglophone by name John Fru Ndi. This was an official declaration of



divergence in political aspirations with regards to the aspect of self-determination most especially for the Anglophone Community. Furthermore, tensions heightened in 1992 when the first Multiparty Presidential Elections which was in favor of the opposition party was rigged to maintain the ruling party. This immediately sparked secessionist tendencies and the Anglophone crisis became an active conflict with the SCNC (Southern Cameroon National Council) as its first political actor. This triggered a series of manifestations beginning with the Cameroon Anglophone Movement (CAM) which openly challenged the government and closely followed by the Southern Cameroons Youths League (SCYL) which launched and arms struggle though unsuccessful. SCAPO (Southern Cameroons Peoples Organization) took over the struggle when it attempted twice to declare southern Cameroons as an independent state in 1999 and 2006. With these unsuccessful attempts, active conflict in the Anglophone crisis turned to the use of judicial settlement where the government was sued to the African Court of Human Rights and though this court acknowledged their right to self-determination nothing constructive was achieved (Mehler 2014).

Many at this point thought that the Anglophone Problem had run out its course when uprisings sparked up in October 2016 this time led by the Anglophone lawyers and teachers association which questioned the government's constant neglect of the issues plaguing the Anglophone systems of law and education. Demonstrations in a peaceful protest turned into confrontations between police officers and civilians when the peaceful protest was brutally stifled by the police officers leaving 6deads and several injured. The response from the Anglophone community was tremendous as they resulted to "Ghost town" boycotts organized by the Anglophone Civil Society Consortium which stands at the forefront of the struggle. Talks held earlier in 2017 proved abortive as demands made by the Consortium were not met and this led to the banning of the Consortium, arrest of its leaders and the shutdown of internet connection and heavy militarization in the Anglophone regions since 17<sup>th</sup> January 2017. Now the position is one demanding a two state federation or complete secession. Due to the government's lack of political will to resolve the issue "GHOST TOWN" protest still continue. The latest development in this crisis is the emergence of SCACUF (Southern Cameroon Ambazonia Consortium United Front) which stands for the complete liberation of Southern Cameroons and it's a combination of all the earlier mentioned groups that have emerged in the struggle. Another development is the creation of a Southern Cameroon Defense Force with the aim of protecting the integrity of Southern Cameroons.

As of now no statements have been made by the government with regards to this new development rather attention is been drawn to the prosecution of the arrested consortium leaders been charged with several crimes but foremost terrorism.

## **Theoretical framework**

### **Hechter's theory of internal colonialism**

This study gives a better understanding of the Anglophone Problem by drawing explanations from a theoretical perspective provided by Michael Hechter in his modernist narrative of ethnic conflicts, internal colonialism and assimilation in arousing peripheral nationalism. The term 'internal colonialism' was first introduced by Russian populist and later by Lenin and Gramsci to describe peasant exploitation but most prominently and contemporarily by Hechter in understanding nationalism (Ozkirmli 2000). It is worth mentioning that the liaison between the core and periphery concepts used in explaining internal colonialism are borrowed from the dependency theory which sought to explain the reasons behind underdevelopment in the less developed countries by drawing a relationship in the unequal exchange that existed between the imperialists (core) and colonies (peripheries). However, the core and periphery in this context is within a nation state and not between two states.

Internal Colonialism as a notion refers to structural political and cultural inequalities that exist between regions in a given state and it is characterized by the uneven distribution of economic resources whereas higher exploitation of the peripheries within the region of the state mostly as a result of free play of market forces or economic policies which have intended or unintended effects on the given regions (Hechter 1975). Besides the uneven economic and political development as well as culture, other factors such as religion, language, physical appearances and types and levels of technology also contribute to and may have greater influence on internal colonialism in a given state (Howe 2002).

Hechter argues in his internal colonialism model that due to continuous contact between the core and the periphery, the core will increasingly dominate the periphery politically and exploit it economically and this will eventually lead to uneven development. He postulates further that this uneven wave of national development will result in the creation of an "advanced" and "less advanced" within the state with the advanced group ensuring the maintenance of its fortuitous advantages through the institutionalization of the existing

stratification system. The economy of the periphery is totally dependent on the core as decisions on trade and investment are taken by the core.

He adds that the advanced group also regulates the allocation of social roles by keeping more influential roles and preventing the less advanced group from accessing these roles. He calls this “cultural division of labor” and he notes that this can be carried out de facto by active state intervention to ensure such differentiation of roles and de jure through discriminatory policies that favor the advanced groups through the use of institutions. This cultural division of labor causes individuals to identify with their various groups thereby enforcing the growth of distinctive ethnic identification. As a result, there is emergence of group solidarity driven by a sense of collective oppression from substantial economic inequality together with a social awareness of the situation being defined as unjust and illegitimate.

Though Hechter’s theory of internal colonialism has been criticized severally for its factual inconsistencies, it is the contrary when applied to the case of the Anglophone problem in Cameroon rather the only exception or criticism derived in the case of Cameroon is that the theory does not analyze any divisions that may occur within the less advanced groups affecting the issue of solidarity within the group and this is the case with Cameroon as one of the main obstacles to the achievement of self-determination by South Cameroon is the lack of solidarity amongst its communities and this serves as an advantage to the regime which constantly uses the policy of divide and rule to keep the periphery( South Cameroon) weak.

However, Hechter’s theory gives a splendid narrative and fits perfectly with the case of Cameroon.

### **Why the anglophone problem is not just a language crisis?**

#### **The role of language in the Anglophone crisis**

Understanding perceptions has always been trivial in the solution finding process of any conflict and the Anglophone crisis is no different. As earlier mentioned the general conception with regards to this conflict especially internationally is that it is a language crisis and though this is not totally correct, there is need for clarification while highlighting the role language plays in this conflict. Unlike the language crisis in Quebec as explained by Herbert, the Anglophone Crisis in Cameroon is one based on the marginalization of the English speaking people of Cameroon whereby the development of distinctive ethnic

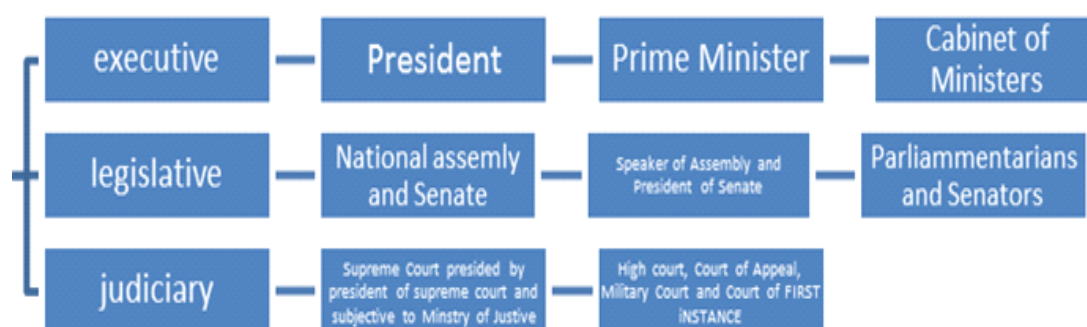
identification is based on the language spoken inherited from colonial legacy (Awasom 2007) and enforced by the system of stratification as argued by Hechter. Though it seems to be the inviting factor for unification in the Anglophone crisis, it does not oblige them to (Renan 1990). The understanding drawn from analysis is that ethnic identification based on language as a result of colonial heritage in the Cameroonian context, is what recognizes, shapes and consolidates the people who are suffering from marginalization and not in itself the instrument of marginalization.

In the Cameroonian context where population distribution is represented in a ratio of 83:17 francophone led from a culmination of over 250 linguistically identifiable ethnic groups, the role of language defined will be that “language (English) is the cursor that traces and identifies the marginalized”.

### Other major underlying factors fueling the crisis

Having established this clarification there are several other influential factors that are underlie this crisis and in order to gain a comprehensive understanding as to the *raison d’être* of the Anglophone Problem in Cameroon, these aspects cannot be overlooked. The developing sense of marginalization in the Anglophone Crisis is been tensioned by communal stratification, transition from a federal system to a unitary system, violation of constitutional provisions on judicial appointments and the fear of assimilation through education.

*Communal stratification* refers to the political, social and economic inferior positions as well as under-representation allocated *de facto* to the Anglophone Community. As earlier mentioned this communal stratification is instituted *de facto* and *de jure*. Below is the institutional structure governing Cameroon.



Socially, communal stratification commenced with the division of territories between the two groups with Anglophone Cameroon consisting of two out of the ten regions to Cameroon. And though there has been vast integration within the regions it only reinforced this stratification as Anglophones are daily reminded of their national identity and homeland in

language, in collective experiences, and in stereotyping. They tend to perceive themselves as different from Francophones and are equally categorized and treated as “others” or “les Bamenda” in everyday jargon by Francophones, manifest already in the constant use of “we” and “they” in everyday speech for designating or delineating each other’s homeland (Billig 1995). Undoubtedly, feelings of being different tend to raise the individual and collective consciousness of Anglophones. Government actions also perpetrate these awareness through acts of identity erosion such as the manipulation of national dates: change the plebiscite day for South Cameroon to a National Youth Day, Changing the name of the Anglophone historic city Victoria to Limbe on the basis of what Mobutu of Zaire called “authenticite” but without doing same in the francophone regions is proof of this socially marginalization (Courade 1976).

These social injustices are complemented with economic exploitation, uneven distribution of resources and limited development. The gross exploitation of natural resources as well as agro-industrial products (tea, cocoa, crude oil, rubber, plantains and banana) (Kobou et al,2008) especially in the Southwest Region is not nearly proportionate to the level of development carried out in these region as southern Cameroon is plagued by severe under development ( poor roads, poor infrastructure, weak economy due to constant privatization, outsourcing of most of its industries and the closure of most of its once lucrative services such as its airports and transfer of headquarters of its primary agro industries to the core) based on a Presidential Decree No 2016/032 of January 19, 2016, with Anglophones rarely put at the top of the administration of these companies and this most especially peculiar to the oil producing company SONARA (Societe Nationale de Raffinage) (Konnings & Nyamnjoh 1997). This has impacted on the Annual growth rate of the Anglophone region with growth rates increasing only to 2.4% in the Northwest and 1.9% in the Southwest ,an increase in poverty rate with the Northwest falling amongst the most poorest region from 2001-2007 and with the Southwest experiencing very high mortality rates in 2011 (Fambon et al 2014).

Political subordination is one of the outstanding elements that highlight the marginalization of Anglophones in Cameroon. According to the above organigram retrieved from the *Cameroon Post*, a renowned newspaper, analysis show that the most influential administrative positions in Cameroon which include the president, the minister of Justice and keeper of the seal, the speaker of the House of assembly, the president of the Supreme Court, the president of the senate and the minister of finance are all occupied by Francophones and the only position accorded to the Anglophone community is the post of the Prime Minister

(Tebi 1985, Takougang1993) which is highly subjective to the President given that all other are answerable to him with an Anglophone never being President. The Anglophone Community not under political subordination but enter a position of assimilation when in the name United Republic of Cameroon was changed to the Republic of Cameroon( La Republique Du Cameroun), the initial name of French Cameroon prior to the plebiscite.(Konnings and Nyamnjoh 1997)

### **Transition from a federal state to a unitary state**

With the outcome of the 1961 plebiscite British Southern Cameroon was heralded into a federal union with La Republique du Cameroun and one of the main reasons for this loose union was the protection of the difference in colonial heritage, culture and language of the two groups and this was established in the in the federal constitution of 1961. The form of federalism opted for could already project the faith of the Anglophone people in the future as a centralized federation with residual powers given to the president was the status quo of the Federal Republic of Cameroon. However, this could only be seen as a conspiracy at the time but it eventually came into effect on the 20th of May 1972 when the president Ahmadou Ahidjo announced the transition of the federal state into a unitary state which was against articles 1 and 3 of the Fombrun Conference which was the founding document of the federal union that was established thereafter. Considering its illegitimacy, opposition as to the abolition of the current state by Anglophone political elite was heavily stifled as opponents like Ngom Jua the prime minister of Anglophone Cameroon was replaced and anglophone political parties dissolved to join the ruling party in a unitary state system(Konnings and Nyamnjoh 1997). This effectively commenced the de facto institution of the marginalization of the Anglophone People of Cameroon primarily because the Anglophone political elites were divided. This ushered in ethno-regional protest which even though were heavily clamped at the time continuously grew slowly but steadily with the rise to power of the incumbent President Paul Biya in 1982 who has continuously violated constitution provision meant to preserve and protect Anglophone rights and heritage (Konnings and Nyamnjoh 2003)

### **Violations of constitutional provisions on judicial appointments**

According to the 1972 Constitution the Republic of Cameroon will be governed by bi-jural framework. It provided for the establishment, administration and maintenance of the unique systems of law which are the French Civil law and the British Common law as the main sources of Cameroon (Fombad 2007). However, this has not been respect and is one of

the main plights of the October 2016 uprisings. According to Barrister Bobga Harmony Mbuton, a Former President of the Northwest Lawyers Association gives a clear distinction between common law and civil *Law as follows*:

"common law is essentially rules for regulation of human conduct in society that can be said to have emerged historically from the common conscience of the society and it is tapped from the passed decisions of judges who reflect when cases are referred to them on what decisions will reflect a good sense of justice and when these decisions have been tested over time they now provide a rule of law from their consistency providing a law review and a law reform. These principles that have emerged from the decision of judges are streamlined into statutes which are eventually recycled through the interpretation of judges whereas Civil law is a top down process with the ruler provides the basis for human behavior and are enshrined into codifications which projects what types of conducts can be expected, how it can be violated and what kind of rules can be used and how it can be regulated. It is a prefabrication that lend itself to a mechanical operation as opposed to the Common Law that has an inbuilt dynamism that permits it to constantly adjust and fit into the emerging norms of society as society advances,"

This distinction is what outlines the process in the administration of the rule of law and this has been constantly abused in the Cameroonian judicial system as civil law magistrates are appointed to head common law jurisdictions, no active branch for the formation and training of common law magistrates in the government school of magistracy(ENAM) and lastly the in ability to translate laws into English most especially the OHADA LAW which regulates commercialization in the CEMAC region has hampered the implementation of justice and is slowing killing the Anglophone common law system (Kindzeka 2015) This all culminated into pushing the Anglophone struggle into a very violent active phase in October 2016.

### **Fear of assimilation through education**

Facing similar predicaments as the judicial system, the educational system in Cameroon is also of a dual nature with the Anglo-Saxon system of education governed by the GCE Board and the French system of education in the francophone region both provided for in the constitution. However, the fear is that of assimilation in this domain, as there is a constant recruitment of francophone with the French educational background to serves as teachers and administrators in all the various levels of the Anglo-Saxon educational system (Bashi 2017).This has resulted in the fear of assimilation as Anglophone schools are also highly

populated by Francophones with very poor mastery of the English Language. This rampant integration creates the suspicion of a conscious attempt to dilute the Anglo-Saxon educational system when assessment is made on its international standard when compared to French accreditations. The most glaring attempt to carry out such dilution was in 1983 when the government promulgated an order to modify the Cameroon General Certificate Exams. This was in an attempt to liken or simplify it to the standard of the baccalaureate written in the French region and opposition was clamped brutally in the University of Yaounde and Urban Centers ( Nyamnjoh 1996a). The argument is that the dilution of the Anglophone educational system is a conscious attempt to root out the craters of the Anglophone identity through education.

The October 2016 uprising which has entered its prolonged phase till present date which was front lined by the Anglophone lawyers and teachers is factual proof that all these sentiments of marginalization are not just conspiratorial as the government have reiterated severally but that there is a conscious ongoing mechanism de jure skillfully crafted to ensure the tactical erosion of the Anglophone identity in Cameroon and whether this has been done to facilitate nation building and integration is highly disputable

### **Speculation and conclusion**

In an attempt to skillfully manage this conflict, the Biya Regime is only realizing that it had underrated the strength of this struggle from the very start. Several attempts to provide solutions to the Anglophone Problem have only demonstrated the regimes lack of knowledge and political will in the eventualities of the Anglophone struggle and consequently has led to the transformation of the conflict into a more intense phase. In the wake of the 2016 intensified uprisings, a Bilingualism and Multiculturalism Commission was set up to look into the Anglophone Problem but came short on several grounds. Firstly, the commission was headed by Francophones with utmost negligence as to what the Anglophone struggle is all about. Secondly the timing was miscalculated as this strategy may have survived at the beginning of the conflict, at this stage it is no longer a conflict language or cultural differences which is the main argument of this paper but now it is about the self-determination of a people being marginalized, demonstrating the shortsightedness and refusal of acknowledgement of the Anglophone Problem, reasons behind the provision of inadequate solutions like the aforementioned.

Speculations as to the outcome of this struggle have been expressed with mixed feelings. Though the ACPHR (African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights) acknowledged the



oppression of the Anglophone People of Cameroon and consequently may have given legitimacy to the concept of a Southern Cameroon it did not advocate for secession and this is understandably based on the status quo diplomacy employed by the International community in relation to the protection of territory integrity but if Southern Cameroons ( The Republic of Ambazonia) were to become a state it will have a population of approximately 6million people on a surface area of about 43000 square kilometers making it more populous than 60UN acclaimed states (Dicklitch 2011).However, one cannot be too careful in accepting this option given the country's current fight against Boko Haram a relatively small state with limited capabilities might become a hub for terrorist activities with South Sudan as a foresight.

The highly approved position by most Anglophone scholars is that of Federalism. In an exclusive interview with the Guardian Post a renowned Cameroonian Newspaper, the Leading Defense lawyer for the arrested Consortium Leaders Barrister Bernard Muna states,

"that the only possible most favorable outcome that can be achieved by the Anglophone Community in this fight for self -determination is that of federalism. The rationale behind his position is that of lack of ammunitions to wage war against the current regime. Given its strong opposition to the demand of secession, the closest achievement will be that of federalism but definitely a loose federalism."

In conclusion, the strength of the Anglophone resistance have decreased and many might go further to say that it has hit a brick wall due to the tactical and repressive mechanisms that have been utilized by the incumbent government to squash the resistance. However weak, the struggle still continues, though facing several internal divisions most prominently the southwest/northwest divide (both regions constitute the Anglophone Community).

What Southern Cameroon needs is strong international alliances and guarantors to push this struggle into the ultimate defining phase considering that the government is heavily supported by France, there is a need for such balance and though the Anglophone Diaspora has done a lot to generate international awareness, much still needs to be done even to achieve federalism talk less of complete separation and independence. Therefore there is need for unity and solidarity in the Anglophone Community in order to choose a concrete plan of action and reallocate its resources to guarantee its achievement.

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## Sports and physical training - any tips from the past?



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### **Abstract**

The first half of the seventeenth century in England was witness to a number of the first educational tracts to discuss proposed changes to the schools curricula in use at the time. Amongst the reformatory ideas, a few writers pointed to the importance of sports and physical training of the young. Scanty as these references were, it is important to assess and evaluate the fresh viewpoints on physical education they engendered and indeed whether it was feasible to inculcate them into the realities of the vastly different life styles existing within each of the separate classes of this vertically ordered society. To carry out this research, the paper first discusses these new ideas put forward by the pamphleteers and on this basis, proceeds with a detailed description of sports and pastimes of the rural section of English society. The comparison of the realities with the ideas on physical education will illustrate the paper's fundamental aim i.e. to what extent could these proposals be regarded as genuinely original and novel ideas of the times? The paper proves that nothing truly innovative was suggested and also, a number of invaluable ideas that could have led to some improvement were neglected. In addition, some of these texts contain the drawback of having been addressed specifically and solely to the youth of noble rank.

Key words: sports, writings on physical training, the Stuart Age, rural society

For centuries, mankind has faced and survived almost every calamity imaginable. Many of these crises have affected entire regions, countries or even continents and they range from the euro area economic crisis of great magnitude, climatic changes and severe water scarcity to the European migrant crisis. Yet, some of the unresolved problems have the potential of daunting the entire planet, one of which is an escalating global epidemic of overweight and obesity. Though this problem has been now recognized for decades, the obesity epidemic continues, and its rates are increasing around the world. Suffice it to look at the key data provided by WHO in order to understand how alarming the epidemic has become:

- Worldwide obesity has more than doubled since 1980.
- In 2014, more than 1.9 billion adults, 18 years and older, were overweight. Of these over 600 million were obese.

- 39% of adults aged 18 years and over were overweight in 2014, and 13% were obese.
- Most of the world's population live in countries where overweight and obesity kills more people than underweight.
- 41 million children under the age of 5 were overweight or obese in 2014.

In light of the above, there is clear evidence that the prognosis for the world is bad and getting worse as obesity takes its toll on the health of adults and children alike. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reveals that “in the past 30 years, the prevalence of childhood obesity has more than doubled among children ages 2 to 5, has nearly tripled among youth ages 6 to 11, and has more than tripled among adolescents ages 12 to 19”.

Whilst this rapid jump in obesity rates has crisscrossed the world and the issue has been discussed in depth and at length by researchers and specialists in health problems, it is advisable to pose the question whether there are any tips from the past that we can heed to tackle this epidemic. For the purpose of this paper, the quest for possible advice is narrowed down to seventeenth-century England.

As early as in the first half of the seventeenth century a few pamphleteers, educationalists and thinkers of the time began to vocalise their ideas in the on-going debate on the current state of education. Amongst numerous issues discussed and proposals made, there were those related to the health training of the young generation. Few as these writings may seem from our present perspective, their brief outline and then the presentation of sports indulged in by English rural society, should elicit the answer to the question of the motives which compelled the writers to elaborate upon physical training and sports. Were these texts produced out of their concern or just merely a wish to promote the value of improving physical fitness even further?

Edward Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648) belongs to this group of writers whose views on health and physical education in early Stuart times ought to be regarded as ‘pioneering’. Although in his *Autobiography* the author refers only to education of the youth of noble blood, it is interesting to note the emphasis he puts on the right choice of governor who should be chosen primarily to care for the boy’s manners and health when the child reaches the schooling age. Further, in relation to sports and health, Herbert of Cherbury continues and warns of neglecting bodily exercise and encourages the taking up of archery, swimming, fencing, dancing and riding, which from his viewpoint should be mastered in order to give grace and suppleness to the body. Nor could – as the author suggests in his work – hawking, bowling and hunting be neglected.

The deliberations on instructing the youth in physical exercise were not confined only to pupils stemming from noble classes. In *A description of the famous Kingdome of Macaria* published in the early 40s, its author – Samuel Harlib – directs the reader's attention to the importance of health and sports education. Similar importance is ascribed to matters of physical training and health in another publication entitled *Nova Solyma*. Its author – Samuel Gott – introduces in his work a character, named Jacob, who as a guide to the two visitors from England takes them on a tour around an ideal city. During their tour the English tourists learn that:

The nature of our body depends altogether on bodily causes, which are so curiously complicated and connected that generally they escape the keenest search of man, but still we do not put aside all such matters [...] and so we try every method we can to make our children healthy and robust and natural in their bodies. [...] We try to improve by art and culture in every way the gifts of body and mind with which kindly Nature endows our race. [...] subject to the doctors' advice, our kind consideration for them that they have been prepared for all the changes and chances [...] from their very cradle.

This whole system – as the tour guide explains – was based on the Greek model which idealises both the art of man's soul and body. In this subtle and indirect way Samuel Gott recommends adopting such attitudes towards sports and physical training on English soil.

The portrait shown by S. Gott seems highly idealistic in view of the fact that the life of the English during the early Stuarts' reign was still subject to royal regulations. In the overwhelming control imposed upon the royal subjects, it was officially declared in *the King's Majestie's Declaration to His Subjects, concerning Lawfull Sports to be Used* precisely when and what leisure activities were permitted. By law, the upper classes were given relative freedom in selecting their entertainments, whilst for the lower classes the King's injunction stated: "When shall the common people have leave to exercise, if not upon the Sundays and holy days, seeing they must apply their labor and win their living in all working days". According to this law, people could engage in sports and other leisure pastimes only when work was neither expected because of darkness nor allowed because of a holyday. Apart from clearly stated times, particular sports to be engaged in were dependent upon social status, gender and age. The beginnings of the seventeenth century still witnessed high social stratification, with the vast majority of the populace fitting into a single hierarchy of status, which was defined by rank as well as fiscal and legal privilege. In this respect, it is important to note that the relationship between social structure and leisure activities was

tightly correlated. The classification of sports and other leisure activities was conducted as early as in 1669 by Edward Chamberlayne who in his survey notes:

The King hath his forests, chases, and parks, full of variety of game, for hunting red and fallow deer, foxes, otters, hawking; his paddocks courses, horse-races, &c. abroad and at home; tennis, balloon, billiards, interludes, balls, masks, &c. The nobility and chief gentry have their parks, warrens, decoys, paddock courses, horse-races, hunting, coursing, fishing, fowling, hawking, setting dogs, tumblers, lurchers, duck-hunting, cock-fighting, tennis, bowling, billiards, tables, chess, draughts, cards, dice, catches, Questions, Puroposes, stage-plays, dancing, singing of all sorts of musical instruments &c. The citizens and peasants have hand-ball, foot-ball, skittles or nine-pins, shovelboard, stow-ball, golf, troll-madam, cudgels, bearbaiting, bull-baiting, bow and arrow, throwing at cocks, shuttlecock, bowling, quoits, leaping, wrestling, pitching the bar, and ringing of bells [...].

This lengthy list of sports done and entertainments engaged in by English society, and for the purpose of this paper, its rural part in particular, needs to be expanded with additional information so as to achieve a more detailed picture of the sports and leisure activities of the period under discussion.

Like most work in the countryside which was then done manually, to the same extent entertainments would also reflect – at least in most cases – physical strength. By taking up these sports, the young could develop their valour, prowess and stamina. Examples abound and range from lifting heavy weights or throwing large sledge-hammers, iron bars, pikes or giant stones to numerous feasts of athleticism. Another game which required physical strength from its participants was known as '*England and Ireland*'. This sport pitted two teams against each other in rope pulling and in an unchanged version, it has survived to the present day under the name of tug-of-war.



Detail from Children's Games by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, c. 1560  
Source: [www.irisharcheology.ie](http://www.irisharcheology.ie) by Colm on February 16<sup>th</sup>, 2013.

Footraces was another sport in which demonstration of prowess could be seen. Its participants' task was to deliver a message for their employers to chosen spots such as taverns or inns. Over the century this sport was turned into a competition in which footmen were placed against each other in races accompanied by betting. Several references made by Samuel Pepys – the English diarist – about footracing provide confirmation of this content catching on quickly in Stuart England. One of these records on footrace reads as follows:

I went by water to White-Hall to the Privy Seale; and that done, with Mr Moore and Creed to Hydeparke by coach and saw a fine foot-race, three times around the park, between an Irish and Crow that was once my Lord Claypoole's footman. Crow beat the other above two miles.

In addition to Pepys's notes, contemporary research carried out by Edward Sears on the history of running provides evidence that bets on footraces in Stuart times could reach sums as much as £ 1,000, though after the passing of the royal law of 1664 a maximum wager was reduced to £100. Nevertheless, footraces could be equally profitable for punters as participants alike. To confirm this one should refer to Sears' work again, where a mention of Mr. Preston, boasting himself of a nickname "the Flying Butcher of Leeds, best illustrates this in the following words:

[...] was able to earn more from his running than from his butcher-shop. In 1688, with 6,000 spectators watching, he defeated the king's favorite runner. Betting was so heavy on the king's runner that part of the crowd, having bet their horses on the match, had to walk home. Unfortunately, having vanquished all this competition, Preston could no longer persuade anyone to race against him.

Running extended to other rural games and included for example *Fire and No Smoke*, in which six players were divided into three pairs, standing at the three points of a triangle, a seventh player (Fire) would be chased by an eighth. If the Fire managed to run from his point to the other without being caught by his chaser, the player in the back of the line would become Fire. Similar in concept to *Fire and No Smoke* was the game called *Barley Breaks* in which the chasing, grabbing and swapping of young couples (usually single young women and men) allowed for flirtation by the young of a local village community.





Somersaults, 16-17<sup>th</sup> centuries  
Source: [www.renaissance-spell.com](http://www.renaissance-spell.com)

Rural running games did not leave out the youngest who could use their agility in the children's game of tick. A modification of it, though a little more complex, was another game known as *Prison Bars*, in which two teams had a base and a prison and competed with each other by searching for capturing their rivals and tagging them.

Then as nowadays, there was also a wide range of ball games to which both adults and children resorted to. Different as these games were, so did the types of ball vary. These ranged from solid ones used in bowls and skittles to ones stuffed with wool pieces, as in games played by children, or even stuffed with feathers, as in stowball.

Amongst numerous ball games played in Stuart England, football seems to have stood out. What makes this sport distinctively different from the present version was its basic rule according to which a ball was not hit or thrown but "driven about with the feet". However, it must be remembered that a number of football's variants existed in seventeenth-century England, differing in its specifics applied; for example the Cornish rules of the game incorporated wrestling (this variant was known as *hurling*) as well as in variable places it was played. Thus a football match could be held in a field, on a road or any other place in the open countryside. However, all these football variants had a certain feature in common, namely competition. Not only were the locals in one community pitted against each other but also one village against another across counties.

Unlike in football, certain other balls games allowed for the hitting or throwing of a ball and their players were expected to keep it in the air as long as they were able to. For example, a game of this sort was *Handball or Fives* in which its basic rule was to strike a ball against a wall with the players taking turns. Another similar pastime was called *I call and I*

*call*. Here a boy would throw the ball against a wall and call out the name of the one who was supposed to catch it.

Akin to football, at least in its concept, was hockey, which in seventeenth-century England was known as *bandy or bandy-ball*. Much as the equipment resembled the one in use in contemporary field hockey, a match of bandy then would astonish its present fans as it was played on a field, or parcel of grass as opposed to on ice, and this was due to the fact that the winters of Stuart times were usually relatively mild. It should be noted that bandy-ball matches attracted the attention of entire village communities. Each being represented by their team consisting of a few dozen players who competed with one another in long lasting matches.

For the same reason viz. the normally mild English climate, it can be deduced that skating did not catch on in the kingdom, though occasional skaters could be seen on English frozen ponds, reservoirs and lakes.

Stuart country folk were also fond of other ball sports such as *Stowball*, *Stoolball* and the latter's variant – popularly known as *Cricket*. What all these three had in common were batsmen, fielders and a bowler. There were, however, some noticeable differences between them in rules and objectives, for example cricketers were supposed to defend a target with their crooked bats, whilst this did not apply to Stoolballers etc. These nuisances are best summarised by Peter Roberts who in his work entitled *The Cambrian Popular Antiquities, or an Account of Some Traditions, Customs and Supersitions of Wales, with Observations as to Their Origin, Etc.* writes:

Stool-ball, resembling cricket, except that no bats are used and that a stool was substituted for the wicket, was in my memory also a favourite game on holydays [...]. It generally began on Easter Eve.

Another interesting detail about *Stoolball* is provided by William Parish who notes:

[...] similar in many respects to cricket, played by females. It has lately been revived in East Sussex by the establishment of stool-ball clubs in many villages [...]. The elevens go long distances to play their matches, they practise regularly and frequently display such perfection of fielding and wicket-keeping as would put most amateur cricketers to shame.

It should be emphasised at this point that all the pastimes and leisure activities described above were regarded as suitable for rustic folk and other members of lower classes

on the social scale. To complete this picture of traditional rural sports and games, one needs to examine the ones undertaken by the upper classes who also resided in the English countryside, yet differed drastically in their scope of sports and other leisure pastimes from the poorer majority of English society.

*Tennis* is regarded as one of the most popular ball sports played by members of the royal court, aristocracy and gentry. It should be remembered that the tennis of the Stuart age was not the same as that presently associated with the game of tennis. Nowadays this is played on a lawn whilst four centuries ago on an indoor court. A few very wealthy aristocrats could boast of having owned their own private tennis courts, but the majority of those who were able to afford to play tennis attended public commercial tennis courts. An interesting insight into this then purely upper-class sport is provided by Samuel Pepys who wrote on one of the royal matches in 1667 in the following way:

The King, playing at tennis, had a steelyard carried to him, and I was told it was to weigh him after he had done playing; and at noon Mr. Ashburnham told me that it is only the King's curiosity, which he usually hath, of weighing himself before and after his play, to see how much he loses in weight by playing; and this day he lost 4 1/2lb.

Another distinctively upper-class sport of the times under consideration was *billiards*. This game was played indoors, though originally the game from which it originated – *croquet* – was played outdoors. A similar game to both billiards and croquet was *Trucks* and in all these three cases highly specialised and costly equipment was required.

Since throughout the seventeenth century archery gradually began to lose its popularity, men of the upper classes often favoured the use of *the rapier and dagger* as a replacement for the art of archery. A gentleman or anyone who aspired to be one would be trained professionally in effective and skilful use of these weapons by a fencing master.

As only 'better-off' members of English society could afford to purchase a fit horse and cover the expenses of its up-keep, horse-racing was strictly reserved for the rich. For this reason, the sport is considered to have been the stereotypical pastime of the upper classes. Its popularity may best be illustrated by the centuries old race tracks still in permanent use in places such as Newmarket, Ascot, Banstead et al. Horse-races held in such places gave and give to this day rise to the excitement of competition as well as gambling. This is well summarised in the following statement: "Horse-races are desports of great men, and good in themselves, though many gentlemen by such means gallop quite out of their fortunes".

The privileged classes of Stuart society would also indulge in other animal sports besides horse-racing, these included deer hunting, fox hunting with dogs and coursing (which is the equivalent of the present greyhound racing). It is important to note that these hunting sports were not only lucrative and expensive, but also safe-guarded by law, which allowed only landlords to engage in them.



Fox Hunting with dogs by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1607-1677

Source: [www.Publicpleasuregarden.blogspot.com](http://www.Publicpleasuregarden.blogspot.com)

## Conclusion

From the above it becomes self-evident that certain sports and leisure activities were specifically reserved for country folk, for men, children and mixed company as well as for the upper classes. Not only did this selection hinge upon one's social status but also had to do with one's personal identity. Also, the paper's analysis reveals that as the years of the seventeenth century went by, pastimes became more and more class-structured, allowing for the dying out of certain physical activities of the past. Then (as nowadays), all the classes within and forming the structure of rural society shared two distinct features, i.e. first their passion for sports, play and relaxation and second, in particular, for the lower classes these pastimes and such physical training were the opportunities they grasped to break their monotony and/or take their minds off the hardships, pain, hunger and misery of the times.

In contrasting the different sporting activities undertaken by rural communities in seventeenth century England, one final question needs to be posed. What motives lay behind those few writers who put their pens to paper and found it important to speak about physical training? The analysis of school curricula of the times under discussion shows that little attention was paid to the suggestions put forward by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Samuel Gott, and Samuel Harlib. The sole objective of permitting games such as tossing a handball, running, shooting with bows and arrows, wrestling and leaping as well as stool-ball, barley

break etc. was primarily to keep the body fit in the schoolroom, so that is exactly what the pamphleteers advocated. In this respect their voices do not sound revolutionary, and as in the case of Lord Herbert's it even contains a certain shortcoming as his text is addressed to schoolchildren of the upper classes. Furthermore, the value of cooperative activities in sport, the possibility of training qualities of leadership as well as shaping the pupils' character – all these issues remained undiscovered by neither schoolmasters nor those who wrote on the importance of sports and health training in the seventeenth century.

Our awareness coupled with the present medical and technological advancement is superb in comparison with the past centuries. And naturally, in view of the above, there is little, if nothing at all, that we should heed with reference to sports and physical training. The greatest paradox, however, is that our physical training curricula being so well developed and worked out in every detail, when compared with theirs from the past, yet it is our generation that has faced and been unable to tackle the overweight and obesity epidemic.

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## **Pedagogies of Place and Peace: Experiential and Reflexive Learning in Post-conflict Context**



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### **Abstract**

Rather than regarding the learning contexts as mere physical or virtual structures in which learning takes place, this paper promotes the idea of learning contexts as being inseparable from content itself—as how and where we learn very much influences what and why we learn. By purposely making our students to be aware of the contexts where learning activities are conducted and encouraging them to explore and challenge the entrenched dichotomies of different spaces and places—such as public vs. private, formal vs. informal, domestic vs. foreign, outdoor vs. indoor and online vs. on-site—as educators, we can refocus to and maximise the benefits of the social, experiential and emotional dimensions of learning and teaching. Such approach might even challenge the traditional understandings of knowledge production, seen as taking place in isolation within the walls of universities or labs and then subsequently transferred to community and industry. The paper discusses the ways knowledge production and transfer can also work other way around, how academia/universities could—and should—learn from community, i.e. in a real and lived social environment. It also aims to emphasise, and practically demonstrate, that we do not teach ‘value neutral’ skills, that ethics remain at the core of every pedagogical approach and should underpin every discipline, expert knowledge and skill. The paper draws on a decade of leading international student groups through the experiences of visiting post-genocide regions in eastern Bosnia. Through learning from local people and their environments, students could glean a sense of the intensity of local relationships to place and rethink how these ‘remote’ locales can act as an *alter axis mundi* in students’ lives and relationships to dominant metropolitan knowledges. In exchange, local hosts have opportunities to educate and reorient students in such a way that their expert knowledges can be acknowledged and affirmed.

Key words: ethnography, experiential learning, study tour, genocide, Bosnia

### **Introduction**

This paper, in some regards, represents an update of the article titled ‘Ethics, human rights and action research: doing and teaching ethnography in post-genocide communities in Bosnia-Herzegovina’, published in the Croatian journal *Narodna umjetnost* (Halilovich, 2008). The article from nine years ago was inspired by the first study tour that my colleague Ron Adams and I brought to Bosnia-Herzegovina (hereafter “Bosnia”) in the summer of 2007. This was the first educational project of this kind, involving both theoretical and practical learning aspects, which ran as a fully accredited teaching course for a group of

Australian university students studying social anthropology. The educational aim of the course was to enable the students to learn about the devastating effects of genocide on local communities in Bosnia through ‘experiential learning’, i.e. learning based on their first-hand experience, while conducting guided ethnographic exercise in those communities. The course also aspired to identify ways in which these devastated communities could be supported (Halilovich 2008). The core learning activity took place during a ten-day-long fieldwork in a destroyed village of Klotjevac, in Podrinje, in the municipality of Srebrenica. At the time of our short stay in the once vibrant and picturesque village in the Drina Valley, the place was reduced to ruins to which only a handful survivors returned three years earlier. The study tour resulted in many positive outcomes for the students and for our hosts both during and after the visit. Since then, these changes and the study tours to the village have become an annual occurrence. Starting with a group of 25 students in 2007, over the last ten years some 300 students from many different countries across the world have visited and studied in this village. This article discusses and highlights some of the important moments of how the Australian Study Tour to Bosnia has led to what has become a truly international academic initiative connecting many students and academics from different parts of the globe world with a local post-genocide village in eastern Bosnia.

The paper combines a synthesis of the theory of experiential and reflexive learning with personal narrative about study tours and summer schools as forms of learning, teaching and researching in community context in post-genocide Bosnia. It also reflects on the role of critical ethnography and applied anthropology as both research and teaching approaches. Drawing upon the existing pedagogical traditions, the ultimate aim of the paper is to call for a pedagogical turn in how we teach and learn about conflict and peace-building and to promote a new paradigm of pedagogies of place and peace. In the age when online learning, e-learning and virtual classrooms have increasingly becoming a norm, this paradigm puts emphasis on the real world, i.e. spatial, social, experiential and emotional dimensions of learning and teaching (Halilovich, Carbone and Ross, 2013).

Like with other pedagogical paradigms, ethics remains at the core of learning and research in local communities trying to reconstruct, ‘find’ and sustain themselves in the new socio-political circumstances after the war. Hence, research and educational work in such communities must go beyond mere observation, documentation and abstraction and look for ways to initiate and facilitate positive changes in such local communities (Halilovich, 2014; Opacin and Halilovich 2016). Learning in the field, described in this paper, is just one of the



many ways how pedagogies of place and can be practically conducted in a specific post-conflict context.

### **Ethnographer in the field**

In general, the goal of every ethnographer is to get close to their participants, to record and convey (extra-)ordinary human stories and to unveil rules, norms and patterns by which the observed social groups—whether they are local tribal communities or members of the global elites—maintain and construct their group identities in an everyday context. Based on the examples of specific local groups that are subject of their research, ethnographers strive to draw some universal conclusions and develop theoretical concepts; thus, contributing to the understanding of socio-cultural peculiarities and phenomena that go beyond the borders of local communities (Eriksen, 2001). To unveil these subtle unspoken laws, customs, social relationships, norms, codes and rules by which local communities live, maintain and (re)construct their identities, it is necessary to ‘peek under the surface’, to get closer to the researched, to observe them, participate in their daily life, live with them—in short, to become a temporary insider, but at the same time keep the research focus and a certain degree of professional distance, which is often easier said than done. This complex and holistic qualitative research approach, known as ethnography, requires working in the field, sufficient time, patience, focus and in-depth study of the participants’ local culture. It is important to stress that the terms such as local culture, locality and terrain/field, do not only refer to ‘geographical locations and their contexts, but the people and social spaces they create’ (ČapoŽmegač, Gulin Zrnić and Šantek, 2006: 28). Regardless of what the field is about, any fieldwork and ethnographic approach to research and teaching inevitably carries a number of challenges for both the researchers and the researched and the social group under investigation. Thus, it is hard to talk about some kind of rigid professional distance and ‘neutrality’ of the researcher in the field, as from the moment of the first contact with their participants and throughout the whole research process, the anthropologist remains part of the social environment of the terrain they study.

The circumstances and reality in which the participants are living will certainly reflect on how the anthropologist will write about the social group being investigated. It is therefore essential to understand, accept and acknowledge the location of researchers in a specific social and historical moment (Čapo Žmegač, 2006). Namely, ethnography is a two-way (or rather multi-way) process, and the topics and the way the author writes ethnography sometimes reveals more about the researcher than about the researched. It is also important to

emphasize that the researcher decides what role to play in this interactive process and whether and to what extent will they borrow their own voice to the researched. Jasna Čapo Žmegač(2006), a Croatian anthropologist, has written about these dilemmas, especially the dilemmas of the researchers who explore their own culture in times of war and its aftermath. Among other aspects, she stresses the importance of researcher's multiple responsibilities: towards the actual research site (and people there), towards the scholarly community to which the researcher belongs and lastly the responsibility towards themselves (Čapo Žmegač, 2006). This last responsibility is the most fluid and most difficult to define and 'measure', and certainly is one of the key 'ingredients' of any good ethnography. Namely, in most cases, the researchers themselves decide which specific subject or issue, and which social group, to investigate; hence, the entire research process, from the beginning to the end, is always very personal and subjective.

My place as a researcher and my voice, or my subjectivity, are to a great degree shaped by my lived experience and my being an active participant in at least two different cultural contexts: the Australian (where I live and work) and the Bosnian (where I was born and raised). Regardless of whether I am always aware of this subjectivity or not, this is certainly recognisable in my work. Therefore, my scholarly interest in the 'Bosnian themes', in the impact of violence on local communities and the role of social memory and group identity after violence, are not a mere coincidence. Moreover, the selection of research sites for my field work in Bosnia and other parts of the world where Bosnians live, as well as the research process itself, have many elements of 'ethnology of the proximate' (Čapo Žmegač, Gilin Zrnić and Šantek, 2006) as well as the qualities of researching 'the Other', i.e. both *emic* and *etic* perspectives (Halilovich, 2014).

### **Between professional ethics and a personal feeling of moral responsibility**

The insider's (or *emic*) role, in addition to many advantages—e.g. knowledge of the language, culture and history of the terrain—also has certain challenges, such as, for example, the need to differentiate between the 'real' and the professional roles of the researcher, holding certain prejudices or having affinities (or lack of them) towards the participants. Also, when practicing insider's research, professional ethics can become more complex. Anthropologists, as well as other scholars investigating human subjects, are generally guided by the ethical principles of *primum non nocere* and empathy, i.e. researchers' primary concern is in not to cause any direct or indirect harm to their participants in the course of the research. Consequently, researchers take various measures to ensure anonymity of their participants.

Moreover, the researchers are expected to show understanding and respect for the researched and their socio-cultural peculiarities.

Fieldwork in local communities after systematic violence, ‘ethnic cleansing’ and genocide is a unique experience for which there is no universal recipe for the researchers how to approach their reflexivity and positionality, how to navigate between their *emic* (insider) and *etic* (outsider) positions. In such contexts, it is hard to define clearly when and where professional ethics stops and a ‘personal sense of moral responsibility’ begins (Sanford, 2006:2), when ethnography enters into the domain of applied anthropology. Whereas Emerson and Pollner (2001) insist on the importance of the emotional and analytical distance of the researcher from their participants, Bourgois (2006: xii) argues that ‘even if they wanted, anthropologists cannot—physically, ethically and emotionally—avoid the suffering and brutality their participants are exposed to, nor can they distanced themselves from the historical epoch they live in’. While there will always be those who would consider such an approach to go beyond the constraints of professional ethics and recommended empathy, Ruth Behar (1997:177) goes a step further, claiming ‘call it sentimentality or Victorianism and the nineteenth century, but anthropology that does not break your heart is no longer worth doing’. The ethnographic work of the Norwegian anthropologist Tone Bringa (1995) and her written and film records about ‘her’ village Dolina, somewhere in central Bosnia, is not only a brilliant ethnography of a semirural community in Bosnia, but also an example of how ethnographer takes on the role of an advocate, negotiator and peacemaker, knowingly risking their own safety to assist their participants, who suddenly found themselves in the middle of a conflict zone (Halilovich, 2008; 2013b).

Regardless of the fact if the researcher is or is not aware of the risks they expose themselves in order to protect their participants, in the ethnographic context, they will always be ‘exposed’ and subject to their own vulnerability and emotions (Behar, 1997). In the field, as in ‘real’ life, talks about the present and projected future almost inevitably involve reflections on the past. When the storytellers are genocide survivors, their reflections on the past confront both the researchers and themselves with the scope and brutality of violence and personal and collective tragedies, in which feelings of pain, loss, guilt (survivor's guilt), anger and frustration—in short, psychosocial trauma by the survivors—can be observed. In these situations, the researched and the researcher becomes witness to a historical tragedy and get confronted and united in their shared humanity, in which ‘otherness’ vanishes or becomes of a secondary importance. Of course, the researcher can choose to withdraw and give up on the

research, or to radically redefine it, aiming at achieving their own emotional exclusion from the field as much as this really is possible. A more realistic and more constructive option for researchers is to adopt an active role and, to a certain extent, become advocates and spokespersons for their participants. In this scenario, ethnography goes beyond the mere research framework and enters the field of critical ethnography and applied anthropology (Halilovich, 2008).

Critical ethnography—as ‘conventional ethnography with a political goal’ (Thomas, 1993, quoted in Madison, 2005: 1)—begins with ethical responsibility to address injustice and issues within a given area (Madison, 2005: 5). Closely linked to critical ethnography is applied anthropology. Applied anthropology is not a special sub-discipline of anthropology but a methodology that implies active application of anthropological knowledge to solving practical problems on the ground (van Willigen 2002). Popular methods of applied anthropology include community engagement and participatory action research (Halilovich, 2014). They both refer to ‘methods of research and social action involving joining members of the community with the researcher for research and a desired social transformation of the community concerned’ (van Willigen 2002:77). In the field, such engagements and actions happen more or less spontaneously and as a result of a sustained and trusting relationship between researchers and their participants (Stull and Schensul, 1987). In reality, the researchers decide to take on the active role of advocates and spokespersons for their participants when confronted with a sense of personal empathy and moral obligation, when they realize that their eventual non-involvement could harm the participants and help politics that marginalize them. Given the systematic nature of the crime of genocide, the ultimate goal of which is destruction of a particular social group (Lemkin, 2002), the consequences of this ‘crime of all crimes’ have clearly recognizable and long-term social, cultural, psychological, economic and political consequences. As it the indifference of scientists (and ‘ordinary’ people) towards the act of genocide is ethically indefensible, it is equally an ethical imperative to actively confront the consequences of genocide in the field (Halilovich, 2013b; 2011).

To illustrate, to some extent, how this looks in reality on the ground, I will describe what kind of the ‘data’ I have collected firsthand during my research in several different sites in Bosnia, particularly in the eastern and the western parts of the country, i.e. in Podrinje and in the villages around Prijedor. In many of these places, I was one of the few researchers—and certainly the only anthropologist—researching returnees in their ‘ethnically cleansed’ places. In the course of the research, my participants shared with me many sensitive and even potentially dangerous information. This represented a ‘double-edge sword’, demonstrating

that my participants trusted me, but then I had to think hard what to do with the information I collected (Halilovich, 2011).

The fact that I was accepted as a cultural insider by the participants and that I came all the way from Australia to write about the situation in which my participants lived were certainly the important factors in establishing the mutual trust in the research field. While ethnography is an open-ended process of data collection, in some instances it turned into an investigation about human rights abuses, massacres and war crimes. So, for example, I was taken to the locations of the unmarked mass graves that at the time were not registered by the organisations tasked with exhumations and identification of the killed and missing persons in Bosnia. Very specific information about local crimes and the names of the actual perpetrators—for which no criminal investigations and judicial proceedings had been carried out—were passed on to me several times. Without planning it that way, a part of my ethnography included participation in joint and individual funerals of the identified victims of genocide and war in Bosnia. In these situations, the distance between the researched and the researchers is minimal or non-existent (Halilovich, 2011). The question that arises here is: what the anthropologist is expected to do with the kind of information that has potentially forensic importance?

Keeping in mind that anonymity is one of the essential principles of ethical research, insisting on this principle can become not only ethically problematic, but in many cases also potentially against the law. By remaining silent about what we discover, we could possibly aid the perpetrators of the crimes or hinder a criminal investigation. Moreover, in many cases the participants insist on using their real names and names of their places to preserve the authenticity of their stories. A complete anonymity is also impossible if, through critical ethnography and action research, we want to draw public attention and refer to the local injustices that we have ‘discovered’ on the ground. This implies that sometimes anonymity may be more harmful to the research participants than their naming. All these ontological and epistemological challenges need to be passed onto the students and emerging researchers interested in researching post-conflict and post-genocide societies (Halilovich, 2013b; 2014).

### **Teaching and research nexus: learning by experience**

After many years of conducting research in Bosnia, my research area has become my professional (and personal) mission, and I have incorporated my ethnography of Bosnia into the teaching programs in Australia and the USA, where I have had ongoing and visiting

teaching positions. Based on the synergy between empiricism and theory, research and teaching, in 2007, I was involved in pioneered the course ‘The Consequences of Genocide and Forced Displacement on Local Communities’, involving a study tour to Bosnia (Halilovich, 2008). Continuing as a summer school every year since then, this innovative educational program has gone through several modifications and has attracted students and researchers from across the world. However, the main remit of the course has remained unchanged; it represents pedagogies of place and peace underpinned by experiential and reflexive learning in a post-conflict context.

Considering that the described programme was designed as an interdisciplinary course for students of anthropology and related social sciences, the following part of the paper will summarize the theoretical background of and the pedagogical approach to this course based on experiential learning.

Experiential learning—or learning by doing—represents the oldest pedagogical method. A famous Confucius proverb, dating about 450 BC, states: ‘I hear and I forget, I see and I remember, I do and I understand’. Taking this simple wisdom as a starting point—and drawing upon the ideas of John Dewey, Jean Piaget and Kurt Lewin—David Kolb (1984; 2001), American theoretician of pedagogy, developed a pedagogical model, i.e. a theory of learning based on direct experience. Thanks to his work, as well as to the work of other contemporary scholars in this area such as Graham Gibbs (1987) and Peter Jarvis (1987), experiential learning has been re-discovered, popularized and increasingly applied in higher education; not only in ‘hands-on’ technical and natural sciences, but also in social science and humanities, the disciplines traditionally associated with conservative pedagogies and methods of learning (books, cabinet lectures, etc.).

David Kolb (2001) defines experiential learning as a philosophy and methodology of pedagogy involving direct experience and focused on students’ reflection aimed at acquiring and testing knowledge or learning specific skills. Experiential learning, therefore, involves direct contact with phenomena that are the subject of study. This pedagogical method requires learners to apply holistic approaches, i.e. application of various perspectives and knowledge, while the role of teacher is to design, organize and lead learning experiences, aim at achieving to meaningful, transformative and lasting learning (Kolb, 2001).

This often requires thorough preparation and reflexivity, i.e. the evaluation and articulation of direct experience into theoretical knowledge of general and universal

applicability and relevance. Graham Gibbs (1987) points out that experiential learning is not passive practice but rather active learning, based on testing ideas and assumptions in practice. He also believes that experiential learning is not ‘discovery learning’ because all the activities must be carefully design by teachers, while students must critically ‘process’ their experience.

David Kolb (1984) divides experiential learning in four interrelated phases: 1) concrete experience, 2) observation and reflection (critical/analytical review) on given experience, 3) formulation of abstract concepts and reflection theory, and 4) testing new concepts (repetition).

### **The phases of experiential learning**

As illustrated above, synthesizing the concepts developed by Kolb (1984; 2001) and Gibbs (1987), the two prominent contemporary scholars of experiential learning, can get us a ‘recipe for experiential learning’ that consists of several interrelated elements:

1. Planning experience must include relevant items such as: action plan, how to apply theory and general scientific principles in the field; determining goals; formulating problems (allowing students to formulate problems and ways of solving them); a list of observations (focus on students to target); develop clear criteria to be used to evaluate results; learning contract (include all relevant listed elements such as action plan, goals and criteria and that will be used in the assessment). The document should serve as a contract between the student or the group of students and the teacher/study tour leader.
2. Focusing on pre-defined goals during experiential learning is accomplished through a series of practical activities such as keeping field notes, active listening, setting up and forming ‘real’ questions, recognizing and being aware of one’s own emotions, non-verbal communication and the role of pauses and silences, and a positive contribution to group dynamics. The group dynamics and life and work in the group are part of experiential learning. Depending on the size of the group and types of experiential activities, it is sometimes advisable to anticipate and define the roles of group members in advance. Rotation of roles is desirable.
3. Reflection on the learning experience can be achieved through a series of concrete activities such as: writing diaries; use of audio and video recordings; peer assessment; structured discussions; structured debriefing sessions (psychological conversations); self-assessment; discussion of questions, answers and

observations; exchange of the information collected; interviews; and writing individual and group reports.

4. Simulation of experience is an essential element of experiential learning. There are a number of teaching methods that can be applied for simulation, i.e. learning in controlled, experimental conditions. Some of the methods can be based on the actual or fictional case studies relevant to the subject of the experiential learning exercise. A good example of a case study must include understanding the situation, diagnosing problems, creating alternative solutions, predicting results, selecting alternatives and formulating results and analyses. Other methods related to the simulation of the actual learning experience include role plays, presentations of real events, and the use and analysis of relevant materials such as documentaries, films, photographs, articles etc. The simulation should also conclude with an evaluation.

### **Study tours as a form of experiential learning**

Regardless of the deep theoretical grounding and empirical confirmation of the positive contribution of experiential learning to the professional and personal development of students, higher education around the world is still predominantly based on ‘academic’ learning, i.e. learning based on the accumulation of information related to a particular subject, and only rarely involving a direct experience with the subject of study. However, in addition to traditional classroom lectures, many universities practice regular or occasional deviations from this classical educational practice. Study trips are probably the most popular form of experiential learning for many students. This form of experiential learning combines travel and education utilising flexible ways of teaching and learning in real situations. Kate Hutchings et al. (2002) point out that study tours—due to their complexity and a series of direct, face-to-face experiences—are equally important for both students’ personal and professional development. In accordance with Kolb's concept of experiential learning, Stephen Porth (1997) identifies three basic elements of study tours: 1) preparatory program, 2) study trip and 3) study, analysis and evaluation after the trip.

### **Bosnia Study Tour**

Led by the principles described above, in July-August 2007, together with my colleague Ronal Adams, I was involved in developing a study tour to Bosnia for a group of Australian students. The subject ‘The consequences of genocide and forcible displacement—



Study tour to Bosnia' generated a significant interest among the Australian students and academics. After being thoroughly prepared theoretically and logistically in Australia, the one-month study tour included a number of activities that were part of the experiential learning, ranging from participating in seminars and international conferences, first in Graz, and then in Sarajevo, to attending the commemoration of the 12th anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica on 11 July 2007. The study tour culminated with a fieldwork and a ten-day stay in a destroyed and 'ethnically cleansed' village in eastern Bosnia, today within the so-called Republika Srpska (RS).

Through the narrative, which begins at this place, I intend to take the interested reader on an imagined journey to Klotjevac, a 'forgotten' eastern-Bosnian village, and to tell a special story about some ordinary people and their extraordinary lives, or what it is left of those lives and people. In this attempt, taking on the role of the narrator in the first person, I do not differ from other anthropologists who consciously use the narrative method to bring what they are investigating and writing about as close as possible to their audience. It is important to emphasize that the study tour involving Australian students from Melbourne was not a tourist excursion to a post-genocide community, or what has become known as the 'dark' or 'disaster' tourism, but part of an accredited university course, which included all aspects of experiential learning: from theoretical lectures, fieldwork and field notes to writing academic essays based on intuitive observations, conversations, impressions and personal experiences.

Although we developed the clear selection criteria for prospective participants in the study tour to Bosnia, and despite the fact that the students had pay for a large part of the associated cost of the trip, the students' interest in participating in the programme exceeded all our expectations. We were supposed to have a group of 15 students, however, out of about fifty candidates, we selected 20 most motivated and academically most competent who convinced us with their written letters of motivation and individual interviews that they were the adequate candidates for participating in this learning project. The average age of students was about 21 years, about 2/3 were girls and 1/3 young men (roughly the structure of the student population at the faculties of social sciences in Australia), while their disciplines ranged from anthropology, political science and international relations to human rights, social work and journalism. The trip was planned for the beginning of July 2007, and the seminars, which covered the theoretical part of the subject and important logistical details, began at the beginning of March.

In the three-hour seminars, students were introduced to the concepts and topics such as genocide, ‘ethnic cleansing’, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), social, cultural and political consequences of the war in Bosnia and to the important aspects of culture and history of Bosnia and the region. Moreover, students learned some important words, greetings and phrases in Bosnian. After participating in a full-day ‘Bosnian Film and Cultural Festival’, featuring selected films by the Bosnian authors—and for the first time tasting home pastries *zeljanicu*, *sirnicu* and *burek* made by the Bosnian women who settled in Melbourne—everything was ready for the departure to faraway Bosnia. Before coming to Sarajevo, we spent three days in Graz, Austria, as guests of the World University Service (WUS) and the European Center for Teaching and Research in Human Rights (ETC) at the University of Graz.

In Bosnia, we first visited Sarajevo. During the stay in Sarajevo, July 7-14, the students participated in the International Conference on Genocide and Genocide Prevention. At the conference, they presented a joint workshop in which they discussed the role of students and higher education in preventing genocide and treating its consequences. Additionally, the Australian students participated in the program of the summer school ‘Crimes against humanity and international humanitarian law’ organized by the Student Association of the Law Faculty at the University of Sarajevo. Australia was the most represented country at this summer school, which was attended by local students and those from the region, European countries and the North America. Together with other conference delegates, the students then participated in the commemoration of the 12th anniversary of the genocide in Srebrenica. With their presence at this solemn event, the students wanted to show their respect for the victims and express their solidarity with the genocide survivors.

The study tour also involved visiting Sarajevo’s cultural and historical monuments and institutions and the visit to Mostar, Blagajna Buni and Počitelj. In Sarajevo, students established contacts with several local and international governmental and non-governmental organizations as well as with the local and foreign students. Also, several students discussed the possibilities of volunteering in local organizations in BiH.

Departing to the village of Klotjevac, nested deep in Podrinje in eastern Bosnia, was the final part of a one-month long study tour. The students were announced a few months in advance and our arrival was expected by the locals. However, on the way to Klotjevac, many

unexpected obstacles emerged and the ad-hoc solutions were found at the last moment. After a rather delightful and pleasant stay in Sarajevo, a long bus journey from Sarajevo to Srebrenica commenced at 7am. Arriving in Srebrenica in the afternoon we were supposed to change the bus to get to Klotjevac. The transport that the local representatives of the returnees in Srebrenica had organised was however a small van, too small to accommodate even a third of the students, let alone about 30 pieces of luggage. After about two hours, we managed to get a regular-size bus and were on the road through the picturesque landscape of eastern Bosnia.

### **The history of the destroyed local community**

Here I will briefly introduce Klotjevac, or as it once was and how the survivors from the village want to remember their place. Klotjevac is located in a small fertile valley some 50km down the river Drina from Višegrad and 30km from Srebrenica. It faces Mt Tara across the river in Serbia and is backed by the Sušica gorges on the Bosnian side. Just under 280 metres above sea level, its geographical location is fixed at 43.9864 latitude and 19.3442 longitude (Halilovich, 2013a).

Before it was eradicated from the map as a populated settlement, Klotjevac was known for its natural beauty and its wind—the *Sopur*, a fresh breeze from the Drina canyon. In summer, hundreds of tourists would flock to Klotjevac and its surrounding areas to enjoy swimming and fishing in the clear, deep waters of the Drina lake, created in the mid 1960s after a dam was built for the hydropower plant seven kilometres downstream at Perućac–Studenac. The lake is 56 kilometres long, with a width ranging from about a kilometre near the dam to less than fifty metres in its upper part, closer to Višegrad. Reaching 100 metres in depth, the lake forms part of the Drina canyon, which is the third deepest in the world after Colorado in the USA and Tara in Montenegro. As acknowledged on the official tourist website of neighbouring Serbia, its most beautiful part is *Klotjevačka klisura*, the 24km section between Klotjevac and Žepa (Halilovich, 2013a).

Like other Podrinje villages, throughout its long history, Klotjevac was one of the places that had successfully managed to accommodate different conquests, administrations and all manner of social and cultural incursions. Its origins date back to at least the second century BC when it was already a well-developed Illyrian settlement (Wilkes, 2003). Archaeological sites have revealed a rich and vibrant history of the place, which, in addition to Slavic, also included Illyrian, Celtic and Roman cultures. The presence of some hundred

medieval tombstones or *stećci* scattered in and around the village points also to the significant Gnostic Christian (Bosnian Church) heritage of Klotjevac (Halilovich, 2013a)

The village was part of all three of the largest empires that controlled vast swathes of Europe over many centuries—the Roman, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian. These influences resulted in a very specific, and in many ways unique, mix of religious beliefs and cultural practices that continued to evolve among the local population for hundreds and thousands of years before Klotjevac was finally erased as a human settlement in the Serbian aggression of 1992-95. The ruins of Klotjevac fortress, built on 309 metres over the Drina and called by the locals *Stari grad* (the Old City), is one more indication of the former size and importance of what had become by the twentieth century a relatively small and marginal village (Deroko, 1939).

When the last pre-war census of population was conducted in 1991, Klotjevac and the attached hamlets of Prohići, Urisići and Sejdinovići had a total population of 1047 people, the vast majority of whom were Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), with only 14 Serbs living in the area (Državni zavod za statistikuBiH, 1991). The Serbs were not natives of Klotjevac and were either professionals such as teachers or regular tourists who had decided to settle in the village and convert their holiday houses into more permanent homes.

During the war, the armed attack on the village was waged directly from Serbia. By the end of 1993, all residents from Klotjevac and the area along the river Drina were expelled, many were killed, all houses and buildings were demolished and burned down, and all movable property was looted. While the few Serbs who lived there left this area just before the war and found a refuge in Serbia, the majority of the Bosniak population sought safety in the town Srebrenica. The culmination of the Klotjevac tragedy occurred in July 1995 in the Srebrenica genocide. About 80 per cent of the men from Klotjevac perished in the genocide, often including all male members across three generations from the same families.

### **Take me home**

In 2003, twelve years after being forced to abandon their village, the survivors from four families returned to Klotjevac. Of the those four, members of just two families have remained living in the village on a permanent basis. Others went back to places in the Federation, around Tuzla and Sarajevo; some tried to join their neighbours and relatives overseas. The village has lost forever not only the vast majority of its inhabitants, but also the central role it had maintained throughout its long history in the everyday lives of ordinary

people. Without such people, the story of Klotjevac risks becoming a forgotten history (Halilovich and Adams, 2013).

The absence of social contacts, infrastructure, school and other institutional supports adds to the sense of alienation in a serbianized system, where everything is made to remind Bosniaks of their non-belonging to the 'Serb republic' or Republika Srpska. As Klotjevac was forcibly incorporated into what is now Republika Srpska (RS), its long existence and importance have been purposely ignored by the official administration of RS. The few returnees to Klotjevac were bitterly reminded of their 'non-existence' in the summer of 2004 when an official sign was erected at the entrance of the village, just a couple of metres from the few rebuilt houses, proclaiming 'Klotjevac Hunting Zone' (*Lovište Klotjevac*). The crude landmark signified the official transformation of Klotjevac from a human settlement to an area inhabited by wild animals that could be shot. It delivered an implicit but unambiguous message to the eight families who had returned to Klotjevac: that they were not recognized as human beings and would remain the unwanted, and (even worse) the hunted—calling to mind the manhunts carried out by Serb troops ten years before. It took six weeks before the SFOR (NATO-led Stabilization Forces) troops that occasionally patrolled the Drina valley removed the dehumanising sign.

The intimidation has not deterred Avduľah Dule Meřanović, a fifty-year old man who was the first to return to Klotjevac. He is there to stay. Other families have joined him over the last five years, and more than ten houses have been rebuilt. Dule lost both his brothers and his father at Srebrenica. Between 1995 and 2001 he lived as an IDP in a village near Tuzla and while others decided to look for a safer place to make a new start Dule opted to return to the village of his birth and his history. His wife and his younger son and daughter-in-law followed. In June 2006, the first baby since 1992 was born in Klotjevac, and Dule became a grandfather to a baby girl. In the following years, two more granddaughters came along. Before the war Klotjevac had its own primary school and there were dozens of children attending various grades. While delighted that his granddaughters make the post-war generation in Klotjevac, Dule is worried about their future.

### **Australian students in a Bosnian village**

The arrival in Klotjevac as well as the journey through the depopulated area in the Srebrenica municipality where there used to be villages, along the road to Klotjevac, was an emotional experience involving a confrontation with the magnitude of the destruction in this

part of Bosnia. It all seemed as if the war had just finished. In places of former villages and hamlets, there were now the ruins of former homes with just occasional traces of life. Many of the ruined villages did not have anyone living in them anymore. In others, the rare returnees, mostly elderly individuals, looked in disbelief at the bus full of young people passing on the rarely used road. Such images had not been seen for more than 15 years and probably reminded them of the times when buses would regularly pass through their villages. Finally, at the end of the unpaved road, we arrived at our destination.

Our destination looked surreal; the harmonious nature making a tranquil mosaic comprising of emerald water of the lake, greenery of trees, fresh air and the breathtaking canyon. All this was in a sharp contrast and contradiction with the post-apocalyptic ruins of homes and infrastructure, telling us that something terrible happened here. It was a picture of a community after genocide; we were in the midst of a killed local community.

Still, we were greeted by our local hosts with smiles and hugs as the nearest kind. The entire village, all 12 people, the survivors from four families, were waiting to welcome us. In addition to the permanent returnees in the village, there were also survivors from three families that now lived in Germany and the Netherlands, and several other ‘ex-Klotivljani’, who settled in and around Tuzla and Sarajevo and who came to the village to be part of this special experience: there were people all the way from Australia coming to visit their village!

We got accommodated in two rebuilt houses, with bullet holes and shrapnel scars still visible of the salvaged walls. However, in comparison to the dozens of the ruins of destroyed and burned houses all around us, the signs of war and destruction on the ‘our’ houses were almost negligible. In the next ten days, we shared the everyday life of the returnees, our hosts.

Each day was structured for learning experiences and included lectures in the open, research based on observations and conversations with returnees and visitors, social activities and taking active part in the everyday activities of the returnees, including, for example, collection of hay on what appeared an endless meadow near the village. Swimming in the lake, social gatherings and activities on the water sometimes gave the impression that this was just a group of tourists. But we did more than having a good time here.

During these ten days, 16 hours of documentary material was recorded, hundreds of photographs made, dozens of diary pages written, and many hours spent in conversations with the survivors—which also resulted in students creating maps of the village now and before the war. In this mapping exercise, every ruin was named, based on the families that once lived

there. Although only one returnee spoke English, human connections and desire to communicate quickly overturned all the linguistic and cultural barriers between the guests and the hosts. In addition to my role as a cultural and linguistic interpreter, I often observed how the students and locals were engaged in conversations even though they did not speak the same language. As our hosts told us later, there has never been so much talking and laughing in Klotjevac since the war ended.

Three very talented cooks—our hosts Zlatija<sup>2</sup>, Sabina and Sadeta—worked hard to make enough pita and variety of local dishes for their guests, while Dule was responsible for preparing barbeque, also including the unavoidable roast lamb. Dule's flock of about one hundred sheep was reduced by six lambs in those ten days. The improvised shop in the only returnee's house in the hamlet of Sejdinovići was regularly emptied to the last watermelon and the last bottle of beer. Huso, Dule's son, who as a boy survived the Srebrenica genocide, supplied us with fresh fish from the lake. Regularly shared communal meals provided the opportunities for more talks between the hosts and their guests.

### **The reflection on and the evaluation of Bosnia Study Tour**

The Bosnia Study Tour 2007, as a form of experiential learning, surpassed all the planned pedagogical expectations. In addition to having an educational and practical experience for students and lecturers, it also had a positive impact on our local hosts, while the echo of study tour continues to be still present in both Melbourne and Klotjevac, as well as in an increasing number of other places around the world.

### **What did the study tour mean to the students?**

In her published essay, Anna Lockhart, one of the students, wrote:  
'This witnessing that we were privileged to have the opportunity to do whilst in Bosnia was an act fundamental to our obligations as human beings. Additionally, the study tour connected participants with co-members of the global community. This leads to developing a concrete sense of international responsibility. We have witnessed to enormous strength in the face of opposition. We have witnessed to incredible natural beauty, and tried to reconcile this beauty with violent and hateful persecution. We have experienced living in an environment where it is impossible to avoid constant reminders of that persecution, be it through the sight of a

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<sup>2</sup> In 2011, Zlatija, who was a widow and lived on her own, passed away. In the last ten years, we recorded five more natural deaths of the elderly returnees to Klotjevac (three women and two men), who left five rebuilt (and now unoccupied) dwellings behind them in the village.

ruined home or the fact that the nearest town cannot be reached to do the weekly shopping. We have observed the outcomes of apathy and spectatorship.’’

Humans watch, and the international community watched the 92-95 war unfold. We watched as a vibrant, cosmopolitan city was held hostage and reduced to a place of destruction and fear. We watched as buses were filled with civilians, and then we saw final, hideous acts of genocide take place. Surely now is the time for action. Surely now, having witnessed the ramifications of passivity and spectating, we owe the globe, and we owe Bosnia, action’ (Lockhart, 2007).

Many other students described similar impressions, and upon their return to Australia, they founded the Friends of Klotjevac association to support the returnees in Klotjevac.

On the basis of conversations and observations, students mapped out village of how it looked in 2007 and how it looked once before it was destroyed. This was the first time that such documents were created. Through their direct experience, students learned about the aspects and consequences of genocide for local communities and ordinary people. They also witnessed the everyday struggle of surviving returnees to a post-genocide community. All students wrote personalised essays for which many received excellent grades. Two student works were published as newspaper and magazine articles. They say they have become better people, ready to assist others and are grateful for being given the opportunity to do something real while getting credit towards their studies.

### **What the students’ visit meant to the hosts?**

Although—due to cultural sensitivity, among other factors—we did not conduct a detailed written evaluation asking what the students’ visit meant to our hosts and their village, in the meeting held with them on the last evening of our stay in Klotjevac, we heard various positive comments. Our observation during and after the study tour also provided us with the evidence about the positive impact of our visit on this post-genocide community. The students’ visit had a profound effect on the villagers who, for the first time in a long time, felt that they were not completely abandoned and that someone does care about them. Their village was again the destination for friendly foreigners. After being destroyed, depopulated and ‘written off’ by almost everyone apart from a handful of survivors, the students’ visit made Klotjevac visible again. Memories of genocide, invasion, destruction and continuing occupation were suspended. What was remembered (and reminisced about) were the summers



of visitors, the occasions of celebration, the forging of new contacts on their own terms with outsiders. In addition to these sentimental and symbolic benefits, the local community also gained some modest economic benefit from hosting a group of 25 people for ten days.

Returning to Australia the students founded the association, 'Friends of Klotjevac', its mission being the advancement of the human rights cause of the villagers, advocacy and the provision of practical support for their 'sustainable return'. One of the first major projects involved working together with the villagers—both returnees and those displaced, now living in Australia and 15 other countries across the globe—to collect funds for building a monument to the 108 villagers who perished in the war.

## **Conclusion**

Confronted with the magnitude of the loss of human lives and the continuing institutional discrimination against a handful of survivors who returned to their destroyed village ten years after they fled, the study tour combined pedagogy with advocacy and activism led by our 'ethical responsibility to address processes of unfairness or injustice' (Madison 2005:5). Our activism continued after we left the village and included public speaking, presenting papers at international conferences and seminars, speaking on radio and TV, participating in documentaries, publishing a number of articles and interviews—not only in academic journals but in widely read newspapers and magazines within and outside Bosnia.

Facilitating a positive change in the village by the study tour participants has included various other acts of advocacy and activism. Dissemination of information about the village and the living conditions of returnees resulted in the village being put back on the map (literally!) and its residents being provided with material aid in the form of livestock, a tractor and agricultural machinery by international NGOs assisting returnees. Inspired by the study tour, other researchers, journalists and human rights activists from Bosnia, the region and faraway places started visiting this and other villages to take up the issues of discrimination and the marginalisation of the returnees by the institutions and the government of *Republika Srpska* (RS).

Less than two years after our initial visit, three students who participated in the 2007 Bosnian Study Tour, both study tour leaders and more than 200 displaced Klotjevac villagers and their friends participated at the unveiling ceremony of the monument in the heart of the village still lying in ruins. The Klotjevac survivors insisted on the Australian students being acknowledged on the monument. The monument to the dead represents as well a monument

to the 'friendly foreigners' from a distant country who injected new optimism in those who returned or are planning to return to their devastated village. The monument project not only acknowledged and commemorated the victims, but it also helped the locals to reclaim and transform their collective past. To the idyllic pre-war past and the tragic war past, was added a newer past—a new narrative told by Klotjevac returnees of 'that hot summer when Australian students visited us'.

That narrative keeps growing. After the first study tour in 2007, every subsequent year there has been new groups of students visiting Klotjevac. These groups have included not only the students from Australia but also from the countries as distant as Japan, Brazil, Mexico, Columbia, Finland, Denmark, Iran, Canada and the USA to those closer to Bosnia like Croatia, Slovenia, Hungary, Check Republic, Slovakia, Italy, Austria, Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, the UK, Spain and Turkey. The series of study tours continue to transform a post-genocide village into a global village, an international place of learning about peace, conflict and community resilience in the aftermath of genocide.

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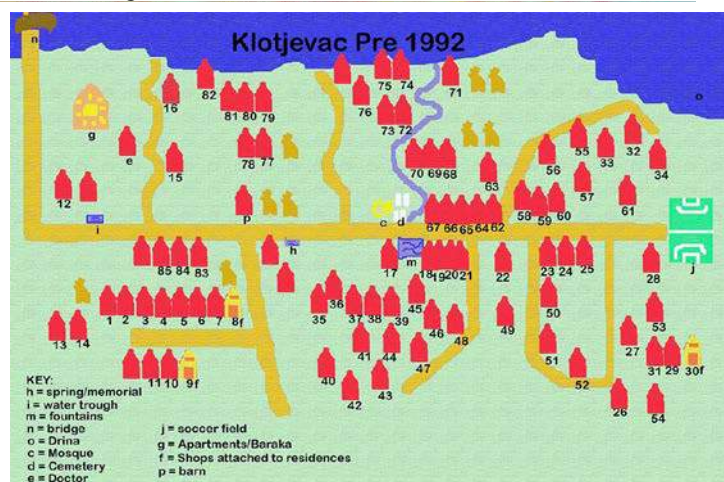
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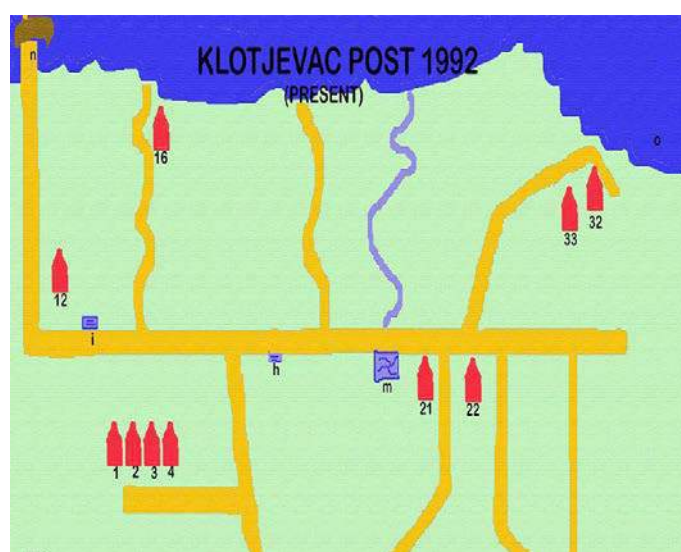
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## Appendix

### a) Reconstructed map of the village (before 1992)



### 2) Map of the village in 2007



## **Creative Scope and Effects of the Vulnerable Groups**



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### **Abstract**

Creative scope and effects of the vulnerable groups was the subject of observation the development of creativity among vulnerable person in many years of work with different nosological groups and different age groups in the field of fine arts. As a leader of numerous creative workshops that are designed in different ways and that have used different methods, and which gathered various vulnerable groups, I began to think how all of the above - and all "different"- always give results in terms of greater interest in the artistic creative work and active participation, which almost always results in the improvement of communication with the participants, who find satisfaction in their performance, which necessarily leads to strengthening of their confidence. Emotional reactions, means of communication and cognition that are associated with creative work are individual and variable in intensity, but always positive, if the creative process takes place in an appropriate environment and if it is individually tailored to each participant. Fine arts and the fine arts classes give us endless possibilities. The task of every educator is to help each student to express their potential, or at least not to stifle their creativity, but to recognise and encourage it.

Key words: vulnerability, creativity, education, fine arts

### **Art and vulnerability**

In my professional work, always related to culture and art, I have noticed the inextricable link between art and vulnerability. The free translation of this vulnerability and often the regular opinion of most people is compounded in a simple and so inauspicious sentence in which, completely banally, they claim that "all artists are a bit crazy." To be different, to be more sensitive, to be talented, to be better, to be worse ... or at least to be lop-eared is something that will surely, in a cruel society, push you to the social margin, with an irrational wish to drive you across the edge, into an abyss of no return. On the other hand, if I look at a broader picture, the artists are vulnerable because of the specific sensibilities. Consequently, the usual opinion about artists as "border cases" makes some sense.

However, in the beginning, it is necessary to define a framework within which we observe vulnerability in certain groups. By definition, vulnerability implies the following

categories: disabled persons; persons obstructed in psychophysical development; persons with mental disabilities; persons with chronic illnesses; persons with PTSD; elderly helpless people; children without parental care; Romani; persons with different sexual orientation and many other categories or social groups that are often excluded in this and such classifications and who permanently or for a certain period of time (most likely long-lasting one) are unable to achieve the health and quality of life due to various external influences which are related to the health and preconditions to obtain it.

In the contemporary perception of vulnerability, it includes persons who have increased sensitivities. Diseases are most commonly caused by physical condition, genetics, etc., but in this group there are certainly those whose condition is not a consequence of their physical condition, but mental or emotional one. Here we come to artists who, by structure of their being, fall into vulnerable categories. The art history is full of names that may be found on the above list with the official definition of vulnerability, where, eg., Henry de Toulouse-Lautrec was a handicapped midget, an alcoholic; Georgia o'Keeffe suffered from depression and anxiety; Vincent van Gogh, according to studies and analyzes, suffered from manic depression, bipolar disorder, had hallucinations, and probably epilepsy; Edgar Degas was totally blind in his late years and Francisco Goya was deaf; Andy Warhol was autistic; Edvard Munch suffered from depression, anxiety and agoraphobia; Frida Kahlo ... a list of great artists with concrete diagnosis is fairly long; in any case it is sufficiently indicative in the context of discussion whether creativity is conditioned by health, either physical, mental or emotional, as well as whether intelligence is a prerequisite for creativity .

### **The concept of creativity**

Creativity can be understood as creation, such as the ability to create new and original artistic, scientific, technical and other works, and as a feature or set of features that creation will enable, inspire, induce. Creative people are usually said to be original, imaginative, flexible, versatile, and good improvisers and nonconformists. Creative people do not necessarily have to be above average in terms of intellectual abilities, nor can creativity be trained by intense mental and physical work. Creativity is more a matter of spirit, inspiration, ingenuity, the question of man's imagination and freedom of expression. Most theorists agree that the emergence of creativity is determined by four basic factors: 1. a creative individual, his/her intellectual qualities and personality traits; 2. a creative thinking process; 3. a creative situation or social environment; 4. creative product;

Creativity (creation) is a term that is used in scientific and technical literature in a similar way as in everyday language, therefore, to mark the thinking processes that come to solutions, ideas, art forms, theories or products that are unique and new. Creativity is an activity that gives new, original products, either in the material or spiritual spheres, where these products cannot be attributed to the imitation of earlier existing products because they are significantly different. These new products, created by the creative process, should better, more successfully and rationally meet the individual and social needs compared to the earlier existing products.

Creativity and what it really represents is the subject of numerous discussions and theories, and probably each of us has a personal attitude to this concept. A large number of researchers and theoreticians are fascinated by the phenomenon of creativity in children approaching problem solving in a completely individual way, without prior knowledge and repetition of what is already seen, even if it is previously experienced. Children's creativity is particularly interesting because it is unbound and unreasonable to the demands of society and the market. There are many pedagogues, psychologists and artists who try to achieve this freedom ("Every child is an artist. The problem is to remain an artist after growing up." Pablo Picasso). However, the creative act of individuals, especially children who, in certain situations, react differently from their peers in various situations, and whom we consider to be vulnerable due to a particular physical, mental or emotional condition, are not paid necessary attention. After a large number of studies, we are still far from complete understanding of creativity itself, especially in people with nonspecific development. The term "vulnerable group" has encompassed a large number of vulnerable groups and so this research has a special significance in attempting to understand the creative process in these individuals.

Most scholars agree with the statement that children at the earliest age (7-8 months) unintentionally show the need for creation. This creativity is most commonly expressed in researching and exploring the possibilities of shaping objects that are at hand. By giving them new shapes and dimensions (let's say a piece of bread that is the first tangible and edible, therefore, a harmless object that takes a different shape in every child's intervention as opposed to rubber toys, etc., always returning to the original form – author's note ). The first unconscious action that shows a certain degree of creativity, which is part of the visual arts field, is, according to such attitudes of scientists (although many are skeptical about the age of children in whom we notice the signs of creativity) is plastic modelling. Immediately follows the drawing on any kind of surface allowing it to leave a fingerprint (such as sand or mud).



Shortly thereafter, a child learns the color and begins to paint, depending on the available paint materials, often in a way the prehistoric times cavemen painted on the cave walls, thereby creating visual communication. Each of these art elements, shape, line and color give the child a special sensation and excitement that will not leave him/her for a long time. The child begins to explore the art from the moment he/she begins to explore the world around! From that moment on, creative action can be recognized.

In this discussion, we will keep on the child's creativity because through the education system it is easier to follow the creative dents and effects of pupils who fall into vulnerable groups because they are most often included in inclusive education or in specialized schools where enough attention is devoted to the creative classes. At the end of the 19th century, an Italian philosopher, Corrado Ricci, was the first one to isolate children's drawing as a separate phenomenon. In 1887 he published the book "*L'arte dei Bambini*" (Children's Art), the first book entirely dedicated to "Child's Art" (Anning and Ring, 2004). From then on, countless studies have been made, many books have been written, too many researches have been carried out and we are still in the dark and we know nothing or very little about this subject, as well as about art in general. The next serious approach to children's creation was in 1913 when G. H. Lique in the book "*Dessin d'un Enfant*" (Children's drawing) first made the division of the stage of children's artistic development. This book combines childlike creation with prehistoric creation, which has been discussed and for which many theories have been given. At the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, Frank Cizeik, an Austrian artist, a graphic artist, who belonged to the Secession movement, and whom was first of all celebrated as a visual pedagogue and a reformer "father of creative visual arts teaching", during his study quite accidentally discovered the fantastic world of children's drawing when he allowed children to use his painting accessories to do what they wanted. Recognizing the value and uniqueness of each child's artwork, using different methods of work and enabling a stimulating environment and atmosphere, where the emphasis was on encouraging a child to explore his/her own creativity and to do according to his/her own imagination, he developed creativity of all school participants to unexpected limits. Jean Piaget, a psychologist, confirmed the importance of the method used by Cizeik in the book "*The Language and Thought of a Child*" of 1923. Piaget considers that it is of crucial importance to the child's development that they independently, freely and actively explores the world around them as they build up their personality (Berk, 2008; Vasta, Haith, Miller, 1998). This has initiated a series of theories and the child's drawing has become very

important. In the focus of a large number of researchers, who often did not agree with the conclusions of these researches, there was a child and his/her creativity. Based on Piaget's statement that the child's drawing is a reflection of the intellectual development of a man, many theorists and researchers have continued to study the connection between creativity and intelligence.

### **Creativity and intelligence**

Creativity is linked to the intellectual traits of an individual, his/her knowledge and skills, and the way his/her knowledge is structured and how it is used. Some research suggests that people can learn creative thinking, which can be associated with removing obstacles to creative thinking. Florenece Goodenough took the child's drawing as a child's intelligence measure in "The Measurement of Intelligence by Drawings" of 1926, where the research was conducted by observing the results of the task in which a child was supposed to draw a human figure and the intellect was measured by the ability of the child to observe details that would be depicted in the drawing as faithfully as possible. Similar tests, though much more elaborate and thorough, were carried out by Karen Machover in the middle of the last century, more precisely in 1949, who used the children's drawings of human figures as a measure of emotions and personality traits. In her work, she used a method of analyzing human figure drawings of both sexes, and based on that, she evaluated consciousness, conflict, maturity, self-consciousness, etc. Unlike the aforementioned tests that tried to link intelligence to creativity based on the evaluation scale for individual results, the test conducted by Karen Machover was based on psychoanalysis and represented projective technique (Reynolds & Kamphus, 1990). In the middle of the last century, studying human intelligence, one of the leading theorists in this field, Joy Paul Guilford (1897-1988), a psychologist who represented the ideas of the tridimensional structure of the intellect, believed that thinking could be: convergent (logical conclusion, finding the accurate solution), divergent (creating new ideas, enjoying the search process, searching for as many accurate solutions as possible). Guilford gave the creative process a deserved place by saying that creativity is one of the drivers of our civilization because thank to it people have developed science, technology, medicine and art. Creativity, by Guilford, has a very important place in the development of human intellect. According to Guilford, convergent thinking is focused on solving problems and finding a single accurate solution, while divergent thinking, often identified with creativity, is actually a fluid flow of thoughts that, as a result, finds several solutions and original ideas. Creative people have divergent thinking ability. People who use convergent thinking, though

intelligent, may be intolerant as well: they believe there is a correct and incorrect way of solving the problem.

As divergent thinking is often identified with creativity, equally the creativity is associated with intelligence. At the end of the '50s and early '60s, these terms were finally separated and most researchers, independently and using different methods, came to the conclusion that these two constructs were completely different. All previous thoughts brought creativity and intelligence into the same context and literally conditioned one another, formally representing the same construct. Probably there are many reasons for this, but Wallach and Konag made their point of view on the basis of the research "Creativity and Intelligence" (1965) where they found that the essence of the problem was in the way creativity was measured . They found that it was necessary to create a free and relaxed atmosphere for the development of creativity in school. Relying on the conclusions of the two authors, many authors have gone a step further in studying the difference between creativity and intelligence. Thus, one of the analysis links creativity with the involvement of children in extracurricular activities and the successes they show in these activities, as opposed to intelligence, which is again associated with academic success (Mark A. Runco, "Creativity: Theories and Themes-research, development and practice, 2007).

### **Talent and its potential**

When talking about people who are vulnerable, talented people are often excluded. Namely, human abilities are statistically deployed by Gaussian bell-shaped curve of normal distribution. This means that most individuals have a certain ability developed at an average level, while the number of individuals with increased or decreased abilities symmetrically declines. Both groups are considered vulnerable, i.e. belonging to the population of "persons with special needs" and as such should be recognized in the educational system of inclusive education that has emerged from the need to engage in regular teaching those children who are beyond average according to Gaussian curve. However, in practice, gifted children are dedicated little or no time at all, while children with developmental difficulties are devoted far more attention. Talented individuals, without adequate support, most often do not develop to their full potential nor they realize their talents. However, even when all preconditions for creativity development are met, it does not mean that every child who has talent will become an artist. Fortunately or unfortunately, extremely few talented children become artists. All children, sooner or later, except in the case of children with more severe physical disability, show interest in drawing, but only at the age of about 11 a child may be noticed showing

certain degree of drawing talent. Proof of this claim are drawings of famous artists of this age, who showed significant differences in relation to their peers. It is interesting to note that, traditionally, reference point for determining talents in children is the ability of realistic drawing, which is, in my professional opinion, not only as an educator but also as an artist, completely absurd.

Except for a sophisticated imagination, children gifted to art have a very good visual memory. Lark - Horovitz (1973, according to Cox, 2000) argues that visual memory is probably the most necessary factor for both drawing and art. For example, children from the autistic spectrum most often show over-average intelligence and poorly-developed other abilities, and very few children from the autistic spectrum show exceptional abilities. Exceptional achievements in these children are most evident in the ability to reproduce musical works and especially in solving mathematical problems (Park, 1978; Treffert, 1989; Cox, 2000), while a small number of autistic spectrum children show great talent for visual arts. However, lack of talent in arts with children of vulnerable categories does not mean that they cannot develop their interest and cannot benefit from artistic expression.

### **Therapeutic significance of art**

Perhaps the oldest, but certainly the most natural way of communication for human beings is the visual communication. The information we receive from the outside world through visual stimuli, according to some research, exceeds 90% of the total number of stimuli. The ability to express and transmit information through the visual elements is one of the earliest human activities and one of the basic human needs and as such is a very important component of man's development and definition of their identity (Erić, 2000). If such a creative process is absent or there is a deviation therein, it can be an indicator of psychological disturbances or illnesses, where the role of visual culture for diagnostic and therapeutic purposes can be clearly read. In psychiatry and psychology, the visual expression for the aforementioned purposes is often used, and more and more often in pedagogy and education. All this aims to improve the quality of life and improve the health of every individual in all its segments. A large number of ongoing research activities in the world related to this topic show that engaging in creative activities contributes to the reduction of depression, stress and anxiety, especially in children, and that the art creation can be used in psychotherapy to treat emotional wounds, to enhancing the ability of understanding oneself and others; it develops the ability of auto-reflection, relieves the symptoms, and changes patterns of behaviour and thinking (Camic, 2008).

There is a large number of studies showing stunning results using visual and creative expression methods with children who, by definition, fall into vulnerable groups. Through this research, we have included this population, in order to ascertain whether, and if so, to which extent it is possible to identify the problem and solve it in terms of stimulating creativity in a child - from the position of an art pedagogue, using the principle of art therapy. The task of each visual pedagogue is to help each individual find and manifest his/her creative potential in an adequate way. In the case that a visual pedagogue or teacher works with children or a child belonging to vulnerable categories - regardless of whether they belong to the inclusive education or not according to the official documentation and the opinion of a competent authority in this area - his/her task is to identify the child's vulnerability and to help him/her to express themselves in the visual language in the best possible way. Action in the field of art is not imperative, but it is a way to encourage creativity.

In a therapeutic sense, in specialized institutions initially, art should have gathered the attention and enabled (re)creative work. Soon it has been recognized that expression through art is also very useful for people with verbal expression difficulties, especially in autistic and depressed people. Art as a form of therapy can be seen from two perspectives: on the one hand, the creative act is in itself useful because it helps people to find comfort and mental peace while, on the other hand, the interpretative elements that appear in the works - whether pictures, colours or scenes - provide very useful ideas that can help therapists, as well as educators, to understand how the person feels. The difference between art as a creation and art as a therapy is that in the second case the person works independently - no one orders their work or imposes deadlines - and when they have painted or made what they wanted, the interpretation starts itself, through the constants that appear in all the works. Such expressions are invaluable in cases where communication with a person is hampered or impossible. But arts and art as a therapy is not limited to the ill nor even the vulnerable ones. It should be available to everyone and help everyone to preserve a healthy state of mind. ("The purpose of art is to clean the dust from our everyday life." Pablo Picasso).

The field of art offers a lot of possibilities, freedom and opportunities to develop creativity in all individuals, especially those vulnerable who can have enormously great benefits for the development of all segments of personality if their visual language is presented in an adequate manner. Because of all this, in the educational process it is necessary to have individual approach and extra sensibility for the vulnerable individuals, to listen to their needs and tendencies within the proposed field of art, taking into account their needs and capacities to express the artistic potential.

## **Creative scope and effects**

In order to examine and present what are the creative scopes and effects of vulnerable groups we will use the results obtained in the research conducted in educational institutions involved in the inclusion process, such as children with mild mental retardation, Dawn syndrome, autistic children, deaf and partially deaf children, but also vulnerable categories such as children with socialization problems, hypersensitive and shy children. The study also included pupils attending special institutions where curricula and programs are flexible and where teaching is adapted to the needs and capacities of pupils. In the first place, it is necessary to prove that creativity exists in every individual and that, within realization of the educational process, there is a possibility to stimulate creative thinking in all pupils, including those belonging to vulnerable groups (and the largest percentage of them are included in inclusive classes). The indicator of the effects of creativity is visible through increasing the efficiency and engagement of students and teachers in the art and educational process. The research started with the assumption that vulnerable pupils show interest in visual arts classes and that their results in terms of creativity are comparable to other students; and that the art-creative work is positively impacting vulnerable pupils in terms of improving communication with the environment and strengthening self-confidence.

In the survey and interviews conducted with art pedagogues and defectologists employed in specialized institutions (Public Institutions: Education and Rehabilitation Center "Vladimir Nazor", Institute "Mjedenica", "Center for Hearing and Speech Rehabilitation" Sarajevo) who normally work with vulnerable pupils, significant results have been obtained that give insight into the artistic potential of students with special educational needs (in terms of the adapted curriculum and programs, taking into account the individual capacities and needs). They gave their observations on the creative process at visual arts classes related to preferences, responses to certain visual arts or art techniques, communication scopes and effects in terms of communication through art-visual elements, ways of valorization, etc. Defectologists and professors who educate individuals with special educational needs mostly consider that the classes of visual arts are entirely or very important to improve the general condition of vulnerable individuals. A small number of them consider that the significance is partial (Figure 1). Of course, one has to keep in mind that the protégés of the mentioned institutions belong to all nozological groups and that it is difficult to give a cross-section of the conditions and relations toward visual action. In view of the above, it is encouraging that nobody has denied the importance of dealing with visual arts.

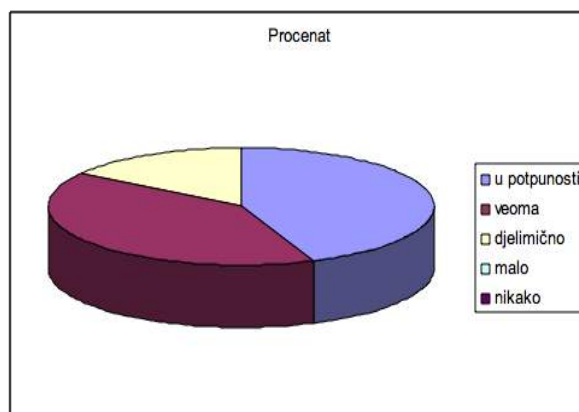


Figure 1.

Significant observation also refers to the degree of interest in art-creative expression in various nozological groups, where the interest varies from large to intermediate and is never absent. The above-mentioned results of interest are fully consistent with observations of active participation in classes. There is also a strong point in the view of professionals that, when presenting creative content, it is essential to enable participants an independent choice of art field, technique and motif, all in accordance with their current mood. As an artist and as an artistic pedagogue I completely agree with these attitudes. The art is freedom and any imposed restrictions on vulnerable individuals would result in withdrawing and interrupting the creative process, once and for all. Expected results confirmed the theory by which creative work has an absolutely positive impact on the following segments and personality resources, to a significant extent:

Progress in terms of better communication through creative work, which is of utmost importance in the therapeutic sense (Figure 2). Under improved communication, we mean "reading" a child's drawing, as a way to get to know the emotional condition of the child, using the elements of art therapy, all the way to the establishment of verbal communication, which was difficult or impossible prior to understanding they could creatively express themselves.

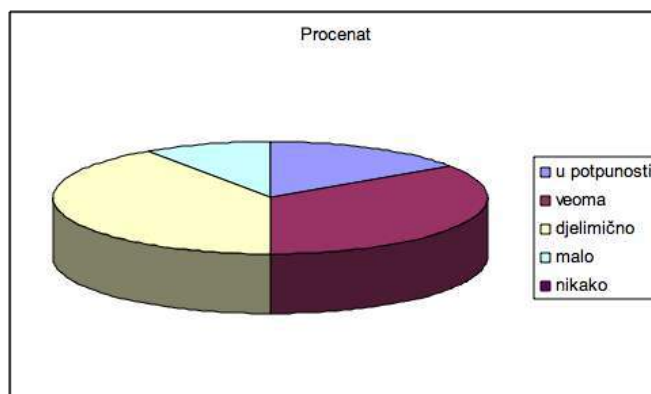


Figure 2

Then, the ability to improve the general state of the individual falling into vulnerable groups of society as a consequence of encouraging and developing creativity, where all professionals agree that the results are respectable (Figure 3)

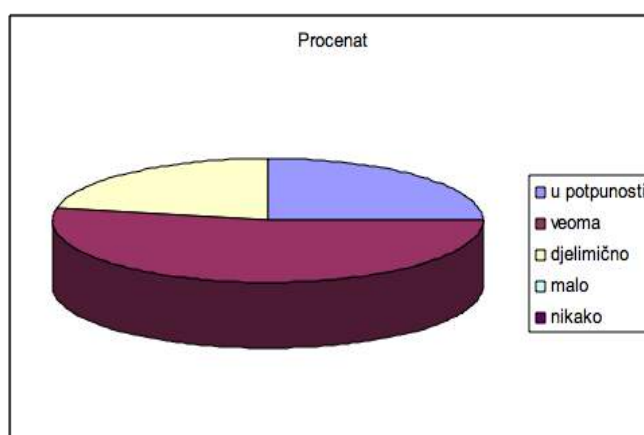


Figure 3

And finally, the influence of creativity on strengthening self-confidence and socialization, which is a direct consequence of action in the field of arts where there are no rules and where knowledge is not a prerequisite for the development of creativity (Figure 4).



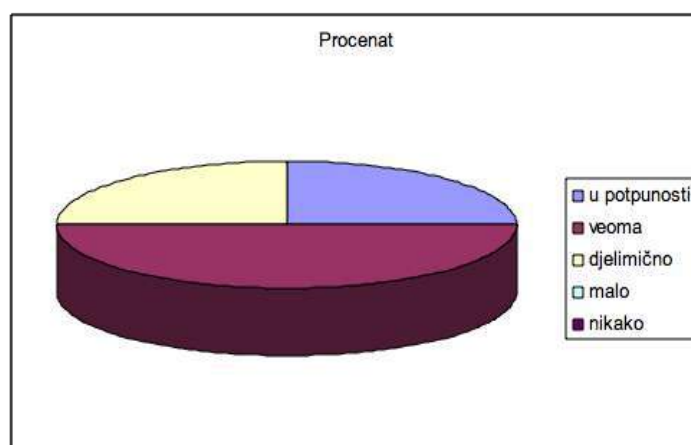


Figure 4

During the experiment that has been conducted in three schools involved in the inclusive teaching system, the teachers' observations, as well as the creative outcome, are much more modest compared to the institutions where teaching is performed by professionals, art pedagogues.

The educational system implemented in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the countries of the region does not really offer possibility to realize inclusive education, in the way it should be realized. Inclusion requires high professional competence as well as continuous education. Teachers involved in inclusion are certainly aware of the importance of developing creativity in vulnerable pupils. They also believe that through creative work at visual arts classes, students described as vulnerable, show progress in terms of better communication. Unfortunately, the results obtained during interviews and teacher surveys cannot be included in the analysis of the creative scopes and effects of vulnerable persons due to their incompetence and lack of knowledge of the art itself or the specificity of certain vulnerable groups. Thus, for example, two thirds of teachers find it impossible to establish communication with vulnerable individuals using visual communication tools (I just do not know how to explain this to a deaf-born child whose communication with the outside world is reduced to the sign language and mimic - author's note).

Pupils who fall into vulnerable groups due to a particular condition - whether due to physical or mental disabilities, or the consequence of an emotional state that makes them hypersensitive, non-socialized, introverted or easily vulnerable compared to other pupils - are not deprived of the ability of creative thinking or expression. Most researchers, scholars, psychologists, pedagogues, artists, educators who seriously consider sensitive issues such as

relations toward vulnerable individuals believe that there is no link between a person's condition or illness that would endanger the ability of creative thinking and action, except in the case of physical disability to materialize artwork. It should also be borne in mind that each child is individually identified and has personal development and growth not only in the physical, but also in the mental, emotional and intellectual sense. Creative scopes and effects are clearly seen through better communication with the environment and increased self-confidence.

Based on the survey results, the observations of professionals working with vulnerable individuals confirm the view that the area of creative action is always attractive and that most often results in active participation in the creative process. However, contrary to the degree of interest and involvement in the realization of creative tasks, persons with special educational needs are only partially capable of fulfilling all the requirements, and it is necessary to adapt the visual arts, to go out of the box, out of the usual way of presenting art techniques, themes, tasks and to maximize individualization. At the same time, most respondents believe that pupils in inclusive education show better results in visual art classes than in other subjects. Compared to peers attending regular school, i.e. unreduced curriculum, they show the same or worse results in visual arts classes. Our observations, however, indicate that the results of inclusion in the visual arts classes and the quality of artworks in the classes are of the same level, without exception, and in some cases, with students from specialized schools, the quality of the artworks is undoubtedly higher.

At the same time, when valorizing or evaluating pupil's artwork, sometimes or rarely, the same scale is used for all students, ie. for those who are not in the process of inclusive education (if the quality is the same, as one part of the survey respondents say, there is no reason to use different valorization scales for knowledge of the visual arts – author's note). The opinion of the majority of surveyed employees in the specialized institutions is that the teaching of visual arts is entirely or very important to improve the general condition of their pupils, and in the course of that, students always or often show interest in the visual arts classes and actively participate in the same. Our respondents who professionally work exclusively with pupils of different nozological groups, who all belong to vulnerable groups, always or sometimes come across a very talented and creative pupils. It should be borne in mind it was very difficult to recognize the talent in this research target group due to their age. Furthermore, most of the surveyed teachers carrying out inclusive education in the schools covered by this research believe that through creative work in the teaching of visual arts, there

is a complete or partial improvement in terms of better communication with pupils belonging to vulnerable groups. Professional staff, defectologists and art pedagogues specialized in working with pupils with special educational needs, according to survey results, in most cases feel that their pupils fully or very well demonstrate a better level of communication through creative work on visual arts classes. Only a small percentage of respondents think these results are mediocre. In the opinion of professionals with long-term work experience with pupils belonging to vulnerable groups, 25% of them think that improvement of the general condition of the pupils is entirely possible through stimulating and developing creativity. The vast majority of respondents, more than half, consider it very possible. These results, in fact, confirm all the current theories and evidence in practice, both in the world and here, about the tremendous therapeutic significance of creative work with vulnerable students. According to these responses, we can conclude that the development of creativity fully or significantly influences the strengthening of self-confidence and socialization among pupils who fall into vulnerable groups.

If we go back to the initial finding that among the big names in the history of art a large number of them fell into vulnerable groups, and according to today's criteria they would be involved in specialized educational institutions or even inclusive classes. From the results of the research it is clear that inadequate teaching and lack of support of the environment can be an obstacle to the development of potential artistic talent in persons of atypical development. A certain psycho-physical condition is not an obstacle to creative expression. Art is not an elitist activity and belongs to each of us.

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## Possibilities of Effective Group Work in the Primary Geometry Classes



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### **Abstract**

In order to achieve maximum efficiency in the process of teaching mathematics, it is necessary to eliminate the negative effects of traditional teaching which are reflected in the forgoing of verbalism and reproductive learning. The results of a large number of studies show that verbal and reproductive lessons are at the lowest level of efficiency. Given this, the need to find ways to improve teaching efficiency is clearly identified, and one of the options is a group work. Contemporary teaching attaches greater importance to learning in small groups because of its positive effects on the development of a child's social behavior. However, group work does not only contribute to the development of pupils' social skills, but also enables a new approach to learning - problem based learning in small groups. Within the group, pupils face the problem of clarifying and defining the nature of the problem and attempting to determine the way in which it is addressed. In this paper, we present the advantages and disadvantages of group work in teaching and learning mathematics with special emphasis on the possibility of applying group work in primary geometry teaching.

Keywords: group work, primary geometry classes

### **Introduction**

In various segments of human society, teams are made up of different individuals whose interaction is essential for obtaining the results. According to this, we see the need to prepare students for such a world. The competences that students today need for successful entry into the world of further education and work are far more than the adoption of a large number of facts (Springer et al, 1997).

It is indisputable that today's education has changed in relation to education as it once was and that this process of change is constantly taking place. Today, we meet with organization, stimulation, careful observation and recognition of problems and conflicts among students (Kamenov, 1983; Piršl, Rafajac, 1990). Klippert (2001) observes that while the real problems of the economy and the world of work are becoming more complex, the persistence of knowledge rapidly decreases. He suggests that the cooperation of differently

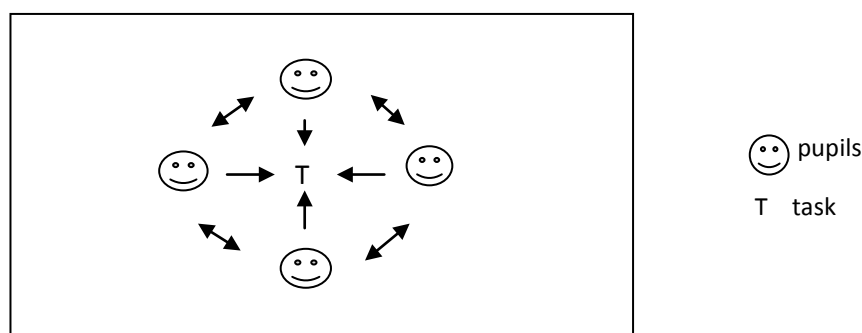
educated and specialized experts is necessary to solve the specific problems or tasks, i.e. that the future belongs to the teams. This means that within the regular classes we should cultivate the group and team work more. By teaching students to learn and work in groups and teams, we will prepare them for future work.

### History of group and team learning

The phenomenon of group learning was placed in the focus of educators at the end of the 19th century. However, certain forms of group learning can be noticed much earlier, for example, Socrates practiced discussions in a small groups of students. The group learning gains particular importance on the foundations of Dewey's philosophy of education (1916), who considered group work as natural to children because they play all their games through some form of group work or group games. The theory of Vygotski on the importance of social interaction for learning and development of individuals as well as, according to Johnson and Johnson (1998), Piaget's theory and the theories of social learning, influenced the development of collaborative learning, which emphasizes work organization in small groups and teams (Popkewitz, 1998, according to Cota Bekavac, 2002).

Every group work is not the same, nor organized in the same way. Here we will focus on models of group and teamwork.

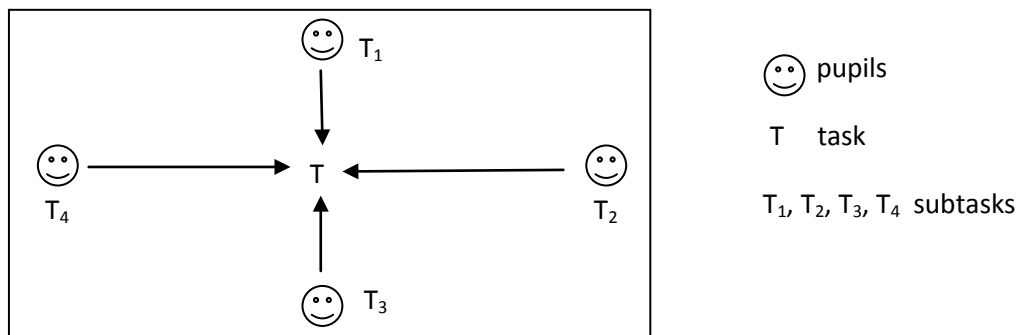
In the group work all members do the same (Scheme 1). It is possible that one member of the group is doing all job, and the others are just observing. Collaboration is not necessary for group learning, and there is no distribution of work.



Scheme 1. Organization of group work

But a group will perform a much better if it is organized as a team. Each team member has his own task, different from the others (Scheme 2).

Scheme 2. Organization of team work



If each team member does not make their part of the task, the team's task as a whole can not be executed. The success of a team depends on the success of each of its members. That is why students in teams are better motivated than when working in groups. In the group work, the work effect is the sum of the individual contributions of the members while in the team work the work performance is greater than the sum of the individual contributions of the members. Therefore, work performance in group learning is usually neutral, if not negative, while work performance is always positive in team learning. In team work, responsibility is both individual and common, unlike group work where responsibility is placed on an individual.

Cooperative and collaborative learning that include group work were subject of numerous research. Meyer (2002) describes study of Hage from 1985, that had shown that group work take 7.43% of total teaching time in classrooms. The results of 1992's Rotering and Steinberg research (according to Klippert, 2001) showed that two thirds of the surveyed teachers did not apply group work in their classes. Even 30% of them stated that they were afraid that students will use group work to do nothing, 35% of teachers in study were concerned that pupils would be too loud in the classroom, and 15% of teachers stated that group work take too much time to prepare and conduct. In Germany, 8% of teaching time is devoted to group work, and 75% of the classroom work is in frontal teaching (Klippert, 2001).

Johnson, Johnson, and Smith (2006) performed a meta-analysis of 168 studies between 1924 and 1997 and found that cooperation improved learning outcomes relative to individual work. Study of Kuh et al, (2007) also conclude that cooperative group learning

promotes student engagement and academic performance. Springer, Stanne, and Donovan (1999) confirmed these results in their meta-analysis of 39 studies between 1980 and 1997 in university STEM classrooms. They found that students who participated in various types of small-group learning, ranging from extended formal interactions to brief informal interactions, had greater academic achievement, exhibited more favorable attitudes towards learning, and had increased persistence through STEM courses than students who did not participate in STEM small-group learning. Also, they concluded that there were no significant differences in the achievements of groups of one sex compared to mixed groups.

The evidence from research indicates that the effect of ability grouping on pupil attainment is limited – Kulik and Kulik (1982, 1992) and Slavin (1990, 1995, 1996) indicate mixed findings for the effects on academic achievement of pupils engaged in matched learning groups. According to Slavin (1990), better success is achieved by groups composed of students with different abilities and affinities from groups whose members were unified in their abilities. In his meta-analysis Slavin (1995) pointed to the positive effects of cooperative teaching in primary and secondary schools. Kulik and Kulik (1992) concluded that learning in matched ability groups effected achievement in enrichment programs and accelerated classes, which involve the greatest curriculum adjustment.

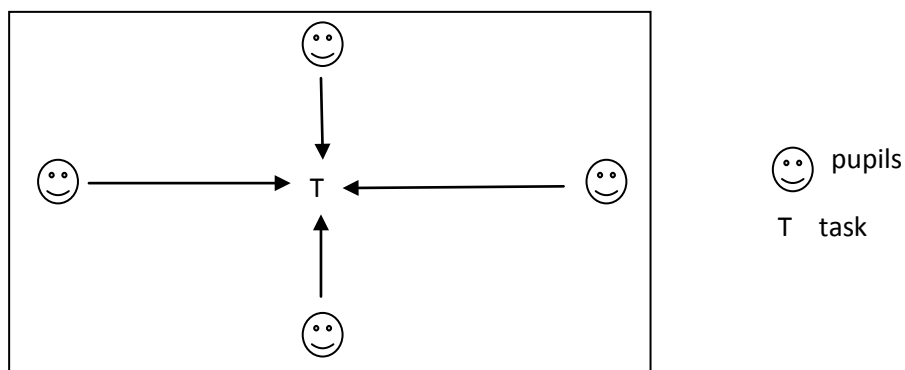
### **Group and team learning in contemporary classes**

What we call group learning in the classroom today is not actually group work in a form it should be. We often encounter so-called group learning that is realized as follows. Teacher divide the pupils into several groups, while division criteria is largely based on the existing sitting schedule in the classroom. The number of pupils in the groups is determined on the basis of the practical possibilities of moving the tables and chairs, rather than the actual need for a certain number of students in one group in order to achieve learning goals. The work assignments are divided among groups, not taking into account that each member of the group has its own responsibilities. Usually, the teacher assigns the role of group representative to a pupil who will solve the most of the assignments given to the group. Same group representative will represent the results of group work. Other pupils mostly participate only at the beginning of work, and the rest of the time they carried out in mutual dialogue - disturbing others in the work. Therefore, it is very common practice identifying as group work/learning those learning situations which only satisfy visual aspect of group work - that is, spacial arrangement of students into groups of 4 to 6. In addition, group learning is often organized only to satisfy the form and actually loses its significance by neglecting the



wealth of such a form of learning and opportunities that it offers. Group learning requires the teacher's comprehensive preparation, his ability to organize and realize this form of learning as well as the time it takes to carry out. Most teachers use to organize group learning as represented in the following scheme:

Scheme 3. Pseudo-group work



Scheme 1 actually represent individual form of work, although students sit grouped. There is a widespread lack of discipline at the classes in which this form of work is applied, as well as a certain type of boredom for a larger number of pupils.

Group should not be arbitrary formed, but planed depending of proposed learning goals.If possible, each group should be a team composed of exactly as many pupils as the assigned individual tasks within the whole assigment. Each group (team) should have a representative. It should be a pupil with a leader predisposition.He would control the work and performance of each member of the group (team). All group (team) members should actively participate in the synthesis of the obtained results. Group (team) representative should present group results to other.The tasks of each group are required to be in line with the abilities of its members, but each group should complete the task at a specific time that is the same for all groups. The role of the teacher is to control the work of the group (team) and provide brief guidelines if needed.

Group work is not recommended for each geometry class, so it is necessary to carefully select the teaching and learning content, elaborate the lessonplan in detail and with maximum dedication. Group (team) work in initial geometry classes should be taken seriously and strictly.

### **Proposals for group and team work – measuring the length of a segment line**

The goal of learning the measurement in the initial teaching and learning of mathematics should be derived from the needs of real life, as well as from the pupils' developmental abilities.

Pupils should first learn which properties of objects can be measured (e.g. Distance between object, length of object, body mass, surface area, etc.). Then they learn the measurement procedures, the means of using the measuring instruments and the appropriate measurement units, which must first be perceptively met.

Children should know that we always start from the properties of the object we want to measure. Children need to realize that within the measurement, we always start from the properties of the object we want to measure. Then we select the measuring instrument and the measurement unit and approach the measurement according to the principles of measurement. The result of each measurement is a measurement number indicating how many times the measurement unit is contained in the size we measure.

Group and team work are suitable for learning about measuring the length. The teacher gives a timeframe, rules and guidelines for group/team work. The aim of the group (team) activities is to realize that a measurable feature of a segment line is the length; length has to be measured by length; different measuring units will give different results of measuring the length of the same object.

#### *Group work proposal:*

- Pupils in the group discuss what activities they could perform within the given topic (length / distance) and write conclusion of this discussion.
- The pupils then discuss the measurement as a procedure for comparing the two corresponding quantities and write conclusion of this discussion.
- Pupils take a box with a variety of manipulative objects, compare their lengths and form a series of given objects according to their length.
- Pupils should compare two segment lines drawn on the blackboard. They are not given any suggestion how to compare segment lines, they do not have a meter available, nor any similar measuring instrument, only manipulative objects they used in the previous task. The pupils are negotiating what object they should use and how to do that measurement. Pupils write down the conclusion about which segment line is longer.

- Each group measures the length of the rope they get by using their pencil and their spans. They record the results, compare them, make a conclusion and write it down.
- Each group measures the length of the rope, this time by the ruler. They discuss the results they have come up to, compare them with past measurement results, make a conclusion and write it down.
- Finally, groups present the work done and final conclusion on measuring the length of segment line.

*Team work proposal:*

- Team leader reads the given question: “Which activities could be performed within the topic length/distance?” Each team member writes his answer, afterwards they compare given answers and formulate conclusions.
- Each team member thinks about measuring as a process of comparing two corresponding quantities, and sets their individual answers. They analyze given answers and merge them into one conclusion.
- Pupils take a box containing a variety of manipulative objects. Each team member takes one item. They make a series of these items, so that each pupil places his chosen item in the appropriate place in the series.
- Pupils should compare two segment lines drawn on the blackboard. They are not given any suggestion how to compare segment lines, they do not have a meter available, nor any similar measuring instrument, only manipulative objects they used in the previous task. Each team member chooses his measurement method, i.e. selects one of the manipulatives as measuring instrument. After the measurement is completed, team members compare the results and make conclusions about this measurement.
- Each team measures the length of the rope they get by using their pencil and their spans. Each team member measures rope and write down the results. Team members compare recorded results, make a conclusion and write it down.
- Each team measures the length of the rope, this time by the ruler. Teacher prepared identical ropes and rulers for each team member. They discuss the results they have come up to, compare them with past measurement results, make a conclusion and write it down.

- Finally, teams present the work done and final conclusion on measuring the length of segment line.

In the next step within this topic pupils should be led to conclude that measuring the distance between two objects is equivalent to measuring the length of line segment that connects those two objects.

## Conclusion

Some school subjects contents are more, and some are less suitable for the group learning. As far as mathematical contents are concerned, not all of them are suitable for learning in groups. However, in geometry classes we can find more possibilities of group and team learning. Since the contents of the initial geometry teaching are very obvious and vivid, pupils should not have a greater difficulty in learning these contents. On the other hand, learning in groups, or in well-organized teams, should be a challenge that motivates pupils.

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## Contemporary Teacher Competences in the Field of Lifelong Learning



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### Abstract

Teacher's skills and profession are factors that undergo various challenges in this modern age which require continuous upgrading to ensure the functionality of educational systems, as well as to offer potential clients (students or adults) knowledge and experiences that will be sufficient for personal development and participation in a challenging modern democratic society. Teachers is a pillar of an educational system of society and it is expected to have; competence, openness, readiness, motivation and innovation which will certainly be achieved through the concept of continuous lifelong learning. The concept of lifelong learning indicates learning throughout the life of a person, regardless of whether he has a school-formal character or is an informal, experiential-informal form of character. The aim of this research is to investigate, analyze and present teacher's attitudes on the level of development and competences-professional skills, knowledge and values in the process of lifelong learning, with regard to gender, length of service and professional teaching. The survey consisted 226 respondents (directors, pedagogues, teachers and professional associates) of elementary schools from the Central Bosnia Canton. The results of the research showed that teachers use their competences in a high quality with disciplined and efficient manner where they apply knowledge, skills, values and great abilities in the educational process and there is no statistically significant difference in teachers' attitudes about their professional competences in the process of lifelong learning in elementary schools.

Key words: education, lifelong learning, student, teacher, school, competences, teaching competencies

### Introduction

The concept of lifelong learning implies a continuous approach of education and training that gives people chances and opportunities to learn and explore the areas that interest them, to perfect themselves in accordance with their own needs, and to decide for most appropriate forms or ways with methods of learning. Lifelong learning is reflected in the renewal of the old and the adoption of new knowledge and abilities, and is carried through the entire life of man to develop his own capabilities, intellect and progress.

Teacher's competences - knowledge, abilities, skills and experiences are crucial for a successful, prosperous and developmental policy of education at all levels, which ultimately reflects on the success of an educational institution as well as the educational system as a whole. Competence can be easily presented as a set of knowledge, skills, abilities and behaviors that are essential in achieving or succeeding certain goals or standards. Woodruffe (1991) defines competencies as a set of certain behaviors that person must realize to carry out tasks and purposes of work professionally and competently.

### **Professional competences and characteristics of efficient teachers**

The teacher train people of all ages and is eligible, educated, qualified capable and trained person, someone who has all talents such as; communication, professionalism, mindfulness, responsibility, empathy, loyalty, devotion, constructiveness, leisureness, teamwork ability, sense of humor, compassion, concentration on the teaching of factual knowledge, and a host of other valuable personality characters. The teacher is a lecturer, person who teach a knowledge with experience and skills as well as a coordinator, mentor and a leader of an upbringing and educational process.

There are different opinions and approaches for qualified teachers in terms of teacher's competences, and according to Kyriacou (1999), the basic tasks of teachers relate to the following:

- a. planning and preparing for the lesson;
- b. conducting a lesson, presenting a session with a teaching lesson;
- c. classroom atmosphere and setting;
- d. evaluation of student's progress;
- e. reviewing and evaluating own work.

Teachers' competences are included in the category of specific professional competencies that are essential to be based on key pedagogical and theoretical-methodological starting points. The teacher has a need for continuous improvement of his own competences in order to achieve and maintain the high quality of the profession and in accordance with increasive changes and complex demands of the contemporary world. The teacher should create a classroom atmosphere that will give an equal opportunity to all students, regardless of their activity and success, to share their knowledge, wishes, ideas and expectations. An ideal teacher is someone with strong personality standing firmly behind his attitudes, professional and personal values.

There has been a lot of discussions about the competences of educators and teachers in the "modern school" and it was realized that new social relations (on a global scale, as well as on national, local and family levels) place educators and teachers in a brand new position that can be dealt only with the modern knowledge (new tasks, and new roles) and new competencies. (Razdevšek-Pučko, 2003)

Teacher positivity means a lot of motivation for learning to students, primarily because they are more interested in school responsibilities. Research has shown that having a "positive teacher" students really increase their chances of learning and their development is on the rise, meaning to say there is multiple progress and benefit for students and teachers. It is of crucial importance to create a good professional and social relationships with students, through effective interaction and communication, in some way teachers need to "gain" the confidence of students.

"One of the most difficult and most responsible professions in every public community is being a teacher. The most controversial issues in education out of many is "What are the human quality that make a successful teacher?" One of the motives that has been retained on this subject is the one that says the teacher should have all the virtues and be without human weaknesses. Teachers should be people whom we have nothing to complain about." (Hašimbegović-Valenzuela, 1998 - see Zečić and Jeina, 2006 : 9)

A competent teacher should follow and adopt the changes brought by new scientific research and gradually distance from inadequate outdated didactic-methodical forms, which are exclusively focused on teachers "teacher knows everything" to monitor modern didactic-methodical concepts, by developing modern teaching materials and utilities, innovate in teaching.

Ajanović and Stevanović (1998 - see Tomić, Osmić and Karić, 2006 : 167) emphasize the new roles of teachers: "These teaching roles refer to inventive, creative and responsible experts."

Great challenges and demands are taking part in modern schools for creative, responsible, innovative and customizable professionals, which significantly changes the role of teachers themselves.

"Teachers have an important roles as creators and practitioners of upbringing and educational practice in its training. When it comes to changing teaching practice, their



contribution can and should be given through research aimed at improving the teaching process. " (Hadžić-Suljkić, 2009 : 25-26)

A lifelong learning lecturer should be prepared (competent) to respond with the challenges of modern times and knowledgeable society, to plan self-reliantly, formulate and implement the teaching process, to initiate constructive and productive changes for the purpose of understanding and tolerance, be qualified - expert and resourceful, be able continually improve its own work, introduce, modernize, enhance teaching with new content and invest in own knowledge (professional development).

The key features of efficient teacher and teachers for the future Radeka (2007 : 284-285) states: "The core features of every teacher should include the longing for knowledge based on intellectual curiosity. Each teacher should continually follow all new concepts so lifelong education is his true need. Such a teacher can only improve in the classroom the need for lifelong education of their students."

The teacher must be in the system of lifelong learning in order to respond efficiently and successfully by the challenges and demands "education of the future", must continually work on training, then be enabled for new ways of work, be competent, use new teaching methods, and show his creativity in the classroom, where knowledge must prevail.

### **Research methodology**

*The topic of research* is to examine the importance, role and professional competence outcome of teachers in a continuous process of upbringing and education in the modern concept of lifelong learning.

*The main hypothesis* is based on the assumption that there is no statistically significant difference in the attitudes of teachers about their professional competencies in lifelong learning in primary schools.

*Methods of research* used in this work: method of theoretical analysis, descriptive and analytical method, survey methods, historical methods, methods of proof and statistical methods.

*Techniques of survey* used in this research: analysis of pedagogical documentation, survey-scaling and statistical analysis of data (package of curriculum SPSS).

*Instruments of research:* Questionnaire –scale assessment consisting of 25 variables grouped into 6 groups (lifelong learning, teaching time, discipline, professional knowledge, professional skills, professional values), as well as 3 variables of general data (gender, the highest level of education and total work experience in the teaching practice).The questions (variables) correspond to the five-element of Likert's scale, of which two levels of scale are related to the agreement, one neutral and two disagreements.

*The sample of respondents* consisted of 226 respondents (directors, educators, teachers and qualified associates) of elementary schools in the region of Central Bosnia Canton.

### Analysis and interpretation of research results

Research on topic: *"There is no statistically significant difference, the self-evaluation of the teacher, the teacher competences for lifelong learning with regard to the level of qualification of teachers."*

Table 1. Teacher's interpretation about lesson presentation, Discipline, Professional education, Skills and Values  
Based on Degree of Professional education - F-test

Parameter	N	df	F	Sig.
Performing hours (lesson presentation)	226	2	1,384	,253
Discipline	226	2	,688	,504
Professional knowledge	226	2	5,607	<b>,004</b>
Professional skills	226	2	4,755	<b>,010</b>
Professional values	226	2	2,105	,124

*Note: N - total number of respondents; Df- degree of freedom; F and Sig. - values*

*F-test and its significance*

The value of F-test and its significance (Sig.) shows that there is no statistically significant difference between primary school teachers, given the degree of education when it comes to *presentation time, discipline and professional values*. When it comes to *professional knowledge and professional skills* of teachers results show a statistically significant difference between individuals ( $p < 0.05$ ), given the level of education (*Table 1*).

Table 2. Performing hours - comparing significance with regards to the degree of education

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MD	SE	SIG.
<b>PERFORMING HOURS (LESSON PRESENTATION)</b>			
Higher professional qualifications <i>Highest professional qualifications</i> <i>Master's degree and Ph.D.</i>	-,052 -,153	,054 ,095	,337 ,108
Highest professional qualifications <i>Higher professional qualifications</i> <i>Master's degree and Ph.D.</i>	,052 -,100	,054 ,091	,337 ,269
Master's degree and Ph.D. <i>Higher professional qualifications</i> <i>Highest professional qualifications</i>	,153 ,100	,095 ,091	,108 ,269
LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MD	SE	SIG.
<b>DISCIPLINE</b>			
Higher professional qualifications <i>Highest professional qualifications</i> <i>Master's degree and Ph.D.</i>	,001 -,108	,057 ,100	,986 ,278
Highest professional qualifications <i>Higher professional qualifications</i> <i>Master's degree and Ph.D.</i>	,000 -,109	,057 ,095	,986 ,253
Master's degree and Ph.D. <i>Higher professional qualifications</i> <i>Highest professional qualifications</i>	,108 ,109	,100 ,095	,278 ,253
<b>PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE</b>			
Higher professional qualifications <i>Highest professional qualifications</i> <i>Master's degree and Ph.D.</i>	,073 -,327 *	,072 ,125	,313 <b>,010</b>
Highest professional qualifications <i>Higher professional qualifications</i> <i>Master's degree and Ph.D.</i>	-,073 -,400 *	,072 ,120	,313 <b>,001</b>
Master's degree and Ph.D. <i>Higher professional qualifications</i> <i>Highest professional qualifications</i>	,327 * ,400 *	,125 ,120	<b>,010</b> <b>,001</b>
<b>PROFESSIONAL SKILLS</b>			
Higher professional qualifications <i>Highest professional qualifications</i> <i>Master's degree and Ph.D.</i>	,057 -,324 *	,074 ,129	,439 <b>,013</b>
Highest professional qualifications <i>Higher professional qualifications</i> <i>Master's degree and Ph.D.</i>	-,057 -,381 *	,074 ,124	,439 <b>,002</b>
Master's degree and Ph.D. <i>Higher professional qualifications</i> <i>Highest professional qualifications</i>	,324 * ,381 *	,129 ,124	<b>,013</b> <b>,002</b>
<b>PROFESSIONAL VALUES</b>			
Higher professional qualifications <i>Highest professional qualifications</i>	-,075	,059	,201

Master's degree and Ph.D.	-,200	,102	,052
Highest professional qualifications			
Higher professional qualifications	,075	,059	,201
Master's degree and Ph.D.	-,125	,098	,204
Master's degree and Ph.D.			
Higher professional qualifications	,200	,102	,052
Highest professional qualifications	,125	,098	,204

Note: \* - there is a statistical value on the scale  $p < 0.05$

MD – the difference of arithmetic meanings; SE- standard error; SIG. - statistical significance

Results of research on teacher's competences based on the level of education by respondents indicates that significant differences exist only when it comes to *professional skills and professional knowledge* of participants, where as *lesson presentation, discipline and professional values* do not have statistically significant differences (Table 2). We assume that respondents who have a master or PhD degree have more professional knowledge and professional skills in comparison to other examinees. Based on the results shown in Tables 1 and 2 it has been confirmed that *there is no statistically significant difference, the self-evaluation of the teacher, the teacher competences for lifelong learning with regard to their level of qualification and education.*

Research on topic: "*There is no statistically significant difference, the self-assessment of teachers, between the relationships with years of service in teaching in comparison to the professional competence of teachers in the process of lifelong learning.*"

Table 3. Relation of work experience with professional competences of teachers

R =0,087		R <sup>2</sup> =0,008		F-ratio = 0,859		Means. F =0,425	
No	Indicators	Beta	B	t-values.	Means. t		
1.	Performing Hours (lesson presentation)	-,096	-,292	-1,099	,273		
2.	Discipline	,015	,043	,171	,864		

Note: \*\* - level of significance 0.01    \* - level of significance 0.05

The results of regression analysis and results (Table 3), indicate that the overall regression is not statistically significant. The coefficient of determination ( $R^2$ ) and the multiple correlation ( $R$ ) shows that the variance of two characteristics the teacher competences is clarified with 0.8 percent of the total years of teaching, because their

correlation is 0.09. Therefore, it can be argued that the *lesson performance* and *discipline*, the self-assessment of teachers, principals and teachers of primary school, cannot be predicted on the basis by years of teaching, and that their relationship was not statistically significant in the manifest space variables. The results indicate that none of the regression is statistically significantly associated with the length of the working life.

Table 4. Connection between the work experiences with professional competences of teachers

R =0,195		R <sup>2</sup> =0,038		F-ratio = 2,930		Means. F =0,034	
No	Indicators	Beta	B	t-values.	Means. t		
1.	Professional knowledge of teachers	0,151	0,340	1,579	0,116		
2.	Professional skills of teachers	0,074	0,162	0,725	0,469		
3.	Professional values of teachers	-0,246	-0,688	-2,782	<b>0,006**</b>		

Note: \*\* - level of significance 1 0.01 \* - level of significance 0.05

Based on the results of the regression analysis (Table 4), we find out that the overall regression is not statistically significant at  $p < 0.01$ . The coefficient of determination ( $R^2$ ) and the multiple correlation ( $R$ ) shows that the variance of the three *features* and the *teacher competences* is clarified with 3.8 percent of the total length of service, because their correlation is 0.20. Therefore, it can be argued that the *professional skills of teachers* and *professional skills*, the self-evaluation of primary school teachers, cannot be predicted on the basis of length of service, and that their relationship was not statistically significant in the manifest space variables, while the *professional values* statistically significantly associated with working time, which is negative or professional, according to the results of the research can be predicted on the basis of working time. Negative statistical significance points to the fact that it is a phenomenon whose changes are in the opposite direction, which means that when a phenomenon grows, another decreases. Based on the results shown in Table 3 and 4 mainly confirmed that *there was no statistically significant difference, the self-assessment of teachers, on the relationship between lengths of service of teachers with the professional competence of teachers in the process of lifelong learning.*

## Conclusion

Teaching as a profession have many complexities, responsibilities and challenging career, characterized by professionalism, competence, dedication, diligence, motivation, innovation, sincerity, dynamism, communication, interactivity, social interaction etc. The key to the educational system's success and educational process cannot be accomplished without

the teacher who is the foundation of each society's development, and the main motivator, contributor and stimulus for the overall development of knowledge and skills for students and adults.

The success of the teaching profession depends mainly on the quality of systematic institutional education and training of teachers, acceptance of new knowledge by individual and independent improvement and upgrading of old knowledge, socio-community presence, compatibility with the challenges and demands of modern educational systems (such as systems in modern EU countries) etc ...

The concept of lifelong learning and the competence of teachers are closely related, reliant facts play a vital role in the overall development and prosperity of society and community in the common context, and contribute to the direct intellectual and any other form of development and progression of the individual as the carrier of society and social relations. Accurate answers are shared values of the mentioned facts to the complex challenges and turbulences in the time we live and work.

The results of the research have shown that teachers use their competences - knowledge, skills, values and abilities in the educational process -professionally, correctly and efficiently, and that there is no statistically significant difference in the attitudes of teachers about their professional competences in the process of lifelong learning in elementary schools.

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## **The Level of Parent's Partipance in School Activities**



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### **Abstract**

One of the important features of pedagogically effective school is developed cooperation with parents. Cooperation represents a joint action and negotiation, which is aimed at finding solutions, and a new, common ground. The aim of this study is to determine the level of cooperation development between the family and school, whether the cooperation is still traditional or have established partnerships between families and schools. The sample consists of 250 parents of lower class learners that go to elementary schools within the municipality Travnik. The paper is based on the assumption that parents are not involved enough in school life and activities, and that cooperation between family and school is still traditional. The results showed that parents are not involved in decision-making at the school, that the cooperation between family and school is still traditional and mainly related to the PT meetings and interviewees. Also, there is no mention of partnership between the two at all. The school of the future is based on humanistic democratic values where teachers, students and parents are equal partners.

Key words: family, school, cooperation, communication, partnership

### **Introduction**

According to Epstein (1992), the theoretical assumptions of family school partnership are based on the influence of family and school in the child's learning and development. The study dealt with the following issues: a) the importance of the family environment and participation; b) the impact of the school environment on family involvement; c) the effect of family and school partnerships on students, parents and teachers. Research on the types of engagement that help families and schools to fulfill their responsibilities to children's learning and development is focused on the fundamental obligations of family and school; parental involvement in schools and learning activities as well as leisure time; community involvement as a sphere of influence in decision-making. Adams and Christenson (2000) find that a vital element in building and maintaining relationships between family and school is mutual trust.

In recent years, many researches were carried out on the problem of cooperation between family and school. The results show that many primary and secondary schools should strengthen and improve the relationship with the family, with the hope of attracting parents to get involved and support the school activities (Yue-Yang 2006). According to Driessen et al. (2005), a parental involvement is seen as an important strategy for improving the quality of education. The ultimate goal of this is to expand the social and cognitive abilities of students.

In terms of education, school and family have different advantages, so that school and family must work together to achieve results. Cooperation between families and schools makes it possible to achieve the main goal of education, although in practice there are still some problems. To establish cooperation between families and schools, it is required to undertake appropriate measures. First, we need to strengthen the education of parents. Second, we must build an efficient exchange of information between families and schools and at the end, attention must be paid to increasing the communication between families and schools, so that schools and parents can have a mutual understanding and trust. Only in this way we can possibly promote the healthy growth of our children (Lanlan, 2009).

Karlsen (2010) in his study came to the conclusion that the participation of parents with the school affects the level of formal education.

The partnership of the family and school is an important link in the educational process, but in everyday life interaction is more spontaneous than motivated (Hafiz and Pope, 2012).

Westergård (2013) believes that for successful cooperation it is very important to possess adequate competencies of the school staff.

### **Family-School Cooperation**

Family-school partnership represents a viable and essential way to increase opportunities and support for all students for the purpose of improving their learning and progress. The important role have school psychologists, who should encourage partnerships of family and school through cooperation of the families with the school. Teaching staff should be persistent in working with young people and families living in challenging situations, encourage the process of partnership with the family (Christenson, 2004).

Izzo et al. (1999) explored the ways in which the involvement of parents affects children's educational changes over time and how it relates to children's social and academic work at



school. Teachers provided the information on the involvement of parents and the school success of children for 3 consecutive years. They took into account four dimensions of parental involvement: frequency of contact of parents and teachers, the quality of interaction between parents and teachers, participation in educational activities at home and participation in school activities. As predicted, the frequency of contacts of parents and teachers, the quality of interaction between parents and teachers and parent participation in school decreases from 1 to 3 years. Participation in educational activities at home shows the widest range of performance variables. Results show that increasing parental involvement in children's education relates to improvements in the school. Adams and Christenson (2000) find that the vital element in building and maintaining relationships of family and school is mutual trust. They investigated on the question of confidence in family-school relationship. The results showed a higher level of parental trust and confidence of teachers at the basic level than in the middle or high school levels. In addition, improving the communication of family and school is identified as the best way to improve confidence. The results showed that the quality of family school interaction is better predictor than the frequency of contacts, or demographic variables. Trust is positively correlated with the success of children in school. Based on the results, we conclude that school staff should put more effort in building trust with the parents of children during their school time.

Based on the research, Epstein et al. (2002) found a weak level of parents' involvement in school life, inequality between parents and teachers. However, due to the increasing demands of school to prepare students for different occupations and training, new theories and new practices, there is a need that families and schools work together. In educational practice, teachers are not open to new partnership models of family and school. New knowledge and action are required from all participants. The studies by teachers and parents indicate that school must plan for partnership programs that will enable families to participate every school year in the education of their children. Parents must also take more responsibility, communicate with their children, teachers and other staff, other parents in order to understand and support their children as students. Sheldon and Epstein (2002) conducted a study on the impact of the involvement of families and communities to reduce the number of disciplinary proceedings and to create school climate focused on learning. The results showed that making connections and increased cooperation between families and schools, including community, may be one way to improve the behavior of students and focus on learning. Symeou (2006) examines the cooperation of two teachers (Homer and Vicky) with the families of their students. The research was conducted at the village school in Cyprus. Homer and Vicky were

intensively and systematically communicating with as far as possible parents. They exchanged their own opinions about the problems faced by children and parents, and have initiated the contact. They called on parents to regularly visit the school to discuss issues of common interest. Therefore, parents are fully informed about the different aspects of their children's education. Teachers have built a social network in the school community by enabling parents of their students with enough opportunities to come to school. Parents are in constant contact with their children, they have become friends with other parents in the class, and the interaction is developed. Homer and Vicky have confirmed the important role that teachers play in conveying to parents the value of communication of family and school and to devise ways to involve parents in the school and promote cooperation between family and school. Activities and practices that teachers, parents and children develop to interact and getting to know each other on a personal level, enable them to feel that they are part of the same community. Parents need to be aware of the current school curriculum, activities and practices. Through the establishment of connections and interactions, we need to enable children to fully develop their potential in the school system. Hadjitheodoulou-Loizidou & Symeou (2007) show the importance of the involvement of parents and communities in the process of intercultural education in Cyprus. Following the analysis of data collected from interviews of teachers and students, observation, analysis of the contents of official documents, it is found, among other things, the two important elements that should be considered in the discussion of intercultural education in Cyprus. The first is the absence of a multicultural dimension in teaching, school failure and lack of parental involvement. The second is the role of school staff in particular school, particularly principals dealing with intercultural education to promote the educational objectives for all students in school, respect for diversity, finding the appropriate measures for the benefit of all children. Karlsen (2010) conducted a survey among parents in lower secondary schools in Norway. She explored the involvement of parents in cooperation and willingness to cooperate. The results showed that the parental involvement with the school, affects the level of formal education. In fact, parents with more formal education are more active than less educated parents. Also, the results show that parents with low formal education are insecure in their knowledge of academic issues, thus there is a barrier to their participation in quality cooperation.

Savas (2012) carried out the research on the level of contributions to the cooperation between family and school and the effective early childhood education. The results showed that the majority of teachers believe that parents give support in all matters, except when it

comes to dealing with misbehaviour. However, teachers and parents believe that there are still areas of concern, in cooperation of the family and school, and various improvements should be implemented for the development of this cooperation.

Cankar and others. (2012) investigated the areas of cooperation in which the expectations of parents and teachers were the same as well as where they differ. Data were obtained from a sample of 55 randomly selected elementary schools. They questioned the communication between parents and school, parental influence over school decisions and parents' involvement in various school activities. At the same time they explore the cooperation between teachers, students and parents in the program "Reading and conversation." The results showed that teachers of the third and ninth grades generally agree on the importance of parental involvement in school activities. Teachers of the third grade were more open to the involvement of parents in education compared to their colleagues in other grades, which have been more cautious and restrained. The views of parents were more diverse. Parent education was best indicator of their willingness to get involved in the life and work of their children in school. The area in which the families lived (urban or suburban) did not make any difference.

Evaluation of the program "Reading and conversation" within one year showed an increase of motivation of parents to cooperate with the school and improvements in relationship and dialogue. Westergård (2013) conducted a small study with a view to interviewing teachers and parents about their perception of competence of the teachers required to cooperate with the parents. The results showed the need to develop competencies in different levels in schools. First of all, an important role in this process is to build collective competence at the school, such as school standards for cooperation with parents. Second, the responsibility among colleagues to act as a group, in cooperation with the parents is very important. Finally, every teacher should focus on strengthening their own competence and sense of self-efficacy when cooperate with parents.

The partnership of the family and school is an important link in the educational process, but in everyday life interaction is more spontaneous than motivated. Hafiz and Pope (2012) carried out the study in 27 schools, interviewing 365 teachers and school principals, 1,086 students and 924 parents. The research results indicate the degree of integration of different forms of modern elements in the Albanian education system, as well as the causes of the current situation. They propose some recommendations for improving and strengthening communication between families and schools. The relatively low level of cooperation

between family and school is due to two important reasons: the level of parental education and inadequate economic conditions. To ensure the quality of the educational process, this interaction must be improved and traditional teaching methods changed. Schools must work to improve communication between teachers, school principals and parents, in terms of the parents, as part of a single system, which should be regularly informed on the progress of their children. Cooperation between families and schools will prove successful if the school invites them, gives parents the information through periodic meetings planned, as well as new technological methods of communication such as the Internet, text messaging and local media. Different training fun activities can be organized for parents, students and teachers together, which could help to improve communication. If parents see that the school is interested, they will be willing to cooperate and sort of "deal" school house through the help of their children at home, through the decisions that affect not only the primary issues, but also those in the background, the intellectual contribution in selection of curricula to the extent that the authority is given to the knowledge they possess, through volunteer work in favor of the school. This is all very important because it encourages the children and helps to create a positive feeling in the school (Hafiz and Pope, 2012). Only in this way, according to Lanlan (2009), we can possibly promote the healthy growth of our children.

## **Research Methods**

### *Subject, problem and goal of the research*

The subject of research is the involvement of parents in the life and work of the school.

The problem of work relates to the question: Are parents sufficiently involved in school activities?

The aim of the paper is to examine the level of involvement of parents in deciding on important issues of school life.

### *Sample of respondents:*

The sample of respondents consisted of 250 parents of pupils of lower grades of primary schools from the municipality of Travnik. According to the gender, 116 (46.40%) males and 134 (53.60%) female respondents took part in the survey.

### *Instruments:*

In the survey, we used the questionnaire. The first group of questions, a total of 3, at the beginning of the questionnaire, is intended to collect basic information about the parents involved in the research. These are: gender, age and level of education. Then follows the 12 questions that parents responded to the five-step scale of Likert's type: 1 (I do not completely agree); 2 (I do not agree); 3 (I have no opinion / I am neutral); 4 (I agree) and 5 (I totally agree).

### *Statistical analysis:*

Since we wanted to examine the parents' views on cooperation with school and involvement in school activities, the information collected was processed through descriptive statistics, based on which we could make the appropriate conclusions.

## **Results and Discussion**

The research on the topic „*The level of parental involvement in school's activities*“ has been done in the lower grades of elementary schools in Travnik municipality.

Based on the results obtained (Table 1), we see that most parents agree and fully agree that the check up meetings, participation in parental meetings and in the overall life and work of the school are important for the progress of their children at school. Parents find their cooperation with school very important for the success of their children.

Table 1. Measures of central tendency, variability and distribution of frequency characteristics The importance of parents' cooperation with the school for the success of the child

				1	2	3	4	5
Indicator	N	M	SD	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
With a teacher, I can talk openly about my child	250	4,29	,75	0,40	2,80	6,80	47,20	42,80
I regularly receive information about my child's progress	250	3,76	1,05	4,00	10,40	14,40	48,40	22,80
The teacher is always ready to listen to me	250	4,60	,54	0,00	0,40	1,60	35,20	62,80
The teacher takes me as a partner in the process	250	4,17	,84	1,60	2,80	10,40	47,60	37,60

Table 2. Measures of central tendency, variability and distribution of frequency characteristics *Parent-teacher Communication*

				1	2	3	4	5
	N	M	SD	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Indicator								
Check up meetings are important for the progress of my child at school	250	4,73	,57	0,80	0,00	1,60	20,40	77,20
Participating in parental meetings is very useful for my child's progress at school	250	4,52	,68	0,00	2,80	2,40	34,40	60,40
Participating in the overall life and work of the school are important for the success of my child at school	250	4,36	,82	1,20	3,20	5,20	39,20	51,20
Cooperation with school is very important for the success of my child at school	250	4,44	,77	1,60	0,80	5,20	36,80	55,60

Reminder: N-total number of respondents; M-arithmetic mean; SD-standard deviation

Table 3. Measures of central tendency, variability and distribution of frequency characteristics *Participation of parents in deciding on important issues of school life*

				1	2	3	4	5
	N	M	SD	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Indicator								
I participate in making decisions in my child's classroom	250	3,18	1,07	6,00	23,20	26,40	36,00	8,40
I'm involved in solving disciplinary problems in the department	250	3,26	1,09	6,80	18,40	27,20	36,80	10,80
I participate in designing extracurricular activities of students	250	2,49	1,01	16,80	36,40	29,60	15,20	2,00
I'm involved in creating school activities	250	2,71	1,04	12,40	32,00	30,80	21,60	3,20

Reminder: N-total number of respondents; M-arithmetic mean; SD-standard deviation

When it comes to parents' communication with the teacher, parents have mostly stated that they can openly talk to teachers about their children, receive regular information on their children's progress, that the teacher is always ready to listen to them and take them as a partner in the process. We can conclude that the communication of parents with teachers in elementary schools in the municipality of Travnik is very good.

The results of the research show that parents play a central role in decision making and solving disciplinary problems in their child's classroom. Parents very little participate in the design of extracurricular activities and are rarely involved in creating school activities. Therefore, although they feel that involvement in school life is important for the success of their children, parents are not satisfied with their participation in the life and work of their children's school.

## **Conclusion**

Based on this research, we found that parents are not involved enough in school life. Communication with parents is rare and focused on individual problems and mostly initiated by schools. This paper attempted to point out the importance of establishing good cooperation and partnership between family and school. It can be concluded that this requires two active parties involved. Both, schools and parents need to be actively involved in this process and encourage each other to engagement. So, on the basis of the results obtained, we conclude that if we want to develop and nurture partnerships of family and school, we have to involve parents more in school life, to involve them in decision-making concerning their child, respect their opinions about the child. The school should devise ways in which it could attract parents and actively involve them in the life of the school. School, teachers and parents should give more contribution in the joint action, not just through words on paper, but through practice, working on building and fostering partnerships. If the parents and teachers develop partnerships arising from the above assumptions, they are certainly on the way to faster and easier access to quality changes. Therefore, the future of the school environment is based on humane democratic values where teachers, students and parents are equal partners. Each school should proceed from their possibilities, the possibilities of the their social environment, but at the same time think of the wide range of educational, cultural, social, religious, professional, and economic levels of parents, families of their students. The future education will not will not be successful without quality construction and development of family-school partnerships with common focus on the children, and their improvement.

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## **Volunteering Activities and Lifelong Learning at the University Level in Slovakia**



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### **Abstract**

Development of competencies by means of volunteering activities becomes an issue in the system of lifelong learning in Slovakia. It is discussed in the context of non-formal and continuing education. Universities of the third age are institutions providing educational activities focused on the development of individuals that are required by a society. Present organization and future possibilities of volunteering activities in the scope of curricula of UTA are discussed regarding legislation, input and output. We will apply real experience as a base for a draft of methodology of volunteering. Our objective is to provide types, forms and approaches towards volunteering activities in the scope of education of universities of third age. We mention examples of good practice. We propose an outline of efficient future modifications in education and practice. Besides a description of results of relevant research, literature, documents and legislation we present an analysis of examples of good practice. The result of our paper is to provide a context of volunteering activities in the scope of lifelong learning provided mostly by universities of third age in Slovakia. Based on statistics, research and legislation, we point out the most significant areas to approach efficiently and to provide required modifications in legislation, resources and education. We analyze concrete activities as examples of good practice, their realization, development and possible future forms.

Key words: Lifelong learning, volunteering, University of the third age, good practice

### **Volunteering and its forms in Slovakia**

In developed democratic states and as well as in Slovakia there is daily practice for citizens to get involved in volunteering and it follows various activities of similar nature from the past. Forms and concrete volunteering activities in Slovakia as part of social phenomena are closely related to socio-historical events, i.e., the 20th century we speak namely about two world wars, the 1948 Czechoslovak coup d'état and especially so-termed Velvet Revolution in 1989 or the origin of two separate states in 1993.

Although the term “volunteer” (from Latin voluntaries, i.e, voluntary, willing) is quite frequent, its content and definitions are rather vague. One may speak of three support points of volunteering: it is free of financial remuneration, it is voluntary and unforced, based on free

will. Thirdly, it is work beneficial to others. (Dekker & Halman, 2000, according to Skovajsa, 2010)

There are several minor shifts in a wider, international notion of volunteering. In the International Year of Volunteers in 2001, The International Association for Volunteer Effort issued the Universal Declaration on Volunteering which states that “Volunteering is a fundamental building block of civil society. It brings to life the noblest aspirations of humankind – the pursuit of peace, freedom, opportunity, safety, and justice for all people. It is a way in which human values of community, caring, and serving can be sustained and strengthened; individuals can exercise their rights and responsibilities as members of communities, realizing their full human potential; connections provide innovative solutions to our shared challenges and to shape our collective destinies. (Brozmanová Gregorová, A., 2012)

Volunteering is a manifestation of a society and it develops alongside the society in all directions. When considering primary characteristics of activities these days, we speak mostly of limits of volunteering in terms of in/formality. Formally, it is volunteering in public utilities and informally we bear in mind mutual beneficial volunteer activities. In the formal definition, it is a provision of help without financial reward by means of a group, club or organisation which is beneficial to other people of society. (Frič, P., Pospíšilová T., 2010). Informal volunteering takes place outside the area of any organization, resp. it is unpaid help provided by an individual.

A level of volunteering depends on several factors, such as the economic and political situation, a level of development of the non-profit sector and its reputation, culture of volunteering and labour market. These elements must be mirrored in the legal framework which is part of a social institutionalized context shaping volunteering in a particular country. A concrete shape of legislation may be threefold, it may create barriers, it does not need to support volunteering activities and their development and impact or it supports them and regulates them.

### **Legislation and forms of volunteering in Slovakia**

The Act Nr. 406/2011 on volunteering and on amendment of certain laws valid since 2011 defines a volunteer and volunteering, a volunteer is an individual person (older than 15 years) doing pre-agreed volunteering work/activity for a third party entity or contributing to

public benefit, based on his/her free will, without financial remuneration, and based on his/her skills, expertise or knowledge; he/she should meet all requirements set by this law.

A volunteer performs his or activities especially to

a) people in need (e.g., the disabled, addicted people, seniors), b) in non-formal education in work with the youth, c) in disaster relief, d) in forming, protection, maintenance or improvement of the environment, sports and cultural events, e) in eradicating of social and economic disadvantages, f) in inclusion of persons living in socially separated community into society, g) in administrative works for public service.

There exist several approaches towards characteristics of volunteering activities. Tošner a Sozanká (2006) distinguish between the meanings of the term volunteering activity. Firstly, they define it as an activity connected with an organization of volunteering (as a specific kind of human activity) and a volunteering activity as own performance of volunteer help. As far as time is concerned, one often comes across terms such as single actions, long-term volunteering program and volunteering service, or a mission abroad.

According to an organization of activities we speak of formal (organized or managed) and informal (non-organized) activities. The former is performed under the official organizations within their activities and the latter is perceived as a direct help provided to individuals, families or people living in the household of a volunteer. (Brozmanová Gregorová, A., 2012)

Müllerová distinguishes following volunteering activities according to their spheres: volunteering beneficial to the public, mutually beneficial, volunteering service and a voluntary civil assistance (Müllerová, M., 2011).

The issue of volunteering is complex, as its forms, shapes, methods, organization and activities are affected by many constantly developing factors. At the same time, new aims, expectations and impact appear. On the other hand, research, analyses, characteristics and definitions are closely related to scientific tradition, requirements and aims. It is beneficial to all social spheres that development of volunteering activities takes place hand in hand with research in individual scientific disciplines in Slovakia.

## Life-long Learning and Volunteering

Old age and ageing is as a relative term as youth. Ageing and old age are an important feature of ontogenic development of every human being. They are both, individual and social phenomena, which means, their concrete form is affected by many factors.

Hrozenká et alii., (2008) perceive old age in two meanings: 1. a period that has passed since an origin of the object which automatically does not include any evaluation, 2. the final stage of life, in case of man it is often defined as a period from the end of economic activities until death, often termed as a third age. Besides that, an age of human being is classified according to several aspects as:

1. Chronological age – a calendar age equivalent to real living time regardless conditions of organism.
2. Biological age – is a consequence of a genetically controlled program, an impact of outer conditions and a way of life including health.
3. Functional age – is equivalent to a functional potential of an individual, it is a sum of biological, psychological and social characteristics.
4. Psychological age – is a result of functional modifications in course of ageing, individual features of personalities and a subjective age.
5. Social age – includes a presence or a lack of life program and it partially depends on retirement age.

The issue of age classification also brings some vague points, e.g., there is no strict limit set between an adult person, an elderly person and an old person. A United Nations classification as regards population division on age groups contains the following categories: • Adult persons: age 45 – 59; • Elder persons: age 60-64; • Old persons: age 65 – 90; • Very old persons: age + 90

The term senior or the elderly person closely relates to a process of ageing. Also, it is a very frequent term, but quite ambiguous. Senior is a social and biological category. The sociological component causes socio-cultural relativity of a senior and changeability in various social and age groups. (Sak, Kolesárová, 2012).

A definition in the Slovak legislation raises also several questions. The term an elderly person/senior as such is practically not used in the social sphere in any legal form. However, a content of the term distinguishes based on a purpose of a use of the term for various spheres of social area:

For a purpose of employment services – a citizen older than 50 (§ 8 par. 1 let. b) of the Act No. 5/2004 on employment services and on amending and supplementing certain laws;

For a purpose of retirement security – an insured person that reached, among others, the retirement age set up to 62 years according to the Act No. 461/2003 on Social Insurance;

Social services – as a criterion it is not satisfactory on its own - the age itself is not satisfactory –the retirement age connected with a certain level of dependence on aid by other person or other serious reasons (e.g., nursing care, in a facility for seniors), the Act No. 448/2008 on social services;

Financial contributions as a compensation for severe disability – the decisive limit is 65 years after which it is not possible to provide some of forms of financial contribution/ it is possible to provide it under specific conditions, Act No. 447/2008 Coll. on Direct Payments for Severe Disability Compensation.

### **Active Ageing**

The World Health Organisation in 1990s reacted on a tendency of the worldwide population ageing and it denoted a concept of a vision of positive ageing. In practice, it means to have a life style that is healthy and thanks to which a person will be able to be professionally active longer and remains active even after the end of a career. The term of active ageing follows rules of freedom, active participation on social life, dignity, care and self-realization.

The year 2012 was designated as the European year of active ageing and intergenerational solidarity of all people, while three basic dimensions of active ageing were specified: employability, active participation on social issues and independent life. As a matter of fact, they manifest namely in a form of life-long learning, employability of older people, a support of life quality, in senior volunteering and the intergenerational dialogue.

### **Senior as Volunteer**

Consequences of a process of ageing can be feelings of a loss of desirability, society disownment especially after reaching of the retirement age. Volunteering represents an efficient way not only to erase the feelings, but also a way to avoid them.

In the retirement age the major shift is a change of a ratio of free time and work. An important activity is a care for grandchildren, but it cannot remain the only activity supporting active life

style. Quality of life affects a subjective living of reality and real living conditions, resp. personal and social comfort of a senior. In volunteering of seniors a key is to use a potential of younger and more independent individuals and at the same time to secure a care and comfort for helpless ones. In these activities one cannot speak only about a one-way, conventional motivation to help the other, but there appears so-termed reciprocal motivation. Under the term we understand components and elements that are useful for volunteers themselves.

Besides volunteering seniors, also intergenerational volunteering and intergenerational education play a significant role. We mean initiatives by means of which we tear down walls among generations and which support a dialogue. It is an important form of education which is beneficial for an individual, community and society as the whole. It represents an opportunity in which all parts of a generation become involved, they affect mutually, teach and learn. In the process all social-educational aspects of life of not only adult but also children and youth populations are included. There origin and develop family ties and relations, social capital, a need of lifelong learning increases and bases for social inclusion are formed.

### **Volunteering activities as part of lifelong learning at university**

A mission of university, its scope of activities especially in terms of a still-developing society with its constantly changing needs must not only reflect them and to react on them. Universities as flagships of education and thus gatekeepers of future generation must foresee major changes and their undergraduates, graduates and alumni are to be able not only to act in a society, but to form it actively.

Lately, not only in Slovakia, there has originated a need for a qualified active person not only during his or her working days, but also after the retirement age. To provide an efficient solution, universities, a state and authorities tried to support and create conditions for continuing education, by means of which an individual could supplement his or her competence to remain active, to obtain comfort and to enjoy social life.

*Continuing education* – is the education, which builds on the school education and gives the possibility to have a partial or full qualification or amend, renew, extend or deepen their skills acquired in school education, or increase their interests and get them capacity to engage in the life of civil society. This kind of the education includes also interesting and civic education (senior education).

Continuing education at universities can be divided into four substantial areas:

1. *Universities of Third Age* are realized by 17 universities in Slovakia. The study at the Universities of third Age is open to all adults than 45 years with completed secondary education.
2. *Supplementary teacher's education* is governed by specific decree of the Ministry of Education 581/2007. Graduates and students of non-teaching universities (master degree) acquire pedagogical competence to teach subjects whose content follows the content of their study programmes or passed state exams.
3. *Continuing education of teachers of primary and secondary schools* aims to improve and develop the competences of teachers to their profession toward improving their professional skills in line with social needs and having regard to the individual conditions of teachers, their social activity.
4. *Short-term or long-term educational activities*, which are usually, linked to professional orientation of the universities or language courses.

The mission of universities of the third age is to provide interest education for citizens older than 45 years, to create space to satisfy desires for knowledge and professional competence. Thematically, programs of education do not need to be linked to fields of study of alma mater. Educational activities are very frequently supplemented with free-time or volunteering activities.

On one hand, volunteering activities under the auspices of the universities of third age follow the content and aims of study programmes by their nature, but at the same time they represent their superstructure, as they connect the university with a community, a town or a society in general. Moreover, they are a solid part of the academic community of own university. They are, very frequently, an application of study programmes in practice, as they bridge university reality with reality in society and they mutually interact.

Volunteers from among ranks of students of U3A are involved in various events and activities which are organized not only by the alma mater or the academic community, but also by municipalities or regions. It is a reciprocal relationship in which U3A becomes connected and interacts with society and volunteers can get the first-hand experience or they can apply skills and knowledge they have obtained during their studies.



U3A consequently receives a feedback from organizers of events but also by volunteers themselves. We may speak of relation of dynamic stability which is beneficial to all three participants.

Universities of third age are institutionalized at 49 per cent of all institutions of higher education in Slovakia. Their most significant position is at public higher education institutions (up to 70 per cent of public higher education institutions develop this type of education). The lowest representation, only 17 per cent, is at the private higher education institutions.

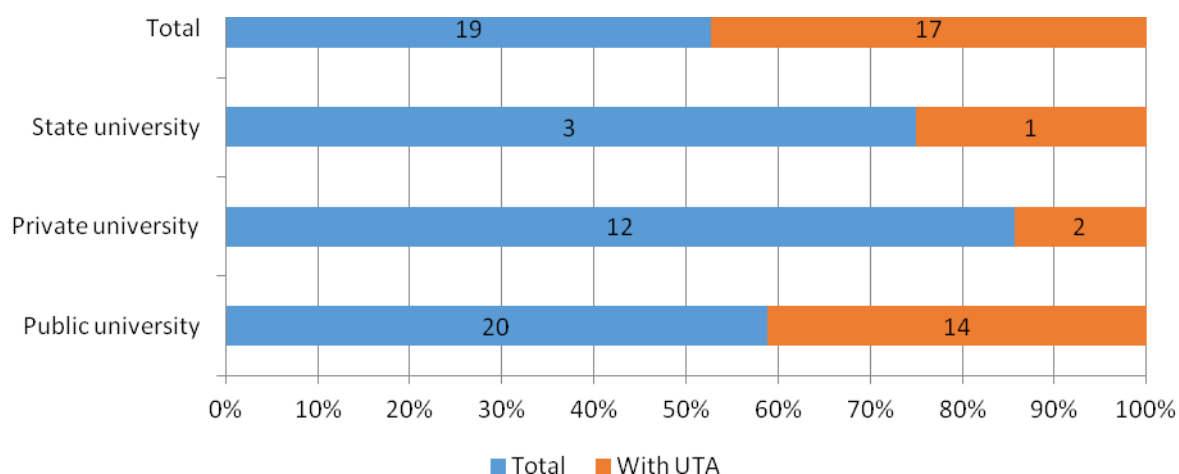


Figure 1: A number of universities with the U3A (universities of the third age), Source: authors

The University of Third Age of the University in Žilina was established in 1997. Originally, it was coordinated by the Department for Education. In the academic year 2006/2007 it became a solid part of the structure of the Institute of Lifelong Learning which meant progress in product and process. It is an institution providing interest education of adult learners in accordance with the conception of lifelong learning in the Slovak republic as well as the European strategy of lifelong learning. Its mission is to provide space to satisfy desire for knowledge and professional skills for people at senior age, for the disabled as well as other candidates. It is a key for improvement of quality of life in society based on knowledge.

Volunteering activities in education is one of important ways how U3A of the Institute of lifelong learning of the University of Žilina creates space for self-expression of seniors. It is natural that knowledge and skills obtained are passed to other people.

## **Selected activities of seniors at U3A at UNIZA**

Volunteering activities started to be organized at U3A 5 years ago as a direct reaction on needs of the academic community, municipality and students or alumni themselves. It was a spontaneous implementation of theoretical knowledge and practical skills or values obtained in course of studies into a service for society.

A database of volunteers consists exclusively of ranks of students of U3A that have completed studies or undertake studies. It is just their interest, results and ways of their works during studies which classifies them into particular areas of interest and activities, e.g., sport, culture and arts, history, journalism. A student becomes a volunteer under the title of U3A after a methodologically controlled interview with a coordinator, an analysis and evaluation of work and a judgement of an approach and experience in a given sphere. Before a selected activity or an event a volunteer has showed an interest in a course takes place managed by coordinators of volunteering activities and very frequently also there present a person responsible from among organizers of an event. In the course concrete activities of a volunteer are defined and explained and they are in accordance with aims and program of an event. After the event a feedback follows by both, organizers and volunteers. The feedback is in a form of a report or an interview and, very frequently in form of concrete personal works, i.e. newspaper reports, photographs, blog, interviews with authorities, etc.

A set of concrete activities is not closed, on the contrary, it dynamically reflects needs of society which are in accordance with the content of study programmes organized by the U3A. The U3A concentrates on such activities which support intergenerational cooperation, social inclusion of seniors and development of relations with organisations, bodies and representatives of society.

As far as concrete activities are concerned, we divide them according to their content which is varied. In one organized program, there can be performed several activities. The work is not a product of a single process, it is an outcome of various, mutually affecting actions and practices which require involvement, passion and management.

## **The magazine**

The magazine of students of U3A of UNIZA with the title Schody (Stairs), which is an acrostic of words Snaha, Chut', Odvaha, Dôvtip a Yes! (Effort, Fancy, Courage, Wit, Yes!) is an example of a complex volunteering activity, as it is exclusively a senior magazine in a sense that its editorial board includes only seniors since 2010. Volunteering exclusivity lies

not only in editors, proof readers, graphic designers and authors, but also in bridging of senior volunteers with volunteer youth and professional adults. Formation of a magazine is regular, relaxing, intensive and systematic in cooperation with expert guarantors. Its regular sections include reports, interviews, poems, editorial, photographs, paintings, non-fiction articles, essays or fiction. Each issue is dedicated to a selected social topic

## **Workshops**

Volunteers from among students or graduates become lectors of workshops. On one hand it is about motivation, an activity and organization on the side of a volunteer and they correspond with requirements and aims of U3A. On the other hand we may speak of an addressing of a demand by students, the public, local authorities and senior community.

Workshops are open, dedicated to all age categories so they form suitable environment for intergenerational dialogue in forms of activities, fun and projects. Feedback is gained in form of questionnaires and controlled interviews. Some workshops represent a solid part with a permanent date in the semester schedule, some are temporary and many are still added.

## **Academic Activities**

### **The Ceremonial Opening of the Academic Year**

It is one of the permanent activities in cooperation with the academic community. Seniors-volunteers play an important role as representatives of society and U3A, they co-organize preparational activities and a course of the ceremony.

### **Summer School of Foreign Languages**

It is a regular and favourite activity which supports and develops intergenerational relationships, mentoring or mutual cooperation in a triad of senior – adult – child. They are organizers, lectors or participants. An added value is communication in a foreign language.

## **Municipal Activities**

### **Children Summer in Library**

It is cooperation with the Regional Library that organizes meetings of seniors and children in experience learning which is in form of lectures, workshops, story-telling, projects and discussions.

## **Events in Culture and for Society**

These events require involvement of volunteers into organizing and course of exhibitions, concerts, charity or vernissages. Moreover, volunteers become also authors and agents of the events.

Besides mentioned activities, the U3A have implemented several projects that supported, disseminate or organized volunteering as a whole or its particular sections. It is just the projects that, by their content, aims and forms, have increased quality of organization of volunteering among seniors. It has become more professional not only in its targets, but also its forms, outcomes and management.

## **Projects - Gain**

The project was supported by the European grant scheme for lifelong learning and its aim was to identify suitable activities for volunteering of seniors in conditions and environment of a university regarding its potential and potential of seniors. It supported, in cooperation with Charles University in Prague, effective development and organization of university volunteering activities.

Under the auspices of the Slovak Association of Universities of Third Age of Slovakia, bilateral projects are implemented for seniors older than 50 years. They participate in exchange programmes at universities abroad.

Volunteering activities at the university have a solid position in the course of the academic year and events organized by municipality. Moreover, there are events or activities organized by seniors-volunteers themselves in coordination with U3A. Activities fully correspond with needs and demand on one hand and provided offer follows content and aims of the education. It is not a fixed, limited relationship, as the university flexibly reflects shifts and needs in society by means of accredited programs.

## **Conclusion**

Importance and a position of volunteering activities as beneficial services to society develops qualitatively and quantitatively on one hand, but at the same time one may assume that the society has not got accustomed to them, but it becomes to rely on them in several situations, e.g., cultural events, elections, sport.

These activities do not affect only young people or people in productive age, but also senior people get involved. In their case, psychological effects are frequently emphasized, but their benefit is of a much larger scale, especially in a form of intergenerational dialogue, reciprocal motivation, social contact and activities for communities and society.

Also a role of universities in this area has its position. Universities are in the mainstream, they are stakeholders and creators of social reality. They do not only educate future active productive citizens, but they also provide education for seniors. Results of the activities are socially active seniors- volunteers. They obtain also socially needed competence which can be applied in practice. Even here is a role of universities, i.e., not only via a platform, but also by means of activities that require a presence and activities of senior-volunteers. Besides that, they closely cooperate with local and regional authorities, communities and organizations. They organize various activities, events and projects into which seniors form a solid part and they become active members and creators of society.

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## The Art of Presentation – Skill or a Gift



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### **Abstract**

The art of presentation as a much-needed skill in a teacher's profession requires dedication and strategic training. It may seem as if some people are born with the talent to captivate and spontaneously inspire audiences while majority of presenters desperately struggle to transmit even simple message. The good news is that becoming a master communicator and an inspiring lecturer is an achievable goal with effort and practice. Without genuine enthusiasm it is impossible to generate interest and provoke audience in a positive manner. The art of presentation is primarily linked with the power of public speaking as a vital means of communication which is not necessarily based on technical aspects such as the set of popular teaching aids. The way of expressing ideas differs a lot but there are some substantial preconditions for highly effective style which encompasses our voice, intonation, the rhythm of utterances, non-verbal communication, passion, psychological tricks, the eye-contact, smile, profound research, thorough preparation, the knowledge of audience, posture, sincerity, positive confidence, the sense of humour, vivid language, rhetorical tips, coherence, ethical standards, attentive listening, the power of persuasion, precise timing, a sense of audience reactions, a genuine desire to communicate, clarity of speech, an easy progression of ideas, self-control, the use of language etc. On the other side we should avoid topical weaknesses such as; being unprepared, learning the whole speech by heart, being apologetic, speaking in a monotone, patronising listeners, over-use of slang expressions, telling off-colour jokes, keeping eyes on notes, distracting mannerism etc. The aim of this paper is to offer a frame for effective presentation style which is our intermittent effort to develop our natural skills and potentials.

Key words: presentation style, useful tips, practice, lecturing, strategic planning

### **Introduction**

The very notion of communication is derived from the Latin word *communis* (common) which encapsulates the fundamental need for mutual understanding as the foundation of its essential principle. Namely, the clarity of presentation and the process of negotiating the shades of meaning is a key precondition for communicative effectiveness. Clarity is utterly indispensable principle which enables the process of revealing chains of associations in order to reach our prime goal - understanding. Without understanding there is no valid or successful communication. This paper is predominantly oriented towards pragmatic and often neglected features, principles and techniques of the art of presentation.

The process of communication is one of the most profound drives within us – to express our minds (as well as hearts) and share our thoughts (values, attitudes, feelings) with others. We will initiate our topic with succinct clarifications of seven components of communication which create dynamic unit and operate almost simultaneously; source, message, receives, encoding, channel, decoding and context.

### **Theoretical frame and pragmatic aspects of the art of presentation**

Source is the person who transmits message, in other words who triggers the process of communication to another person or group of persons. The source could be a university teacher, a diplomat, a child asking for sweets, parents who try to educate their children, an individual speaker addressing the audience etc. Message is the content of communication (ideas, values, feelings, notions, concepts) - whatever we want to share, display or communicate. The message is encoded into verbal and nonverbal ways of communication (gestures, facial expressions, postures, eye contact, tone of voice, appearance, proximity). The means of encoding could be amazingly creative and persuasive if we are open to the immense potentials of arranging, selecting and delivering the message. The recipient of the message is the receiver (another person or groups of persons). Once the receiver gets the message (linguistic or paralinguistic – the nonverbal cues) he/she commences to decode the meaning. Attentive listening and willingness to comprehend the message enable the receiver to decode and digest the content of the message. Competent presenters facilitate the process of decoding bearing in mind the zone of proximal development and the style of transmitting the message. Channel implies the medium by which the message is sent. There are basically five channels related to five senses (hearing, seeing, touching, smelling, tasting). The context of communication is the actual physical surrounding which should be clean, peaceful and inspiring. The context could be more appealing if we know how to use music as the back-up stimulation, visual aids (like posters on the wall), flowers or other decorations etc.

Although the ever-increasing growth of the Internet and other new technologies reduced the need for developing presentation skills one of communication expert says: “There are more avenues to reach people than ever before, but there’s no substitute for face-to-face consultations.” (Stephen, 2007). Immediate interaction between teachers and students is the gist of contemporary education. The following current educational trends are compelling reasons for the development of presentation skills; self-expression instead of sheer reproduction, collaborative learning (students act as teachers), communication as one of key facets replaced the traditional one-way transmission of knowledge, taking the initiative is

highly praised, self-betterment becomes integrated in the educational process, reflective and active learning is more emphasized than just lecturing and memorizing, creation of new knowledge is on the top of priority list of educational outcomes etc. All these contemporary trends in education require (among other skills) the competent presenters – able to transmit their messages in an inspiring and challenging ways.

The relevance of the art of presentation for teachers is rather marginalized in spite of the fact that the effectiveness of educational instructions, lectures and sessions depends primarily on the presentation skills. Apart from the content of the curriculum our emphasis should be strongly placed on the ways of transmitting knowledge. If our students find lectures boring, if we face commotion and disruptive behaviour, the ways of delivering message must be modified in order to raise an attention level and students' motivation.

The art of presentation is the outcome of rhetorical skills – which is the reason why Aristotle is the precious source for this topic. The greatest Greek philosopher stated: "Of the modes of persuasion furnished by the spoken word there are three kinds. The first kind depends on the personal character of the speaker (*ethos*); the second on the putting the audience into a certain frame of mind (*pathos*); the third on the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself (*logos*). Persuasion is achieved by the speaker's personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make us think credible". (George, 1991). *Ethos* as the character of the speaker includes ethical standards is one of major preconditions for effective presentations. The credibility of the speaker is based on his or her character in the broadest sense of the word. Sharon (2004) claims that; "According to Quintilian, Roman rhetoricians who relied on Greek rhetorical theory sometimes confused *ethos* with pathos--appeals to the emotions--because there was no satisfactory term for *ethos* in Latin. Cicero occasionally used the Latin term *persona*), and Quintilian simply borrowed the Greek term. This lack of a technical term is not surprising, because the requirement of having a respectable character was built into the very fabric of Roman oratory. Early Roman society was governed by means of family authority, and so a person's lineage had everything to do with what sort of *ethos* he could command when he took part in public affairs. The older and more respected the family, the more discursive authority its members enjoyed." *Pathos* provokes the emotional response of the audience. it elicits strong feelings which can be accomplished in a multitude of ways; primarily: by a metaphor or storytelling (which serves as a hook) and by passion in the delivery of the speech. Long before Aristotle's *Rhetoric* we can find the notion of *pathos* in *The Art of Persuasion* Gorgias was analysing the



orator's emotional appeal (Kennedy, 1963). Gorgias firmly believed in the power of *pathos* which captures, animates and leads the audience in any direction orators chose as a desirable destination. Furthermore, Gorgias equates emotional persuasion to the state of mind overtaken by drugs. According to Bizzell (2001) Plato, as one of leading Greek philosophers, discusses the danger of exaggerated emotions in oratory which can mislead both the orator and the audience and distract attention from the marrow of the message to rather trivial and flimsy reactions. George Campbell (1963), was one of the first rhetoricians who recognized and introduced emotional appeal into the concept of the art of presentation. He stressed the relevance of the audience's imagination and emotional persuasion that is equally as significant and influential as comprehension of arguments (which incorporates the psychological aspect of orators' skills). *Logos* comprises facts, arguments and precise data which support the orator's views. This rational aspect of rhetorical skills must be evidence-based, clearly presented and double-checked; otherwise it leads to misconceptions, false deductions and inaccuracy. The Quintilian considered that powerful and impressive speech depends on the voice (which must be convincing) as well as on the expression of the face and the body. (Petrovic, 2007). Voice volume adjusts to the size of space we perform. The voice must not be irritating, but pleasing, firm, clear and melodious. The voice power is often neglected in public appearances and most common mistakes can be eliminated with little exercise. To use the Heraclitus metaphor; the power of speech is not gimmicks (or an uncontrollable shouting) but controlled power, "the fire that burns and goes off with fire" (but there is always fire - it is like a spark or a powerful blaze). In the following paragraph the qualities of a good speakers will be discussed (Nina, 1994).

### **Qualities of a good speaker**

- a carrying voice

Presenter's voice must be loud enough to be heard; otherwise the whole presentation is meaningless. If no one can hear us there is no point in speaking. The basic premise of rhetorical skills accentuates natural and healthy voice which emanates positive energy and overwhelms the audience. The Quintilian stressed that "in a good and strong voice we can do what we want", while the faint, sluggish, lamentable voice irritates the listeners. (Milinkovic, 2008).

- a confident appearance

The audience will be more relaxed and willing to receive the message if we exude confidence which is transferred as radiation of positive energy, enthusiasm and passion. We can't expect that anyone will trust our words if we don't trust ourselves. One of preconditions for being confident is elimination of crippling fears – the frequent cause of failures of many public speaking sessions.

- research

Everything must be double-checked, carefully verified, based on reliable sources and documented; citations referred to authors, the subject of presentation thoroughly prepared and analysed. Regardless of the level of expertise and competence exhaustive research is required – to expand and if necessary modify the content of the presentation. Being an overconfident is a potential danger to misquote, wrongly interpret sources and skip substantial arguments. Needless to say; novices must invest much more energy in their research to earn respect and open the gate of science.

- smiling

A smile is not a fixture – it should be natural expression of our willingness to “enjoy in the process”. With smile we embrace and win our audience all the time. Being stern, detached and cold is not the right way to approach the audience – such manner reveals the lack of enthusiasm. A smile is the shortest way to hearts; it brings something warm and personal and draws our listeners in a magnetic way.

- sincerity

This is perhaps the most vital quality of influential public speaking which is easily picked up and welcomed by the audience. Sincerity means that we speak from our hearts even while dealing with “boring statistics” and impersonal data. It is also readiness to explicitly state doubts and scepticism whenever we are not fully convinced that something is utterly true.

- use of language

One of the principal qualities of language is accuracy which makes our presentation comprehensible. We should restrain from larding our speech with “animal sounds” and hesitation words. Being succinct and clear is the very foundation of presentation skills.

Only then (if our speech is easily understandable) we can work on rhetorical “embellishments” (in order to avoid tedious succession of words and worn-out phrases.) It is highly recommendable to use colourful language that paints word-pictures, trigger imagination and wakes up from slumber.

- persuasion

The power of persuasion is the major advantage in daily life and business carrier. For Aristotle persuasion was the art of getting people to do something they wouldn't ordinarily do if you didn't ask. Persuasion is better understood if we connect it with synonyms such as; prompting, cajolery, pressure, urging, inducement, coercion, enticement, convincing, encouragement etc. From the ethical point of view the mastery of language should never be used to promote and disseminate something harmful, bogus and discriminative.

- speaking to your audience

Speaking as though we are addressing one person will ensure that we are speaking *to* our listeners and not *at* them. When we fail to make eye contact with our listeners we can look aloof, less authoritative, less believable, detached, timid or arrogant. While looking someone in the eye we communicate confidence while gathering non-verbal data with nods, sceptical raisings of eyebrows, smiles, frowns etc. Listeners become more active participants who establish a personal link with presenters. Looking into the eyes is not staring or hectic skimming, it should be rather short (no more than two or three seconds) to avoid embarrassment.

- timing

To put it briefly; overtime is often boring time. We should respect time-limits, be it ten, fifteen or twenty minutes (which is typical for scientific conferences). It is more efficient and memorable if we stop our presentation while it is still engaging and interesting than ruin the whole session for breaking the time limit. A lot of “dead wood” must be cleared away, some arguments refined, unnecessary data skipped, long and “clumsy” sentences shortened, hesitation words deleted, worn-out phrases avoided, redundancy overcome and our presentation will be more impressive. The seemingly paradoxical principle “less is more” is the gist of respecting time-frames. Let stop our presentation before our audience stop listening. Let them want more to hear before we quit. Otherwise, if verbosity

prevails, next time when they see us they will say; “Oh, again...This must be boring like last time..”

- self-control

Being enthusiastic implies the measure and self-control; otherwise unrestrained emotions lead to breakdown, uncontrollable anger, sadness, hatred etc. The equilibrium between cold rationality and emotional power, between left and right brain hemisphere, intelligence and intuition is the golden middle solution where we find the most effective means of conveying our message. We should never allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by emotions, to lose control and behave erratically. The moral backbone of orators is dignity which can be ruined by emotional bursts.

- attention-gaining

Oratory skills are all (directly or indirectly) related to an attention-gaining speech. The way we walk, the way we stand, the way we look at others; all paralinguistic means of transmitting messages are relevant as well as an explicit, verbalized content of our topic. From the opening statements to closing remarks; all details should be thoroughly prepared, practised and analysed. Diversity in speech patterns, intonation, rhythm and melody is of utmost importance for attention-gaining delivery. If we speak in a mono-tone the result is monotony. Memorable presenters are good psychologists; they lead their public to desired goals in a way which is often impressive. We can learn a lot from books, more from effective orators and the most if we constantly practise; if we are never contented with the achieved level, if we always find new ideas and learn from mistakes (our mistakes than mistakes we notice while others speak in public).

- progression in ideas

Well prepared speech must be coherent; from introductory part up to the end of delivery. Ideas progress in a logical sequence with stress on the most relevant points or thoughts. If our presentation is coherent the audience will follow us easily in a steady and logical progression of ideas. All unnecessary diversion should be avoided to stay focused on the gist of our presentation. Within short time-frame there is no much room for distractions of any kind.

- audience reaction

We must be flexible and ready to improvise our speech if it is needed to gain attention. It happens that we will not follow all details and sections in our plan which depends on the audience reactions. First of all – no two audiences are the same; our presentation is tailored according to the number and expertise of listeners. Dealing with small groups (up to fifteen) gives more space for interaction while presentations to much larger groups are mostly “ex cathedra”.

- clarity

Clarity implies suiting the words to your audience, clear pronunciation and, whenever needed, the usage of utterances which are easily comprehensible and familiar. If we have the slightest doubt that certain technicalities are above the cognitive level of our audience we can translate them into simple language. Some presenters exaggerate with “sophisticated” words which allegedly demonstrate their superior knowledge. On the other hand, simplicity does not mean the absence of profound knowledge and effective presentation style. We can talk in a rather demanding and subtle form for a short time (just to demonstrate the scope and depth of our knowledge) before going back to simplicity and clarity which is the most vital feature of effective presentation.

- Vitality

Vitality refers to the level of energy we emanate and use in our presentations. A lacklustre performance satisfies no one. With little effort we will be surprised at the positive reactions of the audience.

### **Qualities of a bad speaker (Nina, 1994)**

- speak unprepared
- be apologetic
- ignoring a structure
- learning speech by heart
- being married to our notes
- mumbling
- speaking so quickly that our listeners can't follow
- speaking so slowly that they are nodding off between sentences
- speaking in a monotone
- haranguing style

- giving length statistics
- quoting without giving the source
- patronising listeners
- over-use slang expressions
- being repetitive
- being superficial
- over-talk
- mesmerizing movements (swaying from side to side etc.)
- exceeding the time limit etc.

### **Non-verbal means of communication**

Classical aesthetics (as well as classical rhetoric) made division between “lower” (smell and touch) and “higher” aesthetic perception (eye and ear). The largest amount of data is received and decoded by ears and eyes while paralinguistic perception (body language / non-verbal communication) is ideally complementary source of impressions (holistic concept). Quintilian stressed the relevance of paralinguistic aspect of sending and receiving data recalling that “many things can be expressed without words.” (Petrović, 2007). Demosten, one of the most prominent orators insisted on a harmonious correlation between body language and words, practicing in front of the window. Petrović (2007) states what should be avoided in paralinguistic communication:” Irritates hair straightening by hand, chin stroking, tingling of the eye or nose, forehead rubbing, knitting nose fixing, unpacking and knitting suits, touching the button on the coat, with his shoulders, etc. Turning around, looking at the clock, anxious fun with pencil, walking, blinking or licking the lips ... ”

### **Few basic suggestions related to non-verbal communication:**

- The upright position of the body radiates dignity, confidence and courage while slouching sends a message of insecurity, fear and the lack of self-esteem.
- Legs must not be completely joined (soldier’s posture) or widespread (“cowboy style”) but separate to the width of shoulders.
- The most effective hand movements are natural; they simply follow our words without paying deliberate attention to them. Sudden and slow movements should be avoided; everything that looks artificial (the result of training in front of the mirror) will be

easily recognized as unnatural distraction. The set of established movements are not “immerses in the heart” and they look like unnatural patterns.

- Getting too close to listeners is invasion of their private space and could be perceived as intimidating. Recommendable (dignified distance) is about two to three meters from the first row. One of the principal rules is: do not talk to the back of the audience; avoid walking behind first rows. Speak in front of your audience; that is the most respectful position for both orators and listeners.
- Walking should be restricted to minimum or, more adequately; to a reasonable measure. Some presenters behave erratically, they jump, constantly sway, walk left and right in order “to be more passionate and influential”. We must remind ourselves on the basic premise of effective presentation; our speech is the main focus not our body.
- Instead of gloomy and menacing grimace practice natural smile (which is not “seductive”, pathetic or patronizing). Avoid gazing, sharp lifting of the eyebrows; all fixtures which are unnatural or unpleasant (such as strong contractions of the forehead muscles).

## Conclusion

The art of presentation is both a gift and art; but the most decisive role in achieving mastery is the outcome of intensive practice. The aim of this paper is to define the most relevant aspects of rhetorical skills which are “badly” needed in our daily life and professional activities (lecturing, presenting scientific research papers, participating in panel discussions etc.) It’s not an overwhelming research but more the set of guidelines which is, I hope, a promising and edifying “threshold”.

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# Teaching Cultural Values and Identity through Studying Literary Narratives (story, novel, theater)



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## Abstract

Most contemporary societies are facing challenges and crises that need to be resolved according to the rapid scientific and technical progress and the needs of their generations' future especially that the barriers between cultures have been removed through modern means of communication, the space media and the impact of contemporary globalization in most areas of daily life. Societies seeking to survive and grow must have solutions and treatments for the challenges they face. At the same time, they should benefit and learn from the experiences of other nations while keeping on their cultural identity and values that distinguish them from others. This means that they have to meet the level of the future in preparing their generations, and the key to doing so is in various stages of education. It is no secret that the traditional means of education are no longer effective in attracting students, especially if it is the subject of values and human studies. Delivering its messages to the students requires attractive, convincing, smooth and dazzling methods at the same time, which explains, for example, the adoption of many Arab countries the American curricula in education as an alternative to the traditional national curricula. Education in story, novel and theater, not only contributes to the achievement of language, or to attract the attention of the student, but also contributes to the achievement of several demands, including: the courage, the pioneering, the spirit of teamwork, the validity of speech, critical analysis, cultivation values and rooting in a streamlined manner, so that the educational process avoids direct guidance in adopting or rejecting the values of the mainstream society, as do the books of civic education in more than one Eastern state. This study is an additional contribution to a conscious reading of the role of narration in the achievement of the desired goals in raising the generations on the culture and identity of their home and their community. The study will be based on studying, comparing, analyzing and concluding the methodology and the rules that the teaching of (Reading in Modern Kuwaiti Literature) course, at the Gulf University of Science and Technology in Kuwait had achieved. The aim of this study, combined with similar studies is to achieve a pioneering leap in education to overcome the most difficult equation, openness to the world while preserving national identity.

Key words: Culture, Values, Identity, Teaching, Education, Literature, Narratives

## Introduction

Education can be achieved through various methods and techniques that have evolved throughout history<sup>1</sup> and peaked in the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>2</sup>. These methods range from direct advice and setting example, to media, and finally to what is now known as Multiple Intelligences<sup>3</sup>.

Naturally, the methods used differ based on the environment and even the individuals themselves, if individual differences are to be considered. They also depend on the authority's purpose with the educational policy, as the authority find education too dangerous to be free of their control. Authorities are not only concerned with teaching people how to read and write, but also with shaping the nation's future.

Educators are still in debate on the most successful methods of education and cultivation of values that could maintain the cultural and national identity. Are the direct or indirect methods better to achieve the desired objectives? This is especially important because the cultivation of values requires special care that consider the human nature in reception, acceptance, and embracement.

The objective of this paper, along with other similar papers, is to contribute to finalizing the notion of value cultivation through narration. Perhaps it will make a positive step on the way of realizing the difficult dilemma of education; i.e. coping with the current openness with the world while maintaining the cultural and national identity. The study begins with definitions of some terms.

## Definitions

**(Values)** an updated term with new references<sup>4</sup>. Al-Jabri differentiates between *Morale*, being an individual's behavior, and *Ethics*, being the social values. He attributes the former to its Greek origin and the latter to its Latin's<sup>5</sup>. Therefore, they are both new to the contemporary Arabic vocabulary.

In Arabic dictionaries, the word "qiyam" -meaning values- refers to anything that can be quantified or valued<sup>6</sup>. Contextually, it denotes the group of ethical qualities that characterize humans, form the base of social life, and are expressed through words and actions. It can also be defined as a collection of virtues that depend on directing the human behavior through education to do or say everything that is virtuous.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Emad Zaghoul, *Nathariyat al-ta'allom (Learning Theories)*, Amman, Dar Al-Shorok, Ed. 1, Issue 2, 2010, p.29.

<sup>2</sup> Anwar Mohammed Al-Sharqawi, *Learning and Personality*, Kuwait, Alam al-Fikr Magazine, Vol. 13, 1982, p.22.

<sup>3</sup> Howard Gardner, *Frames of Mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences*. NY. Basic Books. 1983, 2004, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Nasir Al-Din Al-Asad, *Insights into the Language and content of expressions*, Seminar on "Values Crisis and the Role of Families in Developing the contemporary Society", Spring Course for 2001, publications of the Academy of the Kingdom of Morocco, series of "Courses", El Maarif Al Jadida Printing House, 2002, p.49.

<sup>5</sup> Mohammed Abed Al-Jabri, *Nitham al-Qiyam fi al-Thaqafa al-Arabiyya* "System of Values in the Arabic culture", *Fikr wa Naqd Magazine*, Issue 19, Casablanca, Moroccan Publishing House, May 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Al-Jawhari (died in 393AH), *Taj al-Lugha wa Sihah al-Arabiyya*, Beirut, Dar El Ilm Lilmalayin, Ed. 4, 1990, p. 5\2017. Al-Razi (died in 666AH), *Mukhtar al-Sihah*, Beirut, Beirut Library, unknown ed., 1986, p. 440.

<sup>7</sup> Samaher Omar Al-Astal, *the Educational Values Included in the Quran Call for the Believers and Employing them in School Education*, Gaza, Islamic University, Faculty of Art, Department of Islamic Education, MA Thesis, 1428 AH\ 2007AD, p. 19.

Social values are standards and fundamentals that are agreed on within a community. It is demonstrated when people treat each other well and avoid all wrongdoings.<sup>8</sup> Values are human qualities that acquire cultural characteristics specific to the society that adopts them, because people apply them and consider them the standards when judging their and everybody else's behaviors.<sup>9</sup>

Values are inherited and acquired through learning and following examples, similar to how the conquered imitate their conqueror<sup>10</sup> or the other way round based on the degree of civility of each party. For instance, the Mongols and the Franks learned many values from the Arab orient although they outweighed them militarily<sup>11</sup>. This is because the Orient was more civilized than those conquering nations.

## **Narration**

A literary art that refers to the narration of real or fictional actions and events<sup>12</sup> using a set of expression styles. Narration includes description and dialogue among other styles, and the text is usually made up of a series of interconnected events. It also includes actions that the characters take or events that they go through. The narrative text should include an explicit or implicit purpose to reach an intended ethical, political or social point at the end<sup>13</sup>; or develop the receiver's skill of criticism or imagination<sup>14</sup>. Narration can be in the form of a story, novel, play or proverb.

## **Relationship between Literature and Values**

There is a strong relationship between literature and the higher social and cultural values. The content of the narration reflects the author's<sup>15</sup> surrounding. Values are presented abstractly or conceptually in the novelist's mind and are given an ethical nature<sup>16</sup>. In addition to its literary nature, novels in particular are a cultural product that is connected to the social realm in terms of notions, images, and situations. They usually portray general or specific cases from inside

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<sup>8</sup> Jabir Qumaiha, *Al Madkhal ila al-Qiyam al-Islamiya fi Derasat al-Hadara al-Islamiyya* "Introduction to the Islamic Values in Islamic Civilization Studies", Cairo, General Egyptian Book Organization, 1985, p. 40.

<sup>9</sup> Qasim Mohammed Mahmoud Khazali, *Educational Values in Light of the Qur'anic Vision and the Noble Hadith*, Al-Quds Open University Journal for Research and Studies, Iss. 25, Vol.1, Thul Q'eda, 1432 AH/October, 2011, p. 61.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Khaldoun (died in 808AH), *al-Muqimah*, investigated by: Abdulla Mohammed al-Darwish, Damascus, Yurub House, Ed. 1, 1425AH/2004AD, p. 1\283.

<sup>11</sup> Mahmoud Mohammed Al-Huwairi, *Al-Awda' Al-Hadariya fi Belad al-Sham fel Qarnain al-Thani ashar wal Thalith ashar min al-Milad* "Civilizational Situation in the Levant in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries", Cairo, Darul Ma'arif, Ed. 1, 1979, p. 244.

<sup>12</sup> Majdi Wahba and Kamil Muhandis, *Mu'jam al-muṣṭalahāt al-‘Arabīyah fī al-lughah wa-al-adab* " Dictionary of Arabic Terms in Linguistics and Literature", Beirut, Beirut Library, Ed.2, 1984, p. 198.

<sup>13</sup> Mohammed bin Hassan Al-Zir, *Al-Qasas fel Hadith al-Nabawi* "Narration in the noble Hadith", Riyadh, no publisher, 1985, p. 427.

<sup>14</sup> Rafida al-Hariri, *Al-Tarbiyah wa Hikayat al-Atfal* "Upbringing and Children Stories", Amman, Darul Fikr, 2009.

<sup>15</sup> Jean Yve Tadie, *Literary Criticism in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Translated by Munther Ayyashi, Aleppo, Darul Hasoub Publishing House, Ed.1, 1994, p.115.

<sup>16</sup> Lucien Goldmann, *Introductions to the Sociology of the Novel*, Translated by: Badr al-Din Arudki, Latakia, Dar al Hiwar, Ed.1, 1993, p. 20.

the society<sup>17</sup>. The realistic nature of the novel is not attributed to the lifestyle it presents, but to the way it presents such lifestyle<sup>18</sup>.

The literary work obtains a special cultural sense such as the interaction occurring between the narrative and the spiritual concepts of the readers, including faith in the unseen and in the biographies of prophets; the social concepts including love and social relations inside and outside the family; the political concepts including justice, freedom and battle against injustice and aggression; and national concepts including sacrifice, unity, and Jihad. All are human demands stressed by the authors in their stories, novels, and plays to help cultivate them in their peoples' cultures as is clear in most Arab and non-Arab literary works throughout history.

### **Pre-Islamic Arabs and Story Writing**

Pre-Islamic Arabs wrote down the history and glory of their tribes using poetry and proverbs, which they also used to speak about their traditions, values and beliefs. Arabs passed such fortune from one generation to the next, so the children were brought up to the same values the elderlies had. Most of the values they called for were virtuous such as honor, pride, bravery, generosity, helping the needy, fulfilling promises and others. Hatim al-Tai once wrote about inviting guests, even if they are passersby; he said to his slave<sup>19</sup>:

Set fire to the wood for the night has come cold,  
And listen to the howling wind as it comes close.  
May a passer see the flames and feel its warmth -  
So if one does come, be their gracious host.

On being a good neighbor, Antarah ibn Shaddad said<sup>20</sup>:

I lower my gaze when the lady next door appears,  
And so I do until her home hides her shades.  
My heart is pure and my soul is gracious:  
I follow not blindly the callings of my desires.

On fidelity, al-Hadirah wrote<sup>21</sup>:

Lawful is our nature and how we are;  
We are known not for any form of distrust.  
We keep our words and follow a code:  
Where there is more, we, so thrilled, embrace the less

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<sup>17</sup> Roulan Bart et. al, *The Literature of Reality*, translated by: Abdul Jalil al-Azdi and Mohammed Mu'tasim, Algeria, Munshurat al-Ikhtilaf Publications, Ed. 2, 2003, p. 13.

<sup>18</sup> Roulan Bart, *The Literature of Reality*, p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Hatim al-Tai, *Diwan*, Beirut, Dar Sader Publisher, 1401 AH/ 1981, p. 24.

<sup>20</sup> Al Khatib al-Tabrizi, *Diwan Antarah Explanation*, ed. Majid Tirad, Beirut, al-Kitab al-Arabi Publishing Home, edition 1, 1412 AH/ 1992, ps. 208-209.

<sup>21</sup> Al-Hadira Diwan, Dictated by Abdullah Mohammed bin al-Abbas al-Yazidi from al-Asm'i, investigated by Nassereddine al-Assad, the *Institute of Arabic Manuscripts Journal*, v. 15(2), p. 310-311.

On pride and honor, al-Mutalammis al-Duba'i said<sup>22</sup>:

Only the shameful sees injustice,  
And holds his words within -  
He lives not, but his soul long dead:  
Never does he live an honorable life,  
And rarely is his story remembered then.

Antarah describes self-esteem in the Arab culture<sup>23</sup>:

I take in Disgrace not with a scent so good  
For honor is all I want despite its hideous smell.  
Burn alive I would in a life of honor  
Than live humiliated in a heaven of disgrace.

On liberty, Antarah says in the same poem<sup>24</sup>:

Dark is the day of battle and horrendous - but  
Let not, ye strong, the coward deceive you into retreat.  
Mind not, thus, his dampening words and fiercely race  
Towards the front to where only the brave beat.  
There you shall be of a status high  
Or you shall die in the shades of the honourous blades

As poetry encourages virtues, it also warns from vices such as tumult that result from wars. Zuhayr bin Abi Sulma once said<sup>25</sup>,

War - how vicious and horrendous -  
Is not of the unseen wonders;  
Have we not seen how when started  
It burns down kingdoms?  
It takes down everything,  
You, your homes and families  
And those who survive are brought up to anger:  
The wrath grows dark inside them  
And they keep growing in numbers

Al-Natham said, "The language of proverbs has four features that are not found in other types of discourse: Brachylogy, accuracy, excellent use of simile, and quality"<sup>26</sup>. It is not strange, then, to find proverbs common in the culture of the Pre-Islamic era since they are the mirror that reflects the culture of their nation. Proverbs portray the spiritual, religious, social, mental, political and linguistic aspects of a people. It is more common than poetry, which is usually

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<sup>22</sup> Al-Mutalammis al-Duba'i, narrated by al-Ashram and Abi Obaidah from al-Asm'i, investigated by Hassan Kamil al-Sirafi, the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, 1390 AH/ 1970, p. 208 and 211.

<sup>23</sup> Al Khatib al-Tabrizi, Diwan Antarah Explanation, p.135

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p.134

<sup>25</sup> Zuhayr bin Abi Sulma, al-Diwan, investigated by Ali Hassan Faour, Beirut, Dar Al-Kotob Al-Ilmiyah, ed. 1, 1408 AH/ 1988, p. 107-108

<sup>26</sup> Abul Fadl of Nishapur, Mujama' al-Amthal, investigated by Mohammed Mohy al-Deen Abdul Hamid, Beirut, Dar al Marifa, p. 1/7

recited by 'the educated', since proverbs are used by all people from different social groups. The content of such proverbs was enriched with the themes addressed in the poetry of the pre-Islamic era. They aimed at reinforcing good values and virtues, and passing them from one generation to the other. They, in fact, were spread to educate and teach<sup>27</sup>.

One of their proverbs is "Dumber than Ejl" (Ejl is an Arabic name and also means bullock). Here 'Ejl' refers to a man whose full name is Ejl bin Lujaim bin Sa'b bin Ali bin Bakr bin Wael. Hamzah said, "He is one of oldest dummies". When he was asked, "What did you name your horse?"; he stood up, plucked one of the horse's eyes and said, "I named him 'the One-Eyed'. On such incident, Jarthuma al-Enzi said,

Ye dare call me ignorant like your Bullock  
When none is ignorant but he!  
Did he not pluck his horse's eye;  
Thus who could be dumber, tell me?<sup>28</sup>

### **Holy Qur'an and the Story**

Islam came to spread a new faith, seeking to establish monotheism and good ethics. Similar to previous holy books, Islam used stories to spread the new culture in the Arabian Peninsula. It updated the use of certain terms and added new meanings to existing ones. Qur'anic narration greatly contributed to addressing the objectives of the da'wa including faith, acts of worship, behaviors, and values. Reflecting on the Qur'anic narration reveals that it does not only chronicle the events of the past, but also draws the road for both the present and the future.<sup>29</sup> Narration makes up almost one third of the Holy Qur'an and includes the stories of previous prophets and nations as well as the biography of Prophet Mohammed –peace be upon him. All the stories have one objective in common: To correct the behaviors of individuals and societies. "There was certainly in their stories a lesson for those of understanding. Never was the Qur'an a narration invented, but a confirmation of what was before it and a detailed explanation of all things and guidance and mercy for a people who believe" [Yusuf: 111]. In addition to spreading the true faith of monotheism and teaching people how to worship Allah, each messenger was assigned to reform certain misdeeds that were common amongst his people. For instance, Lot sought to advise his people against homosexuality, "And [We had sent] Lot when he said to his people, "Do you commit such immorality as no one has preceded you with from among the worlds" [Al-A'raf: 80]. Shoayb was also sent to his people to advise them against giving people less than due and claiming others for full measure: "There has come to you clear evidence from your Lord. So fulfill the measure and weight and do not deprive people of their due". [Al-A'raf:85]

The Qur'anic narration highlighted the wrongdoings that result from disbelief and sins, and demonstrated Allah's punishment for them. On the other hand, it grants the honest servants Allah's victory and orders people to follow in the footsteps of prophets and messengers, adopt the best morale, be polite when conversing with others, argue with good instruction, invite people to the way of God in the best way, be patient, accept the other, seek knowledge, enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong, and reconcile those in dispute and many other virtues.

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<sup>27</sup> Mohammed Abdul Mu'in Kha, *al-Asatir al-Arabiyah qabl al Islam* (Arabic Legends before Islam), Cairo, Association of Authorship, Translation and Publication Press, 1937, p.39

<sup>28</sup> Abul Fadl of Nishapur, *Mujama' al-Amthal*, p.1/217.

<sup>29</sup> See: Yusuf: 111, al-A'raf: 176.

Qur'anic narration turned the described characters into symbols that stand for different meanings. For example, Pharaoh has become a symbol of human tyranny, Moses a symbol of challenge and steadfastness, Ibrahim a symbol of sacrifice, Dawud a symbol of a fair sultan, Yusuf a symbol of purity and honesty, and the companions of the cave a symbol of devotion to righteousness.

### **Language is a Means of Thought**

Language is a means of thought<sup>30</sup> and communication<sup>31</sup>. Using languages, people understand the different sciences and perceive the explicit and implicit references<sup>32</sup>. Languages are the record of nations and the keeper of their cultural identities. Creative writers succeed at adding new meaning to common terms to leave a certain impression on the reader and induce specific abstract meanings such as spiritual concepts, and ethical and cultural values which add up to form a person's identity.

The true challenge is to delve into a writer's own language to judge the meanings and references of its terms. This may include a guess that the utterance itself could hold, or a miss of the meaning intended to be told. In both cases, the effort should be appreciated, as Prophet Mohammed said, "If a judge makes a ruling, striving to apply his reasoning (ijtihad) and he is correct, then he will have two rewards. If a judge makes a ruling, striving to apply his reasoning and he is mistaken, then he will have one reward."<sup>33</sup> Literature uses different styles including innuendos, allusions, and symbols. Therefore, it is difficult for those who do not master the Arabic language and the Arabic philosophy to decode these aesthetic features. Although writers do use the words explained in the Arabic lexicon, they do not abide by their apparent meanings. They, rather, come up with new forms and meanings, learning from the Holy Qur'an whose verses are rich in explicit and implicit meanings. This is clear in our tradition<sup>34</sup>, the Holy Qur'an<sup>35</sup>, and the Sunna where stories and examples are used to teach faith and values<sup>36</sup>.

Qur'anic narration allows for a broad scope of analysis, deduction, and conclusion; especially in terms of content, attitudes, and behavioral patterns mentioned within it. This contributes largely to achieving the educational mission of learning and teaching precious values and national, behavioral, and social virtues.

One of the impacts of using narration in education on the receiver is the emotional involvement that results from being engaged with the story characters (in a novel or a play) and from readers' empathy with the characters' feelings and attitudes. This makes the reader feel as part of the story and cultivates in his/her subconscious an implicit comparison with the

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<sup>30</sup> Joma Sayyed Yusuf, *Psychology of Language and Mental Disease*, Kuwait, National Council of Culture, Arts, and Letters, Alam al-Marifa, no. 145, 1410AH\1990, p. 144.

<sup>31</sup> Al-Jurjani (died in 816AH), *al-Ta'rifat*, investigated by: Abdul Rahman Omairah, Beirut, Alam al-Kutub, Ed.1, 1407AH\1987AD, p. 244.

<sup>32</sup> *The Brethren of Sincerity, Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*, Beirut, Dar Sader, 1376AH, p. 1\391-398.

<sup>33</sup> *Sahih al Bukhari*, no. 7352. *Sahih Muslim*, no. 1716. From the narrator Amr bin al-'As.

<sup>34</sup> Abu Ya'la of Mosul (died in 307AH), *Musnad Abu Ya'la*, investigated by: Hussein Saleem Asad, Damascus, Dar al-Ma'mun lil-Turath, Ed. 1, 1404AH\1984AD, p.9\ 80. Narrated by the Sufi, al-Tustari (died in 238AH), *Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Athim*, Cairo, al-Sa'ada Publishing House, Ed. 1, 1326AH\1908AD, p. 61. The Shia also narrated it from Ali: al-Fayd al-Kashani (died in 1091AH), *Tafsir al-Safi*, Beirut, Manshurat al-A'jami Publishing House, Ed.1, 1399AH\1979AD, p. 1\28.

<sup>35</sup> Fahad bin Abdul Rahman bin Sulaiman al-Rumi, *Derasat fi Uloom al-Qur'an al-Karim*, Riyadh, Fahad National Library, Ed.14, 1425AH\ 2005AD, p. 607.

<sup>36</sup> Samaher Omar al-Astal, *Educational Values*, p. 17.

narration's characters. Therefore, the receiver identifies with the character becoming either superior or inferior, depending on the character's dimensions.

### **The Arabic Legacy is Rich in Values**

Arabs in the pre-Islamic and Islamic eras have excelled in preserving their legacy and transferring it from one generation to the next through poetry and prose. Ibn Abbas once said, "Poetry is the record of Arabs"<sup>37</sup>, meaning that it preserves their history and culture. Despite the range of their education, Arabs were well-aware of the importance of speech in spreading virtues and ethics. They also knew that it was crucial for understanding the Holy Qur'an and the Sunna. Therefore, they were active in learning and teaching it. Prophet Mohammed, peace be upon him, said that "Poetry can hold wisdom"<sup>38</sup>. Abu Bakr also said, "A poet may say good things"<sup>39</sup>, while Omar said, "learn poetry; it holds its good side and bad side, offers wisdom to those who seek it, and guides to virtue"<sup>40</sup>. The companions of Allah's messenger used to study poetry and literature of pre-Islam in his presence and he did not forbid them. He might have even smiled to them while doing so.<sup>41</sup>

The Abbasid era witnessed different narrative arts including stories, biographies, and maqamas. Although the apparent purpose was entertaining people, the true purposes included teaching the styles of the Arabic language, reflecting on its terms, and educating the young ones of its uncommon features in an interesting manner. The innovator of this style, al-Hamadhani (died in 398AH), put it in the form of stories but without any plots because its educational nature was centered around lexis and exquisite language use. Researchers know that the Maqamat of Badi' al-Zaman and al-Hariri (died in 516AH) led to a crucial change in the existing values and called on cultivating new ones<sup>42</sup>. For instance, the imam in the Asfahani maqama deceived the praying men that he had visions where he dreamt of Allah's messenger and tricked them into buying these "visions". This was a huge twist in the Islamic values and traditions.

In a similar example, Tawfiq Yusuf Awad's contemporary novel, *Tawahin Beirut* 'the Mills of Beirut', exposes what the Arab World may face in the light of the sectarian conflict in Lebanon. A certain group is portrayed to reject anything related to Arabs or Arabism. The novel shows victory of the nationalist concepts despite the danger of such victory for the multiple Lebanese corpus that may be even considered to rebel against its surroundings.<sup>43</sup>

This is not exclusive to Arabic literature, but a human phenomenon in cultivating values or criticizing reality. For instance, the Strum und dran era in Germany witnessed –for five years–

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<sup>37</sup> AL-Tabari (died in 310AH), *Tahdhib al-Athar*, investigated by: Mahmoud Mohammed Shaker, Cairo, al-Khanji Library, Vol. 2, no. 2702.

<sup>38</sup> Al-Asqalani (died in 852 AH), *Fath al-Bari fi Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari*, investigated by: Mohammed Fu'ad Abdul Baqi and Muhib al-Din al-Khatib, Egypt, Darul Kutub al-Salafiya, Narrated by al-Bukhari from Ibn Abbas, p. 10\540.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p. 10\540.

<sup>40</sup> Al-Muttaqi (died in 975AH), *Kanz al-Ummal fi Sunan al-Aqwal wal Af'al* "Treasure of the Doers of Good Deeds", investigated by: Isaac al-Taibi, Jordan, Bait al-Afkar, Ed. 2, 2005, p. 1\443, no. 8945.

<sup>41</sup> Al-Asqalani (died in 852 AH), *Fath al-Bari*, p. 10\540-541. Narrated by Ahmed, ibn Abi Shaybah, and al-Tirmidhi, all from Jabir bin Samra.

<sup>42</sup> James Monroe, *The Art of Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadhani*, translated by: Anissa Abu al-Nasr, *Fusool Magazine*, Fall of 1993, p. 156.

<sup>43</sup> Mustafa Abdul Ghani, *The Nationalist Approach in Novels*, Kuwait, National Council of Culture, Art, and Letters, Alam al-Marifa Series, Issue 188, August 1988, p. 220.



a massive number of plays that tackled the motive of conflict between brothers. However, this was never considered to justify the increase in conflicts between brothers in that era<sup>44</sup>.

This can also apply to the short story 'The Sniper' written by the Irish writer, Liam O'Flaherty. The story highlights the tragedy of a man who kills his own brother in a war that is already tearing the nation apart. Although the events take place in Ireland, they can apply to all domestic wars that serve the interests of foreign agendas.

Being a double-edged weapon like almost everything else, narration can hold cultural values or destroy them. The acceptance of certain narrations such as "Alf Laila wa Laila" and "Sayf ibn dhi Yazan" among people was a source of destruction of the prevalent values<sup>45</sup>.

In the same context, some believe that the contemporary Gulf theatre contributes to the destruction of the traditional family structure<sup>46</sup>. The plays of the Kuwaiti playwright, Saqr al-Rushood, present a change in the extended family structure although Kuwait is a traditional Gulf society that was once part of Najd; the heart of Arabism and center of traditions.

### **Our Experience in the Gulf University for Science and Technology GUST**

Established in 2002, GUST was the first private university in Kuwait. It adopted American curricula in coordination with St. Lewis Missouri University – USA. I joined the university before it was opened to prepare a course for Islamic culture, which took the symbol (Hist-152). I instantly noticed the absence of any courses related to Kuwait, so I suggested some relevant subjects. In the early period of inauguration, the administration did not approve these subjects although they were convinced about their significance. After years of my demand and their claims that the university was new and there were other priorities, I decided to suggest a literary subject that I believed could achieve the same objectives of the suggested subjects such as the Kuwaiti culture in parallel with the American culture. I believe that authors are speakers of their nations; they convey their pains, hopes, dreams, and traditions. The course titled "Readings in the Contemporary Kuwaiti Literature" was approved and given the symbol (Arb-210). It was first taught in the academic year of 2009\2010, and that was the beginning of real work.

My first concern was to prepare the material after I had prepared the description and the examination mechanisms. Before the subject was approved by the administration for teaching, the question was raised, *"Do we have literary authors and writers in Kuwait?"* Their question was an additional motive for me to have the subject approved and turned into reality. If the university professors had no idea of the authors of their own country, what could we expect from the new generation?

The first step was to make consultation visits to writers, critics, educators, and university professors. This helped in the approval of a group of poetic and prosaic texts in different arts and with different purposes. As the time limits could not allow for this rich content, I made the novel, play, and article as homework for the students after explaining how to analyze their lexes and meanings. I did so by prioritizing "studying the aesthetics of the language" to the traditional critical study of texts. The latter is more needed by professionals not students who choose a selective subject and most of whom have come from private non-Arab schools. Therefore, the effort was doubled and we had to approve a prerequisite to this subject; Functional Arabic – Arb 103).

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<sup>44</sup> Tzvetan Todorov, *Narrative Concepts*, translated by: Abdul Rahman Mizian, Algeria, Ministry of Culture, Manshura al-Ikhtilaf, Ed. 1, 2005, pp. 46-47.

<sup>45</sup> Mohammed Omar, *Hadir al-Masriyeen aw ser T'akhorhom "Present Time and the Secret to their Retardation"*, Egypt, al-Muqtatef Printing House, 1320AH\1902AD. P. 156

<sup>46</sup> Ibrahim Abdullah Ghloom, *al'Masrah wal Taghayur al-Ijtima'i fel Khalij al-Arabi "Theatre and the Social Change in the Arab Gulf"*, Kuwait, NCCA, Alam al-Marifa Series, Issue 105, September, 1986, p. 137.

The teaching journey began with a group of female students (education in Kuwait separates males from females even in college). Time commitment and fulfillment of all requirements were more than expected, which helped in continuing and even broadening the teaching of the subject. I can never forget the contribution of the *Authors' League*; whose writers, poets, and playwrights offered so much help and cooperation.

The field program of the course included hosting a literary intellectual in the lectures hall and directly talking to him\her in addition to a field visit to the offices of the "Authors League", where students met the administration staff (writers and poets), talked to them, and visited the different departments and library.

The choice of writers and poets had the greatest effect on the students and helped them understand the values demonstrated in the works of these authors. In addition, studying the environmental factors that surrounded each author and examining his\her biography facilitated acquiring exemplary values from Kuwaiti intellectuals, researchers, and poets who –unlike actors and singers- do not receive enough attention from the media.

The main writers who were chosen from the elite of various types and purposes of prose<sup>47</sup>:

- Ismail Fahd Ismail (father of the Kuwaiti novel, always takes side with humans in their weakness and estrangement).
- Buthaina Wa'el al-Issa (a young writer who addresses the needs of her own generation and speaks their language).
- Hamad Abdul Mohsen al-Hamad (a novelist).
- Sulaiman Ali al-Shatti (a novelist and academic critic, and teacher of the generation).
- Taleb Mahmoud al-Refa'i (an author-engineer).
- Laila Abdullah al-Othman (a creative writer and journalist who addresses matters related to woman).
- Mona Abbas al-Shaf'i (a delicate and romantic novelist and journalist)
- Haitham Abdullah Budi (a novelist who excelled at writing about the Kuwaiti tradition).

Some of the playwrights include:

- Hamad Issa al-Rujaib (the Pioneer and father of the Kuwaiti theatre)
- Khaled Abdul Latif Ramadan (an Academic and Playwright)
- Sulaiman Dawud al-Huzami (a Pioneer in the theatre of the absurd)
- Sa'd Mubarak al-Faraj (an actor, writer, director, and artist)

Some of the prominent poets:

- Ahmed Mashari al-Adwani (poet of silence and honor)
- Khalifa Abdullah al-Waqian (a poet, critic, and historian author who received several acknowledgment prizes)
- Salem Abbas Hodada (an educational and academic poet and critic)
- Souad Mohammed al-Sabah (the humanitarian princess who loves Kuwait)
- Abdul Latif Ibrahim al-Nisf (a modernist poet)
- Abdullah Mohammed al-Otaibi (a patriot poet and the voice against corruption)
- Fahad Saleh al-Askar (the outspoken poet of Kuwait, poet of pain and complain)
- Mahmoud Shawqi al-Ayyoubi (a traditional poet who loves nature)

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<sup>47</sup> In an alphabetical order.

In addition to a long list from which names are selected in each semester.

### **The Values Kuwaiti Literature Promotes**

Literature, in general, and conservative literature, in particular, convey a purposeful message that is presented through their characters, dialogues and narrations. 'A Woman who Wishes Not to Die' (Imr'a la turid al mawt) play, which is classified under Absurd Drama, carries a serious message that takes us back to what al-Jahiz once said, "Telling jokes is a serious act when its purpose is be so, and sarcasm shows wisdom if its utterer intends to"<sup>48</sup>.

The play, in short, is about a woman whose supposed friends conspire against her and murder her over and over again. Every time she dies, she returns again and forgives her killers. This woman represents the perfect model for forgiveness; however, she is immortal and cannot die. All the symbols in the play refer such woman to 'the Palestinian cause', which to the writer and his generation had been the most important issue at that time. During a personal interview, I spoke to the author about the play and explained to him how it could represent Kuwait as well although it was published in 1978 (i.e. 12 years before Iraq occupied Kuwait). Nonetheless, the use of symbolism eternalized the theme and made it applicable to all national causes whose people insist on achieving victory. He commented and said that such interpretation had never occurred to him.

*Souad al-Sabah* in her 'Sea Flower' poem promotes multiple national, cultural and humanitarian principles. She begins with some flashbacks about her childhood, and moves to the occupation of Kuwait until its liberation. Kuwait, as she describes, has great roots in history and originality, and is nothing like what the occupation attempts to publicize:

Oh, Kuwait, my home  
Where ships across time  
Sailed from her harbors.  
The oasis of love,  
And my safe haven.  
A great country  
With its Ever Generous God:  
A land with a heart so young,  
A heart so strong.

Then, the poet describes the coziness of a perfect Kuwaiti family and says,

"My father's tea,  
My mother's smile,  
My wallet - my plaited hair  
My early cup of milk  
Before heading to school.

She also depicts the will of Kuwait and its people to cling to freedom and the will of other humans and the unjustly treated around the world:

I love how, like the sun,  
You shed your light to the world

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<sup>48</sup> Al-Jahiz (died in 255 AH), al-Hayawan, Beirut, Dar Al-Kotob Al-Ilmiyah, ed. 2, 1424 AH/2003, p. 1/31.

I love how, like lands,  
You give your grains to the hungry  
I love how you share concerns with the afraid  
And how you bleed when the rebels, too, bleed.

In her poem '*Sea Flower*', she portrays the victory of Kuwait against occupation. Basically, the occupation failed in doing two things: Keeping the land, and preventing Kuwait from continuing its path of freedom of speech. In fact, Kuwait embraced all refugees who sought freedom and refuge there:

Your grace has allowed, dear Kuwait,  
Freedom of speech for years long  
And you carry love within your heart  
Everywhere you go  
And the blood of Arabs runs so deep  
In the veins of your land  
Like the roots of trees, of palms.  
Remain as such, my home, with a big heart;  
A star so bright – in the sky.  
Be a lighthouse to the lost,  
The comfort to the tired,  
Be the mother we know  
Whose arms are open to all.

To the poet, retrieving Kuwait is about retrieving the values of liberty and human rights. Those are the beliefs she was brought up to cling to and clinch:

Oh the joy I feel to see  
My home, a home of birds  
Of all types and furs,  
A home of different poets and stories.  
Oh the joy I feel to see  
The sand of my home covering  
Roots of flowers and blood of martyrs;  
Making a shelter to the wounded  
Who were left homeless  
After wars countless.  
Oh the joy! To see my land free  
Where dawn arrives whenever he likes  
And sheds his light wherever he wishes;  
Where the sea sings whatever he wants,  
And the waves rage in whatever directions.  
Oh the joy! To see my land  
A big place, a big heart  
A window from where  
We breathe in fresh air.

As for *Abdullah al-Otaibi*, he works as a university professor, and is a member and chairman of several cultural institutions. He does not live in his homeland; however, his homeland lives

within him. He carries it within his heart everywhere he goes and always discusses its issues, and talks about it.

When al-Jabriya Airplane was hijacked and the safety of his people and country were endangered, he was deeply moved. In his poetry, he emphasized the willingness of any people, no matter how small or with simple potential, to give everything up and die in the name of their country. Therefore, he wrote a poem using the Airplane and Kuwait as personas:

Ye hijacker! Brought to us from the wild!  
You - poor thing - know us not;  
My arms are thorny and my heart is hellish  
For the Kuwaitis from battle never relinquish;  
And their souls for their country  
They pay though pricy.

The same poet, Abdullah al-Otaibi, shows his love towards his country, and is always involved in talking about what makes it happy and what harms it. He describes in the following poem the type of people who race to get the prize of wars, but hide for safety when the real battle begins:

When in comfort, they show greatness;  
If the Great battle begins, but, they hide.  
They speak like true heroes,  
Ones who seem to never go down.  
Musketeers with special art of pride,  
And deer-like when defeat arrives.  
They put on their masks that  
Their distorted faces are seen no more -  
Perfectly placed to hide their shameful marks.

In fulfilling his role as a reformer, Abdullah al-Otaibi explains how neglecting punishment and accountability are the main reason for the rise of human parasites and opportunists who emerge and advance in the society. He bravely describes this in reference to 'the employee' who is used to carrying out his chores without being subjected to others' negligence of their duties. Al-Otaibi portrays this through his poetry because he is a patriot who hates seeing his country taken advantage of:

'From where has it sprung?' ask not,  
But our hearts and souls do ask:  
For it is what was;  
It is what will be  
So long we remain merciful and kind.

As for *very short stories* genre, Lalia al-Othman compresses her stories into the least number of words possible to deliver a heart-moving story which conveys deep meanings and emotions. Skillfully, she manages to conjoin creativity with brachylogy without affecting the quality of her language, style or story structure. Laila al-Othman who was born to a rich family stands by the most marginalized group in her society, the group that suffers from harm and lack of rights. Laila stands in the face of traditions to speak her heart out, caring less

about any prizes or certificates that may be retrieved from her. She calls for enlightenment and breaking free from chains as in her very short story 'Infitah' (Bloominess):

“A flower asked her friend,  
- Why did you bloom first?  
Her friend replied euphorically,  
“My heart opened up to light and rain before yours did”.

She also calls for fighting poverty and making use of education and learning - basing her beliefs on "Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime" - in her very short story '*Karam*' (generosity):

“He sat by the sidewalk lining his hand before him horizontally. On the first day, he got one dinar. On the second, a hundred; and on the third, a thousand. He stopped sitting there. Long years have passed until the passersby saw him giving a beggar 1,000 dinars. They all shouted him, “That’s too much!” He, then, replied, “The day I got one dinar, I bought something to eat. The day I got a hundred, I bought some clothes to put on. The day I got a thousand, I started learning, and it was then I stopped begging”.

Laila is also an environment guardian who defends nature as she does in her very short story '*Al-Iqab*' (the punishment) in which she addresses social, political and environmental issues. The main theme of such story is 'He that mischief hatches, mischief catches':

She carried her well-sharpened sword and climbed the mountain to cut a fruitful tree. On her way up, she tripped. She fell. She did not realize where her sword was, so it staked her body instead.

Laila al-Othman shows her utmost strength in the battle against traditions, especially in the Bedouin society, that chain women, and she encourages self-realization through insisting on freedom of choice in her short story '*La khabar... la*' (no news, no). Here, she encourages girls to say 'no' to men their families force them to marry. She encourages them not to be compelled by traditions which force girls to marry men for their money or bloodlines. Laila uses the heroine of her story to emphasize the independence girls should enjoy when deciding on the men they want to be married to. Laila says through her heroine and in response to her father's decision,

“No! I will not marry a man of your choice. I will find someone else. A man whose feet have marks of hard labor. A farmer whose fingernails are covered with mud. Or – maybe – a slave. A slave who had been tortured at his lord's, whipped a thousand times. I want him to have pure eyes. Eyes which have not been blinded by the sight of gold. I want him to have never felt the comfort of silky beds or pillows. I want a man whose roots are in earth, and who loves it like his own. I want a man willing to sleep on the grass, and I on his chest; where we both sleep and dream. One man for one woman, unlike you father. How do you sleep every night in a different bed? Why would you betroth me to a man who has one or two beds other than mine?”

Moving from the form of story narration to discussing the political situation, *Ismail Fahd Ismail* tackles the entire regime subtly without explicitly declaring his criticism. Ismail lived in Kuwait and Basra, and thus lived in both an agricultural community and the desert, where trade is essential. Confidently, he sides with the marginalized and weak in his short story '*Notes of a Children Seller*'. Ismail is known for his support to such categories in all of his writings. In this story, he uses a little black boy to symbolize this particular group of the society, the shopkeeper to resemble the authority, and the seller to symbolize those who

follow orders and directions. Through such story, he depicts the ongoing conflict within the security institution, where one must follow orders and feel compassionate with the needy at the same time.

*'Notes of a Children Seller'* begins with the orders the owner dictates the seller. Then, we see the little black boy who is poor but wants to play with the car and train. Therefore, he thinks to himself that he is just going to borrow the toys, masking theft with borrowing. Later, Ismail gives us a very good lesson on compassion and not accusing others without hearing their side of the story first. In the dialogue between the shopkeeper and the seller, we see:

*"Open your eyes and ears well! Those little devils take whatever they can reach!"*

In a dialogue between the seller and the boy, the internal conflict that is triggered within the seller to whether follow the orders of the shopkeeper or to sympathize with the needy child emerges:

"What is your name?" I could not help but play with his hair, "Where is your father?"

- "At work"

"Why do not you ask him to buy it for you?" He, then, gazed at me in confusion.

- "He would not."

"But why not?"

- ....

I wished I could do something. He hesitated before leaving, but then I felt some relief. This crisis has peacefully passed; until, suddenly, he walked in again.

- "Be careful now!"

He, so small, stood next to my legs and raised his face to meet mine.

- "Let me see it, please," he said kindly.

I thought to myself, "Why not make this poor thing happy?"

"Okay! But look at it very quickly!"

He took it from, very carefully. He looked at every detail and said,

- "Very beautiful". The boy closely held the toy and surrounded it with his arms.

*"Those little devils take whatever they can reach!"*

The boy span in a circle, and then I wondered, "What is he thinking of?"

He did not keep it to himself much longer. He pushed it in my direction and asked,

- "How is it turn it on?"

He looks like a good kid, why not make him happy?

"Okay! But do it quickly!"

I sat next to him as he gazed at it. The car was moving from a corner to another and looking at his face I saw how happy he was.

- "Very beautiful!" he said again.

A customer walked in, so I lifted the car off the floor.

"That's enough, kid" and so I traced the boy as he left the shop and spoke to the customer,

"Yes, sir," said I.

- "Let me see this car!"

Other customers then entered the shop – one after the other. Moments passed when the shop was crowded with customers. Half an hour later when I was all alone, I discovered the disappearance of the car, "But I did not sell it!" I exclaimed.

The fun of analyzing texts, learning how to express opinions and understanding what is between the lines and symbols are not felt and experienced unless the students show initiative. This is exactly what we do in our meetings to analyze texts, so we let students discover the hidden meanings. We have, in fact, seen how creative students are at this!

The outcomes of this subject are not identified through the students' learning of the aesthetics of the language nor the acquiring of analytical skills. At the end of each semester, a discussion is held with the students about the strengths and weaknesses of the subject itself. They are asked about what they found interesting or boring. I still remember the first comment one of the students said at the end of the winter semester of 2009. She said, "*Only now did I learn about my society*". She meant the number of authors, thinkers, ways of expression and opinions that neither she nor her colleagues had noticed before. Another girl from the same group said, "This is the first time an Arabic book gets to my bookshelves" and a third said, "I started loving reading. I had never loved it before".

## **Conclusion**

Story structures, themes, narrations and shifts in speech have played a major role in the comprehension of the readers, their use of what they read, and storage of ideas at a subconscious level. Learning through narration results in positive outcomes, for example:

- Inculcating information.
- Triggering the love of adventure.
- Reinforcing positive values, tendencies and attitudes.
- Getting used to attentiveness and comprehension.
- Having aware minds, triggering the senses and killing boredom.
- Enforcing self-confidence, emotional involvement and cooperation.
- Altering and straightening some wrong students' behaviors and attitudes.
- Adding a sense of fun to the educational process and environment.
- Increasing students' positive involvement especially through asking questions and carrying out analysis.
- Enhancing students' abilities when dealing with situations similar to those which occur in the stories.
- Improving students' linguistic abilities, ways of expression and aesthetic senses.
- Offering the students some room to create, imagine and expand their horizons.
- Reinforcing the students' abilities to remember, memorize, think, analyze and other cognitive processes.

## **Recommendations**

In this paper, I recommend the following hoping it would add value to teaching values through narration:

- Teaching texts that are purposeful, both classic and modern.
- Documenting some purposeful literary texts and translating them into different languages.
- Conducting studies and research under 'spreading values through literary narration' as a title.
- Researching the literary and cultural references of influential authors and, in turn, influencing the young generations as well.
- Conducting comparative studies between teaching values and cultural identities through literary narration; and between Islamic culture books and national education.



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## **Bilingual Education in Serbian and Russian; Aleksinac Model**



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### **Abstract**

Understanding the importance and advantages of bilingual instruction, many European countries have opted for this form of instruction since the 1970's, as it offers the possibility of minority languages preservation and/or efficient foreign language acquisition, without major organizational and financial burdens. Since the school year of 2004/2005 bilingual education has been present in Serbia as well, and it is currently active in some form in more than 80 sections in all parts of Serbia in five vehicular languages altogether (Italian, French, English, German, Russian). The paper presents and gives a critical analysis of bilingual education model in Serbian and Russian applied in gymnasium "Drakče Milovanović" in Aleksinac, starting from academic year of 2014/2015. Analyses of the documentation available (Rulebook on detailed conditions for implementing bilingual education, and the School Elaborate) and the fieldwork data collection findings describe the current situation, as well as human resources related, organizational, and methodological challenges encountered both by the teachers and the students involved in bilingual education, upon which the basic guidelines for enhancing the quality of education in future can get extracted.

Key words: Bilingual education, Bilingualism, Russian Language, Aleksinac Gymnasium, CLIL, Serbia.

### **Bilingual Education in Europe: Forms and Benefits**

Multilingualism, understood as the capability of an individual to take part in intercultural interaction in two or more languages is one of the main ideas of the contemporary European policy for learning foreign languages (Zavišin & Vučo, 2011, p. 714). The official attitude of the European commission is that every citizen of Europe should speak two more languages apart from their mother tongue (Commission of the European Communities, 2003, p. 7), whereas the European community sees the key to accomplishing this goal in their educational systems (European Comission, 2006, p. 8).

Seeking for a response to their need for multicultural education, many European countries<sup>1</sup> introduced CLIL (Content and language integrated learning), because the aim of this approach is communication rather than production of balanced multilinguals (Tzoannopoulou, 2016, p. 425). We understand CLIL is a dual-focused approach in which an additional language is used for learning and teaching of both language and content (Maljers, Marsh & Wolff, 2007, p. 8) typically to students participating in some form of mainstream education at the primary, secondary, or tertiary level (Dalton-Puffer, 2011, p. 183).

This model of education is suitable for achieving another important linguistic aim of the European Union – preservation of minority languages which are also existent in bilingual instruction. Depending on the status of a language, the following language combinations are present in European educational systems in CLIL:

- 1 state language + 1 foreign language;
  - 1 state language + 1 other state language;
  - 1 state language + 1 regional/minority language with official language status;
  - 1 state language + 1 regional/minority language without official language status;
  - 1 regional/minority language without official language status + 1 foreign language
- (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice (2017). 2017, pp. 161-163).

As content and language learning take place at the same time, language is acquired as an added value at no cost to other skills and knowledge (Baetens Beardsmore, 2002, p. 23). Apart from significantly saving students' time and energy, this kind of bilingual classes provide them an opportunity to develop practical language usage in realistic situations using authentic materials, i.e. to use the language in the way it is used in real life for achieving real aims and fulfill real needs.

Analyzing numerous advantages of this method, Beko (2013, p. 21) highlights three basic groups of benefits for students: CLIL increases the level of motivation; it makes students use all their skills and increases the level of their intercultural awareness. While the first two groups of advantages are important for learners themselves, the third group which assumes education of a ready, open citizen of Europe with expressed tolerance and need for social harmony (Vučo, 2006, p. 52) is of global importance. It is directly connected to

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<sup>1</sup> For detailed information about the history of CLIL in Europe, see Hanesová, 2015; for statistics about European countries which introduced bilingual teaching and vehicular languages, see European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice (2017).

contemporary European tendencies towards multilingualism as the key element of culture and identity of the European Union (Luić, 2016, p. 101) whose official motto is “unite in diversity”.

In the corresponding documents of the countries which introduced this type of instruction, different explanations for such decision are stated. Official recommendations of various European countries focus on four main types of objectives associated with CLIL (EURYDICE, 2006, pp. 22-23):

- Socio-economic objectives (preparing people for life in an internationalized society and better job prospects in the future);
- Socio-cultural objectives (pupils adopt values of tolerance and respect to other cultures through use of the CLIL target language);
- Linguistic objectives (language skills with the emphasis on effective communication, motivation for learning languages by using the language for real practical purposes);
- Educational objectives (stimulation of the assimilation of subject matter by means of different and innovative approach).

## **Bilingual Education in Serbia**

### **Introducing bilingual education**

Although the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Serbia recognizes the benefits of bilingual education and supports introducing and spreading this form of education since 1996 (Vučo, Begović, 2017, p. 226), bilingual instruction was implemented only in 2004<sup>2</sup> as dual, Serbian-French and Serbian-Italian in the Third Belgrade gymnasium and Serbian-French dual instruction for the pupils of 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> grade in the primary school “Vladislav Ribnikar” in Belgrade (Vučo, 2006, p. 41; Đurić, 2006, p. 33). In the next 10 years more than 80 bilingual sections were created in all parts of Serbia, and nowadays minority and foreign languages: English, French, Italian, German and Russian (Vučo, 2017, p. 228) are used as vehicular languages, whereas bilingual instruction at a high school level has started being implemented in high vocational schools, apart from gymnasiums<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> It is necessary to highlight here that even before introducing bilingual instruction, which is a part of regular educational system in SFRY, during the 1970's there existed individual experiments and projects of this kind (see more about this in Vučo, 2006; Đurić, 2006). As a reason of why the bilingual instruction was not implemented earlier, Julijana Vučo states the political situation in the country (Vučo, 2014).

<sup>3</sup>As an instance of good practice when it comes to bilingual teaching in high vocational schools we take the Aviation Academy. For more information on this model see Manić, 2016, pp. 81-88.

The development of bilingual education was not centralized. Due to a significant interest in bilingual education, the project “Introducing bilingual education in in English and Serbian elementary and secondary schools in Vojvodina” in Vojvodina is being realized and it encompasses all the levels of education, from pre-school to secondary (Vučo, 2014, p. 124). Bilingual classes are especially numerous in the south of Serbia, which may be interpreted as the local gymnasiums’ tendency for competitiveness and attracting more students by means of offering the opportunity to gain quality education through modern programs locally available.

The model of bilingual education in Serbia could be described as a unique, adapted model of CLIL instruction which assumes 30-45% of classes in certain subjects in a vehicular language according to the teaching staff available. Classes take place within the regular curriculum intended for gymnasiums (Zavišin, 2013, p. 135). As vehicular languages are foreign language, classroom is the only site predicted for learners’ interaction in a target language (Dalton-Puffer, 2011, p. 182), which is why there is no risk of negative influence of CLIL instruction on the mother tongue, and bilingualism which is developed in this manner, is of additive type. Some of the positive effects of additive bilingualism are ethnocentrism decrease, language tolerance increase, and the development of metalinguistic skills (Vučo, 2014, p. 113).

### **The legal frameworks of bilingual education in Serbia**

The Law on Primary Education (Article 5) and the Law on Secondary Education (Article 19) talk about the language of education and predict three possible forms of teaching for all Serbian citizens: education in the mother tongue (the Serbian or minority language), bilingual education and education in Serbian with the mother minority language as an elective course with elements of the national culture. Bilingual education in Serbian and a foreign language has become a part of regular educational system, whereas bilingual education in Serbian and a minority language is a rarely used form of teaching due to a number of reasons (Vučo & Begović, 2017, p. 227).

At the moment of introducing bilingual teaching there were no legal provisions for its regulation. All that was needed for the organization of bilingual classes in primary schools was the approval of the Ministry, while this kind of approval was not obligatory for secondary schools (Vučo, 2014, p. 122). Since 2015/2016 bilingual teaching in primary and secondary schools is organized in accordance with the Rulebook on more specific conditions for the implementation of this type of teaching (hereinafter referred to as the Rulebook) defining

basic conditions for the language levels of pupils enrolling the bilingual education, teaching staff, follow-up and instruction evaluation.

The first version of the Rulebook specified the possibility of enrolling bilingual instruction in the first, sixth or seventh grade of primary school or in the first grade of secondary school (Manić, 2016, p. 46), whereas the second version excluded the possibility of organizing bilingual instruction for primary school pupils before the sixth grade. Primary school pupils enter bilingual instruction based on results in four language skills (reading, listening, writing and speaking), provided that they demonstrate good linguistic knowledge on A1.1 level for pupils of sixth grade and A1.2 level for seventh-grade pupils. At the point of enrollment in bilingual classes of secondary schools, the average score in primary school and the results of the final exam are taken into account, apart from the language test results. The candidates who pass language test (A2 level according to CEFR) fill in the list of wishes together with other pupils, and on the basis of ranking results, they enroll bilingual class or some other school of their choice.

When it comes to the teaching staff, there two conditions for taking part in bilingual instruction defined in the Rulebook: the consent of the teacher and the proof of their language knowledge. Teachers can participate in bilingual instruction by the means of one of four predicted modalities. The right to hold classes independently have: specialized teachers with a certificate of B2 level in the target language, specialized teachers who studied in the target language (the lowest acceptable level is completed high school), foreign lecturers who are engaged on the basis of international agreements of cooperation. Teachers who hold certificate of B1 level according to CEFR can also be involved in the foreign language instruction, provided that they teach together with a foreign language teacher.

The third part of the Rulebook states that every school realizing bilingual instruction on annual basis provides an Elaborate where are stated reasons and justification for introducing bilingual education, data about the school and bilingual education and a detailed description of modality of bilingual education and the description of the existent conditions at school, measures for the programme sustainability and expected support, as well as the Report on the work of bilingual classes according to which further organization of bilingual instruction is approved.



Although it certainly does represent a significant step towards regulation and standardization of bilingual teaching in Serbia, we consider the Rulebook not to be precise enough and that it contains some inconsistencies:

1. The Rulebook does not oblige teachers of any kind of improvement except for linguistic; it is not required to provide proofs of acquaintance of teaching methodology neither for involving in teaching nor for further work in bilingual classes. Since there are no master studies of this type in Serbia and that the number of seminars dedicated to bilingual instruction is still small, this is understandable, to some extent. On the other hand, this gives space for free interpretation of bilingual teaching, which can impose a significant impact on its quality;
2. The Rulebook does not oblige schools on cooperation and experience exchange. There is no coordinating collaboration between gymnasiums which organize bilingual instruction (Vučo, 2014, p. 124), both on the level of individual languages and on the level of all primary and secondary schools in Serbia. We consider non-recognizing the specific position of teachers involved in bilingual instruction to be a direct consequence of this and that we could altogether manage to introduce some benefits such as smaller number of classes, additional financial incentives, career advancement;
3. The Rulebook does not state the obligation of external evaluation of bilingual instruction except for the Report written by schools themselves. As a result, it comes to unequal instruction in different schools. The choice of methodology, teaching tools, staff, etc. is also left to schools and teachers who do not always have enough experience in this type of teaching. External evaluation by experts could indicate problems in instruction and suggest which measures to take to improve it.

### **The evaluation of bilingual teaching in Serbia**

From the point of introducing bilingual teaching, there have been several attempts to form competent bodies whose duty would be its regulation (Vučo & Begović, 2017, pp. 228-229).

Soon after introducing bilingual teaching, the Commission for the Development of Bilingual Education which had no influence on forming national curriculum for this type of teaching. The planned external evaluation of bilingual teaching was not carried out. Further

introduction of bilingual teaching in schools was conducted without clear context and systematic, organized support by relevant institutions.

In mid-2014 a Working group was founded to deal with the bilingual education problem analysis and its regulation by the means of the Rulebook.

Upon adoption of the Rulebook, in 2016, on the initiative of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological development, the Commission for verifying compliance with the conditions for implementing bilingual teaching was established, whose task is the application of the Rulebook provisions, that is, the control of the fulfillment of all conditions necessary for obtaining or renewing of the licence for bilingual teaching.

This type of evaluation checks formal conditions for bilingual teaching according to the Report written by schools themselves, but it does not assume yet the analysis of fieldwork data and does not focus on the work in classroom.

### **Problems in the realization of bilingual instruction**

The unavailability of data on bilingual education is one of the major deficiencies coming as a result of the nonexistent systematic external evaluation on spot. We find out more data on different models from the works of particular researchers who focus on one or more schools. So far, schools in Belgrade have been the subject of research, the Third Belgrade gymnasium (Italian: (Vučo 2006a, 2006b, 2007; Vučo & Zavišin 2011; Vučo, Filipović & Marković 2013, Vučo 2014, Vučo & Begović 2017; Zavišin, 2012, 2013a, 2013b; Zavišin & Đorović 2011); French: (Đurić 2006; Pasuljević 2015), primary school “Vladislav Ribnikar” (Đurić 2006) and the Aviation Academy (English: (Manić 2014a, 2014b, 2016; Vučo & Manić 2015a, 2015b, 2016a, 2016b) as well as schools in Vojvodina (Glušac 2012; Glušac & Mazurkijević 2013). The making of dissertations dedicated to bilingual education in French, German and Russian as vehicular language is in progress. At the moment this research is done, it will be possible to give a more complete image of the state of bilingual instruction in Serbia on the whole, taking into account all languages.

However, even now it is possible to talk about some major universal problems that matter to all schools with bilingual teaching.

Bilingual education remains invisible in official documents (diplomas and certificates). Students who attended classes in two languages are unable to prove their

obtained competences by qualification on paper, which could stay unrecognized in their future life and education (Vučo & Begović, 2017, p. 232).

In the same way, the effort of teachers who teach in two languages remains invisible and unrecognized. This kind of work assume that teachers have less free time due to: creating materials suitable for teaching, language improvement, improvement of new teaching methods, students' motivation to learn in a foreign language, etc. Legal frameworks of bilingual teaching do not predict the possibility of any kind of benefits for teachers either in terms of advancement in career, or in terms decreasing the number of classes, or in terms of increasing their income<sup>4</sup>.

Summing up results from previous research conducted during the first 10 years of bilingual classes and the key problems the participants of such classes encounter, Julijana Vuco (Vučo, 2014, pp. 142-144) provides guidelines for improving the quality of this type of learning. The guidelines assume revision and reform of the program for bilingual classes, creating achievement standards, adequate valuation of teachers in a bilingual teaching taking Philological gymnasium teachers as models, better cooperation among all the parties involved in realization of the project of bilingual teaching.

### **Bilingual Teaching in Serbian and Russian: Aleksinac Model**

The main aim of this paper is to describe the bilingual instruction model in Serbian and Russian in "Drakce Milovanovic" gymnasium in Aleksinac, which will be done on the basis of the school's Addition of the Elaborate for determining the fulfillment of the prescribed conditions in terms of space, equipment, teaching tools and teaching staff for conducting bilingual classes (hereinafter referred to as: the Elaborate), the Report on the work of the bilingual class in the school year of 2016/2017 in this gymnasium in Aleksinac (hereinafter referred to as: the Report) and data gathered in the fieldwork during visit to school in May 2017.

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<sup>4</sup> If we compare the situation with other European countries, we will see that Serbia is not a lone case. The EU does not have a unique policy when it comes to benefits for teachers involved in bilingual education, which is why each country independently decides if it will additionally support them and in which manner. Teachers in Slovenia, Latvia and parts of Spain gain financial benefits for working in bilingual education. Teachers in Czech Republic have the number of their classes decreased; free accommodation is provided for teachers who are native speakers of the target language, whereas the Czech teachers have the possibility to enroll in in-service training programmes in the target language country. Schools in the Netherlands, Sweden and Norway have the right to independently use their finances. Benefits in the Netherlands usually refer to the decrease in the number of classes, whereas Swedish and Norwegian schools increase teachers' salaries in the period of introducing bilingual instruction, but discontinue them once the bilingual instruction becomes standard in school (Eurydice, 2006: 49).

## **The place of Russian language in the educational system of Serbia**

In order to gain better comprehension of problems encountered by gymnasiums which organize bilingual instruction in Serbian and Russian, it is important to bear in mind the position of Russian within the educational system in Serbia.

Analyzing the available data on foreign language learning in Serbia, we can notice two confronted tendencies in relation to Russian.

On the one hand, since the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Russian has been less and less present as a foreign language in primary and secondary education. According to the data for the school year of 2016/2017 (Rašić 2017), out of languages available in both cycles of education, English takes the first place, learnt by 551 173 primary school students and 324 561 high school students, then German (128 201 primary school students and 58 620 high school students), French (86 423 primary school students and 43 483 high school students), Russian (61 262 primary school students and 27 433 high school students), Italian (13 669 primary school students, 5 006 high school students), Spanish (5 940 primary school students, 1451 high school students). This data says out of the languages that have been present in the Serbian educational system for decades (German, French, Russian), Russian has been learnt by the least number of students, and it is also worth mentioning that the introduction of new foreign languages is usually made precisely by the replacement of Russian.

On the other hand, the interest for learning Russian has increased in the recent years, both in private language schools and within the regular educational system. As a response to these needs bilingual Russian-Serbian classes appear in secondary and primary schools; since the school year of 2017/2018, apart from the school connected with the Embassy of Russia, a private Russian school, “Valentina Tereskova” has opened, and the Faculty of Philology officially introduced the possibility of Russian studies for students without prior knowledge.

### **Introducing bilingual education in Aleksinac Gymnasium**

Bilingual instruction in Serbian and Russian was introduced in the Aleksinac Gymnasium, by the Decision of School Board no. 658 dating from 20/11/2013 and the instruction itself has been realized since the school year of 2014/2015. At the moment of introducing bilingual teaching in Serbian and Russian there has already been bilingual model of teaching with Italian, French, German and English as the vehicular languages, but there

were no bilingual classes in Serbian and Russian<sup>5</sup>, although Russian is regularly taught as a second language, rarely as the first language, both in primary and secondary schools.

Introduction of bilingual education in Aleksinac Gymnasium was initiated by the Teaching staff in response to the encouragement of NIS company which allocated a part of its assets within the project “The Energy of Knowledge”<sup>6</sup> to support the gymnasium in this project because of its students’ success at the NIS Olympiad. For the reason of perspective collaboration with NIS company and the school’s participation in numerous projects in the field of natural sciences, it was decided that the science class obtains bilingual education. NIS company financially supported introduction of bilingual classes in Aleksinac Gymnasium, providing them with fully equipped classroom with computers from “Energy of Knowledge”, a preparatory course free of charge and literature for 60 candidates interested in enrollment and from that moment on it keeps helping school on annual basis.

### **Bilingual classes students**

Bilingual classes are attended by 73 students overall, and that 18 first-grade students, 17 second-grade students, 14 students are in the third grade and 24 in the fourth grade. Bilingual class students listen 30-45% of instruction in Russian from 9 subjects altogether: Physics, Maths, Chemistry, Informatics, Psychology, History, Arts, Music, Civic Education.

Students gain the right to enroll a bilingual class of Aleksinac Gymnasium by taking entrance exam in Russian and the regular final exam taken by all 8<sup>th</sup> grade students.

One of the main problems that Aleksinac Gymnasium faces when organizing bilingual classes is the insufficient presence of Russian in primary schools in this municipality. Although Russian is taught in 5 out of 7 primary schools in the countryside which belong to Aleksinac, it is not taught in primary school in the city.

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<sup>5</sup> After the Aleksinac Gymnasium, bilingual class in the primary school “Jovan Popovic” in Novi Sad was formed at the same time and they were accepting first grade students two years in a row. Currently, the future of this class is unforeseeable due to the fact that new version of the Rulebook on bilingual education does not state the possibility of bilingual education before the sixth grade. Since the school year of 2015/2016 another high school bilingual class for the department of science was opened in gymnasium “Jovan Jovanovic Zmaj” in Novi Sad.

<sup>6</sup> Energy of Knowledge programme is a partnership with educational and scientific institutions in Serbia and abroad conducted to create highly qualified professionals trained to fit the requirements of NIS. The cooperation entails an award of scholarship to successful students, a programme of internship in the company, guest lecturers and presentations held by NIS experts etc. The programme also involves organising and sponsoring competitions for secondary students at all levels (school, municipality, region and country) and Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and the Russian Language Olympiads. As a part of its Energy of Knowledge programme, NIS remodels and equips classrooms, lecture rooms, and laboratories at faculties and schools across Serbia. See more at: [www.nis.eu/en/sustainable-development/energy-of-knowledge](http://www.nis.eu/en/sustainable-development/energy-of-knowledge)

Wishing to enable students with no prior knowledge of Russian to enroll bilingual class, gymnasium organizes free preparatory classes in Russian for 8<sup>th</sup> grade students which last for four months (Elaborate, 2016, p. 10) which prepares candidates for passing the entrance exam in Russian the level of which equals to A2 according to CEFR, which is a great challenge both for the teacher and students. As language acquisition in Russian for A2 level requires at least 220-280 classes (Pushkin Institute), we assume that preparatory classes in such a period of time can prepare students for the entrance exam, but not for listening to classes and participating in activities<sup>7</sup>.

During the four-year curriculum students are expected to master the standard gymnasium curricula, the same way as the monolingual students of the school, and to master Russian with B2 level of language command proficiency; subsequently there is a chance for two, the most prominent, graduates, to continue their education in Russia, at Lobachevsky State University of Nizhni Novgorod.

In school year 2017/2018 the first generation of students will attend the fourth grade of high school and students will be able to take exam for TORFL<sup>8</sup> certificates of B1 or B2 level. As they are learning Russian as a second foreign language, two classes per week, and that no additional classes are predicted for Russian, or classes with the native speaker, as the case is in the Third Belgrade gymnasium (Zavišin, 2013; Vučo, 2006, p. 51), there is a doubt that a majority of students will be able to gain linguistic competence at the expected level.

Owing to the assets of “Energy of Knowledge” project school is able to enable students to take part in programmes organized by “Petnica” SC<sup>9</sup> (provided that they pass the test), free textbooks for students from Aleksinac and free transportation for students from neighbouring villages. Taking into account the economic situation in the country, especially in the south of Serbia we consider that this factor, although indirectly related to the type and quality of education, can significantly influence extrinsic motivation of students when choosing school.

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<sup>7</sup> For students who enroll bilingual classes without prior knowledge in Poland, Slovakia (EURYDICE 2006:27) and certain high schools in Hungary (Zavišin, 2013, p. 110) four-year curriculum is applied for the period of five years, where during the first preparatory year students are intensively exposed to language, literature and cultural classes (18-20 classes per week).

<sup>8</sup> Test of Russian as a Foreign Language (Russian: Тест по русскому языку как иностранному, ТРКИ).

<sup>9</sup> Petnica Science Center is an independent and non-profit organization for extracurricular, formal and informal, science education located near Valjevo, Serbia. It was founded in 1982 as a Yugoslavian scientific center for elementary and high school high-achieving students, offering them extracurricular activities, supervised by university professors, researchers, research assistants, graduate and postgraduate students. For more information see: [www.petnica.rs](http://www.petnica.rs).

## **Teachers engaged in bilingual education**

Although it realizes bilingual education since 2014, Aleksinac Gymnasium does not have a lecturer for Russian, and therefore the classes are held by subject teachers with B1 level certificate in cooperation with the Russian language teacher, Olivera Vojinovic, who is also a coordinator of the school team for bilingual education. An exception was the first semester of 2014/2015 when a native speaker from Russia took part in teaching. It was a chemistry student, who did her one-month AIESEC internship in gymnasium. Although there are no visible problems in organization and teaching due to high motivation of teachers, it seems to us that for proper functioning of bilingual classes language improvement of teachers to B2 level is necessary, for it enables independent work in teaching in a foreign language, or engagement of lecturers. Experiences coming from gymnasiums with somewhat longer tradition of bilingual teaching show that the engagement of foreign lecturers, school and university teachers has a positive impact on the entire work of school in the sense that foreign lecturers involve new methods of working, develop team spirit among the national teaching staff, move the focus of teaching from theoretical to functional knowledge and from teachers to students (Vučo, 2014, p. 127).

Apart from the staff problem, there is an issue related to the lack of teaching material. The school library possesses a great amount of literature in Russian available. However, those are mainly encyclopaedias, literature in the field of philology and literature non-related to the school curriculum. Also, gymnasium textbooks from Russia are missing and textbooks in specialized subjects in Russian for foreigners, which could be adapted for teaching, which is why teachers create material for classes on their own, or adapt texts that are available.

Overburdening of teaching staff is in a direct correlation with this, since teachers who take part in bilingual classes spend much more time to prepare material than their colleagues teaching on the basis of monolingual curricula, which is not adequately valued (Report, 2016, p. 10) because teachers have no benefits in terms of decreasing number of classes or salary increase. This problem could be solved by employing a foreign lecturer, for which there are no financial or legal possibilities (Report, 2016, p. 11) or giving advantage to those candidates who are both native speakers of Russian, who have completed a part of education in Russian or have a certificate that confirms high level of language knowledge when employing teachers to teach natural sciences.

Nothing less important is the problem of continuous professional advancement of teachers, both in terms of language skills (there are no courses in Russian in Aleksinac, nor

institutions related to the Russian language and culture) and in terms of CLIL teaching methodology. No seminar or training for Russian language teachers dedicated to bilingual instruction have been held in Serbia so far and due to overburdening teachers are not able to travel to general CLIL seminars and trainings which occasionally take places in other cities.

### **Extracurricular activities**

One of the main problems that both teachers and pupils in gymnasium encounter is the lack of regular contact with Russian outside the classroom, due to the fact there are no institutions for learning and promotion of the Russian language and culture in Aleksinac. This is compensated, to some extent through collaboration with institutions in other cities<sup>10</sup>, the Russian House in the first place and Russian School in Belgrade, NIS company that financially supports students' and teachers' visits to scientific manifestations and to Russia (so far two visits have been realized to the camp "Artek" on Crimea, teachers' leaving for language courses, and fourth-grade students excursion to Russia is planned) as well as with the Lobachevsky State University of Nizhni Novgorod. Students from Aleksinac Gymnasium regularly take part in festivities and activities related to the promotion of the Russian language and culture.

### **Conclusion**

In this paper, we presented the model of bilingual instruction in Serbian and Russian in Aleksinac Gymnasium. It is difficult to speak about the quality of instruction and the achievement of the expected outcomes after only three years of teaching. However, we consider that, although teachers have no benefits, the fact that none of them gave up bilingual instruction realization, and that out of 74 students, only one student has withdrawn so far unmistakably shows the content with bilingual teaching from both sides.

The analysis of the relevant documents and data gathered in the fieldwork enabled as to extract positive and negative key aspects of bilingual teaching model which is applied in Aleksinac Gymnasium.

As for the positive aspects, we can mention high level of motivation and engagement of the teaching staff, financial support by NIS company, cooperation with many institutions, while the negative aspects would be insufficient pre-required knowledge of students, the fact

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<sup>10</sup> The full list of institutions that have supported bilingual instruction in Aleksinac Gymnasium in some manner can be found in Elaborate 2016.



there are no foreign lecturers, overburdening of teachers, lack of teaching materials, lack of the opportunity to use the language outside the classroom (for both teachers and students) and the chance for teachers to improve their methodology.

The problem of insufficient knowledge of students prior to enrolling bilingual instruction after a one-semester-long preaparation course is a direct consequence of the general position of Russian within the Serbian educational system. Legal changes are necessary for its optimal solution which will be introducing optional classes in Russian for primary school students in Aleksinac or a preparatory year.

The problem of overburdening teaching staff and the lack of foreign lecturers is necessary to be solved by employing lecturers from Russia, or a teacher with high level of knowledge of Russian.

We also consider that professional development of teachers in the area of methodology of bilingual instruction would contribute to the quality improvement, as well as the experience exchange with more experienced teachers and external evaluation which would indicate the problems which need to be solved.

Apart from writing the Report, as the Rulebook requires, there has been no systematic external evaluation of bilingual instruction in „Drakce Milovanivic“ gymnasium so far, neither by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, nor by individual researchers.

For the school year of 2017/2018 a questionnaire was planned to be carried out for teachers and students in bilingual classes and taking tests of receptive skills in General Russian and the Russian language for specific purposes for students of bilingual and monolingul classes in this school. Results of these will subsequently help us talk about the extent to which outcomes have been achieved, about students' and teachers' motivation, problems and challenges encountered in teaching and learning, as well as about the effects that bilingual instruction has on students' knowledge of Russian.

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**ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING**

# **A Study of Trends in the Level of English Language Grammatical Competence at Zenica University**



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## **Abstract**

This paper represents a continuation of research into the grammatical competence of the Zenica University freshmen, who studied English for 4 to 10 years prior to their enrolment. The first study was conducted in the fall of 2015 and included a total of 106 students. The second study was carried out in the fall of 2016 and included 248 students. To verify the results and to compare the progress in terms of the grammatical component, a representative sample of the students from the second study (54) was asked to complete a standardized online test after one semester, in the spring of 2017. For the purpose of this research a survey was designed testing the students' knowledge of the properties and use of the four lexical categories. The survey included a total of 155 sentences, incorporated into 17 tasks. Specifically, the tasks were related to verbs, tense formation and use, both active and passive, plural of nouns and comparison of adjectives and adverbs. The 2015 study showed that less than 50% of the students had attained B2 level. Further, no correlation between the years of studying English and the students' grammatical competence could be established. However, a clear correlation was established between the grammatical competence and the high school the students completed. It was hypothesized that the 2016 study would show similar results and trends when it comes to the students' grammatical competence, which would confirm that certain changes should be made in the syllabi at both high school and university level. Additionally, it was assumed that the standardized online test would show certain progress in terms of the grammatical component.

Key words: grammatical competence, linguistic competence, lexical categories

## **Introduction**

For the purposes of this paper grammatical competence, also referred to as linguistics competence, is viewed as an area of communicative competence as put forward by Canale and Swain (1980). It includes the knowledge of grammatical forms and of "the ways in which they may be combined to form grammatical sentences" (ibid: 2) but also the ability to use them

(Hymes, 1972). Grammatical competence is not considered here as the knowledge of grammatical rules, as seen by Chomsky (1965). However, “the ability to use one’s language correctly in a variety of socially determined situations is as much and as central a part of linguistic ‘competence’ as the ability to produce grammatically well-formed sentences” (Pauston, 1992:38)

Communicative competence “cannot be considered in monolithic terms” (Berns, 1990:31) In their later paper, Canale and Swain (1987, cited in Ohno 2011) perceive communicative competence “as a synthesis of an underlying system of knowledge and skill needed for communication”. They also understand knowledge within communicative competence as divided into three types: “knowledge of underlying grammatical principles, knowledge of how to use language in a social context in order to fulfill communicative functions and knowledge of how to combine utterances and communicative functions with respect to discourse principles.”

Communicative competence is further defined as “the fundamental concept of a pragmalinguistic model of linguistic communication: it refers to the repertoire of know-how that individuals must develop if they are to be able to communicate with one another appropriately in the changing situations and conditions” (Bussmann, 2006:208)

Grammatical competence is indirectly incorporated in the Common European Framework of Reference descriptors for the different learner levels, A, B and C and a total of six main levels of language proficiency (CEFR Guide, 2013). It may be seen as intertwined in all the language skills. In particular, the descriptors for B2 level include the knowledge of the following. Simple past (narrative), Past continuous (narrative), Used to (narrative), Would expressing habit in the past, Past perfect, Past perfect continuous, Future time (will & going to), Future continuous (Prediction) (St Giles International file).

Studies investigating linguistic competence in general among Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS) learners of English are scarce. This paper is a continuation of research into the grammatical competence of the Zenica University freshmen, who studied English for 4 to 10 years prior to their enrolment.

It has been noted over several years of teaching students at different study programs that their grammatical competence varies significantly, although they were taught English under a unified curriculum in their elementary school, sometimes even in their high school. Namely, their knowledge of English should be at level B2 or C1, (according to CEFR), depending on the high school type they completed. The authors' teaching experience at the University has revealed that many of the students make mistakes, both in the written and oral

expression, which are not to be expected at B2 or C1 level of proficiency. Their difficulties are reflected through the inability to recognize the proper grammatical form or to use the given form properly in the given context or sentence.

It was assumed that the grammatical competence of freshmen students would not be at the anticipated level and that there would be significant variations among the different groups based on the high school program completed. This paper thus has several purposes. Its aims to:

- Quantify the UNZE freshmen students' grammatical competence;
- Establish whether the UNZE freshmen are at the expected B2 level;
- Establish a correlation between the results and the high school the participant completed;
- Identify the segments which present most difficulties to the target group;
- Monitor the trends in the level of English level grammatical competence at the University of Zenica.

The results of the study might serve to design more elaborate and attainable syllabi and curricula and to improve the teaching process among the target group both at high school and at university level.

## **Method**

Because it identifies and analyses a specific practical problem of language, this is an applied linguistics study as defined in Cook (2009: 1). Given that it is “an exploration of a “bounded system” or a case (or multiple cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context (Creswell, 1998:61 in Duff, 2008:22), this study is also a case study.

The present study of trends in the level of English language grammatical competence at Zenica University actually comprises three separate studies, the first conducted in the fall of 2015, the second conducted in the fall of 2016, and the third, the control study, conducted in the spring of 2017. In the first study, a total of 106 freshmen participated out of approximately 400 freshmen at the University of Zenica. The second study included 248 students. To verify the results and to compare the progress in terms of the grammatical component, a representative sample of the students from the second study, 54, was asked to complete a standardized online test after one semester, in the spring of 2017.



A survey was designed testing the students' knowledge in respect to the most significant grammatical properties of the lexical parts of speech. Specifically, the survey contained the tasks related to verbs (such as tense formation and use, both active and passive), nouns (plural, possessive case) and comparison of adjectives and adverbs.

The survey included a total of 155 sentences, incorporated into 17 tasks. Out of those 95 are related to verbs, out of which 42 are related to tense form; 43 to tense use and 10 to active and passive voice. Further, 40 sentences were related to nouns, out of which 20 to regular or irregular plural form; 10 to regular or irregular plural use and 10 to possessive case. Finally, 20 sentences were related to adjectives and adverbs.

To test the knowledge of the formation of a part of speech, the participants were asked to *fill in the gaps with the correct form of the word in the brackets*. To test the knowledge of the use of a part of speech, the students were asked to *underline the correct form of the word offered*. The participants had 90 minutes to complete the survey. On the first page of the survey, the students were asked to provide some general information about the Faculty they enrolled, the study program, year of birth, the number of years of learning English in the elementary school and high school, along with the average grade in English, as well as the name and place of their schools.

## Results

The students included in the survey in 2015 were from the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering (63), Faculty of Politechnics (26) and Faculty of Philosophy (30). The questionnaire containing the general information revealed that the freshmen who were surveyed completed Grammar School (40), Technical (17), Mixed Vocational High School (32), Medical High School (3), Madrasa (1), International College (1) and Mixed Industrial High School (3). They studied English mostly from 8 to 10 years, and their average grade ranged between grade 2 and grade 5.

From the total of 250 students included in the 2016 survey, 24 of them were from the Mechanical Engineering, 32 from the Faculty of Philosophy, 47 from the Faculty of Metallurgy and Materials, 45 from the Faculty of Polytechnics, and 102 from the Faculty of Economics. 85 of the students completed Grammar School, 55 Mixed Vocational High School, 56 Technical School, 37 High School of Economics. Figure 1 below shows in percentages the average scores of students in the 2015 and 2016 surveys per high schools the students completed.

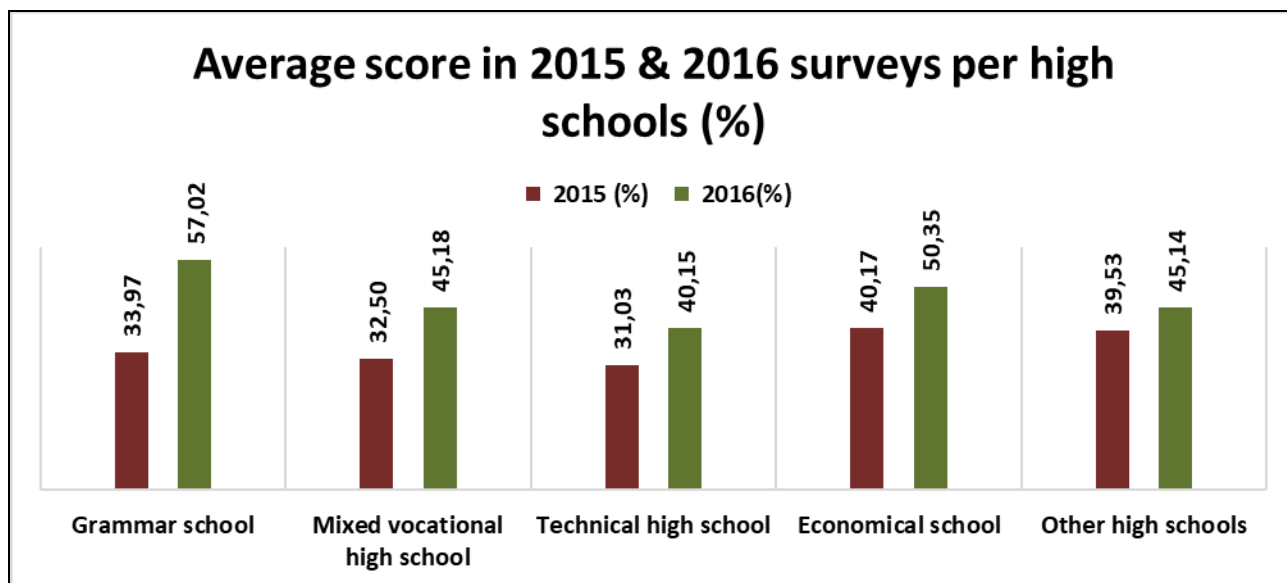


Figure 1 Average scores per high school completed for the 2015 and 2016 survey (in percentages)

The students who scored 50% or more in the surveys may be said to have attained the B2 level of proficiency according to CEFR. Figure 2 presents the percentage of students who attained the B2 level per high schools they completed.

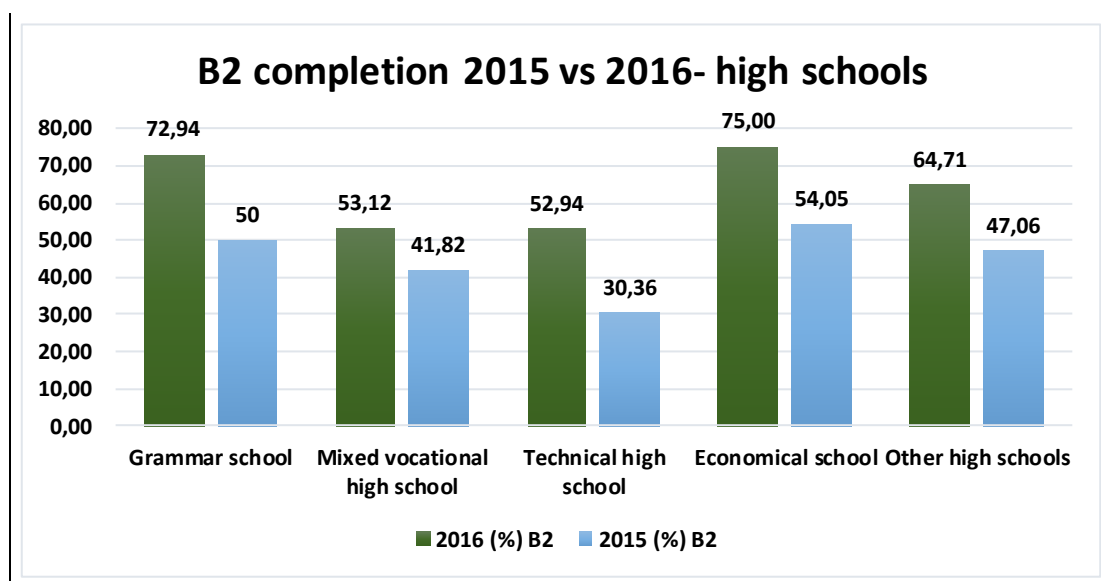


Figure 2 The percentage of students who attained B2 level in 2015 and in 2016 per high schools

The authors also analysed which students, from which faculties, scored the best and attained the B2 level, respectively. Thus, Figure 3 presents the average scores of the students in the 2015 and 2016 surveys achieved by students from different faculties compared with the results from the 2017 control group, while Figure 4 shows the percentages of students at B2 level for the three major faculties. The students from the Faculty of Economics were not included in the 2015 survey and were thus excluded from the comparative analyses.

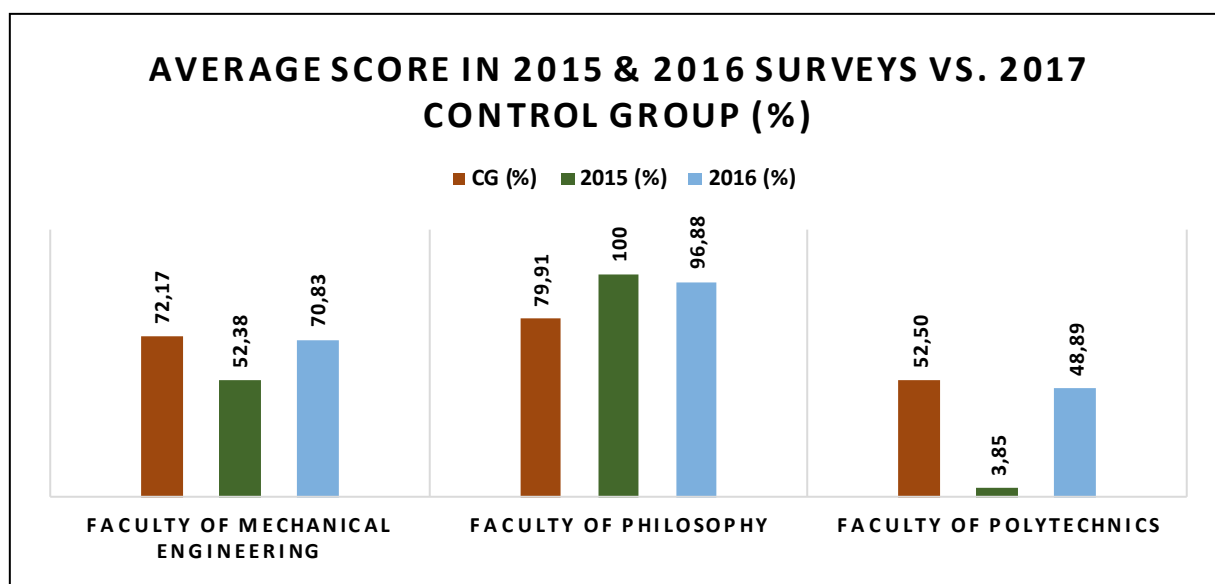


Figure 3 Average score achieved by students from the different faculties in 2015, 2016 and 2017 control group (in percentages)

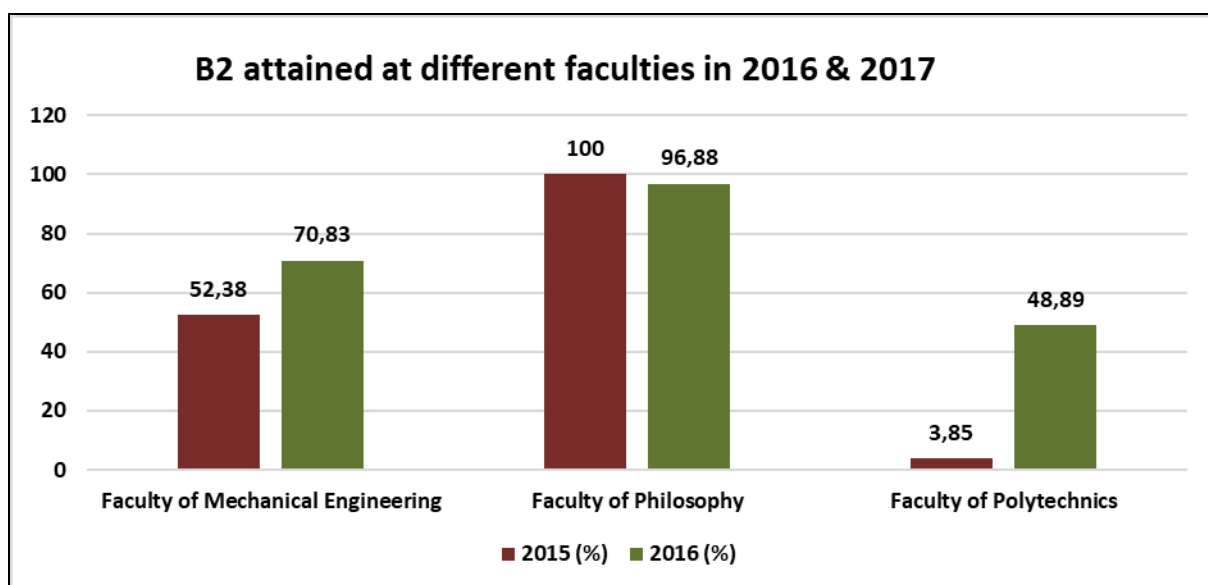


Figure 4 The percentage of students who attained B2 level in 2015 and in 2016 per faculties

In terms of the segments which presented most difficulties to the students, the 2015 and the 2016 surveys have shown that, out of all the segments tested, the lowest scores were achieved in the tasks related to the form and use of tenses. Figure 5 illustrates the average achieved out of the maximum number of points in both surveys.

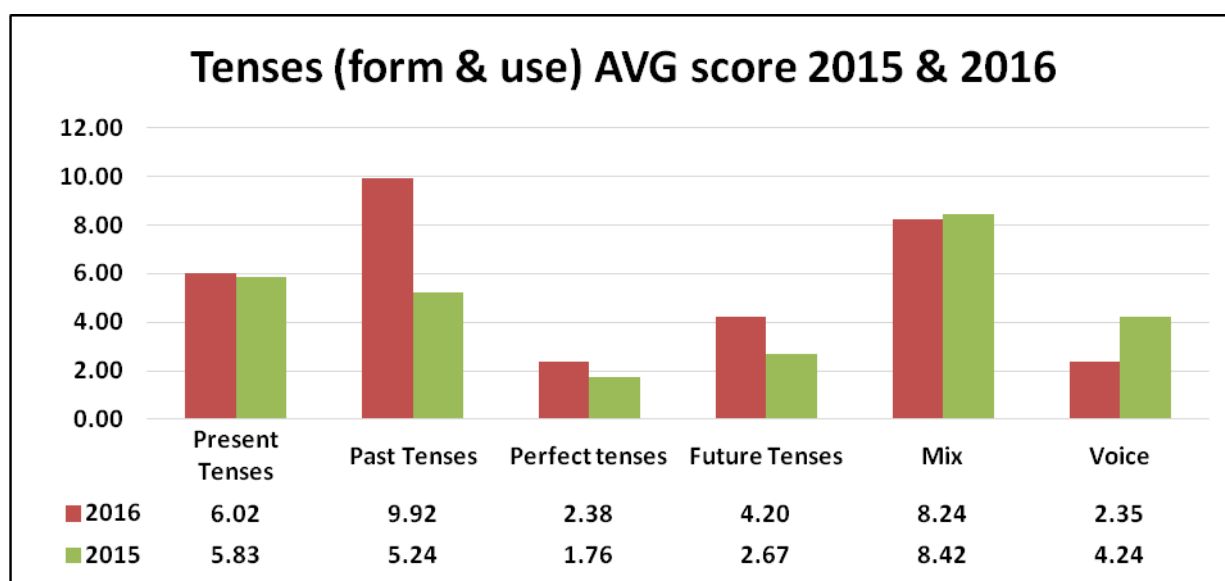


Figure 5 The 2015 and 2016 survey results for the tense formation and use

## Discussion

In this section we reflect on the results presented in Figures 1 through 5, following the order of the aims presented in the Introduction.

One of the aims of this study was to quantify the grammatical competence of the University of Zenica freshmen for the purpose of evaluating whether the students had attained the expected B2 level at high school and, as a result, adapting the existing syllabi to the specific students' needs. As can be deduced from Figure 1, the average of all scores achieved by students from all of the high schools they had completed was 35.44% in 2015, while in 2016 it was much higher and amounted 47.56%. For two successive years, students from technical high schools achieved the lowest score, 31.03% and 40.15%, respectively, followed by the students from mixed vocational high schools with 32.50% in 2015 and 45.18% in 2016, respectively. Surprisingly, in 2015, the students from grammar schools achieved the second lowest score, 33.97%. However, in 2016 they scored the best, 57.03%. In terms of the difference achieved by the students from the different high schools, the least improvement can be seen in the group of students from 'other highs schools', such as Madrasa, College, Medical and High School of Music, only 6%. The students from technical high schools showed improvement of 9%, the students of High School of Economics 10%, the students from mixed vocational high schools 13%, the same as the students from grammar schools. Nevertheless, although the students from all of the high schools scored better in 2016 than in 2015, as can be deduced from Figure 2, only 9% more of the freshmen at the University level attained B2 level in the 2016 survey or enrolled the University with this level of English level proficiency. The most significant improvement may be observed in the group of students from

grammar schools, 22.94%, while the least improvement can be observed among the students who completed mixed vocational high schools, of only 12%. Those students enrolled in different faculties and different study programmes, which makes it more difficult to design and implement changes in the syllabi for the English language courses they attend. Overall, in 2015, the percentage of students who had attained B2 level was 49.25, and 59.15%, respectively in 2016. Therefore, as was assumed based on the instructors' experience, the grammatical competence of the freshmen students was not at the anticipated level. Additionally, this implies that 50% or 40% of the students were not able to follow the existing syllabi at the University level. As Figure 2 illustrates, significant variations exist among the different groups of students based on the high school they completed. 40% higher level of English proficiency was displayed by students from grammar schools in 2015 than by those from technical high schools and about 24%, respectively in 2016 by students from a high school of Economics, compared to those from a mixed vocational school. The least difference in the level attained may be observed among students coming from 'other high school', Madrasa or College, a high school of economics and a grammar school.

As Figure 4 illustrates, the majority of students who had attained the B2 level enrolled in the Faculty of Philosophy, where 100% of them were at B2 level in 2015 or 96.88% in 2016. This may be attributed to the fact that vast majority of the students tested were students of English. The most noticeable difference in the level of proficiency, according to Figure 4, may be observed among the students who enrolled in the Faculty of Polytechnics in 2016. Namely, if we compare the survey results in 2015 with those in 2016, we can see that 48.89% students of Politechnics had attained B2 level during their high school education in 2016, compared to only 3.85% in 2015. Such a huge difference may be attributed to the fact that in 2016, 43% of those students came from one of the grammar schools in the Zenica-Doboj or Central Bosnia Canton, while in 2015 the majority of them came from technical and mixed vocational high schools.

It is important to note (Figure 3) that after only one semester of attending the English language courses at their respective faculties, all of the students showed improvement in their results, as verified by an online test they completed in the spring of 2017. If we compare the results in the fall of 2016 and the spring of 2017, the control test, we can see that improvement ranges from about 5% at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering and the Faculty of Politechnics to about 9% at the Faculty of Philosophy, which is due to the fact that the majority of those students were students of English, who had an opportunity to attend more than one English course in the winter semester.

One of the goals of the study was to establish a correlation between the score achieved and the year of studying English. However, since the majority of students from both the 2015 and 2016 surveys studied English at primary schools for either 8 or 10 years, no correlation between the years of studying English and the score achieved could be established.

As noted in the Method section, due to the complexity of teaching the grammatical category of verb, the majority of tasks in the survey, 64%, were related to tense form or use, or active and passive voice. According to both 2015 and 2016 surveys, this is the category that posed most difficulties to the freshmen (Figure 5). There is a trend of improvement the students have shown in terms of the tense form. However, voice, the passive in particular, presented most difficulties to the freshmen, as only 19.58% of the tasks involving the passive voice were successfully completed by the students in 2015 or 35.33% in 2016, respectively. The perfect tenses have proved to be another major issue for the students, as only 14.66% of the tasks involving the perfect tenses were successfully completed in 2015 or 19.83% in 2016 respectively.

Finally, when we compare the results of the two surveys, a trend of improvement may be observed both in terms of the level of English language proficiency of the students who enrolled in the University of Zenica in 2015 and 2016, as well as in terms of their knowledge after only one semester of English language instruction at the different faculties and in different programmes. However, the fact that a significant percentage of students who enrol at the University of Zenica do not attain the B2 level of English proficiency at high schools, as well as the fact that a significant number of them choose the study programmes not necessarily related to the high school they completed leads to the conclusion that it would be worth considering to introduce a language centre, where the students' proficiency level would be assessed when enrolling at the University, and having the students attend the English language course of the level that best suits their needs, rather than attending the obligatory English courses with the existing syllabi at some of the faculties. This is the practice in many international and/or private universities in the world; however, implementing one such idea at a public university would require substantial amendments to the existing curricula at all of the faculties.

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St Giles International file:///C:/Level-B2-Learner-Outcomes.pdf

## Bilingual Classes in Serbian and German in “Stevan Sremac”, the First Grammar School of Niš



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### Abstract

The paper analyzes the model of bilingual teaching in Serbian and German, which is applied in the First Grammar School of Niš, “Stevan Sremac”. On the basis of the results collected in the field research, the current problems and challenges faced by the school, teachers and students in their work are presented. The Serbian-German bilingual class in the First Grammar School of Niš, “Stevan Sremac”, started work in September 2014, ten years after the formation of the first bilingual grammar school classes in Belgrade, which used Italian and French as vehicular languages.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with the current Rulebook on Bilingual Education in Serbia<sup>2</sup>, the prerequisite for attending this type of class is the knowledge of a foreign language at the A2 level of CEFRL<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, in addition to the standard final exam, i.e. the so-called minor graduation, consisting of the Serbian language – native language, mathematics and combined test, the candidates take the entrance exam from a foreign language in the desired school. Unlike most grammar schools in Serbia (“Bora Stanković” Grammar School in Niš – the bilingual English-Serbian class, “Svetozar Marković” Grammar School in Niš – the English-Serbian and French-Serbian class), the First Grammar School in Niš decided to hold the bilingual classes in Serbian and German at the Department of Social Sciences and Language, in the following courses: the Serbian language (literature), history, music and art, geography and informatics. In the first school year (2014/15), bilingual classes were conducted by the local German teachers<sup>4</sup>, and over the following two school years (2015/16 and 2016/17), the classes were taught by a native German-language instructor<sup>5</sup>, who was hired by the ZfA (Zentrale für Austauschdienst – Head Office for Foreign Schooling of Germany)<sup>6</sup>.

Key words: bilingual classes, classes held in two languages, the First Grammar School of Niš, the German language, CLIL

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<sup>1</sup> Vučo 2006:41, Zavišin 2012:64, 2013:439, Đurić 2006:32, Manić 2014:403, Pasuljević 2015:131, Pilipović 2013:136

<sup>2</sup> Pravilnik o bližim uslovima za ostvarivanje dvojezične nastave, “Službeni glasnik RS”, broj 105 od 18.12. 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Common European Framework for Living Languages – cef, cefrl, hereinafter: CEFRL

<sup>4</sup> Milena Olenik and Nevenka Janković and their substitutes owing to sick leave, Milica Jovanović and Olja Babić, hereinafter: local teachers of the German language

<sup>5</sup> Katharina Niggermeier, hereinafter: the native German instructor

<sup>6</sup> Zentrale für Austauschdienst – Head Office for Foreign Schooling of Germany, hereinafter: ZfA



## **Introduction**

The European Commission identified CLIL as an educational approach that can not only achieve the goal of multilingualism, but also meet the need to advance education to a higher level of skill, thought and reflexive competence. (Dalton-Puffer, Bonnet 2013: 279) CLIL teaching represents the teaching of one or more courses in a foreign language, where the foreign language has an intermediary role in the transmission of material, while there is simultaneous adoption of the knowledge of that foreign language. (Manic 2014: 399)

Bilingual classes use two languages as an instrument in the teaching process. It is one of the forms of bilingual education, one of the ways to develop bilingualism among students. There are various typologies of bilingual education, as many as 90 different types. They are determined by the relationship between an individual, group, environment, language, family, curriculum organization, a state and its regulations in this field. The most notable are: Immersion (complete and partial), Language Medium Teaching, Content Based Language Instruction, Language-enhanced/enriched Content Instruction, Teaching Content via a Foreign Language, Content-based Bilingual Education, Mainstream Bilingual Education, Plurilingual Education, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). (Vučo 2006: 42). We distinguish two forms of bilingualism: simultaneous and sequential. Simultaneous adoption of a language is linked to the simultaneous adoption of two languages in the family in which parents do not share the same mother tongue, while the sequential one refers to the circumstances in which the child subsequently adopts another language. (Zavišin 2012: 66)

Pirner disagrees fully with the expression bilingual teaching, because it does not entail teaching in two languages, but teaching that is conducted in a foreign language. It differs from teaching a foreign language in that the course involves is a particular specialized subject (geography, history, biology) in which the foreign language is used as a working language. As a rule, the prerequisite for this is that the teacher who conducts the classes is an expert (graduated from the appropriate faculty) for a specialized subject and a foreign language, or at least a teacher of a specialized subject that has an excellent command of the foreign language. In fact, it would be a good idea to use the name bilingual professional teaching, or the term that is used in Niedersachsen: specialized classes conducted in a foreign language. (Pirner 2006: 398)

In Serbia, bilingual teaching has been conducted from 1<sup>st</sup> September 2004. Bilingual classes were introduced in Elementary School “Vladislav Ribnikar” and the Third Belgrade Grammar School for the school year of 2004/2005. Since the Law did not allow an

elementary school to hold classes in a foreign language at the time, Elementary School “Vladislav Ribnikar” is conducted on the basis of the Experimental Bilingual Teaching in Serbian and French in the elementary education from the 7<sup>th</sup> grade, in two classes of chemistry and mathematics. In the Third Belgrade Grammar School, the teaching is conducted on the basis of the Bilingual Project in Italian and French, which was approved in March 2004 by the Minister of Education of the time, i.e. Prof. Gašo Knežević, PhD. One class of the first and second grade of 16 students listens to the courses of history, geography, chemistry and informatics in French. 16 students attend classes In Italian with an increased class number from the courses of Italian, history, geography, chemistry and Latin. This is not the first attempt to introduce bilingual teaching in Serbia. In the seventies, a specific type of bilingual education in the French and Serbian languages was conducted for about ten years in several schools in Serbia, and as an experimental program at the elementary school “Slobodan Princip – Seljo”, followed by Elementary School “Vladislav Ribnikar”. (Vučo 2006: 41)

Đurić states that bilingual classes at the elementary school of “Vladislav Ribnikar” and the Third Belgrade Grammar School resulted from the signing of the Convention on Financing the Project: Assistance to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for the Restoration of the Education System, between the Government of the Republic of France and the Republic of Serbia in 2002. The goal of this project is the development of the model of bilingual teaching, contributing to the development of multilingualism in the education system of Serbia, improving the quality and modernizing work in education through the introduction of modern and efficient methods of work, vertical and horizontal linking of the teaching topics and contents for checking students’ achievements, developing cooperation with bilingual schools in other countries, raising the level and quality of language. The classes are carried out by the teachers of a French School in Belgrade in cooperation with the course teachers who should take over the teaching classes in French within three years. The condition for this is to achieve competence in French B2 Delf or C1 Dalf. The teachers also have the possibility of staying in France, which is what happened in school year 2006/2007, when the staffing aid of the French school was terminated in accordance with the Rulebook/Project. (Đurić 2006: 33)

The German variant of CLIL developed in the sixties of the last century. A friendship agreement was signed in 1963 between Germany and France. It was proposed to increase the number of students who learned French or the German language. One of the measures was the formation of bilingual German-French grammar schools, with the first bilingual grammar

school opened in Zingen in 1969. At least one subject was taught in the mother tongue and foreign language.

Currently, in most cases, bilingual education in Germany begins in the seventh grade, and in the fifth and sixth grade, students have an increased number of foreign language classes (7-8 hours a week). In classic classes, students have foreign language classes four times a week. The vehicular language is mostly English, and the subjects taught bilingually are geography in the 7<sup>th</sup> grade, and history in the 9<sup>th</sup>. In higher grades, bilingual teaching is organized in three courses. These courses can also be chosen as courses that will be taken at the graduation exam. CLIL exists mainly in grammar schools and in very few secondary schools (Realschule). In the German region of Baden-Wittenberg, in school year 2015/16, bilingual classes were organized in 67 vocational high schools, with English as a vehicular language, in 131 schools in the Bayern district, in 62 schools in the region of Nordrhein-Westfalen, and the courses taught bilingually were geography and history. (Löffelbein 2016: 24)

There are almost no bilingual classes in the Hauptschule school type, and they are exceptions. (Wolff 2011: 76)

### **Model of the Bilingual Serbian-German Department of the First Grammar School of Niš, “Stevan Sremac”**

The first bilingual classes were formed in 2004/05. In Belgrade, Italian and French were used as vehicular languages, while a bilingual German-Serbian class was formed ten years later in Niš. This class started work on 1<sup>st</sup> September 2014. The reason for forming the class was the desire to provide students with a higher level of German language learning. The educational work in the German bilingual department is realized according to the curriculum for the Social Science and Language Department of the Grammar School. Students learn German as the first foreign language with an annual class number of two classes a week in the first grade, three in the second, five in the third and four in the fourth grade. The second foreign language for the students of this department is English. Part of the classes of the selected courses in all four years, at least 30% and not more than 55% of the total number of classes per year, is realized in German. With the aim of a successful realization of bilingual teaching in these courses, the school is supported by the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in terms of basic teacher training in the field of German language knowledge, equipping the German language classroom and the provision of teaching materials. The

teaching resources required for the implementation of bilingual education at the school are provided by the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, through its education advisor, as part of the implementation of the DSD-Schulen Project. The school received a portable computer, projector, printer and speakers from the German Embassy, as well as books and assigned readers with disks and magazines used in teaching, as well as other teaching resources required for equipping the German language classroom, and a successful implementation of bilingual teaching in German. These are, above all, a large projector screen, an overhead projector, a smart board, a photocopier and more books and dictionaries for use in teaching.<sup>7</sup>

The teachers hold classes in the Serbian language, and the parts of the classes concerning the revision of the material are held by a German language instructor, who is assigned by the Embassy in accordance with the law and the international agreement. The school has signed a Contract on Teaching with the lecturer. The lecturer plays the role of assistant in teaching and cooperates with the course teachers and teachers of the German language in order to realize bilingual teaching in the best possible way. Students enroll in the bilingual class based on the results achieved in elementary school, the results they achieved at the final exam and the success on the entrance exam, which serves to check their knowledge of the German language. In order to better prepare students for the entrance examination, the school organizes preparatory classes before conducting the exam. In addition, during the first year, the school organizes additional classes of the German language for the students of this class in order to equalize the students' level of knowledge and facilitate easier following of bilingual classes. In the first year, the teaching of courses in German was performed by the local German teachers in the absence of instructors from Germany. In the next two school years, the teaching of these courses was carried out by a native German language instructor, when the students' interest in this department increased. The native German language instructor is Katarina Nigemayer, who is a Teacher of the German Language and Literature and the French Language and Literature by profession. In the school, she is engaged in teaching classes in the courses of the Serbian Language (Literature), History, Geography, Informatics, Music and Art, as an instructor – mentor to pupils of the school who learn German as the first foreign language in a bilingual class. The material of subjects such as history, art history and literature provides great opportunities for learning a foreign language

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<sup>7</sup> Elabarat o realizaciji dvojezične nastave u nemačkom dvojezičnom odeljenju društveno-jezičkog smera, 2013 i 2016. (Report on the Realization of the Bilingual Teaching in the German Bilingual Class of the Department of Social Sciences and Languages 2013 and 2016)

and designing a variety of teaching activities. The costs for teaching and the fee for the work of the instructor are borne by the ZfA. The instructor is active in the field of development in the area of bilingual teaching and frequently participates in consultations and conferences dedicated to this topic in the country and abroad. She intensively learnt the Serbian language with the aim of better adaptation and cooperation. There was no problem in cooperation with the Bilingual Education Team<sup>8</sup>. The German teachers helped and supported communication because the course teachers do not speak German. Support also involved the translation of curriculums for certain subjects, translation at meetings of the Bilingual Education Team, which are always held in June when the topics and content for the next school year are defined. In cooperation with the representatives of the ZfA and the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Belgrade, the instructor is working on finding a partner school in Germany through the PASCH network of schools. She had secured the stay of volunteers from Germany, whose arrival was realized in March for a period of 6 months. She organized a seminar for German teachers from Germany on teaching German as a foreign language, which was held at the school in the first week of June 2016 and 2017.

In cooperation with the Education Advisor at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Belgrade and the representatives of the local administration, the school signed an Agreement of Understanding on the Cooperation with four primary schools, within the DSD-Schulen Project in connection with teaching German as a foreign language. The purpose of this agreement is to provide a continuous process of teaching and learning German in elementary school and grammar school. This means that, in their elementary schools, students will study the German language according to the plan and program that prepares them for the DSD exam, and then they will enroll in the bilingual department in order to continue studying the German language at a high level and formalize their knowledge with a DSD Certificate. The vision of the development of bilingual teaching of the German language is the further harmonization of German language curricula and programs in elementary schools and the grammar school, raising the quality of teaching German to a higher level and enabling students to acquire specific knowledge that will open new opportunities for them in the careers that are before them. (Report 2016: 6)

The goals of bilingual teaching in the German bilingual class are: the development of a model of bilingual education in accordance with the needs and conditions of the work in

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<sup>8</sup> The Bilingual Education Team is comprised of the School Principal, native German instructor, German Language Teacher and the course teachers involved in bilingual classes.

grammar schools as a contribution to the development of multilingualism in the education system of the Republic of Serbia, introduction of modern, efficient methods for conducting teaching in the German language, horizontal and vertical linking of teaching topics and material, developing cooperation with schools in the Federal Republic of Germany, raising the level and quality of language competence of students in the domain of the German language, preparing students for taking the exam for acquiring a DSD Certificate. (Report 2016: 3)

Bilingual teaching in the German bilingual class should provide: a model of bilingual teaching appropriate to the needs and conditions of the work in the grammar schools in the Republic of Serbia, the application of modern and efficient teaching methods in the German language, horizontal and vertical linking of the topics and materials prescribed by the curriculum, cooperation with the schools in the Federal Republic of Germany, achieved level of language competence by the students, enabling effective use of the German language for personal, educational and professional purposes, the successful preparation of students for taking the exam for acquiring a DSD Certificate. (Report 2016: 3)

Pursuant to the provisions of the Rulebook on Detailed Requirements for the Implementation of Bilingual Teaching (Condition 2) and with the support of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany for the purpose of sustainability of the project, the school organizes training for the course teachers involved in bilingual education so that they could acquire knowledge of German at the B1 level. In this case, in case of absence of the native instructor, the course teachers could conduct bilingual classes together with teachers of the German language. (Report 2016: 5)

“The requirement with regard to the teaching staff that will implement bilingual teaching will include:

1. the teacher’s consent to participate in bilingual education and to accept all the obligations determined by these conditions;
2. proof of the level of knowledge of the language with which the teacher can start with the realization of bilingual teaching.

Dependent on the modalities, bilingual education can be realized by:

- the course teacher whose knowledge of the target foreign language in the first school year of the realization of bilingual classes should be at least at

the B2 level according to the Common European Framework for Living Languages, with the obligation of achieving the expected C1 level of knowledge in the next five years, through continuous development. The level of knowledge of the language is proved with the certificate of the appropriate passed exam at an accredited higher education institution that conducts accredited study programs in foreign languages in the Republic of Serbia, or an internationally recognized certificate for the level of knowledge of a language, issued by a domestic or foreign legal entity accredited for such exams (ALTE);

- the course teacher, who has been educated in a foreign language in which bilingual teaching is being conducted, which is proved by the appropriate public document of his/her certification and diploma of the completed level of education (at least of the completed secondary school);
- the course teacher (with foreign language skills at the B1 level) and teacher of a particular foreign language, who realize bilingual teaching together;
- a native foreign instructor, pursuant to the law and the international agreement.

The modality of this grammar school is to have the instructor from Germany do the teaching, in close cooperation with the local teachers, or in the absence of the instructor, the teacher of the German language shall conduct the classes, while the course teacher must have the B1 level of knowledge of the language.

Teaching in German is realized in the presence of course teachers and according to a well-planned schedule. The course units that are covered in the German language have been selected in agreement with the course teachers and follow the curriculum for the social science and language department of the grammar school. (Report 2016: 5)

Per school year, students have 111 classes of specialized courses in the German language, and 3 a week on average.

For the first year, the classes are carried out in the following courses:<sup>9</sup>

Serbian language and literature: 30 classes out of a total of 148 classes. The topics covered in the field of literature are: Literature of the Old Century, Medieval Literature, Humanism and Renaissance, Baroque and Classicism, Phonetics (with Phonology and Morphology), Spelling.

History: 32 classes out of a total of 74 classes. The topics are: Ancient History and the Ancient East, Ancient Greece, Ancient Rome, the Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages.

Art: 14 classes out of a total of 37 classes. The topics are: The Art of Ancient Egypt, The Art of Mesopotamia and Persia, Ancient Greek Art, The Art of Ancient Rome.

Music: 17 classes out of 37 classes. The topics are: Music in the Original Social Community and Culture of Ancient History, Music of the Middle Ages, Renaissance Music, Baroque Music.

Informatics: 18 classes out of 74 classes. The topics include: Text Processing, Introduction to Network Information Technology, Internet, Slide Presentations.

The classes for the second year are carried out in the following courses:

Serbian and Literature: 47 classes out of 140 classes, by topic: Literature: Enlightenment, Romanticism, Realism, Assigned reading; Language: Morphology, Spelling; Culture of expression: oral expression

History: 25 out of 74 classes, by topic: Europe in the Early Middle Ages, Settlement of the Slavs to the Balkans and the Creation of the First Serbian States, Medieval World from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> Century.

Geography: 18 out of 70 classes, by topic: Population and Settlements, Basic Political-geographical Characteristics of the Modern World, Basic Economic-geographical Features of the Global Economy, Political-geographical, Demographic, Economic-geographical Features of Certain Parts of the World

Art: 5 out of 35 hours. The topics are: Romantic Art, Gothic Art, Byzantine Art, Renaissance Art.

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<sup>9</sup> Izveštaj o radu bilingvalnog odeljenja društveno-jezičkog smera – nemački jezik u školskoj 2016/17.godini (Report on the Work of the Bilingual Class of the Department of Social Sciences and Languages – the German Language in school year 2016/2017)



Music: 16 out of 35 classes, by topic: Pre-classicism, Classical Music, Viennese Classics, Music of Romanticism.

Informatics: 12 out of 60 classes. The topics are: Working with Tables, Computer Graphics, Multimedia, Advanced Internet usage.

Classes in the third year are carried out in the following courses:

Serbian language and literature: 28 out of 180 classes, by topic: Literature: Modern, Interwar Period and War Literature, Assigned reading; Language: Word formation, Lexicology, Syntax, Spelling; Culture of expression: Written expression, Oral expression.

Music: 12 out of 37 classes. The topics are: Opera, Operetta and Ballet in the XIX century, National Schools in the XIX century, German Music until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Development of Serbian music and its representatives in the XIX century.

Art: 12 out of 37 classes, by topic: Baroque Art, Feature Film, Animated Film and Photography, Art of the XIX Century, Development of Serbian Art and its Representatives in the XIX century.

History: 25 out of 108 classes, by topic: Europe's Rise (XV-XVIII Century) Reformation and Catholic Reconstruction (Martin Luther, the Jesuits), Absolute Feudal Monarchies (XVI-XVIII centuries) (Revolution in the Netherlands, Absolutism of the Tudors and the English Republic, Restoration, "The Famous Revolution", France, Richelieu, Louis XIV, Enlightened Absolutism, Friedrich II, Enlightened Absolutism, Peter the Great and Katarina II), Serbian People under Turkish Rule (XVI-XVIII centuries) (Position of the Serbs in the Ottoman Empire, Decline of the Ottoman Empire), Serbs under the Habsburg and Venetian Rule (XVI-XVIII centuries) (Social and State Order of the Habsburg Monarchy), Revolutionary and Civil Europe (XVIII-1878) (Industrial Revolution, Labor and Socialist Movements in Europe, War for the Independence of the USA, French Revolution, Napoleon's Conquests and Collapse, the Vienna Congress and the Holy Alliance, the Unification of Germany), the National Movement in the Balkans (the Serbian Revolution (1804-1813) – Leopold von Ranke, Die serbische Revolution)

Geography: 20 out of 72 classes. The topics include: The position, borders and size of the Republic of Serbia, Natural Characteristics of Serbia, Population and Settlements, Serbian

Economy, Regional Units of Serbia, Serbs in the Former Yugoslav Republics and the Diaspora<sup>10</sup>.

At the time of the research (school year 2016/2017), there was no fourth year, but for the next school year, when the school will have the fourth grade of the bilingual class for the first time, the following subjects are planned: music and art, information technology, literature and history<sup>11</sup>.

In addition to regular classes, the students of this class are involved in various other activities related to the German language and culture of the peoples of the German speaking countries. On 26<sup>th</sup> September 2016, the European Language Day was commemorated. On December 15<sup>th</sup>, 2011, the presentation of Christmas Customs took place. In the previous year, the presentation was realized by students of bilingual classes for elementary school students – future students of the school. In this school year, the students of elementary schools, with whom the cooperation on the realization of bilingual classes and preparation for the DSD exam was established, participated in the event themselves. On 28<sup>th</sup> February 2017, an exhibition and a historical lecture were set up in the school, within the exhibition on the theme of the Cold War. The causes – story – consequences in the cooperation with the Embassy of the Republic of Germany in Belgrade. The students made a museum exhibition in the festive school hall. The exhibition was of the open type and lasted all week. The history teacher had previously finished this lecture with the students of the first, second and third year of the bilingual class, although this topic was to be discussed in the fourth year. Afterwards, they compiled texts and presented them to the visitors in German with the lecture. When required, the history teacher provided additional explanations in the Serbian language. On 9<sup>th</sup> March 2017, the DSD 1 exam was held at the school. From the 23<sup>rd</sup> to the 26<sup>th</sup> of May 2017, a “German and Serbian Teachers in Education” seminar was organized in the school in cooperation with the Embassy of the Republic of Germany and the University of the German City of Karlsruhe and the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade. The cooperation is realized with the International Volunteer Program KULTURWEIT, involved in the organization of the presence of students – volunteers from the German speaking countries at the school. Cooperation with the University of Leipzig was also realized in terms of sending their university students to conduct professional practice in the school. The extracurricular

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<sup>10</sup> U trećoj godini nema informatike jer se u tom razredu izučava programiranje što nije zgodno za bilingvalnu nastavu.

<sup>11</sup> U četvrtoj godini nema geografije jer društveno-jezički smer u tom razredu nema geografiju

educational possibilities of these students are diverse, e.g. the already mentioned exhibition, as a form of museum education, where the students played scenes from history, followed by the cooperation with the Faculties of Karlsruhe and Belgrade. For two years, future teachers (Referendare – trainees) and students of German from Belgrade have been coming, wishing to see and learn about the teaching profession in Serbia. They too have done a week of teaching practice in the grammar school and elementary school. The students prepared a city tour with the students in German, and the students themselves were holding bilingual lessons and preparing them. In this way, students come in contact with native speakers.

A joint project with a grammar school from Reutlingen was also realized. Second-grade students from Niš and 9<sup>th</sup> grade students from Germany read the same literary work, “Das serbische Mädchen”, by Sigfrid Lenca, choosing a story that deals with the Serbian-German relationship and each student had an e-mail partner. Thus, there was a tandem lesson and opinions were exchanged. The native instructor had adapted all the texts and made the tasks, so virtual friendships were created.

They established cooperation with the volunteers from the Kulturweit organization. Last year, a 6-month volunteer came to attend classes, assist, offer conversation courses, and contribute to differentiated teaching, providing assistance to students who needed it at that time. In September, a volunteer who will stay for a year is also coming. Therefore, the students will have contact with native speakers.

A Practitioner from Leipzig was present for two weeks, worked with students, and thus completed her practice.

Cooperation also took place in elementary schools that are in the DSD project, a joint event with a Christmas theme in Germany. In September, at the meeting, it was agreed which acts would be performed and the assignments were divided. Each school individually prepared its part of the event from September to November, when regular joint rehearsals began. In this way, elementary school students could get acquainted with the environment, teachers and students of the grammar school, and may opt for this school and this department. Elementary school students were students of the final grade. In this way, the teachers from the elementary school and the grammar school establish cooperation, which is very important.

An open door day is organized every term. Students can then have a tour of the grammar school and attend classes.

Every September, the Language Day is organized when a fair of languages is organized in the Ceremonial Hall, where the other languages that are taught in this grammar school are presented, in addition to the German language. Then, the school is open for visits and future students can be accompanied by parents or teachers and visit the fair, as well as the school itself. Cooperation is very important.<sup>12</sup>

In the first Year, i.e. 2014/15, this class enrolled 12 students. In the next one, i.e. 2015/16, there were 14. In 2016/17, there were 30, which is the maximum number, and more were registered, but the students with the highest number of points on the entrance examination from the German language were enrolled. There were 36 students at this year's entrance examination, but 26 students with the best achievement in the entrance exam were enrolled.

Pursuant to the Rules on the Detailed Conditions for Bilingual Classes, monitoring and evaluation of German language teaching in the German bilingual class of the First Grammar School of Niš, "Stevan Sremac", is performed by the Institute for the Promotion of Education and Training (Center for the Development of Education and Training Programs and Textbooks) and the Institute for the Evaluation of the Quality of Education, as well as the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany in Belgrade through its Education Advisor. Pursuant to the provisions of the Rulebook, the school submits to the Ministry an annual report on the implementation of bilingual classes, which contains all the relevant information on this type of teaching, as well as the possible problems and difficulties in the process of realization of this project. (Report 2016: 7)

### **The DSD-Schulen Project**

On 7<sup>th</sup> December 2012, the Memorandum of Understanding was signed by the Minister of Education, Science and Technological Development in the Republic of Serbia and the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in Belgrade, implying the taking of exams for acquiring a certificate in the German language – Deutsches Sprachdiplom (DSD). The DSD-Schulen project is a project of the ZfA, launched in order to improve studying the German language in the Republic of Serbia, strengthening the German-Serbian cooperation in the field of education and encouraging professional development of teachers in the field of teaching German.

The idea for introducing the DSD-Schulen Project (The First Grammar School of Niš is one of the fifteen grammar schools involved in the project) and the formation of this

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<sup>12</sup> Izveštaj o radu bilingvalnog odeljenja društveno-jezičkog smera – nemački jezik u školskoj 2016/17.godini

bilingual class was created through the cooperation with the ZfA. The project involves preparation for the exam and taking the DSD exam. The DSD 1 exam in the German language is a test that examines all four student language skills (receptive: listening and reading comprehension, and productive: writing and speaking) at the A2/B1 CEFRL level. The DSD 2 exam is at the B2/C1 CEFRL level, which will be organized for the first time in this school in school year 2017/18. All pupils attending DSD schools have the right to take these exams. In addition to the preparation for taking and implementing the DSD exam itself, the project also implies extracurricular educational activities of students and teachers, as well as very important professional training of teachers. Professional training within the DSD-Schulen project was realized from the following seminars: Informationsveranstaltung für die Schulleiter der DSD-Schulen in Serbien in Belgrade, the DSD-Seminar für Ortslehrkräfte an Sprachschulen in Leipzig, Kompetenzorientierung im Unterricht, Fortbildungskurse in Deutschland für ausländische Deutschlehrkräfte – Schulhospitationen in Munich, Lehrwerkarbeit in Kovačica. Within the project, the school also made a network of schools with elementary schools in Niš at the initiative of the representatives of the ZFA, which was also defined by formal signing of the Agreement on Understanding in school year 2013/14, attended by the representatives of the ZFA, principal of the grammar school, elementary school principals, as well as Teachers of the German language from the grammar school and elementary schools. Cooperation between the elementary schools and the grammar school means improvement and a continuous monitoring of German language teaching in elementary schools, visits of elementary school students to the grammar school, attendance at German classes, joint events and performances, as well as visits of the native instructor to German language classes in elementary schools, which enables the students of elementary school to have contact and work with a native speaker, as well as develop professional competencies of teachers of elementary schools through the cooperation with an instructor for the German language. Four primary schools comprise this network of schools in Niš: Elementary schools “Kole Rašić”, “Čegar”, “Stefan Nemanja” and “Kralj Petar I”. The presence of elementary schools in the project enabled elementary school teachers to attend professional training, and students to take the language exam “Vergleichsarbeit – auf dem Weg zum DSD” at the A1/A2 CEFRL level, which further fortifies the harmonized knowledge of elementary school students who come to the grammar school.

## **Suggestions for the Improvement and Final Reasoning**

The Primary areas to be considered in bilingual education are educational, political and institutional conditions in the country, the preschool and school contexts of education and teaching, structures and relationships of teacher education and specialized education of teachers. (Haataja 2013: 6)

The proposal is that bilingual classes be introduced in elementary and vocational high schools, because the introduction of CLIL procedures into all levels of formal education, from pre-school to university, actively promotes multilingualism, with the belief that teaching material in a foreign language, besides the comprehensive contribution to improving the complex language knowledge system, contributes to overcoming linguistic, cultural and commercial barriers and the development of tolerance and appreciation, as well as cultural and civilization limitlessness. A high level of intercultural tolerance and respect for the other and the different are the advantages of this special approach in learning and teaching foreign languages. (Vučo et al 2013: 359) If there are no conditions for the formation of bilingual classes, then, as a project, a part of the subject matter of a course could be carried out in a vehicular language or realized in additional classes and/or section. Vučo states that, in some schools, classes in one course are taught in a language learned as a foreign language several hours a week, and that this constitutes bilingual classes where the goal is to offer another incentive in a foreign language while learning a course, thus activating Krashen's theory of "rules of forgetting" (Second Language Acquisition Theory), which allows a student to learn more easily when they forget to use a foreign or other language and use it spontaneously. (Vučo 2006: 42) Examples are the Project at the Ninth Belgrade Grammar School in Belgrade, the Air Force Academy in Belgrade, and the Primary School "Vladislav Ribnikar" in Belgrade:

In school year 2002/2003, within the course of additional classes, an innovative project is being implemented in the Ninth Belgrade Grammar School "Mihajlo Petrović – Alas", where the teaching of biology was held in the French language for interested students of the first grade. Topics from the curriculum were selected that would be interesting for students, teachers of French and biology teachers. Students also had the opportunity to follow extra French lessons with a native French instructor. The experience of a French teacher in this school shows that this type of teaching can be widely implemented because it is not too demanding in terms of the teaching staff. Each foreign language teacher can hold additional lessons in the field of their interests by covering topics selected from the curriculum of a

particular subject. The prerequisite for this is a thoroughly elaborated project where all the elements relevant for the realization are defined (teacher training, materials necessary for realization). (Đurić 2006: 31)

The initiator for the Documentation and Information Center (DIC) is the Commission for the Development of the School Program, which has worked on the concept of reform of elementary and general high school education in Serbia from March 2002 to March 2004. This experiment was created within the project of introducing bilingual classes to concretize one of the most important tasks of the then initiated reform of education – the thematic and problematic conception of the teaching material that enables the student to develop concepts and relationships among them, and to apply the knowledge and skills developed within the course in the contexts of others, to understand their interconnectedness and to see the relationships between different types and forms of knowledge. The experiment began with its realization in December 2005 in the “Vladislav Ribnikar” Elementary School, by placing documentalist teachers as per the CDI that has existed since 1974 in a French college. The reform of the college in 2002 foresees that students spend two hours a week working in interdisciplinary projects. DIC is a space in which various types of documents and sources of information, as well as groups of students, can realize the course-specific and interdisciplinary research projects based on the curriculum, in addition to the usual school activities. The results of these activities can be panels, exhibitions, thematic files, exhibits, debates etc. The Head of the DIC is a documentalist teacher who has multiple roles, such as the educational one, where their duty is to direct students to use all the sources of information, to determine the objectives of the research. The results of the experiments are a great interest of students and some course teachers for the use of DIC and for the generation and realization of projects. It provides the opportunity to effectively learn and perceive the phenomenon from the perspective of different scientific and artistic disciplines and develop the ability for teamwork. In addition, it enables students to develop different competences such as defining the topic of research, finding an adequate source, selecting information, processing and communicating information. This would be a good example and an integral part of the realization of bilingual teaching, but it is necessary that the course teachers get a better command of the traditional curriculum, because it is necessary to connect the courses, so that students could link the knowledge acquired in different subjects. The teachers should leave the frontal work method and introduce research methods as often as possible, and it is necessary to motivate teachers and train them to lead the DIC, as well as provide the necessary documentation and technical

resources. Interesting and useful extracurricular activities are organized in order to motivate students and develop their creativity. These activities exist owing to the initiative of teachers, professional associations and the French Cultural Center. They are realized due to the support of parents, schools, local and republican authorities, the French Cultural Center, but above all, owing to the great enthusiasm of the French language teachers, who often prepare their students in their free time and without compensation, and simultaneously solve various technical and material problems. (Đurić 2006: 34)

In the vocational high school, the Air Force Academy in Belgrade, there is a subject of Professional English which is a form of a soft CLIL, where all the professional subjects students do in their native language are also done in English at the specialized language classes. There is a difference between the hard and soft CLIL approach. The soft approach means that certain courses and material are taught in language classes. This form is most frequently represented in elementary schools. There are also CLIL modules that are characteristic in schools where certain subjects are taught in a foreign language through the appropriate number of classes, and this form represents the progress of a hard CLIL. The hard CLIL is linked to the partial immersion, since almost 50% of the total number of all subjects is taught in a foreign language. (Manic 2014: 400) Dalton-Puffer cites that there are CLIL classes in a non-language course, which represents the Hard CLIL, and it is characterized by the following: the main goal is to master the course. The curricular task is the non-linguistic course, the lecturer is the subject teacher, the measure for assessing performance is the non-language course, while SOFT CLIL is a CLIL in a specific course conducted in a foreign language, where the main goal is the foreign language, and the curricular task is the language course. The teacher is a foreign language teacher, and the measure for evaluating performance is a foreign language. (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 2)

It would be desirable to introduce a graduation test from one subject in the German language. Currently, the graduation exam is the same for all the grammar schools and courses. It consists of a written test in the mother tongue and a foreign language or mathematics. Since this is a Social Science and Language Department, the majority will choose a foreign language, most likely the German language. Then, the students have a graduation paper in the form of a term paper, which is defended in the form of an oral presentation. A proposal should be made to the students of the bilingual class to choose one of the topics that they have covered bilingually as a topic of the graduation paper. The first graduation exam will be held in the school year of 2017/18, which should be monitored and explored.



The question arises as to whether the exclusive working method of CLIL leads to better language skills, and further testing is proposed for students of bilingual classes and other courses in the school (philology department and the social science and language department). The bilingual classes are mostly selected by students who have a greater talent for languages, are preparing to take the entrance exam and have more motivation for learning foreign languages. Eight language skills and motivation among students are to be tested. It is proposed to test the students of the new bilingual department at the beginning of September, and then repeat the tests at the end of the first and second semesters, and thus continuously monitor the development of language skills among students under the influence of bilingual teaching.

Opening new chairs, such as the system in Germany, should be encouraged, as well as studying two subjects, e.g. history or geography and German, where specific bilingual teaching didactics would be taught, thus providing adequate staff for bilingual education. Proposals for the formation of new departments can be found in the Baur paper. This paper discusses the situation of bilingual education in Russia. It is proposed that new departments should be introduced, which would have the desired combinations of the courses necessary for bilingual education. The new department must be so conceived to pay attention to the combination of the course and the subject of the course. Compulsory elements of the department are specialized-scientific parts, didactics and methodology of bilingual classes, language practical exercises and practice in school. All parts should be implemented as much as possible in cooperation with the faculties in Germany, since it is important for future teachers of bilingual classes to get acquainted with different elements from the perspective of another culture. In order to master the terminology of the course, it is important to get familiarized with the subject in the country of the German speaking area. In order to get acquainted with the didactics of the subject in the country of the German-speaking area, a good practice in Germany is desirable. Both parts and the subject matter and practice abroad influence the development of business, language, practical competences, as well as the development of the intercultural competence of the future teachers of bilingual classes. (Baur 2008: 256)

In addition to the establishment of new departments at faculties, it is necessary to organize seminars, courses and training sessions at faculties and centers for the professional development of teachers. If another qualification is required for teachers who teach bilingual classes, the fact is that students do not know well the language they are listening classes in,

whose materials they are learning and mastering, so teachers need specific methods to bring students closer to foreign languages. The teachers who studied only subjects that they teach, e.g. history, and then studied the foreign language, once again lack the didactics and methodologies of foreign languages and bilingual classes, just like the foreign language teachers who study the subjects they teach. In Germany, some Master's programs have been introduced in the field of bilingual education, as well as additional integrated and additive qualifications of teachers for 4 semester weeks with 2 practical lessons in Ludwigsburg to additional studies lasting 30 semester weeks in Bochum. There are basic studies in the German cities of Karlsruhe and Freiburg under the name Europalehramt (European Studies) for the duration of 8 semesters and one semester abroad, where one can choose an English or French language course to teach for all types of schools (Gesamtschule, Realschule, Hauptschule, Werkrealschule). At the University of Saarbrücken, there are studies entitled Integrated Teacher Studies in the German and French Language for 3 semesters abroad. The courses taught are history and geography in French for two types of schools (Gesamtschule and Gymnasium), and at the University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, there is a master's program in the duration of 60 weekly lectures per semester in the field of history and geography in English for three types of schools (Hauptschule, Realschule and Gymnasium). As for the integrated additional qualifications at the University of Braunschweig, there is a possibility to decide on the CLIL program for 6 semester weeks with the mandatory Master's Thesis in this field. The course selection is optional in the English for Grammar Schools. At the University of Hamburg, there is an additional qualification for bilingual education for 11 semester weeks. The choice of courses is optional. The language is English, for all types of secondary schools. At the University of Bremen, there are additional qualifications for bilingual learning and lectures for 6 semester weeks. The choice of courses is optional. The language is English, for all types of schools. At the University of Bochum, there are supplemental studies for bilingual studying and teaching, lasting 30 semester weeks. The course selection is optional. The languages are English, French, Spanish and German as a foreign language and it applies to all types of schools. At the University of Dortmund, there are additional studies of bilingual teaching and studying for the duration of 30 semester weeks. The courses are also optional in English, and apply to all types of schools. At the University of Kassel, there is a certificate for bilingual education for 8 semester weeks with three semester weeks of practice. The courses are optional. The language is English, and the course applies to all types of schools. At the University of Kassel, there are additional studies of bilingual teaching in English for 30 semester weeks in the courses of geography, biology and politics for all types of schools. At

the University of Mainz, there are additional studies for bilingual education for 6 semester weeks for geography, politics and history in English and French for Grammar Schools. In Ludwigsburg, there is an additional certificate for bilingual education lasting 4 semester weeks, and two hours of practice (lectures) in English. The course selection is optional, and the type of school is Realschule. At the University of Halle-Wittenberg, there is a study program of bilingual education lasting 8 semester weeks in English and French. The choice of subjects is optional, and applies to all types of schools. (Gnutzmann, Rabe 2013: 103)

It is necessary to continue the cooperation between the school, the University of Karlsruhe and the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade, because of the resulting exchange of experience of teachers from Germany and the future teachers from Belgrade, which greatly benefits the development and improvement of bilingual education in the First Grammar School of Niš. Students and teachers of bilingual classes should be interviewed concerning their attitudes about bilingual education, and their suggestions for improving teaching. Language skills should be tested among students. In addition, their motivation for learning foreign languages should be examined in order to define specific proposals for improving bilingual education.

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# Differences in the Representation of Target-Language Cultural Content in the First and Second Edition of the A2 and B1 Gateway Coursebooks



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## Abstract

There are many criteria which we can use to evaluate the appropriateness of a coursebook for our particular teaching and learning context. One of many and one that is becoming increasingly important is the representation of culture-related content. The paper uses content analysis to look at the first and the second edition of the A2 and B1 *Gateway* Student's Book with the aim of determining whether there is any difference in the extent of representation of the target-language cultural content between the two editions. Yuen's classification of four aspects of culture into products, practices, perspectives, and persons was used for coding purposes. Three segments of each unit in the textbooks were analyzed – the main reading section at the beginning of each unit, the reading and listening section at the centre of each unit (the CLICK Onto part in the first and Gateway to Life Skills in the second edition) and the Gateway to Exams part at the end of these two units. Only the content with an explicit reference to the target culture (the US, the UK, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand) was coded. The data was statistically analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 16) and presented by frequency tables. The statistical analysis shows that the majority of the target-language cultural content is about the UK and that the aspect of culture most frequently presented is the one of products. However, most importantly, there is a difference in the representation in the cultural content between the first and the second edition of the A2 and B1 *Gateway* textbook since the second edition incorporates significantly less UK and US-centric cultural content. This is an important change for the *Gateway* series since it addresses the needs of a wider student body and represents a move towards producing more varied instructional materials.

Key words: ELT textbook evaluation, culture-related content, target culture, content analysis

## Introduction

Coursebooks are, for Sheldon (1988), “the visible heart of any ELT programme” (p. 237). The selection of a coursebook is a complex decision, “in which there is considerable

professional, financial and even political investment” (p. 237). As he pointed out in an earlier work (1987), from the learners’ point of view, “the seriousness and the validity of a course will rest upon the selection and faithful application of a relevant classroom tome” (p. 3), which clearly indicates the importance of carefully selecting a suitable coursebook. There are many criteria which we can use to evaluate the appropriateness of a coursebook. One of many and one that is becoming increasingly important is the representation of culture-related content. Many textbooks used in English language teaching are produced in the UK and the US. As such, they often represent content which reflects the worldview of that part of the world. Kumaravadivelu (2006) criticized what he called “second language teaching as second culture teaching” (p. 167) and argued for an inclusion of learners’ social needs as well. With a growing emphasis on English as an International Language and World Englishes, it is no surprise that the development of textbooks is reflecting the tendency towards a less UK and US-centric content and towards accommodating the variety of learners’ backgrounds.

The first edition of the *Gateway* textbook was published in 2012 and it was followed by its second edition four years later. The textbook has been updated to fit the current trends in technological development, the layout has been slightly modified to be more visually appealing and some content has been completely replaced. Looking at the second edition of *Gateway* textbooks, there is a noticeable tendency towards content which centers less on the countries where English is spoken as a native language. In order to look into this further, the purpose of this paper is to investigate differences between the representation of target-language cultural content in the first edition and in the second edition of the A2 and B1 *Gateway* textbook by using content analysis, coding the content using Yuen’s aspects of culture and analyzing the data quantitatively.

## **Literature Review**

The choice of any coursebook over another is a compromise. Since making your own material to be used in a classroom is very time-consuming and since there are many lessons to be taught in a week, teachers do not have a lot of choice but to “choose a book which only approximates to the needs of a local context” (Sheldon, 1988, p. 238). Coursebook assessment, as Sheldon noted, is subjective (there not being such a thing as worldwide ELT coursebook criteria) and there is no one system that could be used by all in all circumstances and contexts (p. 245). Out of a myriad of ways to choose and evaluate a coursebook, one has received substantial attention recently – the representation of cultural content.

The way English is perceived and the way it has been taught has been changing. This becomes important when we think about the status that the English language has acquired over the past decades as the language used for global communication. As Barbara Seidlhofer (2005) delineated, research has shown growing interest in “English as a lingua franca” or ELF “as a way of referring to communication in English between speakers with different first languages” (p. 339). As she explained, ELF is a part of EIL – “English as an international language” or “World Englishes” and this term has been used interchangeably with some others, such as “English as a global language” and “English as a world language” to refer to using English in various countries where people speak and learn English (p. 339). The use of English is becoming more and more detached from what is perceived as the “center” – the US and the UK. As Jenkins (2001) stated, “for the first time in the history of the English language, second language speakers outnumber those for whom it is the mother tongue, and interaction in English increasingly involves no first language speakers whatsoever” (cited in Gilbert and Levis, p. 1).

In analyses of different textbooks, the focus has increasingly been placed on steadily moving away from the predominant representations of the target culture. Nault (2006) emphasized what he called “[t]he ELT profession’s fixation” with the US and the UK which ignores the fact that English is spoken in many other countries as the native language (p. 315). As he added, these “US-UK-centric viewpoints” do not take into consideration millions of people who speak English in many Asian countries (p. 316). As Alptekin (1993) pointed out, material taught through the perspective of the elements of the target culture only is detrimental to the learner’s acquisition process which is especially evident in reading comprehension since “[i]t is well-established that readers make use of culture-specific schemas in relating input to what they already know and, consequently, construct the writer’s intended meaning” (p. 137). The impact on the acquisition process is only part of the problem. There has been a growing awareness of the position of the ELT material as “commodities which are imbued with cultural promise” (Gray, 2000, p. 274). For Gray, ELT textbooks from the UK and the US promote “entry into an international speech community which is represented in what tend to be very idealized terms” (p. 274). It is thus no surprise that textbooks have received substantial attention from researchers.

There has been a lot of research conducted by employing content analysis to examine textbooks. Since teachers in Korea use textbooks as a primary source of material and since the Ministry of Education promoted a turn towards developing intercultural competence in 2011, researchers Kim and Paek (2015) used content analysis to analyze the representation of

culture-related content in five textbooks used in the second grade in middle schools in with the aim to evaluate whether the selected textbooks support multicultural perspectives. Meidani and Reza (2013) analyzed four different textbooks most frequently used in Iran to see whether and to which extent the selected textbooks reflected the international status of the English language and found that more recent textbooks are more in accordance with the principles of learning English as an international language, depicting not only countries where English is spoken as the first language, but also those where it is spoken as a second and a foreign language as well. Chao (2011) used content analysis to look at the representation of culture-related content in one international textbook *New American Inside Out* published by MacMillan in 2008. She looked at the representations of “the hidden curriculum, the potential beliefs, values, attitudes or ideologies, delivered through the content” (p. 192). Her research shows the tendency towards the representation of target culture in the textbook as well as the circumvention of source culture. Yuen (2011) investigated the representation of different foreign cultures in two textbooks used in schools in Hong Kong (*Longman Elect* and *Treasure Plus*) using four aspects of culture – products, practices, perspectives and persons. He conducted content analysis and found the aspect of products to be the most frequently and perspectives the least frequently represented aspect. Moreover, the cultures of countries where English is spoken were represented most frequently, the Asian and even more so African countries being sidelined.

Even though different researchers have differing views on the role of culture in foreign language education and even though the textbooks they analyze are used in contexts that have little in common, what generally seems to be a preferred development is the reduction in the representation of cultural content related to the countries where English is spoken as a native language and a tendency towards a more multicultural perspective.

## **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

Research question:

Is there any difference in the amount of target-language cultural content between the first and the second edition of the *Gateway A2* and *B1* coursebooks?

Hypothesis:

There is no difference in the amount of target-language cultural content between the first and the second edition of the *Gateway A2* and *B1* coursebooks.



## Sample Textbooks

The textbooks selected for this analysis are the first and the second edition of *Gateway* A2 and B1 Student's Book written by David Spencer and published by Macmillan Education in 2012 and 2016, respectively. This paper looks at the representation of culture-related content in both of its editions. The reason for selecting this textbook was my own working environment where *Gateway* textbooks have been used as the principal source of material since 2012. The textbooks are also international, meaning that they do not have an intended audience, apart from them being aimed at secondary school students. As stated in the second edition of the Teacher's Book (2016), *Gateway* is "designed to lead teenage students to success in exams, particularly school-leaving exams. It's also designed to prepare students for further study and the field of work" (p. 2). Since it caters to no particular audience and does not presuppose learners' backgrounds, it makes it a good choice for investigating current trends in the representation of culture-related content on a larger scale.

## Method

This paper uses content analysis to look at the culture-related content in two textbooks. Content analysis is a widely used approach in qualitative research. It is used to analyze and interpret recorded material and textbooks are one example of such material. Even though content analysis is mainly used in qualitative research, it can also be quantitative, especially if one wants to find the extent to which some topic is covered in the textbook (Ary et al., 2013, 32-33). Quantitative content analysis was selected for this paper since the paper investigates the extent of coverage of culture-related content.

The content is coded using Yuen's aspects of culture. According to Yuen (2011), culture-related content can be coded as products, practices, perspectives and persons. In order to connect culture-related content to particular countries, I chose to focus only on target culture which refers to those countries where English is spoken as the first or native language and countries which Kachru (1990) calls the Inner Circle countries – the US, the UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

The following is the summary of aspects of culture by Yuen:

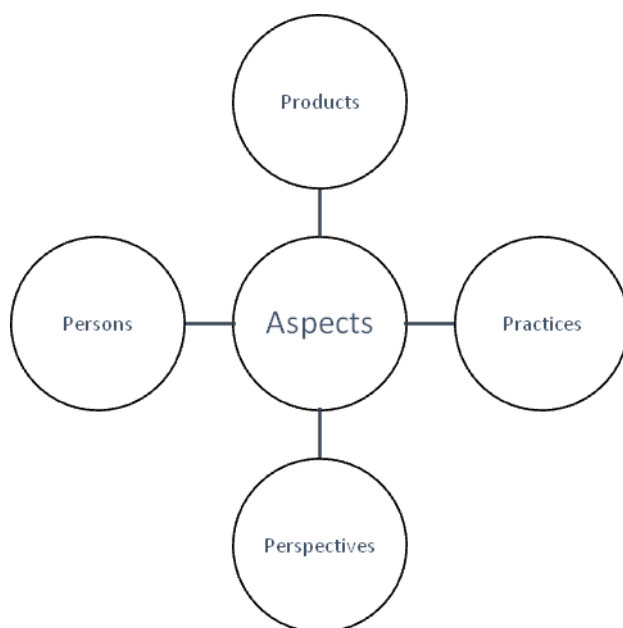


Figure 1. Yuen's aspects of culture

Yuen (2011) coded content as products when they were about entertainment (films and TV programs), food, merchandise (such as Barbie), print (such as books, magazines and newspapers), and tourist sites. When he coded texts as practices, he included customs (such as holidays and festivals), daily life (including sports activities popular in a certain country) and society (one example in Yuen's study is the sentence "Lots of Icelanders live in Reykjavik"). Content about poverty in certain countries, conditions in schools and crime was coded as practices as well. Content coded as perspectives included inspirations, myths (such as superstitions) and world views whereas content coded as persons included mostly famous people. It is important to note here that Yuen did not code fictional characters in film or in literature as persons, but as products.

Messekher (2014), in his analysis of the representation of culture in textbooks in Algeria, also used Yuen's model of four Ps. Messekher saw historical figures as examples of products, differentiating them thus from celebrities. Yuen (2011) also noted that, even though argument could be made for the coding of some famous people as products of a certain culture, they were coded as persons, and not as products in his study (p. 464). For the sake of simplicity and to avoid ambiguities and difficulties in differentiation between certain famous persons, I follow the same line of thought in this study and code famous people as persons only.

Since the paper is concerned with the representation of target culture cultural content only, for target culture I use Kachru's (1990) notion of Inner Circle countries where English is

spoken as the 1<sup>st</sup> or the native language – the US, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

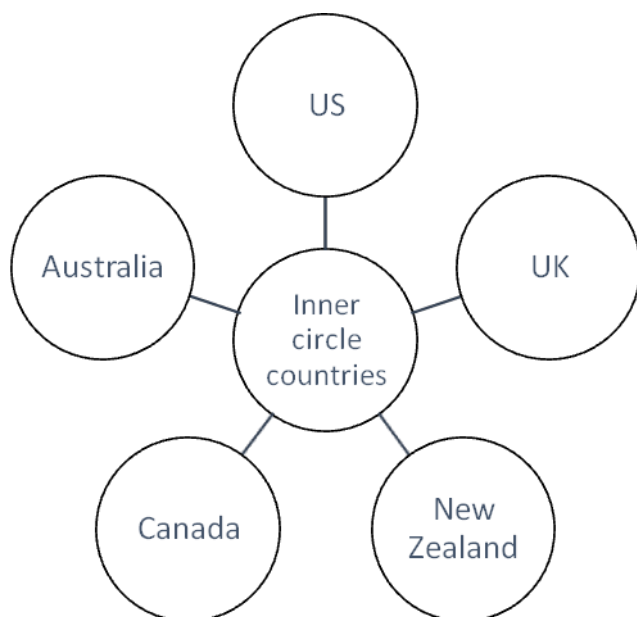


Figure 2. Kachru's Inner Circle countries

In order to find culture-related content, I did not code the entire textbook but instead I looked at three sections of the textbook where the culture-related content is usually found. Those were sections that featured the main reading text, the section at the end of each two units which offers reading and listening practice for exam preparation, and CLICK Onto section in the first edition and the Gateway to Life Skills section which replaced it in the second edition of *Gateway*.

Coding is a rather subjective process even though the cultural aspects provided by Yuen (2011) might to some seem rather straightforward. What can be termed cultural content and what not is often a bigger problem than categorizing it as different cultural aspects. Because of that, only the content with the explicit cultural references was chosen. The mention of names such as Matthew and Jenny was not sufficient to mark something as cultural content for the purposes of this paper. The text about eco-homes in the 1<sup>st</sup> edition of the A2 coursebook was not coded as cultural content even though one sentence in the text states that “the British government wants the houses in the future to be eco-homes that help nature” (p. 45) because the text itself is mainly about eco-homes themselves, what they look like and how they function. The text about Emma’s hobbies in the same textbook, on the other hand, is coded as cultural content since her favorite book in her collection is *Twilight* and since the book makes a substantial content of this text. On the other hand, in the main reading section in the third unit of the 1<sup>st</sup> edition of the B1 *Gateway* book, there is a text about

translating Harry Potter books. Even though the books are British products and can be coded as such, the text is not coded as the TC culture-related content because it speaks of different translation practices in various cultures (France, China, Venezuela etc).

Fact files were coded as both products and practices – products in terms of their representations of places, and practices in terms of information on how people live in those countries.

The excerpt from coding is provided below:

Table 1. Example of coding for the A2 Gateway coursebook, 2nd edition

Book Unit	Section	Skill	Title/explanation	Related Topic(s)	Cultural aspects	Target culture
Unit 1: It's My Life	Reading	Reading	The BRIT School		Products Practices	TC (Britain)
Unit 2: Around the House	Reading	Reading	Inside the White House		Products	TC (The US)
Unit 3: Fitness Fanatics	Reading	Reading	Cliff Diving	British TV program <i>Splash!</i> Darren Taylor (Professor Splash)	Products Persons	TC (Britain)
Unit 4: Tourist Information	Gateway to life skills: Autonomy and Enterprise	Reading	Developing a product / How to start a business: A case analysis from the world of business	Lonely Planet	Persons Practices Products	TC (Britain)
Unit 5: Great Works	Reading	Reading	Becoming a best-selling author / Michael Morpurgo, David Almond		Persons Products	TC (Britain)
Units 5-6	Gateway to exams	Reading	No title (Oprah Winfrey and Angelina Jolie)		Persons	TC (The US)
Units 5-6	Gateway to exams	Listening	Walt Disney: Trivia	Mickey Mouse, Snow White, Donald Duck, Disneyland	Persons Products	TC (The US)
Unit 7: Wildlife Watch	Reading	Reading	Wild Bear prepares to attack again!	Bear Grylls, <i>Get Out Alive with Bear Grylls</i> (TV series)	Persons Products	TC (Britain)

Unit 8: The World Around Me	Gateway to life skills: Social skills and citizenship	Reading	Helping a charity / Make-A-Wish Foundation / PETA / Get Schooled		Products Perspectives Practices	TC (The US), UC
Unit 10: Brilliant Brains	Reading	Reading	Women inventors / Ada Lovelace, Mary Andersen, Stephanie Kwolek, Josephine Cochrane		Persons	TC (The US – Andersen, Kwolek and Cochrane – American; Lovelace – British)
Units 9-10	Gateway to exams	Reading	No title (Neil Armstrong)		Persons	TC (The US)
Units 9-10	Gateway to exams	Listening	No title	School uniforms in the US	Perspectives Practices	TC (The US)

After completing the content analysis of the textbook, the data was statistically analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 16) and presented by frequency tables.

## Discussion

After completing the content analysis of the textbook, the data was statistically analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 16). The data are presented using the frequency tables.

As we can see from the information presented in the table, the aspect that is present the most in both textbook editions is the aspect of products (46.8%), followed by persons (25.2%), and practices (21.6). Unsurprisingly, the aspect that is represented the least is the one of perspectives (6.3%). Considering how difficult it is to present meanings, attitudes, values, and ideas of a particular culture, it is not surprising that textbooks veer away from this cultural aspect.

Table 2. Representation of aspects of culture

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Products	52	46.8	46.8	46.8
Practices	24	21.6	21.6	68.5
Perspectives	7	6.3	6.3	74.8
Persons	28	25.2	25.2	100.0
Total	111	100.0	100.0	

Table 3. Representation of countries

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid UK	69	62.2	62.2	62.2
US	30	27.0	27.0	89.2
Canada	4	3.6	3.6	92.8
Australia	3	2.7	2.7	95.5
New Zealand	5	4.5	4.5	100.0
Total	111	100.0	100.0	

The statistical analysis shows that the country that was presented the most is the UK (62.2%), followed by the US (27%). New Zealand (4.5%), Canada (3.6%), and Australia (2.7%) were marginally represented.

Table 4. Representation of target-language cultural content in textbooks

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid A2 1st edition	37	33.3	33.3	33.3
A2 2nd edition	26	23.4	23.4	56.8
B1 1st edition	35	31.5	31.5	88.3
B1 2nd edition	13	11.7	11.7	100.0
Total	111	100.0	100.0	

Overall, as can be seen from Table 3, the 1<sup>st</sup> edition of *Gateway* textbooks for the levels A2 and B1 has bigger representation of cultural content than the first edition. If we compare the two A2 textbooks, we see that the first edition (33.3%) has more culture-related content than the second edition of the same textbook (23.4%). The difference between the first edition of the B1 textbook (31.5%) and the second edition (11.7%) is even more noticeable.

Table 5. Representation of culture-related content in different sections of the book

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Main reading	25	22.5	22.5	22.5
CLICK Onto	54	48.6	48.6	71.2
Gateway to exams	19	17.1	17.1	88.3
Gateway to life skills	13	11.7	11.7	100.0
Total	111	100.0	100.0	

To illustrate this further, we see that culture-related content was found primarily in CLICK Onto sections of the first edition of the *Gateway* textbooks (48.6%). The acronym CLICK stands for Cross-curricular topics, Literature, International Cultural Knowledge and as the Teacher's Book (2012) for the first edition explained, the purpose of that section which is situated "at the heart of each unit" (p. 2) is "to be stimulating and to teach students something other than just English" (p. 12). As the Teacher's Book clarified, "the content is cross-

curricular, cultural (especially the cultures of English-speaking countries), or literary” (p. 12). This entire section has been replaced with the Gateway to Life Skills section in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition which, as the Teacher’s Book (2016) for the second edition states, “prepares students for life outside the classroom” (p. 2). The topics covered in the section are rather diverse, including “personal and physical well-being, citizenship, social skills, money and finance, and the world of work” (p. 2). Statistical analysis confirms and illustrates this difference since the majority of cultural content in textbooks in general has been found in the CLICK Onto sections and the least in the Gateway to Life Skills (11.7%). Since the both sections are at the centre of each unit in the textbooks, the difference between them alone is illustrative of the tendency in more recent editions towards a less UK and US-centric representations.

## Conclusion

This paper contributes to the growing body of research on the representation of culture in textbooks. The extent to which culture-related content is covered in a textbook is an important factor in the process of textbook evaluation and selection. The paper looked at two currently available editions (the first and the second one) of the A2 and B1 *Gateway* textbook with the aim of determining whether there is any difference in the amount of representation of the target-language cultural content between the two editions. Yuen’s classification of four aspects of culture into products, practices, perspectives, and persons was used for coding purposes. Three segments of each unit in the textbooks were analyzed – the main reading section at the beginning of each unit, the reading and listening section at the centre of each unit (the CLICK Onto part in the first and Gateway to Life Skills in the second edition) and the Gateway to Exams part at the end of these two units. Only the content with an explicit reference to the target culture (the US, the UK, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand) was coded. As has been stated earlier in the paper, coding is a subjective process and the inclusion of other coders who would use the same coding scheme would make the results more reliable.

The statistical analysis shows that the majority of the target-language cultural content is about the UK and that the aspect of culture most frequently presented is the one of products. However, most importantly, as we could see from the information presented, there is a difference in the representation in the cultural content between the first and the second edition of the A2 and B1 *Gateway* textbook since the second edition incorporates significantly less UK and US-centric cultural content. This is an important change for the *Gateway* series since it addresses the needs of a wider student body and represents a move towards producing more varied instructional materials.



English is becoming increasingly used by a variety of speakers for a variety of purposes in various local and international contexts. Considering the importance of textbooks for a certain course and keeping in mind that textbooks form the spine of the teaching and learning process in many educational institutions, it seems sensible that teachers and the school management should closely evaluate the extent of the target-language cultural content in the textbooks they select. Matching the textbook content to their context and the needs of their students is an important segment of the evaluation and selection process. Teachers and institutions need to take their teaching context into consideration when selecting a textbook in order to be able to meet their students' needs.

How these materials are actually used in class and how students react to target-language cultural content as well as how teachers teach it and whether or not they adapt it would be an interesting and valuable continuation of the present paper and would allow us to delve deeper into the dynamic processes of textbook use and not only textbook production.

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## Cultural Competence and English for Specific Purposes



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### **Abstract**

Cultural diversity is becoming more and more present in the education system and there is increased need for appropriate practice so teachers can work effectively with students from different backgrounds. Regarding this, the phenomenon of cultural competence and its significance in the context of education will be elaborated in the introductory and theoretical part of the paper. Additionally, attention will also be devoted to culturally relevant teaching that describes pedagogy through intellectual, social, emotional and political training of students using cultural references for the transfer of knowledge, skills and attitudes. In the second part, this paper reviews the literature on intercultural competence and intercultural communicative competence in order to better understand how these notions can impact the cultural component of a foreign language curriculum. Cultural competence is the knowledge of the conventions, customs, beliefs, and systems of meaning of another country. Language itself makes no sense and has no meaning outside the cultural setting in which it is spoken. In the EFL teaching, great attention should be paid to teaching culture of the target language as well as to teaching linguistic knowledge so that learners' intercultural communicative competence (ICC) can be enhanced. The final part of the paper presents a discussion on the skills of intercultural communication at Novi Sad Business School. Through questionnaires with students, the authors identify factors that block the acquisition of intercultural communication competence among students, which include teaching methods, teaching materials and attitudes of teachers towards intercultural communication. Questionnaires distributed to teachers are divided into three categories of intercultural self-awareness of teachers: cognitive, affective and behavioural (Rev et al., 2003) and aim to investigate the opinions and attitudes of foreign language teachers on cultural competence and how these opinions and attitudes are reflected in their application in the classroom.

**Key words:** multiculturalism, cultural competence, intercultural communicative competence, Language for Specific Purposes

### **Multiculturalism in Education**

Multiculturalism launches various discussions between scientists, researchers, practitioners, and even between different countries and continents. It is very debatable

whether it can be called philosophy, practice, concept or ideology, a new political theory, or is it just a new application of traditional political ideas and concepts. Its vision varies from one country to another, depending on its historical, cultural and/or political background (Sidorchuk, 2013). Although this notion involves different meanings, there is a consensus among advocates of multiculturalism about rejecting the idea of “melting pot” where members of minority groups are expected to assimilate into a dominant group - on the contrary multiculturalism seeks to maintain cultural identity and foster minority groups practice.

Over the past decades, it could be said that a multicultural perspective has been adopted through a public policy framework to deal with cultural diversity. It relates to a wide range of theories, attitudes, beliefs, norms, practices and policies that seek to publicly acknowledge and support *non-dominant* cultural groups (Banks, 2000). In other words, multiculturalism talks about how to understand and respond to the challenges associated with cultural diversity. Multiculturalism is often defined also

as a political movement, ideology and/or as a socio-political practice that suggests and recognizes that society consists of different cultural groups that (should) have equal social status. In this sense, he opposes monoculturalism, which implies normative cultural unity and cultural homogeneity. Since monoculturalism presupposes the rejection of differences and the belief in the superiority of the dominant culture in a society, multiculturalism therefore signifies acceptance, respect and kind of “celebration” and cultural similarities and cultural differences among people (Laden and Owen, 2007 cited in Škorić, Kišjuhas and Škorić, 2015: 190).

After a brief review of multiculturalism in general, the text below aims at looking at this concept through the prism of education. Namely, multicultural education has become a common term used to describe a kind of pluralistic education where everyone has the same chances, regardless of the culture they come from (Banks, 2000). Bank’s definition defines multiculturalism as “the idea, the education reform movement and the process (Banks, 2006: 4)”. As an idea, multicultural education seeks to create equal educational opportunities, while the process is in the sense that its goals are ideals that teachers and administrators are constantly striving for. Similar to multiculturalism itself, multicultural education is also a controversial concept with multiple meanings (May and Sleeter, 2010). However, a large number of scientists and authors from this domain agree that this concept is based on *inclusive*

*education, social justice and equality* for all children without regard to the culture they belong to (see, for example, Banks, 2000; Bennett, 1999).

Sara Song (Song, 2017) views multicultural education as a teaching and learning approach that seeks to empower individuals in order to function in a global society. It is based (before all) on democratic values and beliefs and seeks to encourage cultural pluralism within culturally diverse societies. In this sense, multicultural education also refers to the recognition of values, life styles and symbolic representations. Bennett's definition (Bennett, 1999) of multicultural education gives a fundamental explanation of the approach to teaching and learning through affirmation of pluralism and cultural diversity. It is based on the assumption that the primary goal of education is to encourage the intellectual, social and personal development of all students and moves towards equality, curriculum reform and commitment to the fight against prejudice and discrimination, especially against racism. When Bennett is concerned, it is also important to highlight the critical approach to multicultural education that will help teachers develop the critical awareness necessary to work with students from different racial, cultural, socioeconomic and language communities.

In view of the above, advocates of multicultural education argue that its primary goals are to reduce prejudice and discrimination against oppressed groups, as well as work on equal opportunities and social justice for all groups through a fair distribution of power among members of different cultural races (Sleeter, 1996). Banks (Banks, 2006) points out that one of the main objectives of multicultural education and school transformation is that all students acquire the knowledge, attitudes and skills needed to function in an ethnically and racially diverse nation.

Perhaps the most comprehensive definition is given by Slater, who states that "Multicultural education is a process of comprehensive school reform and education for all students. It rejects racism and other forms of discrimination in society and accepts and confirms pluralism (ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, economic, etc.) reflected by students and their communities. Multicultural education also includes teaching strategies, as well as interaction between teachers, students and families. In addition, it uses critical pedagogy as its basic philosophy and focuses on knowledge, reflection and action as the basis for social change and the promotion of democratic principles of social justice (Sleeter, 1996: 305)".

## **Cultural competence of teachers and its importance for education**

Many education programs face the challenge of preparing teachers who will adequately respond to the differences they encounter within classrooms. Namely, there could be a need for future teachers who will understand and adequately respond to work with various groups of races, cultures and languages. And if multicultural scientists assert that it is necessary for teachers to gain knowledge and develop skills to work with students from different backgrounds, much research (e.g. Banks, 2006; Hollins and Guzman, 2005, etc.) show that many pre-K teachers have limited experience working with different students and families. The focus on cultural and linguistic diversity is essential in the sense that teachers, due to various misconceptions, false beliefs, stereotypes and prejudices, have misconceptions about students from different minorities, and (consciously or not) have lower expectations from these children. Furthermore, weaker expectations can lead to lower school achievements (see, for example, Burt et al., 2009). Thus, cross-cultural experiences could help teachers work more efficiently and improve academic achievement of children (Keengwe, 2010). Specifically, cross-cultural discussions require tolerance, acceptance and a deep sense of and understanding of cultural differences and teachers must work on recognizing beliefs, values and behaviours typical of different cultures of their pupils.

Cultural competence represents the integration and transformation of knowledge about individuals and groups of people into specific standards, policies, practices and attitudes used in certain cultural environments in order to increase the quality of service and thus achieve better outcomes (Sheets, 1999). Being culturally competent means learning new behaviour patterns and effectively applying them in appropriate environments (see also Moule, 2012)

cultural competence practice is an attempt to integrate cultural competence into the practice of education and it concerns individuals, professional education, model of practice, as well as systemic levels. In this sense, it is part of the continuum of social abilities and personality development and encompasses the individual's sense of self-confidence, cultural identity related to the culture of origin and cultural context, and the knowledge, understanding and internalization of the basic beliefs of culture. In this context, from a standpoint of practice, cultural competence can also be understood as the development of academic and professional expertise and skills in dealing with culturally diverse people (Magalu, 2005 cited in Škorić, Kišjuhas, Škorić, 2015).

When the context of education is concerned, cultural competence is also used to indicate the ability of teachers to respond positively to differences and effectively work with students from different backgrounds. In other words, cultural competence also includes attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, and skills related to interaction that supports students from different(minority) backgrounds. In order for an educational institution to be culturally competent, it is necessary to take into account a number of factors, in addition to the training and expertise of teachers. This includes policies and practices at school level; how the school deals with parents/families/communities; monitoring students' outcomes which do not belong to the majority population, etc. Some studies (e.g. Sheets, 1999; Burt et al., 2009) show that teachers might be intimidated when learning about pupils' cultures, but it has been shown that cultural understanding of some students can facilitate learning. Of course, this process does not have to result in devaluation of one's own cultural values, but in increasing understanding for other (cultural) values.

In view of the above mentioned, it can be concluded that education should highly value multiculturalism, that is, promote cultural diversity and use cultural competence as a powerful tool when responding to cultural diversity in the modern world.

### **Teaching Foreign Languages and Intercultural Communicative Competence**

One of the most significant changes in language teaching over the past few decades has been the recognition of the cultural dimension as a key component. The objective of language learning is no longer defined in terms of the acquisition of communicative competence in a foreign language, which refers to a person's ability to act in a foreign language in linguistically, sociolinguistically and pragmatically appropriate ways (Hymes, 1966). A competent communicator has ability to achieve one's goals and exhibits behaviour that is accepted as well as expected in a given situation. Needless to say, accepted behaviour depends on cultural/relational context, and therefore these factors have to be taken into consideration when extending this definition of communication competence to intercultural contexts. In recent years, objective of language learning has been redefined in terms of the intercultural competence. As stated by Byram (1997:42) the success of interaction implies not only an effective interchange of information, as was the goal of communicative language teaching, but also the "the ability to decentre and take up the take up the other's perspective on their own culture, anticipating and where possible, resolving dysfunctions in communication and behaviour".

In previous research, there is a general consensus that intercultural communication competence (ICC) refers to a set of cognitive (thinking), affective (feeling), and behavioural (doing) skills and characteristics that support effective and appropriate interaction in a variety of cultural contexts (Benett, 2008).<sup>1</sup>

*Cognitive skills* include cultural knowledge and awareness in decision making, performance, and interaction in intercultural settings. Intercultural knowledge entails culture-general and culture-specific information, which is the foundation for developing intercultural awareness of cultural similarities and differences (Benett, 2008). In addition to knowing the universals and idiosyncrasies of cultures in the contemporary world, a person's knowledge of their own cultural system cannot be disregarded because it can facilitate self-awareness, followed by other-awareness (Lustig & Koester, 2006). In the language teaching model, teachers' comprehension of intercultural communication refers to the knowledge that they possess of cultures in their own country and in others, as well as metacognitive skills to understand and interpret similarities and differences among diverse cultures through cultural comparison, intercultural consciousness, critical analysis, and evaluation.

*Affective dimension* includes attitudes toward other cultures using several different, but overlapping constructs, such as non-ethnocentrism, tolerance, and sensitivity. This domain is also reflected in personal feelings (e.g., eagerness, happiness, anxiety, prejudice, and relaxation) and intentions (e.g., desires, expectations, and goals). Developing positive feelings and intentions has been considered to enhance effective intercultural communication, because it can promote appropriate behaviours and facilitate the development of judging and interpreting different cultures (Samovar et al., 2009). Additional element in this domain is empathy defined as understanding and adapting to different cultural styles. Empathy refers to the skill of being able to take another person's perspective, and understand without judgment, that person's frame of reference. Bennett (Benett, 2008) distinguishes between emotional

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<sup>1</sup>The intercultural dimension in foreign languages emphasizes effective cross-cultural communication based on the acquisition of a key set of competences as suggested by Byram's model of intercultural communicative competence. This model identifies five different factors involved: Knowledge, Attitudes, Skills of interpreting and relating, Skills of discovery and interaction and Political education including critical cultural awareness (1997). Knowledge includes learning about social groups, products, practices and processes of interaction. Attitudes involve curiosity and openness towards the other as well as readiness to revise cultural values and beliefs and to interact and engage with otherness. Skills of interpreting and relating mean ability to identify and explain cultural perspectives and mediate between and function in new cultural contexts. Skills of discovery and interaction are related to the ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and the ability to operate knowledge attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication. Finally, Critical cultural awareness is defined as the ability to evaluate critically the perspectives and practices in one's own and other cultures.



empathy, the ability to feel as another person feels, and cognitive empathy, the ability to think as another person thinks. To distinguish them, cognitive empathy is termed perspective-taking and belongs more to behavioural dimension of ICC.

*Behavioural skills* have been conceptualized by some researchers as consisting primarily of *relational skills*, such as the ability to initiate conversation and the ability to establish and maintain relationships (Benett, 2008). These skills are related to holding non-ethnocentric attitudes, but also depend on one's ability to convey those attitudes through behaviour. Individuals who interact successfully across cultures are able to display respect and maintain a nonjudgmental stance in interaction. Whereas interpersonal skills have been linked primarily to positive outcomes, self-regulation is important to personal adjustment. *Self-regulation* refers to emotion regulation, stress management, and coping defined as "constantly changing cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands". *Flexibility* refers to the ability to adjust one's behaviour or cognitive frames of reference in response to situational cues – in particular, in response to cultural cues. The same concept has also been referred to as adaptability (Lievens, Harris, Van Keer, & Bisqueret, 2003) and has been identified by expatriates as an important contributor to successful completion of international assignments. Frame shifting and code shifting are cognitive and behavioural tendencies, respectively, to apply different schemas depending on the current situational context.

Most studies on FL teachers' behavioural skills in intercultural communication point out that possessing an excellent command of a language they teach is a crucial qualification for being an effective language teacher; however, this qualification is insufficient. Teachers must also understand how to integrate other approaches, such as politeness, face-saving, and interaction management strategies to facilitate the intercultural communication (Chen & Starosta, 2005).

### **Participants and Context**

This study is an attempt to understand the extent to which foreign language teachers at Novi Sad Business School are aware of their sensitivity to learners' cultural background, and how this may affect their learners' identity and performance. The questionnaire was taken and adapted from previous studies (Rew et al., 2003) and investigated three main categories of teachers' intercultural self-awareness, namely, cognitive, affective/attitudinal and behavioural dimensions. For the purposes of this study, seven foreign language teachers from Novi Sad

Business School were surveyed and asked to share their views on various aspects of teaching culture on the basis of a Likert scale. Namely, at the present moment, four teachers of English language, one teacher of German, Russian and French language are being employed at Novi Sad Business School so they were all interviewed for the purpose of this study. Due to the cultural diversity which characterizes their student population, it was assumed that they constitute a representative sample of FL teachers' intercultural self-awareness. The questionnaire consisted of 38 questions in total (cognitive domain-12 questions, affective domain-9 questions and behavioural domain - 17 questions). For each item in the scale, there were five options: 5=strongly agree, 4=agree, 3=uncertain, 2=disagree, and 1=strongly disagree. Participants' ages range from 28 to 52 years. All participants were female.

## Findings and Discussion

To begin with, the present study aimed to investigate the opinions of foreign language teachers at Novi Sad Business School regarding the role of teaching culture in foreign language education. Tables 1, 2 and 3 offer the results.

Table 1. *The results of Friedman test statistic for cognitive domain of teachers' ICC*

N	7
Chi-Square	25.036
Df	11
Asymp. Sig.	.009

Since the p-value is greater than the significance level ( $p\text{-value} > 0.05$ ), there is no significant difference between cognitive skills of foreign language teachers at Novi Sad Business School.

Table 2. The mean ranks for questions dealing with cognitive domain

Part I – Cognitive Dimension	Mean Rank
Q1.Learning a second language also means learning the culture of the target language.	9.14
Q10.The purpose of teaching cultural content is developing abilities of intercultural contact	8.43
Q7.The purpose of teaching cultural content is developing the learners' tolerance and openness towards other nations and cultures	8.36
Q6. The purpose of teaching cultural content encouraging the learners to reflect over cultural differences	7.64
Q9.The purpose of teaching cultural content is encouraging the learners to understand L1 culture	6.86
Q2.It is the teacher's responsibility to become knowledgeable of the students' cultural backgrounds.	6.71

Q4.The purpose of teaching cultural content is Informing the learners on the target language customs and habits	6.29
Q11.The purpose of teaching cultural content is Informing the learners on L2 literature, music, arts	5.93
Q5.The purpose of teaching cultural content is increasing students' motivation to learn the foreign language	5.43
Q8.The purpose of teaching cultural content is informing the learners on geography, history, social and political conditions of L2 country	4.79
Q12.The purpose of teaching cultural content is informing the learners on values and attitudes of L2 native speakers	4.57
Q3.There is a risk of reinforcing stereotypes when talking about my students' cultural traditions in the classroom	3.86

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics for questions dealing with cognitive domain

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Q1	7	5.0000	.00000	5.00	5.00
Q2	7	4.5714	.53452	4.00	5.00
Q3	7	3.2857	1.38013	1.00	5.00
Q4	7	4.4286	.53452	4.00	5.00
Q5	7	4.1429	1.06904	2.00	5.00
Q6	7	4.7143	.48795	4.00	5.00
Q7	7	4.8571	.37796	4.00	5.00
Q8	7	4.0000	1.00000	3.00	5.00
Q9	7	4.5714	.53452	4.00	5.00
Q10	7	4.8571	.37796	4.00	5.00
Q11	7	4.2857	.75593	3.00	5.00
Q12	7	3.8571	1.06904	2.00	5.00

According to the questionnaire, there were no significant differences between cognitive skills among teachers at NSBS. Teachers in this study seemed to consider their responsibility to teach cultural content to students and realized that it is significant to cultivate students' familiarity with the target cultures. Regarding the objectives of teaching cultural content, it was found that for teachers at Novi Sad Business School developing cultural awareness means developing skills rather than enhancing students' knowledge of the target culture. Teachers defined the objectives of foreign language above all in terms of the acquisition of the ability to use the foreign language for practical purposes and supported the development of openness and tolerance before all. In present study, teachers favoured the knowledge of providing information about customs and daily routines more than information about the foreign culture, history, geography and political conditions. The implications of this could be that teachers associated cultural information with communication. The given

answers generally define cultural competence as the ability to communicate with people of other cultures. Thus, it can be said that the participant foreign language teachers are generally aware of what ICC is and they can differentiate *intercultural competence* from *intercultural communicative competence*. ICC is being dominated by communicative skills rather than the general educational objectives which might be associated with history, geography and political issues. Their answers are in accord with Byram's (1997) who states that in ICC learners need to use the foreign language that they learn, however, in order for intercultural competence they do not need to use a foreign language since the focus is on knowing other cultures as well as theirs.

However, mean score for the question 9 suggests that a few teachers have the awareness to assist students to understand their own cultural identity and their own cultures. The observed teachers' neglect of assisting students to understand their own culture suggests that most of them do not have a clear conceptualization about cultural teaching and intercultural education that emphasizes the development of critical culture awareness based on the understanding of both the *self* and the cultural *other*. Critical culture awareness refers to "an ability to evaluate, critically and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries" (Byram, 1997: 101). Since teachers put much more emphasis on the target cultures rather than on students' own culture, it seems hard to develop students' ability to recognize their own as well as other cultural identities and practices.

The questions of the second section concerned attitudes, feeling and willingness of FL teachers at NSBS. Table 4, 5 and Table 6 present the results.

Table 4. The results of Friedman test statistic for affective domain of teachers' ICC

N	7
Chi-Square	24.189
Df	8
Asymp. Sig.	.002

Since the p-value is less than the significance level ( $p\text{-value} \leq 0.05$ ), it is concluded that there is a statistically significant difference in perceived affective dimension among FL teachers at Novi Sad Business School.

Table 5. The mean ranks for questions dealing with affective domain

Part II – Affective Dimension	Mean Rank
Q7. I avoid forming an impression of students from different cultures before getting to know them.	6.86
Q9. My knowledge of a student's particular culture does not affect my expectations of his/her performance.	6.86
Q2. I consider it important to integrate cultural contents into teaching.	5.93
Q6. I enjoy interacting with students from different cultures.	5.36
Q1. My responsibility as an FL instructor is to teach the language as well as the culture.	5.29
Q3. By becoming familiar with my students' culture I am contributing to creating a more engaging learning environment.	4.79
Q8. I do not get discouraged when I teach a culturally diverse group of learners.	4.36
Q4. Students from certain cultural backgrounds do not tend to be more hardworking than others in the classroom.	3.00
Q5. I cannot make educated guesses regarding my students' learning styles based on my previous experience with other students of the same nationality.	2.57

Table 6. Descriptive Statistics for questions dealing with affective domain

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Q1	7	4.4286	.53452	4.00	5.00
Q2	7	4.5714	.53452	4.00	5.00
Q3	7	4.2857	.75593	3.00	5.00
Q4	7	3.7143	.48795	3.00	4.00
Q5	7	3.5714	.78680	3.00	5.00
Q6	7	4.4286	.53452	4.00	5.00
Q7	7	4.8571	.37796	4.00	5.00
Q8	7	4.1429	.89974	3.00	5.00
Q9	7	4.8571	.37796	4.00	5.00

From the insight into the table 5, items 7 and 9 questioning whether teachers '*attitudes affect their behaviour*' toward student coming from different cultural backgrounds got the highest mean scores. Question 7 was stated as "I avoid forming an impression of students from different cultures before getting to know them" and 85.7 % of participant teachers "strongly agree" while 14.3 % "agree". Totally, 100 % do not form an impression of students before getting to know them. Similar to item 7, item 9 is related with their attitudes toward culturally diverse students and it was formulated as "My knowledge of a student's particular culture *does not* affect my expectations of his/her performance". The total of the positive

responses (strongly agree and agree) to this item is again 100%. The results show that the majority of English language teacher candidates are not biased with regard to culture-bound behaviours. As Bennett (Bennett, 1998) mentions, people at ethnocentric stages may perceive the world from their own cultural view. The results also indicate that English language teacher candidates have a shift from ethno-centric stages to ethno relative stages.

However, questions 4 and 5 in a questionnaire deal with respect for cultural differences and investigate *prejudices* towards other cultures. For example, item 4 is formulated “Students from certain cultural backgrounds do not tend to be more hardworking than others in the classroom” and item 5 is “I cannot make educated guesses regarding my students’ learning styles based on my previous experience with other students of the same nationality”. The results of these items show that participants agree or strongly agree with these items. The results indicate that participants gave different answers about have prejudices about performance and learning styles of culturally different students. Bearing in mind the result for questions 7 and 9, it can be concluded that if teachers try to do their best in the classroom, some of them were not sure if they have some prejudices toward students from different cultural backgrounds.

Lastly, questions 6 and 8 in this section aim to find out participants’ reaction toward intercultural communication and participants’ willingness for intercultural communication. The results indicate to participants’ enjoyment in realizing differences between cultures. As the results point out, foreign language teachers are open-minded towards students from other cultures and have positive attitudes to interaction with culturally different students. These items also question whether participants feel positive emotions during interaction with people of other cultures. These emotions are stated in feelings of discouragement and getting upset. Participants agreed and strongly agreed with the items in this domain. Thus, participants enjoy the interaction with students of other cultures.

The third and last part of a questionnaire investigated the extent to which they incorporate cultural activities into their classroom practices. The results are presented in the Table 7, 8, 9.

Table 7. The results of Friedman test statistic for behavioural domain of teachers' ICC

N	7
Chi-Square	29.111
Df	16
Asymp. Sig.	.023

Since the p-value is greater than the significance level ( $p\text{-value} > 0.05$ ), there is no significant difference between behavioural skills of foreign language teachers at Novi Sad Business School.

Table 8. The mean ranks for questions dealing with behavioural domain

<b>Part III – Behavioural Dimension</b>	<b>Mean Rank</b>
Q15. I talk with my students about stereotypes regarding particular cultures and countries or regarding the inhabitants of particular countries.	11.71
Q1. I teach cultural contents with prior preparation.	10.93
Q10. I tell my students when I find something fascinating or strange about the foreign culture(s).	10.93
Q8. I ask my students to compare an aspect of their own culture with that aspect in the foreign culture.	10.86
Q3. I try to use materials (e.g.: textbooks, articles etc.) which reflect the cultural ideology of the language I teach.	10.64
Q4. I use materials (e.g.: textbooks, articles etc.) which feature different cultures.	9.93
Q9. I ask my students to describe an aspect of their own culture in the foreign language.	9.86
Q11. I ask my students to perform role-plays in which people from different cultures meet.	9.86
Q6. I encourage my students to talk about the places they come from and about their traditions.	9.64
Q2. I provide opportunities in the classroom for students to share their cultural values and traditions.	9.36
Q17. If I have the chance, I invite a person originating from the foreign country to my classroom.	9.00
Q14. I ask my students about their experiences in the foreign culture.	8.71
Q7. I take into account my students' cultural background when providing feedback.	7.71
Q12. I ask my students to think about what it would be like to live in the foreign culture.	7.29
Q13. I comment on the way in which the foreign culture is represented in the classroom materials.	6.36
Q5. I make adaptations to my teaching practices to accommodate my students' different cultures.	6.07
Q16. I decorate my classroom with posters illustrating particular aspects of the foreign culture.	4.14

Table 9. Descriptive Statistics for questions dealing with behavioural domain

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Q1	7	4.5714	.53452	4.00	5.00
Q2	7	4.2857	.75593	3.00	5.00
Q3	7	4.4286	.78680	3.00	5.00
Q4	7	4.4286	.53452	4.00	5.00
Q5	7	3.7143	1.11270	2.00	5.00
Q6	7	4.4286	.53452	4.00	5.00
Q7	7	4.1429	.89974	3.00	5.00
Q8	7	4.5714	.53452	4.00	5.00
Q9	7	4.4286	.53452	4.00	5.00
Q10	7	4.5714	.53452	4.00	5.00
Q11	7	4.4286	.53452	4.00	5.00
Q12	7	3.8571	1.06904	2.00	5.00
Q13	7	3.7143	1.11270	2.00	5.00
Q14	7	4.1429	.69007	3.00	5.00
Q15	7	4.7143	.48795	4.00	5.00
Q16	7	3.0000	1.63299	1.00	5.00
Q17	7	4.0000	1.41421	1.00	5.00

As far as the behavioural elements are concerned, though nearly all of teachers believe in the necessity of incorporating cultural content in language teaching when it comes to the integrating phase of it, it seems that they are a bit confused. The findings of the present study showed that talking about stereotypes was regarded as the commonest way of developing cultural awareness in foreign language classrooms. Besides this, the most frequently practiced culture teaching activities by the respondents were informing students informing students of the fascinating or strange aspects of the target cultures and asking students to compare an aspect of their own culture with that aspect in the foreign culture. These teaching activities supply students with the social and culture knowledge of the target cultures. Participating FL teachers provide opportunities for their students to reflect on their own experiences. However, the findings also showed participating FL teachers' self-reported pedagogical practices to be teacher-centred. Most of the respondents stated that they never invite a foreigner to their classrooms or ask student to perform activities such as role plays and simulations, etc. The results of this section suggest that most of the teachers focus more on the two aspects of Byram's (1997) model of ICC learning objectives – offering knowledge of the target cultures and improving students' skills of interpreting and relating – rather than improving students'



skills of discovery and interaction, attitudes of curiosity and openness, and ultimately their critical culture awareness.

Also, it seems that teachers frequently use materials which reflect cultural content which suggests that the teaching material with cultural content is available to a great extent. Question 16 “I decorate my classroom with posters illustrating particular aspects of the foreign culture” got the lowest mean score. Possible reason for this lies in the fact that there is no specific classroom dedicated to language classes.

With regard to this part of questionnaire, it can be concluded that teachers exhibited good interpersonal skills (recognizing students different cultural backgrounds) and professional knowledge (knowledge of appropriate teaching materials and resources) but could show more adaptability (question 5 and 7), and pedagogical skills (presenting various activities to suit the needs of learners-questions 11 and 17) which would determine whether their behavioural skills satisfy the practical needs of FL learners in intercultural communication.

Finally, the main limitation of the study is the participant number. In another study, participant number can be increased and even FL teachers from various schools should be included into the research. Therefore, a comparative and comprehensive study can be conducted. In addition, the interview questions might be extended and even a questionnaire can be included to reach as many participants as possible.

## **Conclusion**

Foreign language teachers at NSBS are sensitive to sociolinguistic contexts, respect different culture, and are reflective of the practical needs of foreign language learners in intercultural communication. This can be conclude from their perceptions on learning goals, teaching models, content of culture teaching, selection of textbooks and teaching material, and assessments. Furthermore, FL teachers’ motivation regarding intercultural communication was reflected in their understanding and appreciating the varieties and richness among cultures and their self-confidence in intercultural situations.

On the other hand, FL teachers should be provided with courses and workshops on how to teach cultural content. Teachers can be provided with examples of how language and culture teaching can be integrated, and encouraged to explore alternative ways of culture teaching. Once language teachers become more knowledgeable and competent regarding this

issue, they will eventually be more able to perform more active teaching when dealing with cultural content. Consequently, they would dismiss stereotypes cross-cultural misunderstanding (e.g., thinking patterns and prejudice which were spotted in the second part of a questionnaire). Culture is not only information about various people it is a kind of framework used by people to exchange ideas, negotiate meanings and understand social reality which is possible in the case of communication. Moreover, providing enough opportunities do not show how to do so and neglected activities which require skills of inquiry should be brought into the language teaching curricula. Of course, they will be harder to conduct and control compared to those prepared with the old-fashioned language teaching methods. These activities will also take more time but they are highly rewarding. Additionally, schools should be equipped with multi-media facilities and other teaching aids to enable FL teachers to present students with aspects of cultural content and perform other tasks such as role-plays, dramas, etc. which are obviously neglected at this moment.

To conclude, further studies should be conducted to investigate the factors affecting teachers' opinions and attitudes towards developing intercultural competence in foreign language education. Moreover, studies on the effects of may provide invaluable insight for teacher educators.

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The Future of Humanities,  
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**CULTURAL STUDIES**

## **Can Bilingualism Survive in Cameroon?**



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### **Abstract**

At the dawn of independence and reunification in 1961, Cameroon opted for a bilingual republic with English and French as its two official languages. “Official bilingualism” which for a long time became a source of pride and distinguished Cameroon in the international community has been eroded in recent years by a number of factors militating for its demise amongst which: controversy over its meaning, challenges in its application; challenges in the safeguard of the English-subsystem of education and the legal system among others. Can bilingualism survive in Cameroon? This paper sets out to examine factors militating against the survival of bilingualism in Cameroon and factors enhancing its existence. Its analysis is predicated on the hypothesis that though shrouded by significant challenges, bilingualism still stands a good chance to survive in Cameroon. This paper shall begin with a succinct definition of what is meant by bilingualism in Cameroon and conclude with some proposals on how to better improve on its implementation. This research draws its significance in the crucial role bilingualism holds as a melting pot of the two linguistic communities in Cameroon (Francophone and Anglophone). The collapse of bilingualism might trigger political instability in the country as it may be used as leverage for secession especially with the Anglophone minority which has for long lamented their marginalization. At the international level, such an occurrence (secession) may inspire a similar pursuit to linguistic or ethnic minorities in other nations in the region (Africa) and beyond.

Key words: Bilingualism, Official bilingualism, Anglophone, Francophone

### **Introduction**

Bilingualism in its most simplistic expression is fluency in or use of two languages. The Merriam-Webster dictionary offers three variants of bilingualism in its definition: the ability to speak two languages; the frequent use (as by a community) of two languages; the political or institutional recognition of two languages. The latter (political or institutional recognition of two languages) is what fits most in the Cameroonian context. Bilingualism in Cameroon is the constitutional recognition of French and English as the two official languages of the country equal in status and guaranteed promotion by the state. This is what is

termed “official bilingualism” which differs from the ordinary or basic definition of bilingualism—fluency in or use of two languages. Official bilingualism given its most unequivocally definition by Cameroon’s fist President Ahmadou Ahidjo who underscored: “By bilingualism we mean the practical usage of our two official languages, English and French, throughout the national territory.”(Gonondo and Djiraro, 2016: 38).

This paper examines the potential for the survival of bilingualism in Cameroon against the background of impeding and mitigating factors. It starts with a historical background to bilingualism to trace the origin of the phenomenon in the governance of country. The second section contrast factors inhibiting and those enhancing the survival of bilingualism in the country. It is sub-divided into two parts: The first part focuses on factors militating against the survival of the bilingualism in Cameroon. The second part looks at factors enhancing the survival of bilingualism in Cameroon. The paper concludes with some proposals on how to improve on the implementation of bilingualism in Cameroon.

This paper draws its significance to the current volatile socio-political situation prevailing in Cameroon as a result of protests staged by Anglophone Cameroonians (notably Teachers and Common Law Lawyers) against their marginalization. This predicament has put to question the effectiveness of bilingualism as a state policy and makes such a study (on its potential for survival) all the more expedient.

### **Historical Background to Bilingualism in Cameroon**

Bilingualism in Cameroon is largely a colonial construct bequeathed to the country by its former colonial masters (Britain and France). After the capitulation of Germany at the end of World War I, the German Protectorate of “Kamerun” was partitioned to Britain and France first as a Mandated Territory of League of Nations and later as a Trusteeship Territory of the United Nations (Fochingong, 2013). The British administered their own portion of Cameroon as part of their Nigerian colony with English language as the official medium of expression. The French on their part administer their own part Cameroon as a full fledge colony with French as the official language of the territory.

The English-French colonial dichotomy was not limited to language as it encompassed the systems of administration they pursued. There was a clear variation in the educational, legal and governance systems used by both colonial powers in their administered territories. In the domain of education, Dupraz (2015) points out that the educational system in British Cameroon was less centralized and confided to religious missions which benefited from

“grant-in-aid” from the British government. The British missionaries, whose educational enterprise was geared towards conversion, had an all-inclusive approach which sort to reach out to as many children as possible. The French on their part put in place a secular, public and free network of schools oriented towards training a limited number of administrative elite (Ibid).

Concerning legal systems, the British instituted the "Common Law" in both British Southern and Northern Cameroons. Since British Cameroons (Southern and Northern sections) were both governed as an integral part of Nigeria, the British Colonial Administration simply extended several of its laws enforced in Nigeria to Cameroon. The framework for the application of the Common Law in British Southern Cameroons was enshrined in section 11 of the Southern Cameroons High Court Law of 1955 which underscored:

Subject to the provisions of any written law and in particular of this section ... (a) the common law; (b) the doctrines of equity; and (c) the statutes of general application which were in force in England on the 1st day of January, 1900, shall insofar as the legislature of the Southern Cameroons is for the time being competent to make law, be in force within the jurisdiction of the court.

*Provisions enacted under powers granted by the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890 (Fombad, 2014).*

The British system of "Indirect Rule" also provided for the upholding of customary laws which were deemed non-repugnant and compatible. The retention of customary law was regulated under section 27 (1) of the Southern Cameroon High Court Law (SCHL) of 1955 which stipulated:

“The High Court shall observe, and enforce the observance of every native law and custom which is not repugnant to natural justice, equity and good conscience, nor incompatible with any law for the time being in force, and nothing in this law shall deprive any person of the benefit of any such native law or custom.” (Kiye, 2015: 80)

In essence therefore, the legal system The Anglophone (English-speaking Cameroonians) inherited from British Colonialism was not limited to the "Common Law" as it included customary laws (local, usage, customs and beliefs regulating a particular ethnic community) which was given recognition by the British.

The French on their part instituted the "Civil law" in French Cameroon through a decree enacted on 22 May 1922, which extended to the territory all the laws and decrees promulgated in France for French Equatorial Africa (which covered all the French colonies in the region). However, distinction was made in the application of the Civil law on French nationals and Cameroonian indigenes. Two parallel court systems were put in place: one dubbed "justice de droit Française" for the whites as well as "assimilated Cameroonians" and the other called "justice de droit indigène" for the ordinary Cameroonians (Fombad, 2014).

In the area of administration, the British pursued the same policy of Indirect Rule used in their colony of Nigeria in British Cameroons. This policy developed by Lord Lugard provided for the exercise of colonial administration through local chiefs. It was first practiced in Northern Nigeria where local emirs were used to enforce the authority of the Governor (Swift, 2012). It was seen as a cost effective means of administering a huge territory with few resources (man power and money). In The British Cameroons, the British Colonial authorities vested powers on local chiefs to perform most executive and judicial functions (Lee & Schultz, 2011). By using traditional authorities to enforce their rule local, languages were retained and used in administration. To this end, Echu (1999:20) maintains: "local languages remained an indispensable medium of communication at the service of the colonial administrator."

The French on their part governed their own section of Cameroon through a system of administration known as "Assimilation" whose goal was to transform the indigenous population into Frenchmen. This policy was premised on the presumption that the French culture was superior and that colonialism was part of their civilizing mission (Mills, n.d). Local African cultures were therefore dismissed as parochial or of no value. The French language and culture was therefore given priority (Echu, 1999). Western educated segment of the indigenous population were granted French citizenship and the legal rights of Frenchmen (Lee and Schultz, 2011).

French Cameroon gained its independence on January 1 1960 with Ahmadou Ahidjo as its President. British Southern Cameroons on its part attained independence after opting to join the Republic of Cameroon (La République du Cameroun) which had hitherto attained sovereignty. To cement this reunification and work out a constitution for the country, the leaders of both parts of the territory (President Ahidjo of the Republic of Cameroon and Prime Minister John Ngu Foncha of erstwhile British Southern Cameroons) and their accompanying



delegations met in Foumban in July 1961. The outcome of this meeting was a Federal Constitution which went into effect on October 1, 1961 making Cameroon a bilingual country with French and English as its official languages.

Anchimbe (2011:36) posits that Cameroon's adoption of Bilingualism (English and French language) at independence was aimed at shaping a unique identity for the country. To this end Cameroon's first President Ahmadou Ahidjo underscored:

[W]e must in fact refrain from any blind and narrow nationalism and avoid any complex when absorbing the learning of other countries. When we consider the English language and culture and the French language and culture, we must regard them not as the property of such and such a race, but as an acquirement of the universal civilisation to which we belong. This is in fact why we have followed the path of bilingualism since ... it offers us the means to develop this new culture ... and which could transform our country into the catalyst of African unity.

However, the aforementioned enterprise was shrouded with controversy from the beginning. On the one hand we had scholars and statesmen like Prof. Bernard Fonlon who advocated an expansion from official or state-level bilingualism to individual bilingualism. Fonlon (1969) underscored in this connection: “the target to aim at, for us, should be, not merely State bilingualism, but individual bilingualism: that every child that passes through our education system shall be able to speak and write both English and French”.

On the other hand, we had the prevalence of other forms of individual bilingualism in the country away from what Fonlon targeted. Ayafor (2005) notes that this strand of individual bilingualism consisted of the alternate use of more indigenous language like the Bantu and the grassfield languages belonging to the Congo-Kordofanian family. Another form of individual bilingualism, which was more widespread, involved the use of one or more indigenous language and one official language.

More than 50 years after independence many scholars and observers of Cameroon history and politics are pessimistic about the prospect of survival of bilingualism in the country. Some factors have been identified as substantiating this pessimism.

## **Factors Militating against the Survival of Bilingualism in Cameroon**

Though Cameroon is well known internationally as bilingual country (sharing with Canada unique dual membership of the Anglo-Saxon heritage organization “Commonwealth of Nations” and its French counterpart “La Francophonie”) bilingualism in Cameroon remains a subject of controversy. What is bilingualism? Who is bilingual or supposed to be bilingual? These are some of the questions that continue to be a subject of hair-splitting debate among Cameroonian scholars and the common folk. On the meaning of bilingualism, there are two interpretations that have emerged with strong arguments. Some view bilingualism as the ability to function in more than one language which may not necessarily be the two official languages (English and French). Others on their part insist on “official bilingualism” which is the state endorsed interpretation that is based on functional ability in both official languages. In Cameroon it is easy to find many who speak one official language (English or French) and an indigenous language (Ayafor, 2005). Though this is administratively useful it is still not officially considered as bilingualism.

Closely related to the above controversy is that over who is bilingual or on whom repose the onus to be bilingual? Is it the state or the citizen? Some argue that bilingualism in Cameroon should be incarnated by the state and be viewed in its characterization in state institutions and governance. This perspective embodies the government perception of bilingualism which according to Ayafor (2005) is limited to the use of both official languages (English and French) in government domains and formal transaction in private sector domains. However, ordinary Cameroonians adhere more to the popular French maxim which says: “C'est le Cameroun qui est bilingue, pas les Camerounais” translated “It is Cameroon that is bilingual not Cameroonians” (Nsom, 2015). By Cameroon, reference is being made to the state thereby giving room to the interpretation that “Official bilingualism” is limited to governance and state institutions. The controversy over what actually constitute bilingualism and who is supposed to be bilingual represents a serious impediment to the implementation of bilingualism and a factor that can cause lead to its demise.

Another factor militating against the survival of bilingualism in Cameroon is its gross violation or neglect in governance and administration. Official bilingualism requires that all decrees, texts and official government documents be translated in both languages and that public services be accessible by citizens of both language expressions (Anglophones and Francophones). However the reality on the field several decades after independence has been the “francophonization” of the Cameroonian administration. On this score Fouda (2013)

points out that French dominates most administrative communication in Cameroon. He goes further to note that administrative documents (decrees and laws) are drafted in French and that even where the English version exist they are marred by horrible spelling errors or written in very small letters (Fouda, 2013, pp. 49). Nsom (2015) corroborates to this by noting the lack of political will to promote the usage of both languages at the highest level. He underscores Cameroon's President (Paul Biya) has often cautioned state officials to ensure that official communication text are prepared and signed in English and French but that most of the text he himself signs are often in French. This apparent language bias does not spell a good future for bilingualism in Cameroon.

Another sector that has lends credence to pessimism over the survival of bilingualism in Cameroon is the educational sector. One of the cornerstones of bilingualism in Cameroon is the dual educational system inherited from Colonialism. While the state sought to promote bilingualism by introducing the teaching of both official languages throughout the national territory it also had to ensure the cohabitation of heterogeneous educational sub-systems (the English and the French subsystems modelled respectively after the educational systems of Britain and France). However attempts were made to undermine the English sub-system of education in favour of the French through harmonization. To this end Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997) note that the Cameroon government promulgated an order in 1983 to modify the Anglophone General Certificate of Education (GCE) to somewhat assimilate it to the French Baccalureat. This attempt was met by boycotts and demonstrations by Anglophone university students in the State University in Yaounde and Anglophones in other urban centres. As illustrated in Nyamnjoh and Akum 2008 publication *Cameroon GCE Crisis: A Test of Anglophone Solidarity*, the struggle against the subversion of the English subsystem of education to educational harmonization culminated in the creation of the Cameroon GCE Board in 1993. The uneasy cohabitation of the two sub-systems of education also adds to the difficulty of effectively pursuing bilingualism.

Those who argue that against the survival of bilingualism in Cameroon also point the legal system and lack of appropriate legal framework for enforcement as stumbling blocks. As the case with the educational sector, Cameroon inherited a bijural legal system from its former colonial masters (Britain and France). After reunification, the Common Law (British) coexisted with the Civil Law (French) with the latter applicable in the French-speaking regions and the former in the English-speaking regions. Given the need to bridge the gap between the Common Law and the Civil law (which at times resulted in conflicts) the state

undertook to harmonize both laws. This process engendered unitary Penal Code 1967, a common Labour Code in 1992, and a Criminal Procedure Code in 2005 (Kiye, 2015).

Though well intended, the pursuit of harmonization in Cameroon's judiciary took a French coloration as overzealous state officials took actions that undermined the Common law. Prominent amongst such actions was the deployment by the Ministry of Justice to Common Law jurisdictions (the Anglophone regions) of Magistrates without a sound knowledge of the Common Law and fluency in English language. This and the non-availability of the English version of some key legal instruments like the business law provoked amongst other issues provoked the Common Law lawyers to go on strike in November 2016. The relegation of the Common Law in Cameroon's bijural legal system also adds fuel to the perceived "francophonization" of administration and further complicates the chances of survival of bilingualism in the country.

Still in the legal domain, Soule (2013) argues that the lack of a legal and institutional framework to sanction or institution to supervise the implementation of bilingualism in Cameroon is a serious issue. He maintains that though bilingualism is enshrined in the Cameroonian constitution, there are no provisions to guide the implementation of the provision. He further notes defaulters or violators of the principle of bilingualism can go scot-free because of the absence of any punishment or supervisory institution (Soule, 2013 pp. 3). This absolute impunity for defaulters can also be seen as a serious impediment to the survival of bilingualism in Cameroon.

Another source for concern in the prospect of survival of bilingualism in Cameroon is the linguistic bias in elite formation. Political appointments in Cameroon from the Ahidjo to the present Biya's Regime have always been heavily in favour of the Francophones. An Anglophone member of parliament Hon. Fonso decried this situation in a question and answer session at the National Assembly in March 2009. He told the Prime Minister bluntly: "The Anglophones have been discriminated against in the Ministerial appointments." (Kini, 2009). His worries were re-echoed by the Bishops of the Bamenda Ecclesiastical Province in December 2016. In a letter addressed to the President of the Republic at the wake of the Teachers and Lawyers strike that escalated "Anglophone Crisis" in Cameroon, the Bishops pointed out:

There seem to be key ministries that have been reserved for Francophone Ministers only and Anglophones do not even

qualify to be Secretaries of State under them. These include, but are not limited to, Defence, Finance, Territorial Administration, and Economy. (Cameroon Info Net, 2016)

At the level of political parties, elite formation and party affiliation are significantly influenced by linguistic identities. With the advent of multiparty politics in the early 1990s, leadership and membership affiliation among the top political parties were significantly swayed by the language divide. The ruling Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) constituted its leadership around and found adherents more among Francophone than Anglophone Cameroonians. The reverse was true of the main opposition party, the Social Democratic Front (SDF) among Anglophones. This linguistic bias in elite formation is inimical for a pluralistic culture which is important for the survival of bilingualism as a common heritage in Cameroon.

Last but not the least among factors impeding the survival of bilingualism in Cameroon is ethnicity and identity politics. Cameroon's ethnic plurality has also been a source of ethno-nationalism and primordialism often exploited for identity politics by political elites, demagogues and opinion leaders. Fearon and Laitin (2005) identified more 250 ethnic groups in Cameroon. There is also an interesting commingling of languages with 247 indigenous languages cohabiting with the two official languages (English and French) as well the main lingua-franca--Cameroon Pidgin English (Echu, 2013).

In states with monolithic ethnicity, ethno-nationalism tends to strengthen national integration. However, in a country with a vast pluralistic ethnic heritage like Cameroon, ethno-nationalism has an adverse effect on efforts, policies and instruments devised to build and consolidate national identity like bilingualism. The primordial attachment ethnicity evokes tends to frustrate attempts to encourage individual bilingualism within Cameroon. One of the key proponents of primordialism, Adrian Hasting posits that ethnicity "constitutes the major distinguishing element in all pre-national societies, but may survive as a strong subdivision with a loyalty of its own within established nations." (Hastings, 1997: 2-5).

In his theory of "instrumentalism" highlights the potential of ethnic and national identities being exploited or "instrumentalised" by competing political elite as tools to mobilise support in their quest for prestige, wealth and power ( Ozkırımlı, 2000). To this end Brass underscores:

the study of ethnicity and nationality is in large part the study of politically induced cultural change. More precisely, it is the

study of the process by which elites and counter-elites within the ethnic groups select aspects of the group's culture, attach new value and meaning to them and use them as symbols to mobilize the group, to defend its interest, and to compete with the other groups. (Ozkırımlı, 2000: 88).

The aforementioned arguments put forward by Hasting and Brass are largely verifiable in the context of Cameroon where the combination of elections and citizenship to regions of origin has produced an official distinction eligibility based place of birth and place of residence (Nyamjoh and Rowland, 1998). That this means is the prevalence of a distinction between original ethnic settlers (dubbed autochthones/allogènes) and strangers which gave way for ethnicised elite associations to replace political parties as the major force in regional politics in Cameroon. Eyoh (1998) notes that the ethnicised elite politics driven by the bureaucratic-administrative elite led to an ethnic realignment of the power structure of the state under President Paul Biya as the Beti, Bulu and Ewondo elites sought to contain the challenges to their grip on power from the Hausa-Fulani. These ethnicised ethnic struggles that have persisted even after the reintroduction of multiparty politics in the 1990s only go to fragilise the unity and integration bilingualism seeks to create.

### **Factors Enhancing the Existence of Bilingualism in Cameroon**

The prospects for the survival of bilingualism in Cameroon are not as gloomy as the foregone analysis seems to suggest. There are an overwhelming number of factors that enhances the chances of survival of the bilingualism in Cameroon. We shall review these factors in the domain of governance, educational policies, legal reforms, institutional solution put forward by the government to promote Bilingualism and the national integration.

In the area of governance, the first factor to mention is the increase political demonstrated by the priority of nationalism in the discourse of state officials. The impetus for bilingualism from political authorities began from independence with Cameroon's first President Ahmadou Ahidjo. While launching the first bilingual secondary school created by his government in Buea in 1962, President Ahidjo exhorted his compatriots to be practical about bilingualism. To this end he underscored: "By bilingualism we mean the practical usage of our two official languages, English and French, throughout the national territory." (Ayafor, 2005, pp. 127). Constable (1974) notes that policy statements on bilingualism has been a recurrent theme in speeches from state official since independence. In recent years, current Cameroon President Paul Biya has been consistent not just in stressing the importance of

bilingualism but giving some of his speeches in English. This eloquent demonstration of political will on bilingualism goes to strengthen its prospect of survival in Cameroon.

Still in the area of governance, the policy of regional balance instituted by the Ahidjo Regime and continued in the Biya Regime also goes to consolidate bilingualism. Regional balance was introduced by Ahidjo as a policy of equity which sought to promote “balanced development” and “redress regional inequalities by providing education, infrastructures and the public amenities necessary for bridging the country and the town.” (Tande, 2009). Under this policy special attention was focused on the particular needs of different communities. Through it were created Anglo-Saxon State Universities in the two Anglophone Regions in Cameroon (South West and North West).

At the educational level, the Cameroon government has since independence pursued policies to enhance bilingualism. The first was the creation of bilingual high school during the Ahidjo Regime. Two of such institutions were created one (Bilingual Grammar School, Buea) was established in 1962 in the English part of Cameroon and another (Government Bilingual High School, Yaounde) was established in 1977 in the French part of Cameroon (Ayafor, 2005). Constable (1974) also notes that attempt were made by the Ahidjo Regime to introduce bilingualism in primary school. This process was strongly pursued by Ahidjo’s successor Paul Biya with an educational policy that made English and French languages compulsory for students at the primary and secondary levels of education. Rather than limiting the two educational sub-systems (English and French) exclusively to their respective regions, the government (through the policy of official language bilingualism) permitted them to run in all the regions of the country. This enabled the creation of English schools in the French part of the country and vice-versa (Etchu, 2005) thereby giving the opportunity to Cameroonians everywhere to acquire a bilingual education.

Another advantage drawn from the aforementioned policy is that of immersion by students of one official language to other. Focusing on the immersion experience of Francophone students in English schools, Etchu (2005) notes that since the 1970s there have been a huge number of Francophone students attending English primary schools. Soule (2013) agrees to this phenomenon with the exception that the immersion is from both sides (French to English and vice-versa) and continues up to secondary school. Be it as it may, the pursuit of immersion is a strong factor that would consolidate bilingualism and ensure its preservation in Cameroon.

In the legal domain, the Cameroonian government in March 2017 passed sweeping reforms to address the concerns raised by Common Law Lawyers on the relegation of the Common Law. Cameroon's President Paul Biya signed a decree creating a Common Law Bench at Cameroon's Supreme Court and a Common Law Division in Cameroon's Advance School of Administration and Magistracy (Dialle, 2017). This came after the handing over in January 2017 of the official English version of OHADA Uniform Acts (Business Laws) to the President of the Cameroon Bar Council by Cameroon's Minister of Justice and Keeper of the Seals Laurent Eso (Kendemeh, 2017). The Common Law Bench was officially installed on August 20th 2017 with an Anglophone Chief Justice Epuli Mathias Aloh also installed as President of the Judicial Council of Cameroon's Supreme Court. The aforementioned measures are crucial to the resolution of the fundamental grievances of the Common Law lawyers and the creation of an enabling environment for bilingualism to thrive.

At the institutional level, the Cameroonian government has also taken major steps promote bilingualism and ensure its survival. Place under the supervision of the General Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic of Cameroon is the Bilingual Training Programme. This department coordinates bilingual training centers that operate in all the Ten Regions of Cameroon and provide bilingual training to civil servants and citizens. The Presidency of the Republic, Prime Minister's Service, National Assembly, Senate, and all government ministries in Cameroon all run translation units who job is to make sure that official text are translated in both languages. These measures can also enhance the survival of bilingualism.

One of the major outcries on the effective implementation of bilingualism in Cameroon has been the lack of a supervisory structure or institution. This problem was sufficiently addressed with the creation by the Biya Regime of a National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism in Cameroon in January 2017. While commissioning members of the said Commission to their function on 27 April 2017, Cameroon's Prime Minister Philemon Yang pointed out that the Commission constituted inter alia:

submitting reports and recommendations on issues relating to the protection and promotion of bilingualism and multiculturalism to the President of the Republic and the Government; - monitoring the implementation of constitutional provisions establishing English and French as two official languages of equal status, and especially ensuring their use in all government services, semipublic bodies as well as any State-subsidized body; - conducting any study or survey and



proposing measures likely to strengthen Cameroon's bilingual and multicultural character; - preparing and submitting to the President of the Republic draft instruments on bilingualism, multiculturalism and togetherness. (Yang, 2017).

The creation and functions of the Commission comes to allay worries of the lack of supervision of the implementation of bilingualism giving hopes for its survival in Cameroon.

Last but not the least among the factors enhancing the survival of bilingualism in Cameroon is the national integration. By national integration, reference is being made to the cultural blending of Cameroonians and the emergence of cosmopolitan communities in most of Cameroon's major cities. Intermarriages between Anglophones and Francophone and their resettlement and integration in the opposite areas of origin (Anglophones resettling in Francophone communities and Francophones resettling in Anglophone communities) have led to the birth of cosmopolitan communities in Cameroon urban centres which strongly mitigates the pressure of linguistic nationalism and stabilizes social relationships. This factor can also contribute in no small way to ensure the consolidation of bilingualism in Cameroon.

Another factor militating in favour of the survival of bilingualism in Cameroon is ethnic diversity and linguistic plurality (in terms of indigenous languages). Commonly referred to as "Africa in miniature", Cameroon is an ethno-cultural microcosm of the continent harbouring three of the four main language families in Africa: The Congo-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan and Afro-Asiatic (Greenberg, 1966 as cited in Anchimbe, 2011). These language families represent a mosaic of approximately 250 different ethnic groups distributed among five major people groupings: the Western Highlanders/Grassfielders; the Coastal Tropical Forest Peoples; the Fulani and the Kirdi (Fearon & Laitin, 2005).

Some of the indigenous languages spoken by the ethnic groups inhabiting the territory had undergone some standardization in the pre-colonial epoch. Notable among them was the "Shumum" of the Bamoum Kingdom. It was standardized and employed as a medium of education prior to the advent of western missionaries (Nana, 2016). Fulfulde was widely used in the Northern part of Cameroon since it served as the language of Islam which expanded in that geographical location in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century (Echu, 2003; Echu, 2013). Nana (2016) notes that these two languages (Shumum and Ffulfulde), were soon to be challenged by some new languages standardized by western missionaries for the purpose of evangelisation and instruction. The new languages included: Duala, Bali, Ewondo, Bulu, Isubu, Mungaka, and Pidgin English. In all, Echu (2003) puts the total number of indigenous languages spoken in

Cameroon at 247 amongst which Fulfude, Ewondo, Basaa, Duala, Hausa, Wandala, Kanuri, Arab Choa and Cameroon Pidgin English are the most widely spoken. With these myriad of tongues abounding from the multitude of ethnic groups in the country, English and French have imposed themselves as a common denominator.

On the basis of the forgone analysis and in consideration of the aforementioned proposals it can be strongly contended that bilingualism has high chances of survival in Cameroon.

## **Conclusion**

It is evident from the foregone analysis that there are strong factors threatening the existence of bilingualism in Cameroon. The factors range from controversy about the meaning and application of bilingualism to linguistic bias in elite formation. Notwithstanding, it would be a parochial judgment to yield to this pessimism without a proper consideration of the grounds for optimism. As demonstrated above, efforts made by successive governments in Cameroon's (since independence) to promote bilingualism and policies put in place to remedy present challenges assures a hopeful future for bilingualism. This paper also offers a few suggestions to improve on the implementation of bilingualism in Cameroon:

First will be the creation of a "Truth and Reconciliation Commission" under the National Commission for the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism in Cameroon. This would provide a forum for victims of marginalization from both linguistic communities (Anglophone and Francophone) to air out their hurts and heal their wounds.

Second will be the inclusion of bilingualism as an important criterion in the appointment of state officials and high level civil servants.

The third would be the drafting, adoption and implementation of a national policy on bilingualism that assist the Commission on Bilingualism and Multiculturalism to better coordination and supervise the implementation of bilingualism in Cameroon.

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## Deterioration of Human Decency: The Problem of Hate Speech on Social Media



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### **Abstract**

The recent developments in Malaysia such as the *Bersih* demonstrations which called upon the Government to ensure free and fair election shows that free speech is being prioritized and demanded by the people, regardless of the action that may be taken against them. While no one can argue against the importance of free speech values, its irresponsible exercise has led to the usage of hate speech. Advancements in technology and the widespread use of social media have exacerbated the situation somewhat. This has resulted in more and more Malaysians putting aside basic human decency and resorting to hate speech as a means of venting their anger and frustrations on sensitive racial and religious matters. The article looks into rising cases of hate speech on social media, as well as determine Malaysia's current legal framework in addressing the problem. Although the author argues for better legislative measures, recommendations are also made as to the non-legal means that need serious consideration in the fight against racial and religious discrimination. It concludes by putting forth a holistic approach to the application of free speech that may be best to applied in applied a multi-cultural and multi-religious country. It is hoped that by emphasizing on the need to exercise free speech with restraint and responsibility, the people will slowly come to appreciate the values of propriety and basic human decency.

Keywords: human rights, free speech, hate speech, constitution, race relations

### **Introduction**

The development of social media has brought about a great impact to the society both positive and negative. While it is undeniable that social media has strengthened freedom of speech, empowered the people to express their opinions to a much wider audience and allowed people faster access to information, it has also been used as a breeding ground for spreading hate speech. The situation in Malaysia is similar to that of other countries; whereby there is a significant increase of hostile speech and acts being aggressively shared on this platform. More and more Malaysians are putting aside basic human decency and resorting to hate speech as a means of venting their anger and frustrations on sensitive racial and religious matters. This has led to many negative effects, such as exposing minority groups to a higher

risk of violence, creating factions within a multi-racial community, and ultimately jeopardizing the peace and security of a country. This is why this article focuses on looking into the rising incidences of hate speech on social media, as well as considers the repercussions it had on society. As a countermeasure to this problem, Malaysia's legal framework places various restrictions on hate speech. While the Federal Constitutional guarantees on freedom of speech, prohibitions are expressly allowed on certain grounds such as threat to public order and security. At present, there are more than 14 different laws which regulate free speech in one way or another. Interestingly, Malaysia does not have a specific Act which caters to hate speech and hate crime.<sup>1</sup> However, hate speech could be said to fall within the prohibited category of speech as provided under the Constitution. Many human rights advocates and international law experts criticize Malaysia's legal position, but we are not alone in our fight to crack down on the excessive usage of hate speech. Most countries, with the exception of America, have legislated strict laws with regards to this issue—making hate speech laws the norm, instead of an exception.<sup>2</sup> For example, Germany has long since promulgated laws restricting hate speech and the denial of the Holocaust in order to avoid a recurrence of what transpired in World War II.<sup>3</sup> However, some have argued that the newly passed German laws, which impose hefty fines on social media companies that do not remove offensive content on their sites, are encroaching into the individual's legitimate right to freedom of expression.<sup>4</sup> The question that needs to be asked is, is the regulation of hate speech on social media necessary, or is it a form of arbitrary governmental control on free speech? This article aims at answering this burning question and in doing so, the present situation of Malaysia's race relations in light of the problems brought about by hate speech needs to be examined.

### **Social Media: a Breeding Ground for Intolerance and Hate**

The emphasis placed on freedom of expression brings about mixed results. In certain situations, it can liberate the people who have long since been under authoritarian rule, give recognitions of certain rights that have long since been neglected and facilitate social and

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<sup>1</sup> Murni Wan Mohd Nor, "Hate Speech on the Rise: Lacunae in Malaysian Law," in [2016] 1 *LNS(A)* lxvii: at 12.

<sup>2</sup> Breckheimer II, P.J., "A Haven For Hate: The Foreign and Domestic Implications of Protecting Internet Hate Speech Under the First Amendment," in *Southern California Law Review*, vol. 75 (2002): at 1508.

<sup>3</sup> McGuire, J. F., "When Speech is Heard Around the World: Internet Content Regulation in the United States and Germany," in *New York University Law Review*, vol. 74 (1999): at 765.

<sup>4</sup> Eddy, M. & Scott, M., "Delete Hate Speech or Pay Up, Germany Tells Social Media Companies," *The New York Times*, 30<sup>th</sup> June 2017, <<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/30/business/germany-facebook-google-twitter.html>> (accessed on 5<sup>th</sup> June 2017).

governmental reform. This can be seen in certain countries such as Nigeria, whereby women's rights are finally being acknowledged and laws being legislated in order to realise these rights. The same can be said of the situation in Egypt, which led to the Arab Spring. Here, social media played a pivotal role in creating change in the governmental administration (for better or worse is a point of contention).

However, problems arise when freedom of speech is used beyond its limits—resulting in the communication of hate speech as a means of expressing feelings of anger, hostility, frustration and hatred. Social media becomes the most effective, and dangerous tool of disseminating such speech. Research shows that a post shared on social media may be shared by a vast number of people within a few hours. Its reaching powers go above and beyond that of traditional media. The hate spread online can influence thousands of people to adopt the same dark mind set. The anti-Muslim Facebook page by Pamela Geller grew from 19,000 followers to 78,000 people in less than a year.<sup>5</sup> When hate is promoted freely, it can easily escalate to acts of violence. This makes social media an especially dangerous tool if and when it is misused.

The advancements that come along with the internet and social media in particular has many benefits, but unfortunately has also brought out the worst in people. Due to the perceived anonymity the internet provides, many people feel emboldened for the wrong reasons. Deterioration of human decency can be observed as people begin placing value in the exercise of their freedom without care as to the purpose in which the freedom is used. They say hurtful and offensive things they may not have the courage to say in normal, face-to-face situations, even if the things they say may very well stir racial and religious tensions.

This situation is occurring all over the world and in Malaysia as well. Malaysia is a multi-racial, multi-religious country wherein her citizens have lived in harmony for many years. Although Malays make up the majority of the people, it is only by about 60%. The rest are Chinese, Indians and other races. As such, balancing the rights of the various communities becomes a difficult task but one that has been managed relatively well.<sup>6</sup> The Malaysian government have a rather strict approach when it comes to managing race relations—anything that is likely to threaten the harmony between the different races and religions is generally not allowed. This stance was adopted ever since the infamous riots of May 13, 1969. The total

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<sup>5</sup>Sacirbey, O., "Report: Internet Hate Speech Can Lead to Acts of Violence," in *The Washington Post*, 6<sup>th</sup> May, 2014, <[https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/religion/report-internet-hate-speech-can-lead-to-acts-of-violence/2014/05/06/9a9d9e60-d52c-11e3-8f7d-7786660fff7c\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.7afbb09a0a50](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/religion/report-internet-hate-speech-can-lead-to-acts-of-violence/2014/05/06/9a9d9e60-d52c-11e3-8f7d-7786660fff7c_story.html?utm_term=.7afbb09a0a50)> (accessed on 13<sup>th</sup> August 2017).

<sup>6</sup>Murni Wan Mohd Nor, "Hate Speech on the Rise: Lacunae in Malaysian Law," in [2016] 1 *LNS(A)* lxvii: at 4.

number of fatalities from that incident amounted to 184; with another 36 persons were injured. In addition, 753 buildings and 211 cars were destroyed.<sup>7</sup> Since then, there have not been many major violent riots motivated by racial or religious sentiments. However, tensions brew beneath the surface of what can be seen as a rather peaceful coexistence. The increasing incidents of hateful expression being shared online add to the strain of the delicate racial situation in Malaysia.

For example, the death of the spiritual leader of PAS became a matter of mockery for many members of the public. Some comments went too far and ridiculed not just the man that had passed, but the race and the religion he belonged to. This led to reports being received by the Malaysian Communications and Multimedia Commission (MCMC) on how insulting the comments were. The Secretary General of the Democratic Action Party, Lim Guan Eng expressed distaste concerning the comments Ooi made, which stated, “Adios, Haron Din. Let there be peace.”<sup>8</sup> The incident was investigated under S. 298 of the Penal Code for causing disharmony on the grounds of religion.<sup>9</sup> Ooi’s statements were not the only one, but the more his statements were shared on social media, more insulting and offensive comments were added on by the people. Another three people were arrested due to the high number of complaints received by the MCMC, and subsequently investigated under S.233 of the Communications and Multimedia Act for inappropriate postings regarding the passing of Haron Din.<sup>10</sup>

Other instances that can be construed as hate speech on social media include the case of conviction of Hidayat Mohamed, a schoolteacher was also charged under S.4 of the Sedition Act for allegedly making offensive statements on his Facebook page regarding the Thaipusam procession at Batu Caves.<sup>11</sup> Eric Paulson, of Lawyers for Liberty, was also questioned for his controversial tweet. He had purportedly claimed the Friday sermons that are vetted by the Department of Islamic Development Malaysia (JAKIM) were endorsing extremism.<sup>12</sup> The Facebook postings of Chow Mun Fai also attracted a one year prison sentence under the

<sup>7</sup> Tunku Abdul Rahman, *13 Mei: Sebelum dan Selepas*, (Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications and Distributers Sdn. Bhd., 2007), at 166.

<sup>8</sup> Aizyl Azlee, “IGP: Police Probing Jeff Ooi Over Haron Din Tweet,” *The Malay Mail Online*, 19<sup>th</sup> September, 2016, <<http://www.themalaymailonline.com/malaysia/article/igp-police-probing-jeff-ooi-over-haron-din-tweet>> (accessed 12<sup>th</sup> January, 2017).

<sup>9</sup> S. 298A of the Penal Code, [Act 574] states that it is an offence to cause disharmony, disunity, or feelings of enmity, hatred or ill will, or prejudicing, etc., the maintenance of harmony or unity, on grounds of religion.

<sup>10</sup> Ashwin Kumar, “Three Arrested for Insulting Islam on Facebook After Death of Haron Din,” *The Sun Daily*, 12<sup>th</sup> September, 2016, <<http://www.thesundaily.my/news/1974639>> (accessed 20<sup>th</sup> May, 2017).

<sup>11</sup> Punitha Kumar, “Teacher Claims Trial to Sedition,” *The New Straits Times*, 1<sup>st</sup> March, 2017, <<http://www.nst.com.my/news/2015/09/teacher-claims-trial-sedition>> (accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> July, 2017).

<sup>12</sup> “Eric Paulsen Disiasat Ikut Akta Hasutan,” *Utusan Online*, 11<sup>th</sup> January, 2015, <<http://www.utusan.com.my/berita/jenayah/eric-paulsen-disiasat-ikut-akta-hasutan-1.46659>>.



Communications and Multimedia Act, as he belittled the Ramadhan celebrations insulted the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>13</sup>

From these incidents, we can see that many people are no longer shy in expressing hateful statements touching on sensitive matters such as race and religion. Considering Malaysia's unique history as to how we achieved our independence through the careful negotiation and compromise between the races, and bearing in mind the dark events of May 13, one would think that Malaysians would act in a more respectful manner. Unfortunately, increasing reports to the MCMC indicate that is no longer the case. Respect, tolerance and compassion take a back seat compared to the use of one's freedom of expression. While it cannot be denied that free speech is one of the most important rights in a civil society, it is wise to be exercised at any cost?

The author believes one must be responsible when exercising their freedom, especially when it involves social media, as the negative effects have far-reaching powers. Hate speech posted on social media can be so offensive that it may be detrimental to the peace between the multi-cultural society of Malaysia. Hate speech has very little democratic value (if any), and certainly does nothing to facilitate race relations or promote understanding between people of different faiths. The actions of hatemongers in using social media as a means to disseminate hate speech may bring about tension, discord and even violence within the community. For example, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) reported a significant increase of hate crimes against Muslims in the country.<sup>14</sup> In England and Wales, racial and religiously motivated crimes have been reported to have increased a staggering 100% after the Brexit vote.<sup>15</sup> Although this statistic should not be accepted without some reservations, it may serve as a general indicator as to the worrying situation of race relations in that nation. Social media, when used for the wrong reasons, only fans the flame of hostility amongst the people.

Malaysia has also felt the impact on her race relations, as can be seen by the postings on social media which have a high tendency of creating enmity between the people. This depicts the power and influence social media can have on the community. The only question

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<sup>13</sup> Qishrin Tariq, "Site Supervisor Sentenced to a Year Over Facebook Comments," *The Star Online*, 10<sup>th</sup> September 2015, <<http://www.thestar.com.my/news/nation/2014/09/10/jailed-for-insulting-muslims-site-supervisor-sentenced-to-a-year-over-facebook-comments/>> (accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> August, 2017).

<sup>14</sup>See "Civil Rights Report 2017: The Empowerment of Hate," published by Council on American Islamic Relations, <http://islamophobia.org/images/2017CivilRightsReport/2017-Empowerment-of-Fear-Final.pdf> (accessed 8<sup>th</sup> August, 2017).

<sup>15</sup>Sharman, J. & Jones, I., "Hate Crimes Rise By Up To 100 Per Cent Across England and Wales, Figures Reveal," *The Independent*, 15 February 2017, <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/brexit-vote-hate-crime-rise-100-per-cent-england-wales-police-figures-new-racism-eu-a7580516.html>> (accessed 15<sup>th</sup> July, 2017).

is, is it for the better or for the worst? With regards to this issue, it is argued that there is little or no benefit in the sharing of hate speech online. When one considers the repercussions such postings can have, placing certain limitations may become justifiable and necessary.

### **Regulating Hate Speech on Social Media: Doable or Unmanageable?**

International law not only recognizes the need to restrict certain forms of expression such as hate speech, but A. 20(22) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political rights (ICCPR) *requires* states to legislate against it.<sup>16</sup> This is because the advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence must not be tolerated. Canada, France, England, Poland and Mexico are some of the many countries that have some form of legislation restricting hate speech.

As previously mentioned, Malaysia has several laws that regulate speech. The main criticism against the legal framework regulating speech in Malaysia is that the laws are often vaguely worded, which leads to its unfair use and unequal enforcement. This has been the long standing criticism against the Sedition Act, which was almost repealed but then the decision to do so was overturned. The Amendment to the Sedition Act has now made specific provisions to prohibit expression online.<sup>17</sup> However, there are many complex issues that arise when one discusses legislation adds further restrictions on speech by regulating online publication. It cannot be denied that social media plays a very important role in the spread of information that would traditionally be denied to the masses or arrive at a much later time. In some situations, it has had the ability to rally people together to stand up against their respective governments or demand for change on a bigger platform. As such, restrictive laws need serious consideration in order to ensure that they are enforced justly and not arbitrarily.

One must always consider what would amount to hate speech which would warrant legal intervention. Despite the diversity of the Malaysian people, the unfortunate racial riot which had occurred in 1969 and the tensions that continue to exist beneath the surface, the current laws do not define what constitutes hate speech. The closest definition we have can be found in the Sedition Act, which explains that seditious tendency means any act, speech, words or publication which have a 'seditious' tendency. The provision then goes to explain the situations which constitute sedition. The two situations that can be construed as hate speech are, (i) the promotion of ill will and hostility amongst the different races and classes of the

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<sup>16</sup> See A. 20(22) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, United Nations, <[www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/](http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/)> (accessed 17<sup>th</sup> June, 2017).

<sup>17</sup> See S. 2 of the Sedition (Amendment) Act, (Act No. A1485 of 2015).

Malaysian population; and (ii) to question any matter that is protected by the Federal Constitution, namely concerning the official language, citizenship, special privileges of Malays and native people as well as the Sovereignty of the Rulers. This is arguably the main problem and biggest hurdle: the lack of clarity in the definition of sedition. The Act gives too much allowance to the Executive in determining acts or words of ‘seditious’ nature, that it may lead to any act or speech being construed as seditious and illegal.<sup>18</sup> There have been allegations against the government that the law has been made a tool to against those that are critical of the government. Although the latest amendments have removed the offence of sedition against the government,<sup>19</sup> there provision is still problematic. This kind of ambiguity is against the rule of law as it creates uncertainty as to the many differing interpretations that can apply, which is why jurists call for the wordings of legislative provisions to have an element of certainty. The current situation is particularly more alarming as it deals with the restriction of fundamental rights such a free speech.

Unfortunately, the amendments to the Sedition Act did nothing to rectify this situation despite the government’s promise for transformation of the legal system. This compounds the problem further as the Sedition (Amendment) Act has been given the authority to deal with cases of hate speech online. If there is no proper definition or guideline as to what it means by sedition, then there will be the possibility that even the most minor incidences of hate speech will be dealt with to the full extent of the law. This is because the range of punishments under the amendments have removed the option of imposing a fine on the guilty offender, and provided that the *minimum* punishment is 3 years imprisonment.<sup>20</sup> The researcher agree that heinous acts of hate speech which pose a real threat to public order may deserve harsher penalties but taking away the option of a fine may create situations where any type of speech deemed “unlawful” by the executive is punished disproportionately and unfairly. As such, it is imperative to re-examine the current legal framework, and come up with *detailed* provisions for the proper charging and sentencing of an hate speech crimes. The offences must distinguish the nature and seriousness of a person’s actions. Only then, can punishment be

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<sup>18</sup> See Memorandum on the Malaysian Sedition Act 1948, (London: Global Campaign for Free Expression, 2003), < <http://www.article19.org/data/files/pdfs/analysis/malaysia-sedit.03.pdf>> (accessed 7<sup>th</sup> August 2014); & Davidson, G., Friesen, T., & Jackson, M., *Lawyers and the Rule of Law on Trial: Sedition in Malaysia*, (Vancouver: Lawyers Rights Watch Canada, 2000), at 25 < <http://www.lrwc.org/ws/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Lawyers-and-the-Rule-of-Law-on-Trial-Sedition-in-Malaysia.pdf>> (accessed 8 August, 2014).

<sup>19</sup> Murni Wan Mohd Nor & Shahir Ab Razak, “Regulating Hate Speech on Social Media: Should We or Shouldn’t We?” in *Malayan Law Journal*, at cxxxiv.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, at cxxxvi.

given accordingly. The legal position at present lumps all hate crimes together, regardless of the differences in severity which should never be the case.

One must also consider the question of *mens rea* (guilty state of mind) when it comes to regulating hate speech committed online. Speech should not be made to be so easily punishable, as this would render one of the most fundamental rights as illusory. The offence of hate speech published online must meet certain requirements in order to avoid unwarranted state intervention on free speech. As such, there should be some form of *mens rea* required, and this needs to be clearly explained in the legal provisions. There are three types of *mens rea*, namely intention, recklessness and negligence. The legal provisions that have the effect of limiting speech must determine which *mens rea* is relevant for the offence charged.<sup>21</sup> Merely showing a ‘seditious tendency’ is a “requirement” that is too easily met and this would result in the many undeserving cases being brought to the court room, which is something the law should aim to avoid. Looking at the situation at hand, the regulation of hate speech on social media has many weaknesses which need to be addressed in order for it to be made in accordance to the rule of law.

### **Recommendations: What the Law Should Consider**

The attempt to control hate speech on social media is not an easy task. There are many things to consider in order to ensure that the law only interferes on the individual’s right to free speech in justifiable circumstances. The reason why Malaysian laws and the Sedition Act in specific is problematic when it comes to dealing with hate speech offences is because the provisions are worded generally. Key legal terms are not comprehensively defined, and only a few provisions are used to apply to various hate speech offences. There is little effort made to ensure different types of punishment are provided to match the seriousness of the offence committed. This is very unfortunate, as we know that hate speech is a complicated issue and to apply one particular section from a general Act may not sufficiently deal with the problem. In fact, it may compound the very problem the law was hoping to address.

Therefore, there needs to be legal transformation of the current position. Firstly, problems of definition must be tackled. The term “hate speech” must be introduced into legislations and its scope must be properly spelt out. What *kind* of hate speech warrants legal action? And what categories of people should the law protect? It is suggested that the legislators should consider criminalizing speech that is aimed at creating feelings of “hatred, discrimination, or

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<sup>21</sup>Martin, J., *Key Facts: Criminal Law*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., (New York: Routledge, 2013), at 16.

violence against an individual or groups of individuals based on grounds of race, religion, ethnicity and nationality.”

The issue of the necessary *mens rea* also needs to be revised. The current law does not explain which type of mens rea is required in order for one to be found guilty of hate speech crime. Intention cannot be made to always be irrelevant, which is why the Council of Europe made intention a prerequisite for all hate speech offences according to the law they drafted The Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime.<sup>22</sup> It is unfair to penalize someone for hate speech offensive if he had no idea of what is considered hostile which has the likelihood of creating enmity between people of different races and religions in the Malaysian context, or make Internet Service Providers should also not be made liable for criminal content posted if they had made an effort to swiftly remove the content in question once it had reached their attention. That said, not all offences require the highest level of intention. In some situations, it may suffice to show oblique intent of the accused, if it can be inferred that the accused knows that it would occur in the ordinary course of events if he were to succeed in his purpose of causing some other result.<sup>23</sup> In other situations, hate speech crime may also be committed if recklessness can be shown, which is where one is aware of the potential negative effects of his actions, but continues with it anyway, which creates a risk of harm (although he may not have intended it).<sup>24</sup> The glaring problem with Malaysia’s current position is that the type of mens rea (intention, recklessness or negligence) is not explained, which leaves the task of determining what amounts to seditious in the hands of the Executive.

Hate speech laws must also adequately answer evidentiary concerns. The position that allows one to be convicted based on *uncorroborated* evidence is not a sound legislative call. Corroboration of evidence is especially important in the age of technology, where one can simply hack into the account of another and publish damaging statements or conduct criminal activities. As such, provisions need to be made that would require more evidentiary support before a person is met with the mandatory jail sentence for a *minimum* of three years.

This leads one to consider the issue of sentencing. The researcher agrees that the particular racist motivation behind these offences may call for aggravated sentencing. However, there needs to be sufficient provisions to deal with the various types of hate speech

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<sup>22</sup>Van Blarcum, C.D., “Internet Hate Speech: The European Framework and the Emerging American Haven,” in *Washington and Lee Law Review*, vol. 62, no.2 (2005): at 795.

<sup>23</sup>Ormerod, D., *Smith and Hogan’s Criminal Law*, 13<sup>th</sup> ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), at 115.

<sup>24</sup> Summers, S., Schwarzenegger, C., Ege, G., & Young, F., *The Emergence of EU Criminal Law: Cybercrime and the Regulation of Information Society*, (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2014), at 262.

offences, as it would be grossly unjust to lump different types of hate speech under one category and punish them all the same with no regard to the gravity of the offence.

Lastly, the researcher feels that the best solution to the current legal framework in Malaysia would be to come up with a separate Act than the ones already in existence, such as the Sedition Act. There needs to be a specific legislation that would address all the complicated legal problems surrounding hate speech, particularly on social media. If this is done, more comprehensive definitions can be provided, which should include the usage of illustrations to facilitate the interpretation of important legal terms. Other issues such as the type of *mens rea* required, corroboration of evidence and the appropriate sentences available to the offender can also be provided for in detail with the promulgation of a specific hate speech law.

## **Conclusion**

It cannot be denied that the the internet and social media play a pivotal role in a functioning democracy, as it serves as a medium for the people to express themselves and disseminate information. However, the author realized that uncontrolled exercise of one's fundamental rights, coupled with extensive use of social has aggravated the problem of hate speech. People demand freedom of speech as of right, and many exercise it liberally—to the extent that they tread on racial and religious sensitivities of others. It is an indication that human decency have begun to deteriorate, as more people begin to pay less attention to the negative consequences hate speech may have on the individual and society at large. The damage is spread even wider with the usage of social media, as discord and tension can break up communities within a matter of days. This is why the author feels it important to return to religious values as a guide in the interpretation of human rights.

All religions call its adherents to do good and prohibit the commission of vice, which covers the prevention of oppression on others. Therefore, hate speech that brings about hostile feelings and tension in the community is not justified according to any religion. If we were to adopt a framework of human rights guided by religious values, it would add structure and depth in the understanding and application of fundamental liberties. Once laws are based on the common ethical and moral shared by these different racial and religious groups, it would facilitate a deeper appreciation for and better enforcement of human rights.

One must not make the mistake of tivializing the problem of hate speech, as its effects can be devastating not only for the individual victim, but to society and to the nation as a whole. The victim of hate speech suffers in more ways than one. He is made to feel

indignified by the denigrating comments thrown at him, which may cause him to suffer from depression due to the continued verbal attacks. This could result in other mental and physical problems. On a larger scale, hate speech can cause significant damage to the friendly relations amongst members of the community. When the promotion of hatred is justified under the pretext of “freedom” and animosity is instilled amongst the people, violent racial and religious tensions could ensue. Should the right to free speech be prioritized at all cost, even when it could affect public order as well as result in instability in the nation? The author submits that there needs to be a more holistic approach in the interpretation and application of human rights. With regards to hate speech, the negative consequences are so great that they must be addressed properly. In doing so, the government should consider the promulgation of a specific hate speech law which could cater to all the complicated legal issues, particularly surrounding publication on social media.

Nevertheless, the process of creating such a law should never be hurried. The law making process must be done with the utmost care, with serious effort to remedy the problems of the previous laws. The recommendations highlighted in this paper is only a step to achieving that aim, but are final, as there needs to be continuous discussions and debates in order to come up with a comprehensive and law regulating hate speech. Hate speech should be legislated against. However, steps must be taken in order to avoid from arbitrary laws that aim at “protecting the people,” when in reality the law may be used for other reasons. It is imperative to find a balance between upholding fundamental liberties and safeguarding society from harm. There must also be a means to promote understanding and facilitate reconciliation between people of different races and religions. Most importantly, the proposed hate speech law should reflect ethical and moral values and not be made merely to punish hate speech offenders. In doing so, the concept of rights must go hand in hand with responsibility, as this would create a more considerate society that would think twice before causing injury to others. A person cannot simply claim his rights but never consider his obligations to his fellow men and his duty to his nation.<sup>25</sup> If mankind were to prioritise higher values, we may stand to see a better world,<sup>26</sup> as this would result in a selfish society that is indifferent to the needs and suffering of others. Therefore, it is important to adopt the right framework of human rights so that the problem of hate speech may be reduced and perhaps one day, the restriction of and punishment for hate speech may no longer be needed.

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<sup>25</sup> Hishamuddin Tun Hussein, “Human Rights- The Asian Perspective,” in *Universal Human Rights?*, edited by Patman, R. G., (New York: Palgrave, 2000), at 75-80.

<sup>26</sup> Singer, P., “How are We to Live? Ethics in an Age of Self-Interest,” in *Powerful Ideas: Perspectives on the Good Society*, edited by Webb, J.M., (Victoria: The Cranlana Programme, 2002), at 285-296.

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# Challenges of Religious Pluralism and the Need for Inter-Religious Cooperation in Multi-Cultural Societies



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## Abstract

The study highlights the significance of inter-religious cooperation in multi-cultural societies in this perturbed era. All the revealed religions preach, “Peace” and “Harmony” within the societies. All the religions teach us tolerance and make stress on the cooperation of individuals in the society. In contemporary social orders, religious pluralism shows a wide range of difficulties to religious and ethnic gatherings and groups. In a pluralized globe, masses are confronted with the need to go after social and public capital, for example, individuals, money related commitments, authenticity, fear based oppression and political impact. The study would focus on the objectives are; 1) to analyze the religious pluralism for the need of inter-religious cooperation in multi-cultural societies, 2) to sort out how religious pluralism enhances inter-religious cooperation in multi-cultural societies. The study contributes to the social analysis of the multi-cultural societies in connection with religious pluralism and religious cooperation. In this paper, the research focuses on religious pluralism as challenge for religion as well as challenge for contemporary society. Religious diversity is a unique phenomenon in human societies since the history of human beings. In this materialistic perturbed world, religious diversity in the contemporary societies confronted the challenges of religious pluralism. The researcher would use the mixed method approach to get his objectives. The expected results of the study will guide the religious scholar, sociologists, inter-religious dialogical experts and theologians to harmonize the social set up. The present study would recommend the important and significant points that may help in inter-religious cooperation at world level in multi-cultural societies.

**Key Words:** Inter-religious cooperation, Multi-cultural societies and Religious Pluralism

## Introduction

The issue and challenges of religious liberty and the need of inter-religious cooperation in multi-cultural societies are of great importance for Middle Eastern Muslims who want to share with other religions the need for the safety and security of adherents of minority religions. Interpretation of the Islamic law reveals that Islam immensely favours the basic

human rights by explaining the rights of people to practice and teach their own faith. As Quid-e-Azam, the founder of Pakistan said at the day of Independence that every in Pakistan is free to go to Mosque, to Temple or any other place of worship.<sup>1</sup> This is a reality that some Muslim researchers of the Middle Ages and later periods were among the first to incorporate the thoughts of resilience and protecting the minorities inside their lawful frameworks. In this manner, Muslim-Christian exchanges would help and persevere through the convention of those Muslim scholars today to fuse significantly more positive contemplations of the part of minorities in Islamic social orders.

We live in a multicultural and multi-religious society, both in Asian and Western world. Indeed, even in the Middle East, where at one time, just Christianity, Islam and Judaism could be watched and by dint of late movement, it can likewise be seen that individuals are living respectively from different societies and religions as well. Thus, we are looking a finish of the religious polarization amongst Islam and Christianity with the presentation of looking for the more extensive discoursed among religions over the world. In such manner, an exertion of Benedict XVI in Ankara was of the criticalness significance which uncovers that religions can play their due part taking care of the bounteous difficulties that our multicultural social orders are as of now fronting with. Unquestionably, diagnosing the positive part of the multi-religions inside the chest of the social set up must encourage our social orders to find top to bottom the learning of humankind and to regard its self-esteem in setting the mankind at the Centre of financial, political, social and social activity. Our reality must be more conscious of the way that every individual is significantly all around associated and we should welcome them to set aside our authentic and social dissimilarities, not keeping in mind the end goal to rout over them, yet rather to sustain common understandings.<sup>2</sup> The need of between religious participation way to deal with the general population of different beliefs is likewise underlined by Pope Francis in his "Missional Exhortation", where he is of the view: "A way to deal with transparency in truth and in adoration must portray the between religious collaboration with the adherents of different religions, rather than various confusions and troubles, especially frameworks of fundamentalism on either sides. Between religious collaboration is a huge condition for peace and security round the clock, thus it is an obligation for Christians and Muslims and also other religions.<sup>3</sup> This in truth does not imply that we should ignore the religious contrasts and to set aside the principle teachings of every religion, Because: "In this participation, ever amiable and true, accentuation should dependably be put on the pivotal bond amongst discoursed and declarations, which may lead the Church to safeguard and reinforce the association with individuals of different religions. A

simple amalgamation of various religions would at last be a totalitarian motion with respect to the individuals who might ignore the more noteworthy estimations of which they are not the experts.<sup>4</sup>

### **Cooperation with Non-Muslims**

One of the main spirits in different social orders today is a dread of Islam and Muslims, whose world and arrangement of qualities are seen as removed from Christianity. In any case, if importance is made with Muslims at an individual level, one can get another point of view while feeling a more prominent comprehension among "adherents". Because of which when the separation diminishes, we feel that the other individual is joined into one fraternity, thus all hindrances shed and a shared mankind and otherworldly precepts develop. To be sure, we ask ourselves where between religious participation starts. The response to this inquiry is less demanding: to tell that shared participation starts where individuals have goodwill in like manner, since it is a connection among people and not among belief systems: "It passed on in archives of the Bishop Conference of Asia – what makes a difference is responsiveness together with authenticity which includes assume that causes mending, especially of the blocked memories of the past hostility".<sup>5</sup> In such manner, a thorough establishment that comprises of a significant learning of every religion advances an empathic mentality. It is a state of withdraw for solid Muslim-Christian participation and discoursed. At that point it is basic to perceive the inward rationale of the other's religion and the greeting of religious assortment in our contemporary society.

In the civil arguments about Islam, it apparent that western world looks time after time at the "Islam" as a unique classification and as socially saved. While in all actuality, Islam is not just closer to Christianity than we may might suspect, however Islam is a universe set up by people groups with whom it is likely and irreplaceable to share esteems and uncovers them through between religious discoursed. As Vatican II has underscores that the Church looks upon with adoration additionally the Muslims since they revere one God, living and subsisting in Himself; the Creator of Heaven and earth, the Kind and all-capable, who has addressed men; they endeavour to capitulate enthusiastically to even His invulnerable declarations, similarly as Abraham, with whom the confidence of Islam takes delights in partner itself, submitted to God.

## **How to Eliminate Radicalism**

One of the fundamental viewpoints that obstruct between religious and between social exchange based collaboration are the radical slants, which despite their starting point, are a standout amongst the most perilous dangers to the world peace and wellbeing. In religion, radical developments, indeed report major and unexpected changes by methods for clear cut and hard-line approaches. Such radical individuals make a climate where shared collaboration and understandings have been stopped to rise. Resultantly, this clears route to a wide range of animosity toward individuals of assorted races, philosophies, and convictions. Henceforth, there is a desperate need to raise up mindfulness that radicalism, with its radical inclinations, is dissonant with genuine religious trustworthy qualities and must be overwhelmed through a solemn and inescapable arrangement to helpful exchanges and honest to goodness endeavours by feeling producers and religious pioneers to perceive individuals who are keen on demonstrating false convictions and practices as a major aspect of their religious codes. All the while, political leaders must consolidate this mindfulness battle keeping in mind the end goal to defeat fanaticism in the public arena and to set the justification for balances. This is especially a factor for the present circumstance in the Middle East, where building space for agreeable between religious discoursed is an awesome event for researchers, approach producers, business and social tutors to advance between social and between religious strides that should manage social training, monetary and political reconstructions, religious comprehension of ladies' issues, peace measures, and potential zones of contentions.

## **Forming Dialogical Cooperative Attitude through Education**

One of the essential zones where a dialogical helpful state of mind can be enhanced is the field of training, which can't be detached; however cooperating with it could be valuable for divisions in multicultural society, for example, family, media and so forth... In this sense, strategy of the administration overwhelmingly in religious training, yet additionally approach all in all towards religion in a multi-religious nation, ought to be gone for shaping a situation of regard, resistance, and gratefulness, as it is plainly expressed in the "Sanction of Values of Citizenship and Integration" pitched by the Italian Home Ministry when it recommended that "it is appropriate to educate the young to pronounce an awesome respect of alternate's religious convictions, without investigating in them components of detachment".

### **A Rationalistic and Balanced way to deal with Holy books**

The thought of the fundamental unanimity of the three monotheistic beliefs and of their Scriptures goes back to the wellsprings of Islam: the Holy Qur'an, which has been an indispensable piece of the Muslim customs all through the ages. The Bible and the scriptural stories give the Christian, Muslims and Jews religions to the shared characteristics ideal from the earliest starting point of the Islamic period. Deplorably, the obliviousness of the Scriptures on either sides by numerous Muslims (of the Bible) and by numerous Christians (of the Qur'an) has put them to disregard of how much in like manner is for them to share.

A rationalistic way to deal with the Holy writings, and about the interconnection of beliefs, reasons, and religions, and the ability of human motivation to hold that association ought to be a piece of Muslim-Christian helpful Dialogs. It is the thing that Benedict XVI additionally related in Regensburg, "religious philosophy properly has a place in the college and inside the far reaching discoursed of sciences, not simply as an authentic train and one of the human sciences, however surely as philosophy, as investigation into the reasonability of confidence. Just in this way do we end up plainly fit for that bona fide discourse of societies and religions so in a split second required today. A reason which is hard of hearing to the perfect and which consigns religion into the domain of subcultures is unequipped for entering the discourse of societies". In Qur'an it is likewise specified that go to the things which are basic among you.

### **Freedom of Religion**

There can be no peace, security and welfare for mankind without due thought of religious resilience. In the Qur'an, peace implies consistence, and resilience and regarding of different religions implies not killing those individuals who are consented to coincide in an oppressed position to Islamic run the show. In Qur'an God said "The individuals who accept and the individuals who are Jews and Christians, and Sabians, whoever puts stock in Allah and the Last Day and do exemplary deeds should have their reward with their Lord, on them might be no dread, nor should they lament (part II:62)." The Catholics organization satisfies "This gathering respects the delight the first of these two realities as one of the iconic issues. With sadness, in any case, it censures the other actuality, as just to be deplored. The board empowers Catholics, and it controls a supplication to all men, most carefully to contemplate how much imperative religious flexibility is, especially in the present state of the human family. All people groups are coming in As Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon Him) said, "Do unto others as you wish it to be done by others unto you". In Qur'an God says to entire

humanity which is not specific message to Muslims, “Speak politely with people”. This shows that how much importance Islam gives in terms of having love and affection for the entire humanity. So, granting religious freedom to worshipers and to practice their faiths and to holding cooperation and inter-religious dialogues on common social issues in multi-cultural society as in Pakistan shall bring about peace through common physical and spiritual development. This respect for true followers of religion can guide inter-cultural communication to avoid hateful generalizations.

### **Peace and Harmony**

It is an admitted fact that basic theme of all divinity messages is the call to the peace, the inside fighting, collective rights, spiritual wars, as well as the disputes among human sections and kingdoms have always tormented our global structures which the Italian poet Dante calls: “the threshing-floor that makes us so ferocious”.<sup>7</sup> In this way, the cooperation of multi-cultural and various religions is unconditionally indispensable in order to get over every kind of pressure and to cultivate the ways to the people of different religions to coexist with peace and religious harmony. In this connection, all religious societies are invited to put their heads together and to pledge themselves to create harmony about having a single human platform so that they all bear a common responsibility. For the Christians, this is ideally communicated in a Vatican II statement: “The pleasures and all expectations, the anxieties and the grieves of the men of this age, especially those who are the poor or afflicted. These are the pleasures and the grieves, hopes and anxieties of the believers of Christianity. Virtually, human has been unsuccessful to raise an echo in their hearts.”<sup>9</sup> Therefore, dialogue among various religions, as stated in the wise statement of Benedict XVI, has well significance: “the relations of Christianity with other religions in the world have become today part and parcel for the good faith: it is not merely a game of being inquisitive, which will like to give birth a theory about destiny of others but God in fact, decides the destiny for which He does not need suggestion. But at the present time, there is much more at stake: the sense of having or being able to believe.”<sup>9</sup> In Qur’an Chapter 7, verse .189 God says “I formed you from a single soul and from that soul I created its comrade so that you may live in come harmony with love”.

### **Liberty of Religion**

Peace, security and welfare are not possible for humanity to have them without due consideration of religious forbearance and tolerance. In the Qur’an, peace stands for

compliance and tolerance and respecting the other religions implies that never to murder those members who are agreed to coexist as subjective position to Islamic rule. In Qur'an God said "Those who are believers or Jews, Christians, and Sabians, whoever having belief in Allah (God) and the Day of Judgement and they do righteous deeds must find their rewards from their Lord. On them there will be no fear, nor shall they be in grief (chapter II: 62)." The Catholics sect states "This council welcomes the joy the first of these two realities as one of the symbols of the times. About grief, however, this sect condemns the other reality, as only to be deprecated. The council encourages Catholics, and it guides a plea to all men, most cautiously to ponder how much important religious freedom is, particularly in the current condition of the human being as one family. All peoples are coming closer to be a part of unity. Men with various cultures and religions are being united into relationships. There is an increasing perception of the personal obligation that every man must have. Therefore, in order that associations of peace, safety and harmony be conventionally kept up within the whole mankind, it is obligatory that liberty of religions be everywhere to be provided with an operative legitimate guarantee and that reverence be shown for the high duty and rights of humanity so that religious life could be spent with entire freedom in multicultural society".<sup>11</sup>

Currently in the "al-Azhar Declaration on the Future of Egypt",<sup>12</sup> it was requested to the institutes about the future state to grant full assurance to secure and fully attribute a due regard to the worshipping places of the three divine faiths, to safeguard the free and open practices of all rituals and to honour the various worshipping practices without demeaning the people's cultural and their traditional beliefs".<sup>13</sup> It is also pertinent to mention that in another Declaration which took place in the same University that Liberty of religions and their rituals connected to citizenship for all, should be based [in turn] on complete harmony in keeping with rights and duties measuring the foundation of the modern social order. This autonomy is assured by religious codes and religious texts and by obvious legitimate principles of the institute. Each member in diversity of society has the right to hold the ideas he wants, provided that it does not damage the rights of the society to reserve the heavenly beliefs.<sup>14</sup>

### **Issues and the Need for Inter-Religious Cooperation**

The challenges to be met practicing the religious autonomy and the need of cooperation in this sense is a tenacious concern for the Muslims who want to share with other religions. The necessity of safety and security for believers of other religions in Muslim societies which are in minority, where misinterpretation of Islamic code of life often appears to repudiate fundamental civil rights, including the rights of people to exercise to preach the



teachings of their own faiths. In spite of all this that some Muslim philosophers belonging to the Middle Ages and the periods afterward were the first actually to integrate the notions of forbearance and safeguard smaller social and religious groups within their permissible systems. Thus, inter-religious cooperation will support and brook the traditions of Muslim scholars today to cultivate even more positive sympathies of the important role of smaller religious groups in Islamic society. This is also emphasized by the special Assembly for the Middle East of the Synod of Bishops stated: “The particular exceptional Christian involvement to the societies in which we live is to supplement them with the values mentioned in their Gospel. In many areas, these values, particularly civil rights accord with those of liberal Muslims. Therefore, there is more to be said for stimulating these ideals in cooperation with one another”.

## **Conclusion**

The communal traditions of both Christianity and Islam also reveals an inward desire for safety, security, peace and justice and issues a call to have hope for those who are in despair in the world crisis through their message and their lives. Sharing communal values executing human rights criteria, accountability, transparency, partaking and non-disparity is the obligation of the believers of the two monotheistic creeds in their path toward a common spiritual and physical development of humanity that may guide us out of the present financial and moral crisis, which needs tolerance, patience, and capacity of inter-religious cooperation in multi-cultural societies. Pope Francis states that in order to sustain inter-religious cooperation with Islam, proper training is indispensable for all, not only so that they may be soundly and joyfully ashore in their own identity, but so that they may also concede the values of others, realize the concerns underlying their hassles and throw lights on communal beliefs. Hence, to conclude Muslims should embrace with affections and respect other members of other religions in our countries where we are in majority in the same way that we expect and demand to be embraced and honoured in countries of Christian tradition. As Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon Him) said, “Do unto others as you wish it to be done by others unto you”. In Qur’an God says to entire humanity which is not specific message to Muslims, “Speak politely with people”. This shows that how much importance Islam gives in terms of having love and affection for the entire humanity. So, granting religious freedom to worshipers and to practice their faiths and to holding cooperation and inter-religious dialogues on common social issues in multi-cultural society as in Pakistan shall bring about peace

through common physical and spiritual development. This respect for true followers of religion can guide inter-cultural communication to avoid hateful generalizations.

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# The Future of Heritage and Heritage Studies: From Traditional to Controversial Heritage



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## Abstract

Heritage as a practice is related to the beginnings of human civilization, while conceptualization and theorizing the notion of heritage takes place primarily in the Euro-American context at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, starting from modernism, through post-modernism to contemporaneity. In the last 150 years, first ‘heritage’ and, from the second half of the 20th century, also ‘heritage studies’, as a related academic discipline, have been going through turbulent changes associated with modernist industrialization, post-modernist trends, contemporary globalisation, the establishment of UNESCO and its concept of World heritage, all the way to the current information and communication environment, a ‘boom’ of heritage at the end of the 20th and, especially at the beginning of the 21st century, the so-called heritigisation, which we are witnessing today. Starting from the assumption that heritage is a matter not only of the past, but of the present as well, as of the future too, wanting to indicate the future of heritage and heritage studies, the paper follows continuous changes in heritage understanding and practicing, starting from the binary oppositions such as natural / cultural heritage, through tangible / intangible heritage or official / unofficial heritage to the analogue / digital heritage. Even more importantly, the paper considers complex, nowadays—in a time of tensions, wars, migrations and refugee crises—all the more important questions such as controversial heritage as a broader notion encompassing narrower terms such as ‘absent heritage’, ‘difficult heritage’, ‘dissonant heritage’ etc. They all confirm heritage as a political discourse, while the question of heritage memorialisation / forgetting, and finally, the future of heritage, is put into direct context of the current social conditions and the so-called ‘social value of heritage’.

Key words: heritage, heritage studies, heritigisation, controversial heritage

Heritage, as a categorized, often bureaucratized field, controlled by the state and other authorities, has been going through turbulent changes in the last 150 years while keeping pace with parallel socio-cultural processes, starting with modernism, postmodernism, and the contemporary period. The first phase was sparked by the enlightenment, modernism and the awakening of the so-called *public sphere*, which was, at the time responsible for the

preservation of natural and cultural heritage, i.e. the concepts developed in the Euro-American context during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, the second phase was finalized by an enhanced control of the state over heritage and the emergence of the *world heritage* concept. The third phase pertains to the period after The World Heritage Convention was enacted (1972), the period of post-modernism and post-industrial economies and post-capitalist countries, while the final phase, which is still ongoing, is characterized by the fact that heritage is experiencing a 'boom', a 'heritigisation', where heritage entices almost a 'colloquial' interest of the public (cf. Harrison, 2013: 43).

Following these processes, the UNESCO culture sector has been working on encompassing the long process of the development of heritage studies starting with the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO World Heritage Convention) (UNESCO, 1972), which recognizes the concept of heritage mainly through cultural and natural heritage but also understands heritage as the concept that integrates the intangible, ethnographic and industrial heritage, i.e. a concept of heritage which is open and which, in that way, pertains to both the existing cultures but also those that belong to the past.

In an auto-reflection and self-assessment, UNESCO confirms that the Convention from 1972 was, above all, generated by a narrow-minded concept of heritage from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and was, therefore, oriented towards historic monuments and cultural heritage, while excluding non-monumental cultures, such as most non-European cultures are, e.g. those from the Oceania or Sub-Saharan Africa region. The emphasis given to architectural instead of social, symbolic or emotional value of heritage is as such given in the Convention as were the first documents that emerged following the Convention until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the time when the first documents emerge stressing the importance of and including primarily the intangible and digital heritage as well.

UNSECO has been, therefore, undergoing a self-transformation while trying to overcome numerous imbalances, out of which only some have been mentioned in this paper. This has happened not only owing to self-reflection and self-assessment but also due to strong external factors, the heritage theory and practice, but also as a result of general changes in a wider socio-cultural environment. Therefore, the transformation led to an understanding that the concept of heritage had to be adopted in a broader sense as well as the idea that, hypothetically speaking, anything may come to existence, but certainly not everything can be

considered heritage. The inevitable political background could not be avoided but the nominal goal was to nourish heritage in accordance with the requirements of polyphonic world cultures as well as the value of the historical moment observed.

In such a way, in the attempt to apply the Convention globally, numerous contemporary understandings of heritage followed. It has become obvious that the Convention itself represented a specific factor in globalization, while at the same time being a subject to its own modification as the result of the globalization trends. “Many high-quality attempts had been made over the past decade to consider the best ways of ensuring the representative nature, and hence the credibility, of the World Heritage List in the future, but they had failed to achieve a consensus among the scientific community, despite the fact that all the component bodies and partners of the Convention were conscious of its weaknesses and imbalances. Since the adoption of the Convention by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1972, moreover, the concept of cultural heritage had also developed considerably in meaning, depth, and extent. The object of this meeting was therefore to carry out an examination in depth of all the studies made of this question over the last ten years and to arrive at concepts and a common methodological procedure as a result of a detailed analysis of the different approaches adopted.” (UNESCO, 1994).

In that sense, there were certain tendencies present in the Convention such as “a *geographical* bias towards Europe; a *typological* bias towards historic towns and religious buildings in preference to other forms of historic property; a *religious* bias in the overrepresentation of Christianity in relation to other religions; a *chronological* bias in the emphasis on historic periods over prehistory and the twentieth century; and a *class* bias towards ‘elitist’ forms of architecture in relation to vernacular forms.” (Harrison, 2013: 128).

Although the heritage sites lists are as old as *seven wonders of the world*, bureaucratization and categorization of heritage with the state and the authorities leading the process is the result of UNESCO’s activities on making the lists on heritage preservation. Today, except for natural heritage, cultural heritage is taken rather broadly and encompasses: *localities of cultural heritage* (including archaeological sites, ruins, historic objects), *historic towns* (urban landscapes and towns in ruins), *cultural landscapes* (including parks, gardens and other modified landscapes such as pastoral land and farms), *natural sacred sites* (sites of worship for which there is no evidence that they have been modified by humans, e.g. holy mountains), *underwater cultural heritage* (e.g. shipwrecks), museums (including art galleries

and house museums), *mobile cultural heritage* (various items such as paintings, tractors, stone tools, to cameras, i.e. any item that can be moved from one place to another and is outside of the archaeological context), *handicrafts, documentary and digital heritage* (items stored in archives and libraries, including digital archives), *cinematographic heritage* (films and ideas that are transmitted), *oral traditions* (unrecorded stories, histories and traditions transmitted from one generation to the next), *languages, festivals* (festivals and carnivals and ideas that get transmitted), *rituals and beliefs* (rituals, traditions, religious beliefs), *music and songs, performing arts* (theatre, drama, dance and music), *traditional medicine, literature, culinary traditions* and *traditional sports and games* (cf. UNESCO, 2017).

It is quite clear that heritage is today quite a distinctive concept encompassing several categories and at more than one different level (global, national, regional, local, family), it has its foundations in the past but an active role in the present and results for the future and implies a categorization of ‘items’ and traditions across the world. Heritage is inherently a good concept, but often implies a sense of threat, endangerment, disappearance, weariness, vulnerability, and other qualities that differentiate it from the ordinary and make it a subject of categorization and preservation.

Among numerous typologies of heritage, the one that classifies heritage as *the official* and *the unofficial* is the most operational. The official heritage refers to a set of professional activities authorized by the state and regulated by a legislation or convention. The series of mechanisms it applies allows artefacts, monuments and landscapes—enjoying a status exempted from the everyday context—to be preserved in terms of their aesthetic, historic, scholarly, social or recreational values. The unofficial heritage implies a wide spectrum of practices presented through a language of heritage which are not, as such, recognized in the official legislature. The unofficial heritage may also be manifested through a conventional form, that of a monument or an artefact, having a significant value for individuals and communities. These items of heritage are not recognized by the state as such, whereas, on the other hand, the unofficial heritage may exist in an intangible form, as a set of social practices found in the context of the material forms of culture, official or unofficial heritage, and beyond, but still without being protected or being found in legislation (Harrison, 2013: 14–

15). There are also numerous heritage items that are simultaneously enjoying the status of both official and unofficial heritage.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, recognizing heritage as official or unofficial is a matter of agreement or convention and does not arise from the very essence of an item of heritage. This is the reason why it is possible to understand why some items of heritage undergo a process of changing the status of the unofficial to the official, i.e. the process of them being recognized as heritage by the state, whereas a process that follows the opposite direction, although not that common, is also possible, and occurs mainly when, for instance, the heritage of no longer existing state regimes stops producing positive values in a new system or, in some cases, is recognized as a symbol of destruction and horror (e.g. items with fascist connotations), which is the reason why it is often modified or abandoned. Recognizing heritage in terms of the official and unofficial depends also on cultural policies of regions and communities, whereas the very cultural policies are significantly varied and determined by a tradition of how heritage is handled as well as by individual state legislation.

Although it may at first seem that there are as many cultural policies as the countries that implement them, it is possible to detect similarities and differences that allow for a number of cultural policy models to be defined, each of them having their own procedures on how issues of official and unofficial heritage are handled. For instance, in *Kultura: menadžment, animacija, marketing* by Milena Dragičević and Branimir Stojković, on the basis of the similarities found in the cultural policy of a number of countries having different profiles in terms of their agricultural development, the political system and cultural tradition, it is possible to define at least six basic models of cultural policy: *the liberal model* ('the facilitator state'), *the para-state model* ('the patron state'), *the enlightened bureaucrats model* ('the engineer state'), *the enlightened prestige model* ('the architect state'), *the national-emancipated / ethnically defined cultural policy*, and *the region/language/ethnicity-defined model of cultural policy*. (cf. Dragičević Šešić; Stojković, 2011: 36–41).

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. The traditional Blagaj tekke mevlud as an example of how the official and unofficial heritage co-exist, the heritages of the Blagaj tekke as a protected monument of culture and the mevlud, which, as a traditional religious practice or custom, is not listed in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian intangible cultural heritage. As such, the mevlud exists and generates significant religious values for the Muslim community in Bosnia-Herzegovina, whereas for those not observing it may offer an insight into the religious practices or, generally, promote cultural tourism.

In the *liberal* model of cultural policy, a ‘neutrality’ of the state in the domain of culture is promoted. This is the reason why the private sector and the civil society play the key role in the cultural heritage management, whereas the role of the state is maintained through grants for the sector (the USA). The para-state model of cultural policy implies that the government, i.e. the Ministry of culture, nominates and authorizes domain-specific offices (arts and culture councils). These offices are not directly run by the Ministry, which allows them for the necessary autonomy and to a degree prevents the market to influence developments in culture (Great Britain and Ireland). The *enlightened bureaucrats* model of cultural policy is characterized by the authority of the state, which by means of the centralized apparatus controls all activities on culture management. This cultural policy model is characteristic for totalitarian systems, where, for instance, writers are ‘engineers of human souls’ (China, Vietnam, Cuba). The same cultural policy model is also found in the states where an autocratic model of culture has been imposed instead of the democratic and coming after the socialist regime, such as in some countries of central Asia (Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan). The *enlightened prestige* model of cultural policy perceives culture as the key factor in national identity and state responsibility of utmost importance for the country’s development, which is why the priority when managing cultural heritage is given to the public sector with the aim of a public awakening of the interest for culture (France). The national-emancipated model of cultural policy struggles to break off from the past influences, usually embodied in colonialism or Soviet dominance and functions by liberating itself and confirming indigenous cultural traditions that had been suppressed (Latvia, Moldavia, Kazakhstan, Senegal, Peru), leading to nationalism in culture when expressed in its most radical form. The *region/language/ethnicity-defined* models of cultural policy are manifested as decentralized systems in which the authority of the state for the issues of culture is given to smaller, autonomous units (regions, cantons), which is why, primarily, the city as a unit, becomes the key executor of managing cultural policy (Switzerland, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina). (cf. Dragičević Šešić; Stojković, 2011: 36–41)

The UNESCO cultural policy has made a long way from its first, all-encompassing narratives regarding emphasising the importance of the very Euro-American concept of heritage seen through material cultural and natural heritage from the World Heritage Convention, overcoming the restrictive and narrowly-defined concepts of heritage given in the past, all the way to the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001), in which cultural heritage has been defined as “a set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual



and emotional features of society or a social group which, in addition to art and literature, encompasses lifestyle and ways of living together, values systems, traditions and beliefs.” (UNESCO, 2001).

Understanding the very essence of intangible culture and accepting cultural heritage as a *process*, and not exclusively a final *product*, has contributed to intangible and other digital pieces of heritage to be recognized. It is not without a reason that the interest of UNSECO for the intangible and digital heritage was more prominently expressed in 2003 when documents strategically important for heritage were enacted. At the 32<sup>nd</sup> UNESCO General conference in October 2003, the Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage (UNESCO, 2003a) and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage were adopted (UNESCO, 2003b). It is clear from both of these documents that the definition and concept of heritage have started being perceived as not only strictly material and tangible, but also manifested by means diverse values of meaning (*cf.* e.g. Kodrić, 2010: 34–42).

A more in-depth understanding of heritage as intangible and digital heritage as well has resulted also from critical perspectives of the Euro-American universalist model of heritage proclaimed in the World Heritage Convention and almost forcibly applied to countries and people with different, local understanding of culture, which is why it is clearer why the so-called ‘locality authority’, above all, influences how heritage is understood and the so-called ‘social value of heritage’, its value and interpretation in a local, specific context. This is also clear from the very definition of intangible cultural heritage which encompasses: “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.”(UNESCO, 2003b)

Societies and communities, therefore, memorize and preserve that which presents a social value to them and forget that which no longer produces meaning. The same perspective applies to digital heritage defined by the Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage in the following way: “The digital heritage consists of unique resources of human knowledge and expression. It embraces cultural, educational, scientific and administrative resources, as well

as technical, legal, medical and other kinds of information created digitally, or converted into digital form from existing analogue resources. (...) The digital heritage is inherently unlimited by time, geography, culture or format. It is culture-specific, but potentially accessible to every person in the world. Minorities may speak to majorities, the individual to a global audience. The digital heritage of all regions, countries and communities should be preserved and made accessible, so as to assure over time representation of all peoples, nations, cultures and languages.” (UNESCO, 2003a)

Indeed, all forms of cultural heritage, including the material, the intangible and the digital, are subject to similar patterns of memorialisation / forgetting of heritage, where negligence becomes the inevitable form of cultural production governed by the social values factor—recognizing heritage as identitary, either worth saving or allowing it to be forgotten within a specific social group. In either case, it is not implied that heritage is to be left to its own devices, the inevitable time factor or the unknown, but reminds that maintaining heritage is not a passive process of preserving (all) remnants of the past in the present, but is an active and studious interaction with remnants of the past that carry a certain social value for the contemporaries which is, then, maintained and transmitted to the future.

In a way similar to that when the intellectual activity of the human memory, forgetting leaves “spaces” for storing new, “more important” and more relevant information, societies as well memorize that which they recognize as a continuation of one’s own identity, suppressing, on the other hand, that in which at the particular moment no expected social value is recognized. At the same time, once suppressed pieces of heritage may, through a passage of time, experience a renewed and sudden memorialisation, in the form of awakening a new interest for the suppressed pieces of the past, which are the processes almost regularly resurrected in the history of mankind and its perspectives on heritage. In fact, “forgetting is an inevitable form of cultural production, a vital process of making decisions by which we choose to emphasize and memorize those phenomena that have a social value whereas we tend to forget those which are not relevant” (Mayer-Schönberger, 2009: 60); therefore, forgetting by means of adaptive re-usage is one of the models integrated in maintaining heritage.

Being identitary-based, and as such—as we are reminded by the critical heritage studies—functioning as a *political act* itself, heritage is always a platform of potential misunderstanding, divided social values and conflict, which may often result in destruction.

The issue closely related to the patterns of memorizing / forgetting heritage is the issue of its complete destruction, but also the potential to memorize the so-called “absent heritage” by means of words, and a series of problems related to heritage that has not been functioning for a long time as an exclusively modernist platform of celebrating national identity but is a platform for remembering catastrophes and destruction, which is a way of maintaining heritage found in the first activities by UNESCO aimed at memorizing the Holocaust after the Second World War.

Each destruction of heritage is an act that signifies that heritage is an activity, actively participating in the production of meaning when it is being deliberately or non-deliberately removed with a justification that the values it disseminates in a particular community are no longer “true” values, for which it is its very removal for the sake of the “threat” it may produce an authentic piece of evidence proving its continuous burdened presence: “Our landmarks—the Mostar Bridge, the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan, and the World Trade Center—have become the prized targets for terrorists because they are what defines the cultures, ideals, and achievements of the people who created them, who use them, who live with them” (Perry; Burnham, 2001: 3–4)

It is at exactly when searching for an active production of meaning even when heritage is no longer present that we may refer to the so-called “absent heritage” defined as “memorialisation of places and objects whose significance relates to their destruction or absence, a global cultural phenomenon in which the visual and aesthetic language of heritage conservation is applied to the conservation of voids or absent spaces to maintain an ‘absent presence’” (cf. Harrison, 2013: 170). The official projects protected by state legislation on “absent heritage” are now given special focus through the UNESCO reaction to the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas statues (Afghanistan, 2001), whereas the memorialisation of the remnants of heritage of earlier regimes could, in practice, be seen much earlier: the preservation of the remnants of the Berlin wall, for instance, and the so-called traces of De-Stalinization in the countries of the former Soviet Union as well as in many other examples.

Among the complex issues that arise from heritage, there is also the concept of “difficult heritage”, the heritage that is “in a relation with the material remnants of the regimes past”, as well as the more encompassing and broader concept of “dissonant heritage”, which includes “not only the heritage of oppressive political regimes, but also places related

to the experience and crime of massacre, atrocity and genocide, including prisons and concentration camps and the heritage of former colonial regimes” (Tunbridge; Ashworth, 1996, In: Harrison, 2013: 192).

It is becoming clear that heritage is always directly associated with human rights, especially in today’s era of migration crises. The questions of human rights have often been neglected not only in the segment of human rights as such, but also in the heritage studies as a discipline (*cf.* Kodrić, 2010: 48–51). As globalisation has been stretched to its utmost potential and as the passage of time is ever faster, while the minorities are clashing with the majorities, and the local with the global—all of these factors are raising complex questions on the right to one’s own material and intangible heritage, one’s own “distinctive” value, even when by means of “distinctiveness”, as it often happens, one justifies the right to violate another’s human rights—the right to live and the right to freedom. Although these questions have been neglected so far as such, they will in the future more decisively determine both theory and practice of heritage studies.

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## **Contextual and Individual Factors Determining the Belief in Conspiracy Theories in Bulgaria**



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### **Abstract**

Belief in conspiracy theories had not been studied previously in Bulgaria. We consider the topic rather interesting because of the cultural specificities and the great level of perceived uncertainty in Bulgaria. The context of experienced lack of perspectives and faith in justice for decades explain why Bulgarians turn out to be among the least happy nations in Europe and worldwide. Furthermore, results reveal that another specific feature is the diffused psychosocial identity among adults, not only among young people. These outlined trends have been replicated during the last decades. For this reason we consider research of the conspiracy perceptions will reveal another point of interest. Our intention is to make a pilot study with original scale in view to get initial idea about the general framework of the shared attitudes and eventually, differentiate some age and individual differences, validate the scale and outline points of future research. The scale is designated to measure the common perceptions towards eternal questions and conspiracy believes in world and national perspective. Results discussed replicate the position that sharing one conspiracy belief promotes such orientation in general, however this depends except for the individual situation, on the subjective feeling about the situation and how dangerous it is for the respondents. This leads us to the question of measuring conspiracy beliefs in relation to coping and most of all, as serving as some form of proactive coping strategies.

Key words: conspiracy beliefs, conspiracist ideation, coping

### **Theoretical background**

Belief in conspiracy theories in general reveals the shared opinion that a large number of the significant events are result from secret/conspiracy plot, carried out by a group of people (Brotherton & French, 2014). Based on the few definitions, in our approach we consider conspiracy theories beliefs that attribute the ultimate cause for events or concealment of an event from public knowledge in a secret and malevolent manner. Nevertheless such beliefs are widely spread, there is a relatively little research on the topic (Swami et al., 2010). This is not a new trend, typical for the contemporary world and society. It dates centuries ago,

however the research interest today is increased due to the plenty particular events that concern nationals of all countries. This refers mainly to the unpredictable and unexplained waves in economy, migrant flows, political issues, defence, military actions. Some conclusions refer to the dark side of conspiracy beliefs. Conspiracy beliefs are assumption of conspiracy when other explanations are more probable and in some cases may lead to social and political disengagement (Brotherton et al., 2013). According to some suggestions, conspiracy belief has a negative effect on the political and pro-environmental intentions (Jolley & Douglas, 2014). Some authors have developed successfully a single-item scale, measuring the general attitudes of people in respect to conspiracy theories. It refers to the extent people think authorities frequently hide the truth about some events (Lantian et al., 2016).

During the recent years the research interest has raised and maybe one of the explanations is in the concept itself – it is not only complicated and predicted by a number of individual, situational and macro-factors, but covers a rather wide range of issues. All these environmental macro-factors shape the general context of daily existences. Study of the attitudes and beliefs of people is indicative about the well-being, levels of stress and coping mechanisms, implemented by people. Measure of the conspiracy belief can be beneficial for predicting social trends in regional, national and global context and underlie interventions and preventive measures.

What is important for our approach is the two-level differentiation – between beliefs in particular events and beliefs that form a higher-order belief system. Hence, we are challenged by the concept of conspiracy ideation perceived as a manifestation of an underlying conspiracy mentality or conspiratorial mindset (suggested by Dagnall et al., 2015). This mindset in particular can have a strong predictive power. This point of analysis is interesting as it can give some insight about the relations of the general attitudes and values and the daily decision-making. Furthermore, as discussed in literature, predictions can benefit from the conclusion that if a person endorses a specific conspiracy theory, it is illustrative/indicative that she will endorse others as well and the possible implications in forecasting and managing human resources and influencing versatile campaigns. In terms of cognitive psychology taking conspiracy theories for granted is treated as a way of coping with cognitive dissonance. Discrepancies or ambiguity also play role for conspiracy ideation.

Recent data reveal that all over the world people share common attitudes and beliefs concerning the unknown questions, dominating their daily life as the output of the general macro framework depending on their perceptions. The dynamics of the events, political and

financial issues remain out of the explanatory models of average person. This logically leads to sharing some global conclusions and formation of attitudes. For instance, 25% of the Americans agree to the statement that “The current financial crisis was secretly orchestrated by a small number of Wall Street bankers to extend the power of the Federal Reserve and further their control of the world’s economy” (Oliver & Wood, 2014, p. 956). Results for Europe and in particular France also support that 20% of the respondents share the opinion that international economy is driven and controlled by the illuminati (Longuet, 2014). Nationals of other European states also believe that economy and finance are monopolized by a few people – 51% in France, 42% in Hungary and 63% in Slovakia (Gombin, 2013; Gyárfášová et al., 2013).

The early research relates conspiracy beliefs to feeling of powerlessness and disadvantage, especially in terms of crisis, lack of information or erroneous and unreliable information. Thus they ensure a convenient alternative to living with uncertainty (Swami et al., 2011). Like other concepts, first negative trends had been outlined, eg. Ideation in relation to inability to attain specific goals, coping with persecution, reasserting individualism or expressing negative feelings.

Later another point of view had been proposed – conspiracy theories and beliefs as an attempt the uncertain and complex phenomena, out of personal control to be understood. In conclusion, the suggestion is that conspiracist ideation may initially begin as an individual process of coping with threatening or uncertain situation, events and information. This is stronger for individuals who are politically cynical, of lower self-esteem, less agreeable (Swami et al., 2011). Empirical data reveal that beliefs in conspiracy theories are linked to some personal dispositions, eg. lower agreeableness, lower interpersonal trust and higher openness to experience (Swami et al., 2010, 2011, 2013).

Only a small body of work describes individual differences – gender, age, ethnicity, religion, education, marital status, income, religiosity, political orientation (Swami et al., 2010). There are some indications that women are more likely to endorse conspiracist ideation than men. Among personal traits and dispositions studies reveal that conspiracist ideation is related to greater anomie, distrust in autonomy, political cynicism, powerlessness, and lower self-esteem and higher authoritarian tendency (see Swami et al., 2011). Current research is related to more particular and recent events or more general, eg. London bombing in 2005, Red Bull Cola in Germany, HIV/AIDS as a form of genocide. Researchers measure either belief in conspiracy theories concerning specific events or a wider range of well-known conspiracy theories or the generalized conspiratorial mindset.



Explanation given in the small body of research is that conspiracy beliefs are related to feeling of powerless or disadvantage position, particularly in terms of crisis or lack of information or when the information is not reliable (Swami et al., 2011). One of the more important conclusions is that people who support one conspiracy belief are more inclined to support and share others as well (Swami et al., 2011). We suggest that conspiracy beliefs can be twofold in positive and negative aspect. The positive aspect is they to be related to coping strategies and especially proactive coping. This is a point of future interest.

### **Design of the study**

Nevertheless a number of constructs in psychology are proven to be successfully measured with single-item scales (self-esteem, narcissism (Lantian et al., 2016), we have designed a scale of 20 items. Our reasons were several. First of all, in Bulgaria there are no current data concerning beliefs in conspiracy theories. Secondly, we were challenged by the idea to measure the correlation between general and particular attitudes. Thirdly, we were led by the task in this pilot study to get initial picture, describing the more common disposition – sharing beliefs that are reaction to supreme, life, fate and destiny explanatory factors or sharing attitudes restricted to the human control of authorities, army and financial monopoly. Design of the items pool followed this direction, linking the fears as drivers of different search of supernatural and political causes. The initial pool comprised 50 items, which were reduced by three experts. The final version of the items (in Bulgarian) was administered to 5 randomly selected volunteers, who were asked to share their opinion about the formulation – had they experienced some concerns when they reply. The scale comprises 20 items and 5-point Likert scale with answers from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

The scale was piloted in February-April 2017 online in view the anonymity of the respondents to be guaranteed. The link was sent randomly to 1000 volunteers. Returned were 250 forms, out of which valid and analyzed were 72. The sample comprises 14% men and 86% women, 67% teachers and 33% other occupation. Below 45 years are 43% and above 45 years 57%. 36% of the respondents assess their incomes as lower compared to the other residents and 64% as equal or higher. 71% of the respondents live in the capital.

Except for the main objective to validate a scale our expectations were answers to exclude extreme positions of accepting or declining conspiracy beliefs and make an initial differentiation between the general and more politically and financially focused domains. The reason for the first suggestion is the general portrait of Bulgarians describing them as a specific culture ranging in the middle of individualism-collectivism scale and in line with

previous results, indicating the main motivational drive of making individual decisions because of the perceived lack of social and government support. The second suggestion is based on our idea interpretation to be extended to the broader framework of coping – sharing beliefs as reaction to the perceived trait in view internal fears to be suppressed.

## Results

### *Scale reliability*

The mean Cronbach's alpha for the scale is 0.852, range for the items is 0.838-0.862. Item loads are outlined in Table 1. All items are grouped according to the initial design – loading into factor of more general beliefs and a factor, describing items focused directly to the perceived environment and secret government and organizations' plot (explaining 43% and 22% of the variance, respectively). These results confirm the internal consistency and reliability of the scale. In future research the scale can be used in this full version or for measurement of general and particular attitude. It can also be modified in a shorter form.

Table 1. Items loads – Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations

	Component	
	1	2
life exists on other planets as well		0,442
the transmigration and past lives are true		0,704
during trance the soul leaves the body		0,759
the soul can leave the body, have a journey and be back		0,790
magic is real		0,676
black cats bring bad luck		0,301
the number 13 and broken mirror bring bad luck		0,374
Yeti and the Loch Ness monster exist		0,295
there are places of strong energy like Tzarichina		0,572
astrology can predict the future		0,758
AIDS is produced in government laboratories	0,552	
authorities conceal the visits of UFO	0,516	
there are a lot of things throughout the world, about no one is aware	0,489	
intelligence services control everyone	0,664	

there are no occasional events, everything is a preliminary defined plot	0,570	
there are secret societies that rule the world	0,827	
all money are concentrated in the hands of few people	0,770	
the information and news are manipulated in view to guarantee obedience	0,695	
mind control techniques are implemented in a secret manner	0,512	
modern technologies are life threatening but this is concealed	0,681	

In the next paragraph are outlined the attitudes and beliefs concerning the different domains. Correlations and significant differences are discussed.

### Correlations

The idea that money are concentrated in the hands of few people is positively related to the shared concept that information and news are distorted (0.622; 0.000), belief in secret mind control (0.294; 0.012) and the danger of modern technologies (0.359; 0.002). Belief in preliminary defined plot correlates positively with belief in secret societies (0,519; 0.000), concentration of money (0,358; 0.002), manipulation of information (0,322; 0.006) and threatening technologies (0,486; 0.000). Belief in intelligence services does not correlate with the other beliefs. There is a strong relation between beliefs in black cats, number 13 and broken mirror as predictors of bad luck (0,561; 0.000). The belief that life exists on other planets is positively related to transmigration and past lives (0,378; 0.001) and the idea that soul can leave the body and be back (0,247; 0.037), magic (0,299; 0.022), powerful places (0,295; 0.012), astrological forecasts (0,362; 0.002), concealing UFO related facts (0,348; 0.003), concealed facts (0,360; 0.002), manipulation and concealing facts and information for the purpose of subordination (0,270; 0.022). Transmigration and past lives have positive correlations with beliefs that soul can have own journey (0,636; 0.000), that magic is real (0,371; 0.001), that there are real places of powerful energy (0,375; 0.001), astrology (0,502; 0.000), AIDS plot (0,291; 0.013), UFO visits (0,381; 0.001) and modern technologies (0,491; 0.000). There is a strong relation between beliefs in black cats, number 13 and broken mirror as predictors of bad luck (0,561; 0.000). Sharing the opinion that number 13 and broken mirror bring bad luck are positively linked to beliefs in Yeti and Loch Ness monster (0,481; 0.000), astrological forecasts (0,247; 0.036) and AIDS plot (0,281; 0.017). Shared perception about energizing places correlates with astrology (0,474; 0.000), AIDS plot (0,318; 0.006),

UFO (0,426; 0.000), concealed facts and events (0,459; 0.000) and the idea that there are no occasional events (0,487; 0.000), the role of the secret societies (0,475; 0.000), money concentration (0,476; 0.000) and manipulation of information (0,369; 0.001). Belief in the predictive power of astrology correlates positively with AIDS plot (0,395; 0.001), concealed information about UFO (0,362; 0.002), that all what happens is a plot (0,305; 0.009). Here we have the only negative correlation – with deliberate mind control (-0,267; 0.023).

The AIDS plot is positively related to beliefs in UFO (0,542; 0.000), conceal of facts about which no one is aware (0,332; 0.004), intelligence services (0,268; 0.023), secret societies (0,486; 0.000), concentration of money (0,323; 0.006), misleading information and news (0,463; 0.000) and harmfulness of the modern technologies (0,317; 0.007). Opinion that information about UFO is concealed is positively related to concealing information in general (0,419; 0.000), the role of intelligence services (0,263; 0.026), the belief that everything is just a plot (0,287; 0.014), that secret societies control everything (0,396; 0.001), concentration of money and wealth (0,311; 0.008), manipulation of information (0,404; 0.000) and modern technologies (0,281; 0.017). Conspiracy belief that information is purposefully concealed correlates positively with the ideation that everything follows a preliminary plot (0,401; 0.000), control of secret societies (0,382; 0.001), concentration of money (0,293; 0.013) and information distortion (0,328; 0.005).

All correlations confirm the suggested by other researchers fact that if one conspiracy belief or ideation is shared, this increases the predisposition to sharing others as well, depending on the situational and personal related factors.

Fig. 1 illustrates the lowest to strongest conspiracy beliefs. General statistics of the items is outlined in table

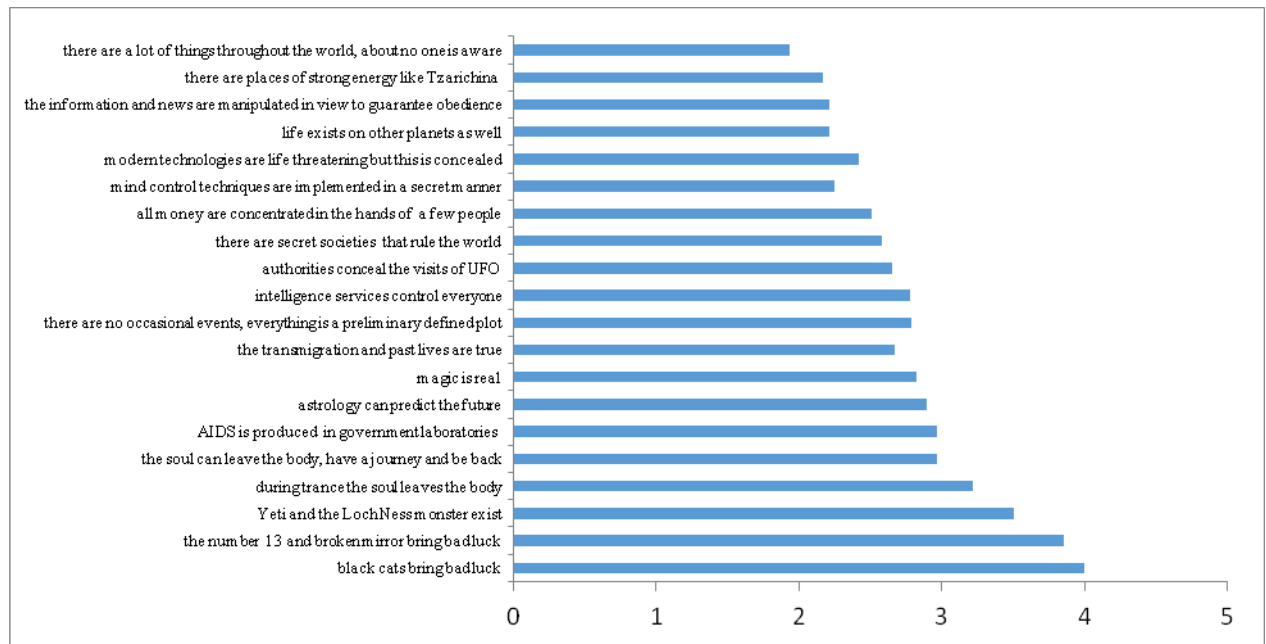


Figure 1. Mean values of the conspiracy beliefs in items

Table 2. General statistics

Items	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Deviation
black cats bring bad luck	2,00	5,00	4,00	,90
the number 13 and broken mirror bring bad luck	1,00	5,00	3,85	,94
Yeti and the Loch Ness monster exist	1,00	5,00	3,50	1,01
during trance the soul leaves the body	1,00	5,00	3,22	,97
the soul can leave the body, have a journey and be back	1,00	5,00	2,97	1,10
AIDS is produced in government laboratories	1,00	5,00	2,97	1,10
astrology can predict the future	1,00	5,00	2,89	1,19
magic is real	1,00	5,00	2,82	1,08
the transmigration and past lives are true	1,00	5,00	2,67	1,11
there are no occasional events, everything is a preliminary defined plot	1,00	5,00	2,79	1,02
intelligence services control everyone	1,00	5,00	2,78	,98
authorities conceal the visits of UFO	1,00	5,00	2,65	,95
there are secret societies that rule the world	1,00	5,00	2,58	1,03
all money are concentrated in the hands of few people	1,00	5,00	2,51	,99
mind control techniques are implemented in a secret manner	1,00	5,00	2,25	1,15
modern technologies are life threatening but this is concealed	1,00	5,00	2,42	1,29
life exists on other planets as well	1,00	5,00	2,21	,90
the information and news are manipulated in view to guarantee obedience	1,00	5,00	2,21	1,03
there are places of strong energy like Tzarichina	1,00	5,00	2,17	,98
there are a lot of things throughout the world, about no one is aware	1,00	5,00	1,93	,95

The most commonly shared attitudes turn out to be the beliefs that reveal common perceptions, and rituals, that may be make people feel more secure when they avoid them, e.g. the “bad luck” or which give them explanation about eventual failures (external control). The black cats, the number 13 and the broken mirror rank first. The Loch Ness monster and Yeti, for which there are a lot, nevertheless not finally evidenced theories, also are above the scale cut-off. Average score has the belief about the AIDS and the ideation that during dreamtime the soul can leave the body. This can also be interpreted in a broader universal framework of searching for answers to the existential questions and which challenge interest as neutral and common topic. Astrology, transmigration and past lives are also existential and core interest, however beliefs are not so expressed. Below, but still close to the midpoint are information and attitudes, related to techniques for mass control of minds and behaviour – that everything is nothing but a plot, that authorities conceal the UFO and that there are secret societies that rule the world and money are concentrated in the hands of few people and that technologies are harmful for life and health. Lowest are the shared beliefs about life on other planets, intentional misleading and manipulation of information and news and concealing facts. Interesting is the attitude towards places of great power and energy as Tzarichina – a place popular in Bulgaria, focus of a number of comments and evidences. The perception of black cats is the only item, for which the minimum value of the scale starts from 2 but not from 1.

In general, according to our expectation, there is not wide spread shared belief in uncertain ideas, except for some traditional, transmitted from one generation to the other. This confirms on the one hand the commonly shared beliefs and attitudes and on the other hand reveals to some extent mistrust and strive after personal explanation, which dominates taking conspiracy theories for granted and their maintenance. There are significant differences among the items (table 3).

Table 3. Differences in mean scores - One-Sample t-Test

	Test Value = 0				
	t	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
				Lower	Upper
life exists on other planets as well	20,755	,000	2,20833	1,9962	2,4205
the transmigration and past lives are true	20,325	,000	2,66667	2,4051	2,9283
during trance the soul leaves the body	28,263	,000	3,22222	2,9949	3,4495
the soul can leave the body, have a journey and be back	22,923	,000	2,97222	2,7137	3,2308
magic is real	22,173	,000	2,81944	2,5659	3,0730
black cats bring bad luck	37,553	,000	4,00000	3,7876	4,2124
the number 13 and broken mirror bring bad luck	34,568	,000	3,84722	3,6253	4,0691
Yeti and the Loch Ness monster exist	29,492	,000	3,50000	3,2634	3,7366
there are places of strong energy like Tzarichina	18,786	,000	2,16667	1,9367	2,3966
astrology can predict the future	20,541	,000	2,88889	2,6085	3,1693
AIDS is produced in government laboratories	22,923	,000	2,97222	2,7137	3,2308
authorities conceal the visits of UFO	23,650	,000	2,65278	2,4291	2,8764
there are a lot of things throughout the world, about no one is aware	16,422	,000	1,93056	1,6961	2,1650
intelligence services control everyone	24,006	,000	2,77778	2,5471	3,0085
there are no occasional events, everything is a preliminary defined plot	23,223	,000	2,79167	2,5520	3,0314
there are secret societies that rule the world	21,257	,000	2,58333	2,3410	2,8257
all money are concentrated in the hands of few people	21,485	,000	2,51389	2,2806	2,7472
the information and news are manipulated in view to guarantee obedience	18,126	,000	2,20833	1,9654	2,4513
mind control techniques are implemented in a secret manner	16,637	,000	2,25000	1,9803	2,5197
modern technologies are life threatening but this is concealed	15,940	,000	2,41667	2,1144	2,7190

The above results reveal statistically significant differences in the mean scores for the individual items, which reflect the different extent of sharing conspiracy beliefs and conspiracist ideation.

Paired sample statistics reveals that: The general idea that there are a lot of things that are concealed is weaker than the beliefs in intelligence services control ( $t = 5.79$ ;  $0.000$ ), obedience to a general plot ( $t=6.616$ ;  $0.000$ ), control of secret societies ( $t=4.91$ ;  $0.000$ ), money concentration ( $t=4.18$ ;  $0.000$ ), manipulation of information ( $t=2.00$ ;  $0.049$ ) and concealing facts about modern technologies ( $t=2.68$ ;  $0.009$ ). Shared opinion that UFO related information is concealed is stronger compared to general concealing information ( $t=5.83$ ;  $0.000$ ), manipulation of news ( $t=5.47$ ;  $0.001$ ) and mind control ( $t=2.48$ ;  $0.016$ ). Conspiracy related to AIDS production is stronger compared to UFO ( $t=2.74$ ;  $0.008$ ), concealing general facts ( $t=7.27$ ;  $0.000$ ), domination of secret societies ( $t=3.05$ ;  $0.003$ ), money concentration ( $t=3.19$ ;  $0.002$ ), obedience through manipulation of information ( $t=5.86$ ;  $0.000$ ), mind control ( $t=4.33$ ;  $0.000$ ) and the threat of modern technologies ( $t=3.36$ ;  $0.001$ ). Astrology is wider shared belief compared to conceal of facts ( $t=5.77$ ;  $0.000$ ), money concentration ( $t=2.10$ ;  $0.039$ ), mind control ( $t=2.91$ ;  $0.005$ ) and modern technologies ( $t=2.52$ ;  $0.014$ ). Belief in transmigration and past lives is weaker compared to the idea that soul can leave the body during trance ( $t = -4.56$ ;  $0.000$ ) and have a journey ( $t = -2.75$ ;  $0.008$ ), black cats as predictor of bad luck ( $t = -7.94$ ;  $0.000$ ) and Yeti and Loch Ness monster ( $t = -0.88$ ;  $0.000$ ). However, these beliefs are stronger compared to energy places ( $t = 8.611$ ;  $0.001$ ), concealed world events ( $t = 4.58$ ;  $0.000$ ) and manipulation of information ( $t = 2.88$ ;  $0.005$ ). Beliefs that during trance the soul can leave the body is weaker only compared to shared perceptions about black cats ( $t = -5.07$ ;  $0.000$ ), number 13 and broken mirror ( $t=-4.54$ ;  $0.000$ ). These beliefs however are significantly stronger compared to magic ( $t=3.08$ ;  $0.003$ ), energy places ( $t=8.79$ ;  $0.000$ ), astrology ( $t=2.46$ ;  $0.016$ ), UFO ( $t=4.30$ ;  $0.000$ ), concealed facts and events ( $t=8.62$ ;  $0.000$ ), intelligence services ( $t=2.75$ ;  $0.008$ ), world plot ( $t=3.09$ ;  $0.003$ ), secret societies ( $t=4.34$ ;  $0.000$ ), concentration of money ( $t=4.90$ ;  $0.000$ ), obedience through information manipulation ( $t=6.82$ ;  $0.000$ ), mind control ( $t=5.10$ ;  $0.000$ ) and modern technologies ( $t=4.19$ ;  $0.000$ ). Identical are the results about the journey of the soul.

The belief that life exists on other planets is more popular only compared to conceal of world information ( $t=2.16$ ;  $0.032$ ). This shared belief is weaker compared to money concentration ( $t = -2.13$ ;  $0.037$ ), secret societies ( $t= -2.42$ ;  $0.018$ ), no trust in occasional events ( $t = -3.92$ ;  $0.000$ ), intelligence services ( $t = -3.96$ ;  $0.000$ ), UFO facts ( $t = -3.56$ ;  $0.001$ ), AIDS theory ( $t = -5.06$ ;  $0.000$ ), astrology forecasting ( $t = -4.78$ ;  $0.000$ ), black cats ( $t = -11.51$ ;



0.000), number 13 ( $t = -10.85$ ; 0.000), Yeti and Loch Ness monster ( $t = -8.47$ ; 0.000), transmigration ( $t = -3.42$ ; 0.001), soul leaving the body during trance ( $t = -7.29$ ; 0.000) and for journey ( $t = -5.23$ ; 0.000) and magic ( $t = -4.39$ ; 0.000). Number 13 and broken mirror are threatening experiences to greater extent compared to beliefs in Yeti and Loch Ness monster ( $t=2.96$ ; 0.001), powerful places ( $t=10.72$ ; 0.000), astrology ( $t=9.13$ ; 0.000), AIDS plot ( $t = 6.023$ ; 0.000), UFO ( $t=8.096$ ; 0.000), concealing a lot of things ( $t=12.13$ ; 0.000), intelligence services ( $t=7.08$ ; 0.000), world plot ( $t=6.57$ ; 0.000), secret societies ( $t=8.25$ ; 0.000), concentrated money ( $t=8.63$ ; 0.000), information and news manipulation ( $t=9.62$ ; 0.000), mind control ( $t=9.28$ ; 0.000) and modern technologies ( $t=7.80$ ; 0.000). The belief in bad luck caused by black cats is stronger compared to Yeti and Loch Ness monster ( $t=3.61$ ; 0.001), powerful places ( $t = 11.87$ ; 0.000), astrology and its predictions ( $t = 7.10$ ; 0.000), AIDS ( $t=6.50$ ; 0.000), UFO ( $t=9.09$ ; 0.000), concealed facts ( $t=12.48$ ; 0.000), intelligence services ( $t=7.90$ ; 0.000), the world plot ( $t=7.35$ ; 0.000), secret societies ( $t=9.04$ ; 0.000), concentration of money ( $t=9.18$ ; 0.000), manipulation of information ( $t=9.83$ ; 0.000), mind control ( $t=9.67$ ; 0.000) and modern technologies ( $t=9.02$ ; 0.000). The common shared attitude that magic exists is weaker compared to beliefs in the bad luck brought by black cats ( $t= -9.07$ ; 0.000), number 13 and the broken mirror ( $t = -7.66$ ; 0.000) and Yeti and Loch Ness monster ( $t=-4.12$ ; 0.000). It is stronger than belief in energy places ( $t=5.08$ ; 0.000), world events that are concealed ( $t=5.47$ ; 0.000), manipulation of information and news ( $t = 3.79$ ; 0.000), secret mind control ( $t=2.75$ ; 0.008) and life threat of technologies ( $t=2.31$ ; 0.024). Belief in Yeti and Loch Ness monster are wider shared compared to belief in power of places ( $t=8.42$ ; 0.000), astrology ( $t=3.76$ ; 0.000), AIDS conspiracy ( $t=5.70$ ; 0.000), concealing a large body of facts concerning UFO ( $t=5.69$ ; .000), concealing world facts ( $t=10.09$ ; 0.000), intelligence services ( $t=4.56$ ; 0.000), preliminary defined plot ( $t=4.50$ ; 0.000), secret societies ( $t=5.95$ ; 0.000), money concentration ( $t=6.63$ ; 0.000), information and news manipulation ( $t=7.78$ ; 0.000), mind control techniques ( $t=7.36$ ; 0.000) and modern technologies risks ( $t=5.69$ ; 0.000). Belief that there are special places full of energy is much weaker compared to beliefs in secret societies ( $t=-3.42$ ; 0.001), money concentration ( $t=-2.92$ ; 0.005), preliminary defined plot ( $t=-5.24$ ; 0.000), intelligence services ( $t=-3.97$ ; 0.000), UFO ( $t=-3.99$ ; 0.000), AIDS ( $t=-5.63$ ; 0.000) and astrological predictions ( $t=-5.43$ ; 0.000).

Belief in secret societies is greater compared to intentional mind control and manipulation of information and news ( $t=2.14$ ; 0.036 and  $t=3.19$ ; 0.002). Shared belief that there are no occasional situations is stronger compared to concentration of money ( $t=2.07$ ; 0.043), information manipulation for the purpose of obedience ( $t=4.14$ ; 0.000),

implementation of mind control techniques ( $t=2.95$ ; 0.004) and life threatening technologies ( $t=2.67$ ; 0.009). Belief in transmigration and past lives is weaker compared to the idea that soul can leave the body during trance ( $t=-4.56$ ; 0.000) and have a journey ( $t=-2.75$ ; 0.008), black cats as predictor of bad luck ( $t=-7.94$ ; 0.000) and Yeti and Loch Ness monster ( $t=-0.88$ ; 0.000). However, these beliefs are stronger compared to energy places ( $t=8.611$ ; 0.001), concealed world events ( $t=4.58$ ; 0.000) and manipulation of information ( $t=2.88$ ; 0.005). Beliefs that during trance the soul can leave the body is weaker only compared to shared perceptions about black cats ( $t=-5.07$ ; 0.000), number 13 and broken mirror ( $t=-4.54$ ; 0.000). These beliefs however are significantly stronger compared to magic ( $t=3.08$ ; 0.003), energy places ( $t=8.79$ ; 0.000), astrology ( $t=2.46$ ; 0.016), UFO ( $t=4.30$ ; 0.000), concealed facts and events ( $t=8.62$ ; 0.000), intelligence services ( $t=2.75$ ; 0.008), world plot ( $t=3.09$ ; 0.003), secret societies ( $t=4.34$ ; 0.000), concentration of money ( $t=4.90$ ; 0.000), obedience through information manipulation ( $t=6.82$ ; 0.000), mind control ( $t=5.10$ ; 0.000) and modern technologies ( $t=4.19$ ; 0.000). Similar are the results about the journey of the soul.

The common shared attitude that magic exists is weaker compared to beliefs in the bad luck brought by black cats ( $t=-9.07$ ; 0.000), number 13 and the broken mirror ( $t=-7.66$ ; 0.000) and Yeti and Loch Ness monster ( $t=-4.12$ ; 0.000). It is stronger than belief in energy places ( $t=5.08$ ; 0.000), world events that are concealed ( $t=5.47$ ; 0.000), manipulation of information and news ( $t=3.79$ ; 0.000), secret mind control ( $t=2.75$ ; 0.008) and life threat of technologies ( $t=2.31$ ; 0.024).

Belief in mind control techniques and sharing the idea that technologies are harmful have positive correlation (0.491; 0.000). Belief in manipulation of information correlates with the vision that modern technologies are a risk (0.241; 0.041). The shared belief in secret societies correlated with belief in concentration of money (0.707; 0.000), information manipulation (0.532; 0.000), mind control (0.268; 0.023) and life threatening technologies (0.472; 0.000). Belief that everything is a plot is stronger than belief that intelligence services control everyone, however idea of intelligence services is stronger compared to beliefs in secret societies, money concentration ( $t=2.11$ ; 0.038), manipulation of information ( $t=4.21$ ; 0.000), mind control ( $t=3.42$ ; 0.001) and modern technologies ( $t=2.52$ ; 0.014).

### *Individual differences*

There is a slight trend men to share the view of secret organizations controlling the global affairs, that money are concentrated in the hands of few people and that modern

technologies are risk for health (means 3,20 vs. 2,48,  $t=2,085$ ; 3,10 vs. 2,42,  $t = 2,057$  and 3,20 vs. 2,29,  $t = 2,126$ ;  $<0.005$  respectively).

Differences in age groups are significant only in respect to sharing the belief that life exists elsewhere in universe ( $F=4,207$ ; 0.009) and that black cats bring bad luck ( $F=3,762$ ; 0.015). These beliefs are more common for the group below 45 years of age ( $t= 3,71$ ; 0.007 and  $t=4,25$ ; 0.000).

Occupation and subjective assessment of the incomes have no effect on sharing conspiracy beliefs. Concerning place of living there is difference only in respect to the belief that everything follows a secret plan and there are no occasional events, whereas the residents of the capital are more conspicuous ( $F=3,960$ ; .024;  $t=2,45$ ; 0.026).

## **Discussion**

The results confirm the internal consistency and reliability of the 20-item scale, measuring two levels of conspiracy beliefs and ideation. It can be administered in this or shorter form, as well as for studies of general and particular attitudes.

The results are consistent to our initial expectations. There are no extreme results. Most commonly spread are attitudes related to beliefs handed from one generation to the next. Fear leading to search for supernatural explanations is stronger compared to the more rational explanations, related to human power. Confirmed is the statement that taking one conspiracy theory explanation promotes the general attitude and disposition similar behaviour to be demonstrated to other beliefs.

Limitations of the study are mainly in respect to the sample size.

Future research is scheduled to study the role of conspiracy beliefs as a specific coping that protect people. This can clarify to some extent the differentiations of the general concept in support of our position. We consider conspiracy beliefs a multidimensional concept, predicted by the complicated mutually related effects of individual and contextual factors, which leads to the suggestion conspiracy attitudes and the level of beliefs can be considered situational dependant on internal and external factors. Further research in this line can differentiate the dynamic and static components of the concept.

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# How Women Make Choices: Personal Characteristics in Relation to Masculine/Feminine or Dominant/Submissive Men Face Preference



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## **Abstract**

What women prefer while making a decision about attractive male faces? The main focus of this research is, how stable personality characteristics of women shape the process of male's face attractiveness evaluation. Generally, personality traits and affections can after time be reflected in specific traits of one's face. In addition, symmetrical faces receive high ratings of positive personality attributes, health, and attractiveness by observers. It is hypothesised, that women evaluate the attractiveness of men by estimating the men's personal characteristics, which are perceived and evaluated from their face, therefore based on the image of physical beauty. The aim of this study is to examine the possible connection between female's personality traits and the preference of a male's face image based on assumed personality trait of the male. The research sample consists of 1253 women ( $M=24.13y$ ;  $SD=10.537$ ). Their task was to choose the more attractive face from two possibilities; the composite images of faces are presented as 1. Masculine/feminine male face and 2. Dominant/submissive male face. Eysenck's Impulsivity Inventory (Eysenck, Eysenck, 1978, trans. slov. Senka, Kováč, Matejík, 1992) was used to assess the personality traits: impulsiveness, venturesomeness, and empathy. Personality Inventory KUD (Miglierini, Vonkomer, 1986) was used to assess dominance/submissiveness, rationality/sensuality, and extraversion/introversion. The results suggest that personality traits of women play a role in the face attractiveness evaluation according to the presumed personality trait of the evaluated male face. Specifically, empathy has proven to be important in the evaluation of both composite faces images. Other important traits in the evaluation were sensuality, extraversion, and introversion. The most preferred image is the dominant face and slightly more preferred is the choice of a feminine male face.

Keywords: personality traits, face attractiveness, female choice

## **Introduction**

The importance of research of the attractiveness of the human face in relation to its personality characteristics can be a priori found in the social functioning of a person, the human face is an important stimulus in the field of social relationships, therefore its adequate assessment can be essential.

Preferences of facial attractiveness has the potential to determine an extent of social consequences, from choosing a partner, through the selection of friends, to hiring decisions. In addition, the appearance of the face and its underlying evaluations influence decisions of the criminal court (Eberhardt, Davies, Purdie-Vaughns, & Johnson, 2006). The face also plays an important role in mate choice. In this sense, certain facial features may be an indicator of good health, fertility, or dominance (Little, Jones, & DeBruine, 2011; Thornhill & Gangestad, 1999). As reported by Keating (1994, s. 180): “Without any movement at all, human faces can relay information that transcends culture”.

The belief that personality traits can be read from the face of another person has lasted for centuries. The question of what dispositional features can be correctly identified from the information obtained from a face really deserves attention. We create first impressions of a personality from the face after several milliseconds (Willis & Todorov, 2006). It is not surprising, as the human face is very accessible to our perception. Why, however, should the mechanism for rapid assessment of personality traits elicited by a face exist, if it does not provide relevant information? This question finds in the evolutionary psychology an answer that assumes that the evaluations of emotionally neutral faces arises from the facial features because they have an evolutionary importance (Zebrowitz, 2004). As some studies show, we attribute personality traits about other people from the rapidly acquired information from the face (Little & Perrett, 2007; Rule, Ambady, & Hallett, 2009), this process has a adaptive function. It allows us to make predictions about the future behavior of other people (Berry & Finch Wero, 1993). Despite the fact that the first impressions about personality elicited from the face is arise after several milliseconds, these impressions strongly correlate with the assessment of the presumed personality traits created without a time limit (Willis & Todorov, 2006). Moreover, the existence of social hierarchies influence the form of social interaction among people, therefore one can expect that people will generally be sensitive to the perception of the cues to perceived social power and dominance (Gangestad et al., 1992).

On behalf of the adequacy of judgments about the personality based on the facial features stands the kernel of truth hypothesis that postulates that the face provides some well-founded information about the person's personality (Berry & Finch Wero, 1993; Masip & Garrido, 2001). It was found out, that personality traits as extraversion, conscientiousness (Borkenau & Liebler, 1993a, Penton-Voak, Pound, Little, & Perrett, 2006), emotional stability, dominance and agreeableness can be relatively reliably identified in the face of a person (Berry, 1990; Borkenau & Liebler, 1993b; Keating, 1985; Kenny, Albright, Malloy, & Kashy, 1994; Zebrowitz, 1997).

In addition, personality traits are one of the most important factors in selecting a partner for both sexes (Buss, 1989; Buss & Barnes, 1986). If the desired personality traits are related to the partner choice, it is likely that the presumed personality characteristics arising from the face of a potential partner may affect the attractiveness of that face. For this reason, we can assume that the presumed personality traits may influence the assessment of the attractiveness of the face in general.

The issue of attributed personality traits and their impact on the assessment of face attractiveness has several basic aspects: (1) People look for their ideal partner based on the attributed personality traits. Individuals who attribute importance to some particular personality traits consider faces that show these characteristics to be more attractive than those faces that do not show them (Little, Burt, Perrett, 2006b).

(2) Men and women prefer different personality traits in a partner. The personality of a potential partner is more important for women than for men, since men are more oriented to physical attractiveness than do women (Buss & Schmidt, 1993) and women have more concrete preferences about the personality characteristics of an ideal partner in comparison to men. They usually desire partners who are assertive, mature, and warm-hearted (Little, Burt & Perrett, 2006b). These differences between men and women are in compliance with evolutionary theories claiming that women have higher criteria for selecting a potential partner and men have lower criteria. The same process can be observed for some other animal species (Andersson, 1994).

(3) At the individual level, people may exhibit different preferences for an ideal partner, which originate from the premise that people prefer partners who have similar personality traits as they do. Assortative mating occurs in many areas, from socio-economic, educational, psychological to physical (Domingue, Fletcher, Conley & Boardman, 2014; Silventoinen et al., 2003). A good example of assortative mating on the level of personality traits is the similarity of couples in altruistic traits, namely in the ability to cooperate and generosity (Tognetti, Berticat, Raymond & Faurie, 2014).

In our research, we decided to focus on the preference for male faces that attribute the characteristics of dominance/submissiveness and masculinity/femininity.

In connection with dominance, Keating (1985, 1994) emphasized that mature faces, characterized by a distinctive jaw, huffy eyebrows and small eyes, create the presumption of a

dominant personality. Similar results have been manifested cross-culturally (in Thailand, Zambia, Kenya, Germany, Spain, the USA, Brazil and Colombia), facial characteristics can carry information about social submissiveness and dominance of a person. There is some accuracy in the presumption of the level of dominance of a person estimated from a face (Keating, 1985; McArthur & Berry, 1987).

The mechanism of the connection between the facial features and personality characteristics was primarily studied by Zebrowitz (1997; Zebrowitz & Montepare, 1992, 2008), who states that biological factors can affect personality traits and physical appearance of the face as well. In the case of dominance, it is connected to the effect of gonadal testosterone, which has an anabolic effect on the musculoskeletal system, including gain of body weight and muscle strength (Evans, 2004). Testosterone also influences the creation masculine features of the face and the degree of dominance of man (Fink, Neave & Seydel, 2007; Mazur & Booth, 1998). Similarly, mature facial features begin to manifest during puberty; chin bones enlargement, elevation of cheekbones, and narrowed cheeks are due to the endocrine level of an individual (Bellak & Baker, 1981). As a result, the mature face necessarily causes the adult impression, and at the same time it can elicit the impression of social competence, dominance and also sexuality (Keating, Mazur, & Segall, 1981).

Higher social status is associated with the level of dominance of a person, it has the potential to increase the value of a particular person in the process of mate choice (Buss, 1989, Mueller & Mazur 1996). Therefore, it could be reasoned that such characteristics could lead to an evaluation of the dominant person towards attractiveness, nonetheless, the preference of the dominant face does not show clear primacy.

The attractiveness of the face to which dominance is attributed is to a large extent questionable because different authors achieved conflicting results. Some authors have confirmed the attractiveness of the dominant male's face (Grammer & Thornhill, 1994) and vice versa, some studies have confirmed that faces evaluated as less dominant show attractiveness in comparison to the faces evaluated as dominant (Berry & McArthur, 1985; Cunningham, Barbee, & Pike, 1990; Perrett et al., 1998; Rhodes, Hickford, & Jeffrey, 2000).

A related type of face we are focused on in this research is the masculine/feminine face. Considerable masculine faces for men and feminine faces for women are usually perceived as attractive because they represent good genetic equipment (Little, Jones, & DeBruine, 2011). The offspring of masculine men and feminine women have a inheritance



advantage. Secondary sexual characteristics are associated with resistance against parasites, because testosterone, which affects their growth, reduces immunocompetence (Kanda, Tsuchida, & Tamaki, 1996). Considerable secondary sexual characteristics are therefore associated with a better immune system, because only healthy individuals can afford the high sex-hormone handicap of the immune system (Folstad & Karter, 1992). Men who are considered to possess a higher degree of masculinity on their face show higher health (Rhodes, et al., 2003; Thornhill & Gangestad, 2006). In this sense, the female preference of masculine male faces may represent an adaptive mechanism of motivation to find a partner with good genetic equipment.

A research (Keating, 1985) focused on the attractiveness of masculine/feminine male faces has found that masculine features lead to an assessment of higher attractiveness in comparison to the feminine features. On the other hand, Perrett et al (1998) found a clear preference for feminine male faces of Japanese and Caucasian photos. Both cultures preferred feminine male faces. Several studies confirmed the preference of masculine male faces (DeBruine et al., 2006) and several studies confirmed the preference for feminine male faces (Rhodes, Hickford, & Jeffrey, 2000; Little, et al., 2001).

Swaddle & Reiersen (2002) also tested the effect of testosterone on the social perception of the face of men. They examined the presence of the effect of testosterone on the attribution of dominance and attractiveness to a face. They prepared computer generated face variations that depict quantified variations in the amount of testosterone, respectively, they manipulated the features of male faces to reflect the change in the amount of testosterone during puberty. Through this procedure a continuum of faces was created from the lowest to the highest level of testosterone. The role of the participants was to determine which face from the continuum is the most attractive and the most dominant. In line with expectations, the faces with the highest testosterone levels are rated as dominant. On the other hand, the most attractive faces were those whose testosterone level was not adjusted (neither reduced, nor increased).

Based on the health of the owners of the masculine faces, it could be assumed that the benefits of creating a partnership with a considerably masculine man (the benefits with regard to potential offspring with such a man) could lead to a higher preference for masculine faces. However, the preference of masculine men is not so obvious. The potential cause may be traits that are associated with a higher degree of masculinity. For example, men with a

distinctly masculine faces, are interested in short-term relationships more than long-term relationships (Boothroyd, Jones, Burt, DeBruine, & Perrett, 2008), they show lower honesty and lower warmth as well (Perrett et al., 1998).

Cunningham, Barbee, & Pike (1990) emphasize that attractive male faces have the facial features of masculinity and femininity at the same time because they reflect women's desire for a dominant and cooperative partner. In this sense, socially valuable traits (honesty, warmth, and cooperativeness) are characteristics of a good parent and they are associated with facial features of femininity in the male face, on the other hand dominance is associated with masculine features. Women's preferences of the faces of men can represent a compromise between good genes and a desire for a cooperative partner. This compromise means that masculinity (as a physical representative of dominance) can be more or less attractive depending on the context (Little, Jones, & DeBruine, 2011a). An ideal partner is in this respect a man who is dominant and mature, which allows him to compete with other men and provide resources for his partner and their children. And he is also a man who is cooperative, loves and cares about his partner and their children (Cunningham, Barbee, & Pike, 1990).

Of course, individual differences are involved in this process, but surprisingly, very little research has addressed the question as to whether the personality characteristics of women may affect the preference of male faces. In our research we focus on the mutual interaction between physical attractiveness and desirable character in the terms considering all together: 1. personality traits of a woman making her choice, 2. physical attractiveness of a male face, 3. personality traits possessed by an evaluated man face. Thus, the research question is: *How women's personal characteristics influence the process of male face attractiveness evaluation of dominant/submissive and masculine/feminine man faces?*

## **Method**

Participation in the research was on a voluntary basis. All participants were informed about the research and the expectations from them during the research process. The participants filled out a battery of questionnaires and performance tasks among which they had to evaluate the attractiveness of a face according to his/her dominance/submissiveness and a face according to his/her masculinity/femininity. Preferences of male's face images are analysed. The connection between female's personality traits and assumed personality trait of a male's face image is explored.

Processed variables:

*Sex* - Participants were asked to choose from two categories of sex. This research analyses only women.

*Personality traits* - Eysenck's Impulsivity Inventory (Eysenck, Eysenck, 1978, trans. slov. Senka, Kováč, Matejík, 1992) was used to assess the personality traits: impulsiveness, venturesomeness, and empathy. Sample item: "Do you often long for excitement?" (Impulsiveness)

Personality Inventory KUD (Miglierini & Vonkomeer, 1986) was used for quick assessment of personality traits which could be presumably related to a face preference. These personality traits are included: dominance/submissiveness, rationality/sensuality, and extroversion/introversion. Each trait is represented by 8 items, with these possible answers: agree/disagree/neither. Sample items: "I'm calm even if I decide about something that I really care about", "Generally, I act upon a predetermined schedule".

*Dominant/submissive male face* - The stimulus was a version of a computer-generated face with a neutral facial expression (Oosterhof & Todorov, 2008) filtered by Robinson, Blais, Duncan, Forget, & Fiset (2014). The visibility of the visual information that influences the judgement toward higher dominance or lower dominance was either increased or decreased (Robinson et al., 2014) according to the requested effect on the base face (Oosterhof & Todorov, 2008). It is suggested that dominance and submissiveness judgments are driven by information in the eyebrows and jaw areas, thus visibility of the area of eyebrows was increased to induce the dominance effect (see fig. 1). Participants were asked to answer the question: "Which face do you like more?" The task was to choose from two possibilities: a male face with dominant traits or a male face with submissive traits.

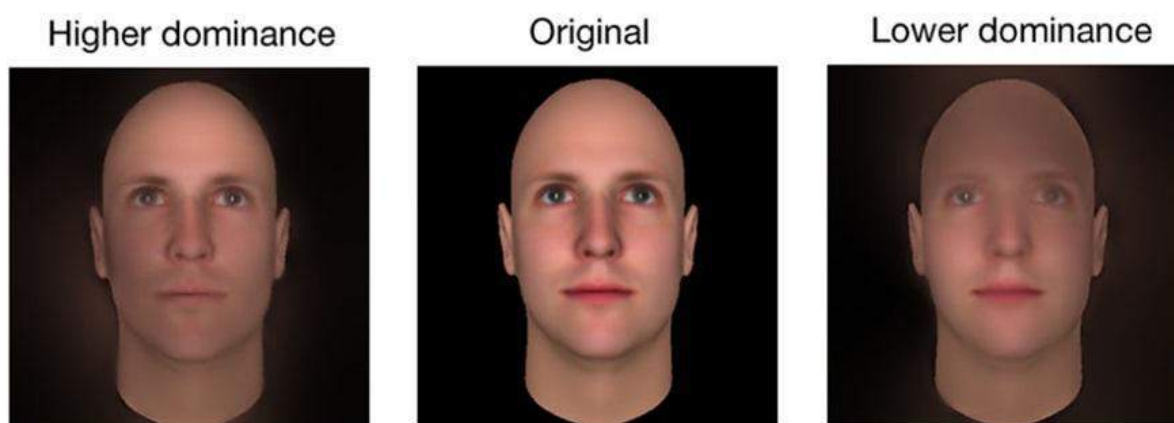


Figure 1. Dominant/submissive male face (Robinson, et al., 2014)

*Masculine/feminine men face* - The stimulus was a version of a computer-generated face with a neutral facial expression (Little, Jones, & DeBruine, 2011). Masculinity was transformed using the difference between male and female face shape as defined by creating a male and female composite face. Women, who evaluated the faces according to their attractiveness were blind to the fact that face represents two different levels of masculinity/femininity. Women were asked to answer the question: “Which face do you like more?” The task was to choose from two possibilities: a face with masculine traits or a face with feminine traits. Face composites are shown at the figure 2.



Figure 2. Masculine/feminine male face (Little, Jones, & DeBruine, 2011)

## Participants

Research sample consists of 1253 women. The mean age is 24.13 years ( $SD=10.537$ ). Any participant engaged in the research after oral consent.

## Results

It is expected, that women make their choices by estimation of man's personal characteristics, which are perceived and evaluated from their face, in this case based on the image of physical beauty. The questions is, how their own personal characteristics influence the process of attractiveness evaluation. Thus, the connection between female's personality traits and attractiveness choice of a male's face image based on the presumed personality trait was explored.

First, we analysed women's face preferences using one-sample chi-square to compare the number of trials on which women chose the more dominant face and the masculine face as

the more attractive with what would be expected by chance alone. Different results are provided by the comparison of dominant/submissive male face preference and masculine/feminine male face preference (tab. 1). The number of women who prefer dominant male face over submissive male face differs significantly ( $X^2=3202.257$ ;  $df=1$ ;  $Sig=0.000$ ). On the other hand, the preference of masculine male face is not as straightforward as in the case of dominant male face, the number of women who prefer masculine male face is even a bit smaller than the number of women who prefer feminine male face, but not significantly different ( $X^2=1.154$ ;  $df=1$ ;  $Sig=0.211$ ).

Table 1. One sample Chi-Square for the attractiveness of the images of faces

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual	Chi Square	Sig
Dominant male face preference	871	620.5	250.5	202.257	0.000
Submissive male face preference	370	620.5	-250.5		
Masculine male face preference	597	619.0	-22.0	1.154	0.211
Feminine male face preference	641	619.0	22.0		

Next, we analysed the possible differences in the personality characteristics of women according to their men face preference using Mann-Whitney U test. Between women who prefer dominant male face a women who prefer submissive male face were found several significant differences (tab. 2). Women with the dominant male face preference manifest higher scores of empathy ( $U=140084.00$ ;  $Sig=0.050$ ) and higher scores of extraversion ( $U=125315.00$ ;  $Sig=0.004$ ). In contrast, women with the preference of a submissive male face are significantly more sensual ( $U=127757.00$ ;  $Sig=0.036$ ) and more introvert ( $U=113560.50$ ;  $Sig=0.000$ ).

Table 2. Observed personality differences according to dominant/submissive male face preference

		Mean Rank	U	Z	Sig
Empathy	Dominant male face preference	612.73	140084.00	-1.957	0.050
	Submissive male face preference	570.21			
Sensuality	Dominant male face preference	566.30	127757.00	-2.099	0.036
	Submissive male face preference	611.53			
Extraversion	Dominant male face preference	598.62	125315.00	-2.860	0.004
	Submissive male face preference	537.35			
Introversion	Dominant male face preference	548.66	113560.50	-5.245	0.000
	Submissive male face preference	661.38			

We analysed possible differences between women who consider masculine male face as more attractive against women who prefer feminine male face as well (tab. 3). Between these two groups was found only one significant difference. Women with feminine male face preference consider themselves more empathetic in comparison to the women who prefer masculine male face ( $U=155252.50$ ;  $Sig=0.041$ ).

Table 3. Observed personality differences according to masculine/feminine male face preference

		Mean Rank	U	Z	Sig
Empathy	Masculine male face preference	577.15	155252.50	-2.041	0.041
	Feminine male face preference	617.73			

Last, we analysed women's preferences for the dominant/submissive man face using ANCOVA [within-subjects factor: personal characteristic of face (dominant, submissive); covariates: impulsiveness, venturesomeness, empathy, dominance, submissiveness, rationality, sensuality, extraversion, introversion]. There were significant main effects of sensuality ( $F=6.623$ ;  $Sig=0.010$ ; Part.  $\eta^2=0.007$ ) and introversion ( $F=18.859$ ;  $Sig=0.000$ ; Part.  $\eta^2=0.019$ ).

We analysed women's preferences for the masculine/feminine man face using ANCOVA as well [within-subjects factor: masculine/feminine man face; covariates: impulsiveness, venturesomeness, empathy, dominance, submissiveness, rationality, sensuality, extraversion, introversion]. No main effects were found.

## **Discussion**

In general, no straightforward consensus has come to light in the preference for masculine/feminine male face or dominant/submissive male face. It is possible that dominance and its physical features manifested in facial features may indicate social status, physical health and potential benefits of a quality immune system, but dominance and/or masculinity of the face suggest that its owner is due to his physical strength capable of injuring someone.

Accordingly, it has been found (Oosterhof & Todorov, 2008) that associations connected to dominance as a personality characteristic and its face are, in principle, not positive. The assumptions about the personality characteristics of emotionally neutral faces that people intuitively create are mutually correlated. Based on the principal component analysis of the attributed personality traits was found out that the first two components explain more than 80% of variance of all attributions. The first component reflects positive associations such as trustworthy, emotionally stable, or attractive. The second component reflects the dominance, it is connected to characteristics as dominant, aggressive, and self-confident. As can be seen, dominance may be associated with less positive personality characteristics that lead to the assessment of a person as aggressive, which may be one of the alternative explanations why dominant faces are generally not considered as especially attractive.

However, the lack of consensus on the attractiveness of dominant/submissive and also masculine/feminine faces raises interest. It is possible that the preference of these faces is subject to one side to multiple motives in woman's choice of a partner (Cunningham et al.,

1990), to the other side the ambiguity of the results arises as a consequence of the personality characteristics of the women. Our current study shows results in favor of the debate that women have different preferences in human's faces in relation to their personality characteristics.

The preference for a dominant male face shows a clear predominance against the preference of a submissive male face. The number of women who prefer dominant male face over submissive male face differs significantly, 70.1% of women prefer dominant male face. Our result is consistent with research that suggests that the dominant face of a man is actually rated by women as more attractive (Grammer & Thornhill, 1994). In line with the above-mentioned prevalence of the dominant face in women's preferences, stands the following research as evidence for the possibility of positive evaluation of dominant faces. Mazur, Halpern & Udry (1994) in this regard investigated whether dominant males had more opportunities for sex intercourse compared to submissive men. This assumption was compared with a conventional assumption that attractive men have more opportunities for sexual intercourse. Some theorists predict that high-ranking or dominant members in the social hierarchy have more offspring than submissive individuals. Dominance is connected to the ability to obtain resources in one's favour (Alexander, 1974). In primates, high dominance is associated with reproductive success (Cowlshaw & Dunbar, 1991). In human society, this tendency does not occur, since it is relatively easy to prevent conception. Photos of adolescent boys whose appearance was rated as dominant or submissive were rated according to their attractiveness as well. Their results show that dominant boys manifest a greater opportunity for sexual intercourse than submissive boys, regardless of their attractiveness. The above-mentioned research unambiguously speaks in favour of the preference of men with a dominant face, which we have also found in our research.

On the other hand, the preference of male face is inclined slightly in favour to a feminine male face in comparison to the masculine male face, as 51.7% of the women prefer feminine male face. Nevertheless, the difference was not significant. Some studies have confirmed a preference for more masculine male faces, but other research studies showed that feminised male faces were found more attractive (e.g., Cunningham, Barbee, & Pike, 1990; Perrett et al., 1998). More masculine men are considered healthier (Folstad & Karter, 1992), but on the other hand these men are characteristic by negatively perceived personality traits as lower honesty and lower warmth (Perrett et al., 1998). It can be contemplated, that this result mirrors the multiple motives in woman's choice of partner (Cunningham et al., 1990), as the



preference of masculinity to gain genetic benefits of the potential partner to offspring (Little et al., 2002), and, at the same time the preference of femininity which is associated with good partnership benefits. It is desirable for a woman to obtain both advantages - parental care and heritable benefits for the offspring (Perrett, et al. 1998).

We analysed the possible differences in the personality characteristics of women according to their men face preference. As we found out, women with the dominant male face preference manifest higher scores of empathy and higher scores of extraversion.

Welling et al (2009) proved that one personality characteristic has the potential to reliably influence the male face preference towards masculinity. The personality characteristic which is hypothesised to predict women's preferences for masculine men is extraversion. Extraversion is associated with symmetry in female's faces (Fink, Neave, Manning, & Grammer, 2005; Pound, Penton-Voak, & Brown, 2007), with women's facial attractiveness (Penton-Voak, Pound, Little, & Perrett, 2006) and as well with women's social status (Anderson, John, Keltner, & Kring, 2001). Since facial symmetry is a perceptual cue of developmental stability (Møller & Swaddle, 1997), and as we mentioned, it is associated with extraversion as well, therefore extraversion possibly signals women's quality as a mate. There is an assumption that women's own mate quality is related to the preference for masculine men faces (Little et al., 2001; Penton-Voak et al., 2003). Even though we did not find in our presented research an association between women's extraversion and their preference for masculinity. Nevertheless, we did find an association between women's extraversion and their preference for dominant male face. The explanation for this result stands, since masculinity and dominance of a face are very much intertwined. Dominance is connected to a higher social status, which has the potential to increase the value of a particular person in the mate selection process (Buss, 1989; Mueller & Mazur, 1996). For this reason, it can be speculated that two people with high quality as a mate will be attracted to each other.

As far as we know, the only research studying the possible influence of the personality characteristics of women on the preference of the dominant face of the man was executed by Johnston et al. (2001). The psychological level of masculinity has the potential to influence the preference for masculine/feminine male face. Women who gained a low score in masculinity were compared to those women who scored high on masculinity in the preference of the male face. Women who were less masculine preferred male faces showing a higher degree of dominance than the other group. Despite the fact that we studied the differences in

the preferences of the dominant/submissive face with regard to the characteristics of women, such as dominance and rationality, which can be understood as personality characteristics close to the psychological level of masculinity, the mentioned effect did not occur in the sample of Slovak women.

As we found out, women who consider submissive male face as more attractive are significantly more sensual and more introvert. These two women's personality characteristics proved to have a main effect on the preference of submissive male face. Nevertheless, these results manifest a small effect size. Possible explanation can arise from the presumption that introverted and sensual women do not seek conflict. Own personality characteristics have an influence on the conflict styles people tend to exhibit. Introversion is positively associated with avoidant conflict style and negatively with integrating style, and dominating style (Antonioni, 1998). On the other hand, it is reasonable to state that dominant people possibly do not avoid conflict, they might use several types of conflict styles, but may as well use dominating conflict style, which is specific by high concern for self and a lower concern for the other party (Rahim, 1983). Gross and Guerrero (2000) describe the dominating style as including forcing behaviours such as confrontational remarks, accusations, or personal criticism. People who prefer dominating style rely on their power, aggression, and perseverance to win (Gross & Guerrero, 2000; Rahim, 1983). Considering the tendency of introvert women to avoid conflict, we can speculate that they might prefer a submissive male face close to the terms of the hypothesis “what is good is beautiful” (Little, Burt, & Perrett, 2006b). This hypothesis is based on the presumption that if a person considers some personality characteristic as good, subsequently, a face which includes that presumed characteristic is considered as attractive.

In the case of masculine/feminine male face preference one significant difference occurred. Women with feminine male face preference consider themselves more empathetic in comparison to the women who prefer masculine male face. If empathetic women consider feminine male faces as more attractive one can hypothesise that this result is in favour of assortative mating. The masculinity in a man is associated with less appreciated traits as lower honesty and warmth (Perrett et al., 1998), at the same time, an usual ideal partner in the women's eyes is someone who is assertive, mature, and warm-hearted (Little, Burt & Perrett, 2006b). Empathy is characterized as a concept that refers to the cognitive and the emotional reactions of one individual to the observed experiences of another. It relies on the ability to share emotions as well as the ability to understand the other's thoughts, desires, and feelings

(Shamay-Tsoory, 2011). Empathetic women may tend to invest emotionally into a relationship, and build warm emotional relationships, therefore we can assume that an adaptive process in mate selection for an empathetic female would be to seek a less masculine partner in order to avoid negative traits associated with masculinity. As we already mentioned, there is some evidence confirming assortative mating in altruistic traits (Tognetti, Berticat, Raymond & Faurie, 2014), which can stand as an indirect explanation for our result. Empathy is associated with prosocial tendencies and if altruistic partners tend to attract each other we can speculate that empathetic females will be attracted to empathetic males. And, empathy is connected to higher femininity (Karniol, et al., 1998).

The presence of differences among women in their preference of dominance and masculinity shows us that women don't generally have an identical idea of an attractive man. Our results show that not only the desired personality (Little et al, 2006) influences the perception of the attractiveness of a person of the opposite sex, rather, women are in their attractiveness evaluations influenced by their own personality characteristics. Even though the results we achieved have a small effect size, we cautiously conclude that the personality traits of women can play a role in assessing the attractiveness of the face according to the presumed personality characteristics of the assessed male face.

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# The Influence of Football Fans on Building National Identity in Poland and Serbia



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## Abstract

Already in the 80s and 90s of the twentieth century football fans from both these countries were famous for their political involvement, it is enough to mention, for example, the participation of the fans of Crvena Zvezda in the riot at Dinamo Zagreb stadium on May 13th 1990, or the involvement of the Lechia Gdańsk fans during the strikes in the shipyard in August 1988. Since then, both these countries, as well as football games and fans, have undergone many political changes and the football has undergone even greater commercialization. The next generations not infected by the communism or war have come to the stadiums, and what is interesting, now the nationalist movement in the subculture of football fans seems to be stronger than ever, and even Ivan Čolović, a Serbian ethnologist, openly named it a neo-fascism. In my paper I will examine the political views of fans of Lechia Gdansk, Crvena Zvezda Belgrade and Partizan Belgrade, which they express in their chants, banners and choreographies, then I will compare this phenomena between clubs and between countries, trying to define the role of stadium and football clubs in building the national identity in Poland and Serbia.

Key words: football fans, nationalism, Poland, Serbia, Grobari, Delije, Lechia, Arka

## Introduction

Football fans, both in Poland and Serbia, are a big and noticeable social group, for some people they act like bandits, and for other like a real patriots, but is it possible for them to affect the politics of their country? To this question I will try to answer in my article.

In the first part of this text I will describe the involvement of football fans of Lechia Gdańsk in their struggle with communist regime in Poland, on the example of two football games: Lechia Gdansk -Juventus F.C. , which have taken the place on September 28<sup>th</sup> 1983, as well as Lechia Gdansk-Ruch Chorzow of October 5<sup>th</sup> 1985. In the second part of this article I examine the clash between supporters of Crvena zvezda Belgrade, Dinamo Zagreb and the militia, which took place at the Maksimirski stadium on May 13<sup>th</sup> 1990, as well as the



participation of fans of Crvena Zvezda Beograd in the war in former Yugoslavia. The last part is an analysis and a comparison of the behaviors, choreographies, slogans, “happenings” and banners of contemporary football fans of Crvena zvezda Belgrade, Partizan Belgrade and Lechia Gdańsk.

In all the cited quotations I have kept the original spelling. Due to the fact that there are still only few scientific publications about football fans of Lechia Gdansk, and also because of the fact that I have examine the quiet recent choreographies of Polish and Serbian football fans, I needed to use online sources to write this article.

### **“Solidarność! Solidarność!**

The Polish reality in the eighties was not good , admittedly the Solidarity strikes in 1980 in the shipyard in Gdansk and in others national companies all over the country had brought a sense of freedom, but only for a brief moment, because on December 13<sup>th</sup> 1981, general Wojciech Jaruzelski – the then prime minister – has announced the introduction of the martial law, which lasted until July 22<sup>nd</sup> 1983 (Paczkowski 2006). During that period almost 10,000 person was interned (Wołk 2011:90), and on the October 8<sup>th</sup> 1982 all the trade unions, including the Solidarity union, were delegalized (Paczkowski 2006: 271). The Polish government did everything to discredit the Solidarity and the people related to the union, so in the evening of 27<sup>th</sup> September1983, the Polish National Television has broadcasted a reportage, recorded with hidden camera in the internment camp, about Lech Walesa – the then leader of Solidarity– in which he was presented as cynical, greedy for money megalomaniac, who swears a lot. (Parell 2010.09.05). Next day, on September 28<sup>th</sup> 1983, at the stadium on the Romuald Traugutt street, Lechia Gdańsk, a third-division football club and also the then winner of The Polish Cup, was playing a game against famous and one of the most titled European football club - Juventus F.C., in the UEFA Cups Winners’ Cup (Parell 2010.09.05). Around 40,000 people came to watch that match, although, officially, the stadium could hold only 30,000, so people were standing on the scarps nearby, on the tops of the food trucks, sitting on the fence, on the advertising banners, on the scoreboard, and even on the trees (Lechia 2016.09.28 or Wiśniewski 2009.08.19).

The match started at 3.30 PM and in the first part Lechia Gdańsk was losing 0:1, after the goal of Beniamino Vignola. After the first whistle of the referee, the activist of the Young Poland Movement and also a great fan of Lechia Gdańsk – Sławomir Rybicki – came to the stadium together with Lech Wałęsa. Other activist of the Young Poland Movement and also a

fan of Lechia Gdańsk, Piotr Adamowicz has informed about this arrival NBS and CBS TV crews. When the crowd, during the break, have noticed the presence of Lech Wałęsa on the stand, everyone started to scream “Lechu, Lechu! Solidarność, Solidarność!”, thus giving an endorsement to him and to the whole opposition movement (Parell 2010.09.05). In the 51<sup>st</sup> minute of the game, Marek Kowalczyk – the player of Lechia Gdańsk, has scored a goal and 12 minutes later other player Jerzy Kruszczyński scored a penalty kick for Lechia Gdansk, giving his team the lead (Wiśniewski 2009.08.19). However, people were still screaming “Solidarność! Solidarność!” instead of “Lechia Gdańsk!”. The CBS and NBS TV crews were filming all of that, but The Polish National Television in the live broadcast of the game have turned down the sounds coming from the stands. In the end Lechia Gdansk have loosed that game 2:3, but football fans of Lechia Gdańsk have let everybody know that “Solidarity” and Lech Wałęsa are still fighting in Gdańsk against the communist regime. One week later the Nobel Prize Committee have announced Lech Wałęsa as the Nobel Peace Prize winner. (Parell 2010.09.05).



Image 1 Lech Wałęsa at the football game Lechia Gdańsk - Juventus F.C. on September 28th 1983  
(Parell 2010.09.25).

On October 5<sup>th</sup> 1985 in the football game Lechia Gdańsk vs. Ruch Chorzow, fans of Lechia Gdańsk have putted a banner “13 X – Bojkot – Solidarność” on the fence between the stands and the field, thus calling for boycotting the upcoming elections to the Lower House of Polish People’s Republic (Kurski2011.11.08)



Image 2 The banner calling to boycott the upcoming elections hanging on the fence during the football game Lechia Gdańsk-Ruch Chorzów on October 5th 1985 (Lechia 2016.04.07).

Moreover, during the 80ties, football fans of Lechia Gdansk, were traveling all over Poland with their team, still shouting at the stadiums a libertarian or anti-communist slogans, such as “A na drzewach zamiast liści będą wisieć komuniści!”, „Znajdzie się pała na dupę generała”, „Precz z komuną!”, Ch... nieświeży Urban Jerzy”, „Biała pała – znak pedała!”, „Nienawidzę ZOMO, o, o, o, o” „Nie ma wolności bez Solidarności” „Solidarność – Lechia Gdańsk!” (Wąsowicz 2012:45). Although, as it described in 1987 Jacek Kurski (the then fan of Lechia Gdańsk and now a politician), where shouting this political slogans only when their team was losing or when the game was boring, all the attempts to scream “Solidarność” after the scored goal ended in a failure. Of course, the communist authorities didn’t accept that kind of political involvement of the football fans, so they were repressed, what had the consequences in many clashes between them and the militia (Kurski 2011.11.08).

There is no doubt that fans of Lechia Gdansk as a emissaries dof Solidarity had their impact on the fall of the Communist regime in Poland, and they have also influenced the Polish politics after the transformation, as a evidence by the fact, that many of Lechia’s fans have become a politicians, for example: Donald Tusk – the former Polish Prime Minister, now the President of European Council (Andrzejewski 2012:88), Jacek Kurski – the former Polish Parliamentarian and the former Member of the European Parliament, now the President of Polish National Television), or Arkadiusz Rybicki and Maciej Pałżyński (Lechia.net 2011.04.09), who have both died in plane crash in Smolensk in 2010.

## **Crvena zvezda Belgrade and the breakup of Yugoslavia**

At the end of 80ties and at the begging of 90ties Crvena Zvezda was one of the best football clubs, not only in Yugoslavia, but also in the international arena, what proves wining of European Cup (today's UEFA Champions League) and also International Cup in 1991 (Љубеновић 53-74). During that time Crvena zvezda Belgrade was for many Serbs more than just a football club, as it said Matija Bećković, a Serbian writer and poet, he became a fan of it, because through supporting Crvena zvezda he could express his nationality (Čolović 2000:333). Moreover, other Serbian writer and also a politician – Branislav Crnčević – said that he is “a fan of Partizan Belgrade, who supports Crvena Zvezda”. This could sound unbelievable, because how a fan of one club, can support his greatest rival? However, for Crnčević Crvena zvezda was a symbol of Serbian identity, and club's successes were very important for Serbs in Serbia and also for those who were living in diasporas (Čolović 2000:333). The question of national identity was so important, because after the death of Marshal Josip Broz Tito in 1980, the ethnical and nationalistic tensions in Yugoslavia were increasing with every year. On May 6<sup>th</sup> 1990 have taken the place the first multi-party elections in Socialist Republic of Croatia, in which won Croatian Democratic Union (Hrvatska demokratska zajednica) under Franjo Tuđman, who wanted to make Croatia an independent country, but for that could not agree Serbia under Slobodan Milošević and still powerful politician from the Yugoslavian communist party. After that elections, the ethnical tension were so strong, that it had to explode, and it did – one week later, before the football game between Dinamo Zagreb and Crvena Zvezda Beograd at the Maksimirski stadium (Klarin 2015:60).

In the morning of that day around 2000 Delije (fans of Crvena Zvezda Belgrade) led by Željko Ražnatanović, also known as “Arkan”, came to Zagreb and the first small clashes between them and Bad Blue Boys (fans of Dinamo Zagreb) have taken place in the march from the railway station to the stadium. The gates of the Maksimir have been opened three hours before the game, so Delije have took their places on the lower south stand, and Bad Blue Boys on the north and also on the east stand, just to be close to the fans of Crvena zvezda. Waiting for the game to begun, Delije start to shout different political phrases, such as: “Od topole pa do Ravne gore svud su straže đenerala Draže“, “Mi smo četnici, najjači smo najjači“, “Srbija do Zagreba“, “Vi ste Titovi, Tito je vaš“, “Oj purgeri jel' vam žao, Maksimir je noćas pao“, and they didn't have to wait long for Bad Blue Boys to answer them: “Srpski cigani“, “Hrvatska do Zemuna“, “Mi smo Antini, Ante je naš“, “Srbe na vrbe“(Klarin 2015:61). This verbal aggression was escalating and Delije were screaming that they will kill

Franjo Tuđman (“Ubijemo Tuđmana”), so provoked fans of Dinamo Zagreb in the response to that threaten, have started to throw to the opposite stand a pieces of concrete blocks from which the tribune was built. Delije in revenge have demolished the advertising banners and plastic seats, which they threw at Bad Blue Boys and at the people, who were sitting at the upper south stand.



*Image 3: The riot at Maksimirski Stadium on May 13th 1990 (Ultras, 2015.01.27).*

The Militia didn't react to that situation, and when Delije attacked people at the upper south stand, Bad Blue Boys broke down the fence and run to the field, but they got into the clash with militia “(Klarin 2015:61). The climax of this riot was when the player of Dinamo Zagreb – Zvonimir Boban – have kicked the militia officer in to the chest trying to protect one of the fans of his team. This football game between Dinamo Zagreb and Crvena Zvezda Belgrade have never started, but what is more interesting, the fights later have transferred from the stadium to the streets of Zagreb and were broadcasted in the national television, thus the whole Yugoslavia could watch the first, relatively large, ethnical clash live. (Đorđević 2014:926).

The result of that riot was 59 football fans and 79 militia officers injured, of which three fans were hospitalized, one fan of Dinamo Zagreb was stabbed with a knife, while the other was hurt in the leg with a firearm. Damaged were 3000 of the chairs at the stadium, 17 trams, a militia car and one with number plate from Skopje were burned, it all cost 300,000 German marks (Klarin 2015:63).

This never played football game, thanks to (or because of) the media exploitation, was quickly mythologized and many people consider this clash as the beginning of the war. What is even more interesting, from that moment football fans, both in Serbia and Croatia, have got the role of “national heroes” and worshipers of “patriotic values” (Đorđević 2014:926), and soon they supposed to become soldiers. Željko Ražnatanović, the then leader of Crvena zvezda fans, said that just after this clash on the Maksimir stadium, he and others Delije organize themselves into the Serbian Volunteer Guard, also known as Arkan’s Tigers, a paramilitary unit that later fought in the war, that Arkan had predicted during the riot in Zagreb on May 13<sup>th</sup> 1990 (Čolović 2000:343). Even during the war they didn’t lost their football fan identity, what exemplifies a photography below, on which soldiers are reading “Zvezdina revija” a newspaper about their favorite club (in which was this photography later posted):



Image 4 March 1992, Slavonia, soldiers of Serbian Voluntary Guard read the magazine of their favorite football club (Čolović via Novine 2009.09.30)

However, the soldiers of the Serbian Volunteer Guard, were not only fans of Crvena Zvezda Belgrade, and not even football fans. In Croatia also a lot of fans of Dinamo Zagreb and Hajduk Split joined the then forming unit of Croatian Army. Today on the Maksimir stadium stands a monument of the fans of Dinamo Zagreb, who have died during the war, on which is written “Svim navijačima Dinama za koje je rat počeo 13.5.1990. na stadionu Maksimir a završio se polaganjem svojih života na oltar domovine Hrvatske! BBB Zagerb 13.5.1994.” (Đorđević 2014:928).

The belief that sport is an important tool of political propaganda and preparation for a possible war was a major factor in the great interest of the sport of the authorities in communist countries (Čolović 2000:349). Often supporting is based not so much on expressing the love for own club, but on showing the hatred towards a rival club. On the eve of the war in the former Yugoslavia, the war propaganda on the Serbian side, primarily propelled by sports journalists, redirected the aggressive energy of football fans from the stadiums to the battlefields, thus giving a meaning and value of patriotic sacrifice to the new forms of their existence. However, not for Josip Broz Tito and the communist party, but for the new or renewed symbols and ideals of national collective (Čolović 2000:350).

The participation of football fans-soliders in the war in the former Yugoslavia raises the question of where is the line between the positive sociological-psychological, or cathartic, aspect of supporting favourite team and the use of the football matches as hate trainings? Ivan Čolović, a Serbian ethnologist, writes that indeed a football game is a war, but it is a “ritualized war”, because the flags, drums, uniforms and other football fans’ attributes shows that this is a kind of symbolic warfare (Čolović 2000:350), in which the most important is the demonstration of the power.

### **Serbian and Polish football fans in the 21<sup>st</sup> century**

Nowadays, Delije – fans of Crvena zvezda Belgrade, battle for Kosovo to be respected as a part of Serbia, not as an independent country. For example in October 2015, when authorities from Kosovo were trying to become a member of UNESCO, in the first part of the game with FK Vojvodina, Delije were screaming “Kosovo!” and Firmaši (fans of FK Vojvodina) were responding them shouting “Srbija!”. The whole stadium awarded this united supporting with an applause (Kurir 2015.10.21). Moreover, during the break, in the silence, fans of Crvena zvezda unfurled a banner, on which was written message in English: “ SINCE 1999 OVER 140 CHURCHES AND 300 CULTURAL MONUMENTS IN KOSOVO WERE BURNED OR DESTROYED. IS THE UNESCO MEMBERSHIP A REWARD FOR THIS ARTROCITIES?!” (Moja SportTV 2015.10.21), and later they displayed a large banner showing Gračanica Monastery (located in Kosovo) between two banners, on which was written: “ИЗГУБЉЕНО ЈЕ САМО ОНО ЧЕГА СЕ ОДРЕКНЕМО, А МИ КОСМЕТА НИКАДА ОДРЕЋИ НЕЋЕМО!” (Kurir 2015.10.21). Interesting is the use of languages, because the smaller banner Delije have prepared for English-speaking viewers, however to create the giant banners they used Serbian language, and Cyrillic alphabet (more traditional



for Serbian culture), so this example may prove that for the fans of Crvena zvezda, it is more important to build awareness of Serbian heritage among Serbia, than in the international arena.

Of course during other football games of Crvena zvezda it's possible to hear Delije shouting "Kosovo Srbija", "FIFA mafija, Kosovo je Srbija"(Srbin 2016.05.21), "UEFA mafija, Kosovo je Srbija"(DSBEOGRAD 2017.10.21) or singing a patriotic song "Oj Kosovo, Kosovo" (Telegraf 2016.05.21 or Espresso 2016.05.08) and others. However, the greatest rivals of Delije – Grobari – fans of Partizan Belgrade, are also often screaming a slogan "Kosovo je Srbija" (Sportmagazin 2017.10.25), and in 2016 they even organized a collection of clothes for the poorest Serbians living on the territory of Kosovo and Metochia (Novosti 2016.01.14). Although, more interesting is other example of contemporary activity of Grobari, which describes Ivan Čolović in his essay "Navijači – huligani i novi fašizam".

On December 9<sup>th</sup> 2009, at the football game Partizan Belgrade – Shakhtar Donetsk, Grobari were kicking and slapping a plastic sex doll, which supposed to represent a Serbian journalist – Brankica Stanković – the author of TV series, broadcasted at B92 TV channel in 2009, about the relations between the football fans, criminalist and the extreme right. This "happening" football fans of Partizan Belgrade have emphasized screaming a threat of death "Kurvo, Brankice. Otrovnica si kao zmija, proći ćeš kao Čuruvija", which was an obvious allusion to the death of other journalist – Slavko Ćuruvija – who was killed by the agents of the State Security Service, in Belgrade in 1999.



Image 5 Miloš Radisavljević one of the leaders of one of the groups of fans of Partizan Belgrade threatening a Serbian journalist – Brankica Stanković (Depo 2010.08.05).



Journalist and other commentators who wrote about this symbolic lynch, have focused only on the doll, but Ivan Čolović noticed that one more symbol was manipulated during that incident. Next to that plastic sex doll, was hanging a big banner with Emperor Dusan, who enacted a legal code known as Dusan's Code in medieval (Čolović 2012.09.13). However, what's even more interesting, the fans of Lechia Gdańsk in 2015, at the football game Lechia Gdansk–Wisla Kraków, made a quite similar “performance”. They displayed an enormous banner, which had the form of a screenshot of a Polish news channel TVN 24, on which was painted a tank with general Czesław Kiszczak in it, in front of the shipyard in Gdańsk, and in the other corner were painted two well-known Polish journalists – Monika Olejnik – who works for TVN 24 and Adam Michnik – editor in chief of Gazeta Wyborcza (Kresy 2015.12.12).



Image 6 Fans of Lechia Gdańsk during the football game with Wisła Kraków on December 12th 2015

(Kresy 2015.12.12)

This was a clear ally to the events, that happened in Gdańsk after the introducing the martial law in Poland in 1983. Since the 13<sup>th</sup> December in front of the Shipyard were standing tanks, ready to pacify an eventual protest. On the 15<sup>th</sup> December, students and workers were gathering in the Shipyard, watching its gates and preparing for the demonstration. Around 5 AM on the 16<sup>th</sup> December those tanks have breakdown the gate of shipyard and entered to its territory, moreover, the soldiers and militia officers were allowed to use firearm against the protestants (Łupak, 2016.12.16). And they finally have use it,

because on December 17<sup>th</sup> a 20 year old fan of Lechia Gdańsk – Antoni Browarczyk – was shoot by militia(Lechia.net 2010.12.29). General Czesław Kiszczak was then a Minister of Internal Affairs and one of the persons responsible of illegal introduction of martial law (Paczkowski 2006), and in 1989 he was representing the communists during the negotiation on the Polish Round Table Agreement. Adam Michnik, who was representing the opposition side during that negotiation, in an interview conducted by Monika Olejnik, said that for him Czesław Kiszczak is a man of honor, because he kept all the commitments he made at the Round Table (wPolityce 2015.11.07). Michnik also upheld this opinion in November 2015 after the death of General Kiszczak. One month later, on the eve of the 23rd anniversary of the introduction of martial law, the fans of Lechia Gdańsk have presented this enormous banner, on which they confront the opinion that “Kiszczak is a man of honor” with his participation in the introduction of martial law. It’s obvious that for fans of Lechia Gdansk, Czesław Kiszczak is not a man of honor, neither Adam Michnik nor Monika Olejnik.

Those examples of football fans “performance” proves that Delije, Grobari or fans of Lechia Gdańsk, don’t consider themselves as a primitive aggressor, but they see themselves as a Serbian or Polish youth, the worshipers of national tradition and justice, aware of national heritage creators of the history. They are not against the order, but they support the real, strict, male, only Serbian or only Polish order, without any non-Christians, whores, homosexuals, and other human mud (Čolović 2012.09.13).

## **Conclusion**

In the eighties football fans of Lechia Gdańsk have used the power of the crowd and become kind of emissaries of the “Solidarity”. Moreover, they have also proved that the football stadium can be used as the bastions of freedom and the football fans can be a real political force in the fight against totalitarian regime. However, the example of the Delije and the participation of football fans-solider in the war in former Yugoslavia, shows that a football stadium can be also use as a tool of political propaganda and a place of a hate trainings, and it’s easy to turn so well organized group like football fans into a paramilitary unit. Nevertheless, the participation in the political transformation in Poland and Serbia have influenced onto the fact, that nowadays fans of Lechia Gdańsk, Crvena zvezda Belgrade and Partizan Belgrade consider themselves as creators of the history, the worshiper of national tradition and value, aware of national heritage, the only true patriots. However, for Ivan Čolović football fans from Belgrade seem to act more like a neo-fascists, than the patriots.

Fans of all three mentioned football teams consciously create patriotic choreographies, banners (although, unlike the Serbs, Lechia fans refer only to historical events directly affecting their city), knowing that they will be seen and heard not only by other people at the stadium, but also by TV viewers, and nowadays also by users of Facebook, YouTube, Instagram or the whole Internet in general. These performances are not spontaneous, because the preparation of a banner of the size of a stand, requires not only a lot of time, but also a lot of money. The use of foreign languages indicates that football fans are aware of their wide reach, but also know by whom they want to be heard.

Increasing nationalism in the stands in Poland and Serbia raises the question of the border between football fans and fascists. It cannot be hidden, that the football fans in Poland and Serbia are a huge political force, but their aggression makes them dangerous, because it's quite easy to extend the figure of the enemy from the fans of another team to other nations. And the world history has proved that cultivated group hatred will finally always explode and it may turn against the nation.

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## The Necessary Tripod of a Consociational Order: Education, Civil Society and Media



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### **Abstract**

One of the important criticisms towards consociational democracy is its inability to contribute to nation-building. In the literature, it is widely accepted that consociational power sharing causes different ethnic groups to institutionalize and deepen their differences rather than overcoming them. Besides that, the consociational formula for avoiding conflict- “minimum interaction and contact between the ethnic groups”- is criticized for being an impediment to inter-ethnic integration and peace building. Consociational settlements, which ensure ethnic minorities’ political and proportional representation and give them veto right to protect their vital interests, are essential for ending the violence. However, this paper argues that a consociational order that is not supported by additional efforts in the fields of education, civil society and media is not able to maintain peace building. Thus, it is better to regard a consociational settlement as a necessary first step in the path to peace and prop it by inclusive and unprejudiced education policies, stronger civil society and independent and impartial media.

Key Words: consociational democracy, peace building, education, civil society, media

### **Theoretical basis: Consociational theory**

After the end of the Cold War, the world has become a scene of many micro-scale conflicts originated from ethnic, linguistic or religious divisions. This has intensified the debates concerning how the communities divided by such conflicts should be governed. It seems that the international community is mainly convinced that post-conflict societies can be best governed by a variety of power-sharing arrangements, particularly the consociational democracy.

Consociational theory, “which has been the dominant model of managing ethnically divided societies” (Aitken, 2007, p. 260), assumes that states governed by consociational principles can establish stable democracies despite their remarkable cultural cleavages (Ehrlich, 2000, p. 451). The Dutch political scientist Arend Lijphart, the developer of the

theory<sup>1</sup>, in the 1960s analyzed the Dutch society, which has been divided by class and religion but was still stable (Ehrlich, 2000, pp. 451-452). Lijphart reconsidered the famous typology of Gabriel A. Almond, who classified the Western democracies as stable Anglo-American systems, unstable and fragmented Continental European political systems and in between Scandinavian and Low countries. Almond assumed that overlapping memberships, by creating moderation, creates stability (Lijphart, 1969, pp. 207-208). Lijphart, on the contrary, asserted that democratic stability is possible in deeply divided societies such as Austria, Belgium, Switzerland and Netherlands which are deprived of “overlapping memberships” or “cross-cutting cleavages” and called them as consociational democracies (Taylor, 2009, p. 3; Lijphart, 1969, pp. 210-211). According to him, the principal explanation for the stability of such fragmented societies is the cooperative behavior of the political elites (Lijphart, 1969, pp. 210-211).

There are four basic principles of consociational democracies singled out by Lijphart: grand coalitions, proportionality, mutual veto and segmental autonomy (Andeweg, 2000, pp. 512-514). Grand coalition means power-sharing among “the political leaders of all of the segments of the plural society” (Lijphart, 1979, p. 500). Thereby, it becomes possible to avoid the permanent exclusion of minorities from political power (Sisk, 1996, p. 36). Proportionality, contrary to “winner takes all” perspective of majoritarian democracy, allows remarkable ethnic groups to participate in decision making process and paves the way for representation of them in public administration, police, army, judiciary. It also enables equitable distribution of public funds in proportion to their population (McGarry and O’Leary, 2009, p. 17; Lijphart, 1977, p. 25). Mutual veto is another consociational principle that allows minority groups to affect the decision making process and gives them a right of veto if the decision to be taken violates their vital interests. Finally, the segmental autonomy allows minority groups to rule themselves in their exclusive matters such as culture and education but on the matters of common interest, the decisions are taken jointly. (Lijphart, 1979, pp. 500-501)

### **Consociational democracy: an impediment to nation and peace building?**

In the literature, there are many debates concerning Lijphart and consociational theory. Lijphart is widely criticized for not using clear concepts and suitable case studies while

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<sup>1</sup> The term is first used by Dutch political philosopher Althusius in 1603 and later analyzed by Lehmbruch, Lewis ve Ake before Lijphart. Andeweg, 2000, pp. 510-511.

grounding his theory. Consociational theory, on the other hand, is criticized for both the weaknesses of its theoretical basis and the problems it caused in the states that adopted the model. While ignoring self-determination debates, extremely focusing on the arrangement of political institutions and contradicting with democracy in some respects are main criticisms directed towards the essence of the theory; obstructing nation building, causing political immobilism and increasing foreign political intervention are the major criticisms raised against the implementation and consequences of consociational democracy.<sup>2</sup> Actually, at the heart of the debates, lies the sui generis characteristic of each consociational case.

One of the important criticisms towards the consociational democracy is its inability to contribute to nation-building. According to Lijphart, "...clear boundaries between the segments of a plural society have the advantage of limiting mutual contacts and consequently of limiting the chances of ever-present potential antagonisms to erupt into actual hostility" (as cited in Dixon, 1997, p. 5). According to this view, "integrative efforts such as integrated education, residential integration, encounter groups, initiatives for cultural understanding and inter-ethnic political parties" may endanger the cooperative work of the elites (Dixon, 1997, p. 6). However, the favoured consociational formula-segregation and minimum contact- can lead to extremism and the chance for breaking down the stereotypes and prejudices will diminish (Dixon, 1997, p. 11-12). And such a segregation practice will prevent the "détente" of interethnic cleavages and inevitably hinder nation and peace building.

Lijphart accepts that consociational democracy strengthens social cleavages at least in the short run but believes that reducing contact is necessary for reducing conflict (Bogaards, 2006, p. 121). According to him, as consociational democracy is implemented, elite cooperation will over time enable reconciliation between the ethnic groups (Lijphart, 1977, p. 228). However, in societies where the political cooperation level between the ethnic leaders is

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<sup>2</sup> See Lustick, I. S. (1997). Lijphart, Lakatos, and consociationalism. *World Politics*, 50(1), 88-117; McGarry, J. & O'leary, B. (2009). Power shared after the deaths of thousands. In Rupert Taylor (Ed.) *Consociational theory: McGarry and O'Leary and the Northern Ireland Conflict*, (pp. 15-84). London: Routledge; Bogaards, M. (2006). Democracy and Power-Sharing in Multinational States: Thematic Introduction. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 8(2), 119-126; Horowitz, D. L. (2014). Ethnic power sharing: Three big problems. *Journal of Democracy*, 25(2), 5-20; Ehrlich, C. E. (2000). Democratic Alternatives to Ethnic Conflict: Consociationalism and Neo-Separatism. *Brook. J. Int'l L.*, 26, 447-483.



low and the relations between the political leaders and their ethnic groups are mistrustful, it is not easy to reduce segmental cleavages. In Macedonia, in the sixteen years since the signing of Ohrid Framework Agreement, the distance and mistrust between the Macedonian majority and Albanian minority have not decreased. In that respect, Macedonia, Bosnia and Kosovo cases show that in consociational cases especially when decentralization is arranged according to ethnic identity, ethnic problems are freezed. (Bogaards, 2006, p.124)

Minimum communication and contact can reduce the possibility of conflict and freeze the problems, but in the long run, by increasing interethnic distance, mistrust and intolerance, it can spoil peace building. Without interethnic dialogue, you can able to realize negative peace, but it is impossible to build interethnic integration and positive peace. This paper argues that consociational democracy is an essential first step for peace in post-conflict societies. Consociational settlements, by ensuring ethnic minorities' political and proportional representation and giving them a veto right to protect their vital interests, enable ethnic groups to compromise. However, a consociational settlement that is not supported by additional efforts in the fields of education, civil society and media, cannot able to maintain positive peace. Therefore, it is necessary to prop a consociational order by inclusive and unprejudiced education policies, stronger civil society and independent and impartial media in order to reinforce peacebuilding.

### **Remedial solutions to the side effects of a consociational order**

The side effects of consociational democracy on nation and peace building can be mitigated by a proper education policy that prevents segregation and enables interethnic dialogue; an integrated and effective civil society; and impartial and independent media. If a consociational order is underpinned by this tripod, then the chance of it to maintain the sustainable peace becomes higher.

### **Education**

Consociational democracy recommends ethnic groups to be kept in their own borders and interact with each other minimum in order to avoid conflict. However, implementing that concociational formula in education causes ethnic segregation and exacerbates ethnic conflict in the long run by hindering the demolition of prejudices and historical mistrust between the conflicting groups.

In Macedonia, primary and secondary education is arranged to prevent contact between ethnic Macedonian and ethnic Albanian students. In situations that Macedonian and

Albanian students have to share the same building, they attend classes in separate shifts of the day. According to Vasilev, this is a practice that is tried as a measure to avoid what had happened in the schools in Skopje, Bitola and Kumanovo after the 2001 ethnic conflict. In those parts of the country, inter-ethnic affrays obliged the authorities to tend towards mono-ethnic schools. However, as a primary socialization institution after the family, school shapes the values and norms that children endogenise while growing. In that respect, the schools that are ethnically coed enables individuals to be familiar with and respect different ethnic groups from the early ages. (Vasilev, 2013, pp. 701-702) Since prejudices affect ethnic attitudes, early socialization experiences are critical in later inter-ethnic relations. The school-society boundary is “permeable”. Just as children bring along their societies’ values, attitudes, stereotypes and prejudices to the classrooms, students also bring away their inter group experiences to their societies. Thus, they can play a role in shaping the “perceptual environment” beyond the schools. (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000, pp. 3-4) This socially constructive role of education as a significant instrument for social change is also emphasized by Petroska-Beska and Najcevska (2004), who especially stress the importance of history lessons, which should be lectured not to rush up ethnic hostilities but rather to strengthen ethnic reconciliation (p. 1). The history is manipulatively thought in the schools and the textbooks often contain negative ethnic stereotypes. “What is thought in history class and how it is thought is highly political and can foster either animosity or peace”. Thus, removing negative stereotypes from the textbooks will be an important step for positive change. (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000, pp. 10,13)

Just as education can have a socially constructive and transformative role on inter-ethnic relations, it can also have a destructive impact. If some ethnic groups are denied access to educational resources and as a result restricted from full participation in the economic and social life, there emerges tension between the advantaged and disadvantaged. This can trigger ethnic conflict, as happened in Serbia when in Kosovo Serbian authorities restricted the reserved quotas of Albanians in secondary schools (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000, p. 9). Another example can be cited from the Macedonian society, where the ethnic Albanian minority since the independence of the Republic, demanded their language to be used in higher education. Albanians in Macedonia asserted that the lack of Albanian tertiary education make their ethnic group disadvantageous vis-à-vis the Macedonian majority in terms of occupational opportunities and socio-economic status (Mandacı, 2014, p. 246). The education policy of Macedonia was one of the main reasons of ethnic Macedonian-ethnic Albanian conflict culminated in 2001.

A sensitive handling of linguistic issues can contribute to the building and maintenance of peaceful relations between different ethnic groups (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000, p. 17). Language is an essential element in the maintenance of ethnic and cultural identity (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000, p. 11). Instruction in mother tongue strengthens children's sense of identity and sense of belonging. It is a mistake to regard teaching of minority languages as damage to the sense of political unity. According to Bush and Saltarelli (2000), owing to bilingual education, minority groups become more satisfied with the educational practices of the dominant culture (p.18). Nation building does not have to be assimilative, it can foster multiple identities. As Bush and Saltarelli (2000) remark, "...multiplicity of identities does not necessarily detract from national loyalty... educationalists should explore ways of giving voice to these heterogeneous identities"(p. 20).

On the contrary, it is also a mistake to perceive every effort to impose a common language on a multi ethnic (multi lingual) society as an aggressive cultural act (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000, p. 11). Common language is important for connecting the citizens coming from various ethno-cultural origins and for enabling confidence building. By means of common language, citizens can communicate with state institutions and state officials. They gain equal opportunity to be employed in public institutions (Daskalovski, 2002, pp. 7-8). According to Daskalovski (2002), what damages liberal equality emerges when the language and culture of the majority is supported by the state while the minorities' language and culture is not (pp. 9-10). Thus, the criterion is how the minority languages are treated (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000, p. 11).

In the USA and Canada, bilingual education positively affected mutual understanding and tolerance between ethnic groups. In Northern Ireland, the state authorities ended the ethnically segregated school systems and over time equalized the funds given to the Catholic and Protestant schools. The increased confidence building measures and compulsory mutual understanding education supported inter-ethnic reconciliation. (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000, p.16)

In order to underpin nation and peace building, consociational democracy, which inherently praise ethnicity, should be propped by an appropriate education system that supports ethnic reconciliation, tolerance and mutual understanding rather than that incite segregation and animosity. Increasing inter-ethnic contact "promotes a political environment more conducive to accommodation" (Dixon, 1997, p. 3). For positive change, the minds of

formerly de-segregated people should change. And schools can play a pivotal role in this process of de-segregation. (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000, p.17)

### **Civil society**

One of the important debates between the consociationalists (accommodationists) and integrationists is whether ethnic segregation or ethnic integration can contribute to conflict resolution and following peace building. Consociational democracy is an “elite-oriented and top down form of power sharing” (Dixon, 1997, p. 1). According to Lijphart, consociationalism aims ‘not to abolish or weaken segmental cleavages but to recognize them explicitly and to turn the segments into constructive elements of stable democracy’ (as cited in Dixon, 1997, p. 5). For consociationalists, what matters is not the reconciliation below, but the elite cooperation at the top (Dixon, 1997, p. 4).

Civil society model, on the contrary, is a bottom up approach that opts for the “extension of democracy and interethnic contact” (Dixon, 1997, p. 3). Interethnic networks, by building bridges and managing tensions, can be instruments of peace (Varshney, 2001, p. 363). According to Dixon, the positive role of civil society in facilitating reconciliation to ethno national conflicts has been revealed in Eastern Europe and Latin America (Dixon, 1997, p.8; see Belloni, 2001).

In divided societies, civil society is considered as an integral part of sustainable peace. However, since consociational democracy blocks the weakening of ethnic loyalties, in the greater part of divided societies governed by consociational democracy, civil society is organized along ethnic lines and the social networks are mono-ethnic. This causes civil society to lose its integrative role (Varshney, 2001, p. 363). According to Belloni, if civil society building is seen as a technical task as in the Bosnian case, it becomes difficult to overcome nationalist fragmentation. For him, the main reason for the failure of integrative civic engagement is the top-down civil society building of the international society. (Belloni, 2001, p. 163)

Civil society can be a powerful peacebuilding instrument in case it is organized bottom up and inter-ethnically. In a consociational state, a multi ethnic civil society building can be encouraged by supporting social cohesion, increasing communication channels between ethnic groups, strengthening mutual tolerance and confidence and emphasizing common interests.

## Media

Media can be a torch of hatred or a flag of peace. According to Bratic (2006), when we examine the history of 20<sup>th</sup> century, we can find out many examples in which media was used for war propaganda and for inciting violence (p.2). The effect of media on inflaming hatreds and inciting violence can be revealed in the Nazi Germany and in the more recent examples of Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia (Allen and Stremlau, 2005, p. 2). In most of the Balkan states, political party leaders are at the same time media patrons. Unfortunately, particularly in the electoral periods, they use their power on media as a segregative tool that incites ethnic hatreds. (See Matevich, 2014, p. 69) The main reason for this is the scarcity of the resources which can only be utilized if you are in power or if you are akin to someone who is in power. And, to come into power, the easiest way is to play the ethnic card. For instance in Macedonia, during the 2001 ethnic conflict, media was used as a tool that propagated partisanship and fueled the crisis. (Ordanoski and Matevski, 2007, p. 54)

However, Bratic (2006) underscores that if media can promote violence, it can also promote peace. He gives the example of Northern Ireland, where an advertising agency called McCann Erickson developed a media campaign in favor of the Good Friday Agreement that ended the 30 years sectarian conflict in the Northern Ireland. It promoted support of the people on both sides of the conflict which in beginning objected the agreement (p.2).

Ross Howard, Director of the Institute for Media Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS), fleshes out how media can be an instrument of peace-building:

“...(the media) is the safeguard of democratic governance...accurate and balanced reporting which fairly represents a diversity of views sufficient for the public to make well-informed choices. ...provide early warning of potential outbreaks of conflict. They serve as watchdogs over leaders and officials and hold them accountable. They monitor human rights. Their presence is essential to the functioning of other civil society actors. In less optimal environments, the media can still foster stability by providing essential information about humanitarian initiatives” (as cited in Allen ve Stremlau, 2005, p.4).

The effects of media on peace building are not negligible. Media can “influence attitudes and opinions and shape interpretations of reality” (Bratic, 2006, pp. 6,9). Eliminating media messages that incite violence, forbidding war propaganda via the mass media, and stopping manipulative broadcast and publications are important steps to achieve neutral,

unbiased and nonpartisan media. An independent and impartial media can be a notable cure to the disrupted inter-group relations.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, in order to build positive peace, a consociational order should lean on a tripod: de-segregative and objective education policies, stronger civil society and independent and impartial media. There are also other measures to be taken such as reducing economic disparity and decreasing unemployment. Without such measures, consociational theory's main argument- achieving an important degree of democracy and stability at the same time- becomes unfounded because without a strong peace, it is hard to consolidate democracy or assure stability. A consociational settlement that is not supported by measures in the fields of education, civil society, media and economy, can only build an ungrounded floor for peace which will easily cave in.

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# **‘Theatre and Anthropology in Amo Runzu Iyani Farming Festival of North Central Nigeria’**



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## **Abstract**

This paper investigates into the theatrical and anthropological aspects of Amo Runzu Farming festival with the aim of unearthing its aesthetics. It is a festival that has existed since time immemorial and has started losing its substance and significance as a result of lack of documentation. Farming festivals in Africa that are theatrical have not received meaningful attention from writers/ critics in validating the aesthetics that such festivals offer the artistic space. This paper utilizes anthropology in the style of Turner and Schechner to validate the salient and critical aspects that Amo Runzu Iyani farming festival gives out for analysis. Anthropology and ontology touch on social relations and culture, and the nature and relations of being. The paper attempts to answer questions through a narrative style of presentation, such as: What is Iyani? What are the performance idioms in Iyani? How can Iyani be more beneficial in a contemporary competitive artistic space of today? An idiom is a language that is peculiar to a people but theatre has a way of mediating through any activities that are spectacular and have the potentials and vivacity of appealing to other people transcending their sociological and traditional audience spaces. This paper uses a sociological approach in investigating Iyani festival in order to evaluate the substance that is theatrical and anthropological in the festival. Consequently, the paper will be of benefit theatre practitioners and anthropologists.

Keywords: Theatre, Anthropology, Iyani

## **Introduction**

Festival theatre the world over is one area that seems to be gaining more and more attention from writers, critics and oral performance experts. This is because it offers fresh air to theatre field with aspects that were either not known before or accepted as part of the theatre; these aspects were not part of the theatre tradition found in Europe and America.

Mwai (2012) posits that drama in Africa has been in existence since time immemorial. That is because it is known from birth to death, Africans have a myriad of rituals in which



drama was and still is enacted. Drama is performance and in the African setting performance remains an integral part of every such activity.

Mitchell (2006), in his compendium of historical collection that covers all regions in Africa attests to the fact that the continent is rich in several festivals that are highly ritualistic and theatrical. Examples of such festivals are the initiation ceremonies of the Maasai from the Eastern Africa; the myriad Yoruba festivals that celebrate gods; the masked Chokwe ritual ceremonies of Angola to the Central Africa, to the Xhosa initiation ceremonies of South Africa and the Shilluk of the Sudanese people. Africa has remained a hive of the traditional activities that are performative.

“Panafest in Ghana celebrates Pan-African identity. It attracts people with Ghanaian roots from all over the world and incorporates traditional ceremonies such as initiation, music and dance performance and dramatic events.

Argugu fishing festival is also a recent festival that start in 1934 to mark the first visit there of Sultan of Sokoto. It is today a four day festival (Mitchell, 2006).

Brockett and Ball (2011) state that Europeans and Americans largely were ignorant of African performance traditions until the twentieth century. But nevertheless, African performance activities had through the centuries been numerous – religious rituals, festivals, ceremonies, storytelling, and various kinds of celebrations – and had been woven into daily life.

In the same vein, Olaniyan (2011) points out that Africa is home to several traditions of theatre, conceived as an ensemble of culturally marked and consciously staged practices in space and time and before an audience. Many of these traditions are of ancient origin, while others emerged with the formal European colonization of Africa in the nineteenth century and the subsequent imposition of western education, religion and culture. He further explains the nature and form of these performance traditions as mostly non-scripted, improvisatory and performed in indigenous African languages.

Finnegan (1970), despite writing in the twentieth century, argues on the contrary on the non-dramatic form of these performances. This is because they do not fit into the mould of European traditions. Exponents of this position, like her, are mindless of the relativity of drama which must not be monolithic as cultures are not the same.

Iyani Farming festival falls with the category of indigenous practices which Olaniyan (2011) describes as organized around certain deities or spirits, or mark generational transitions or the passage of the seasons whether of climate or agricultural production. He opines that festivals are sprawling multimedia occasions which imply incorporating diverse forms such as singing, chanting, drama, drumming, masking, miming, costuming and puppetry. Iyani takes a place within a day or two days.

It is anthropological to assess the nature of existence of a people in terms of cultural history which at the same time gives the need into probe into the nature and relations of their being of this particular set of people under study.

### **Relationship between Theatre and Anthropology**

In performances by Euro-American, Native Americans, Afro-African and Asians, etc., Richard Schechner has examined carefully the details of a performative behavior and developed models of the performance process useful not only to persons in the art but to anthropologists, play theorists and others fascinated (but perhaps terrified) by the multi-channel realities of postmodern world. The relationship between theatre and anthropology can be seen from a number of stand points. Barber argues that theatre anthropology is the study of the performer's scenic behavior which constitutes the basis of different genres, roles and personal or collective traditions ([www.odinteatret.k/research/ista/theatre-anthropology.aspx](http://www.odinteatret.k/research/ista/theatre-anthropology.aspx)). In this paper, we are not going into that highly technical area in the performer's different techniques that is looked at as being conscious and codified in which recurring principles are applied to certain physiological factors like weight, balance, the position of the spinal cord etc. In this paper, the concentration is on the application of some certain paradigms of cultural anthropology to theatre and dance. Ours here is more of anthropology of performance than theatre anthropology because our focus is on performative phenomena in Iyani farming festival. By this approach we would see the relationship between theatre as performance behavior and ritual. This is exactly what Iyani is endowed with.

### **Narrative on Iyani Festival**

Iyani is a farming festival of the Amo Runzu people that starts at the beginning of a farming season. Iyani is practiced by a part of the Amo people and are mostly in Jengre town of Bassa LGC of Plateau State in Nigeria. History as reported by Baba David Awuya, has it

that Kundi came and made Runzu in Jengre and the two became brothers. Today, they are a combination of two clans that emanated from these two forebears.

When the Amo Runzu settled at Kalambai hills from Pingel, he began to fashion out implements he was using on the farm locally. For instance, the metal for the hoe he was using was not manufactured with a modern metal. This reminds one of science and technology that are traditional to Africa. They would collect the assorted earth that had iron ore and subject it to heat and it would become metal for the hoe and other implements. The metal that was homemade was called kuduza.

Amo Runzu people placed primacy on supernatural and spiritual powers. They had charms to protect their farms with. Thus, such charms were even used to settle land disputes around Jengre and environs. The people were made to swear by the charms and the repercussions were immense.

The same charm is used when the season is about to start. The chief priest comes to the land with it and squats in the middle of the farmers who are waiting for a great indication. If after the charm is laid on the ground and covered with a calabash, remains horizontal, the ridges and the festival will not be successful.

Amo people are predominantly farmers, specializing in the cultivation of Maize, Millet, Yams, Beans, Soya beans and vegetables among others. But the farming festival is usually done on a maize farm because it usually covers hectares of land. At times, the event or performance takes place on a soya beans farm.

As the farmers cultivate the ridges, drum and other musical instruments are used to give them the Iyani music. Drums and local flutes are also used for music renditions. These are used in creating the tempo and atmosphere of the event. The farmers' strides, gaps of moments they cut the soil have to match with the beats of music or the emphatic sounds of the flutes.

At such moment, the height and the beauty of the ridges are taken into cognizance. The farmers are usually competitors and the atmosphere is that of competition. According to a respondent, Samson Gada, the winner of such contest is rewarded with a beautiful lady who is usually among the ladies at the venue of the "Iyani".

There is usually a horn hanged between two sticks that are perpendicularly placed. This objects usually enchanted are believed to provide shield to the farmers in case 'unseen' enemies are to launch an attack.

The people of Runzu Amo have animistic and totemistic affiliations to the objects of spiritual relevance. Most objects are attached meanings and are believed to bear power that can influence events.

Costumes worn during Iyani look like those one used in Izara; the women wear leaves with string-like objects beside the leaves. Their faces and bodies are scarified or marked. The men wear tanned skins of dead animals with their chests bare. But for the female participants, they wear short black apparels to cover the breasts. The women usually wear armlets (Imon-chara) and necklace made with multi-colour beads (Imon-toh). It is like that in Izara festival and other major festivals of the entire Amo tribe, the tanned skins are decorated with African cowries (Ikulma) which make their costumes beautiful.

At the venue of the farming contest, foods such as *tuwo* and *mbampin* (foods prepared from maize) *Iwaja* or *Ichikapa* (rice meal) and *ntoro* (locally brewed beer) are brought there for the consumption of the farmers. They take a lot of the local brew which makes them stronger.



Figure.1.1 Winner of Iyani farming contest of 2015



Figure.1.2 Farmers/contestants presenting the winner of the contest of 2015



Figure. 1.3 The bride given to the winner of 2015

### **The Meeting Point between Theatre and Anthropology in Iyani**

Theatre thrives on the aspects of audience, performers, place and action. The four must assemble themselves for a theatre experience. Where one is missing, there is no theatre. The action that is presented must be spectacular as opposed to ordinary life. The audiences come together for something unique and special. Iyani as a performance has its spectators who are active at times. They do not relax and watch a play flow like in the case of Western audience. But these audience's senses are engaged at all the time during the performance.

What does anthropology offer Iyani or the performance generally? Theatre is cultural and ontological. It depends on materials from a society's cultural milieu to furnish what is watched. It provides substance for the script that is performative at the same time.

Anthropology captures the beliefs and customs of a people. This deals with the aspects of human life that are non-physical yet they are quintessential to human existence as encapsulated in their belief system. Iyani is not just about the execution of labour on a farmland by a large number of farmers, but it is one the ways the people invite or attract their ancestors come to bountifully bless their agricultural produce. And a way to celebrate hard work, strength, belief which attracts a reward of a suitable woman for marriage for the best competitor in the farming contest.

Iyani usually has a lot of spectators because people from neighboring villages of Amo usually get to know about the event and attend it. It usually has a good number of women both married and unmarried. For the married women, they have witnessed several editions of the

festival and they were beneficiaries of it. This is because a lot of them got their spouses during the festival. For the beautiful spinsters, they are usually anticipating productive suitors to ask for their hands in marriage. The song sung at such rare contests is known as “turmi shadakan mata” directly translated as “mortar, the impression of women”. This has to do with the skillful dancer who dances and lifts a heavy mortar with his mouth without the help of his hands, usually impresses the women who cheer him during the dance.

The rich people in Amo land would buy a cow and invite farmers for the contest. He invites the flag man also known as “unan tuta” who moves with flag hanged on a long bamboo stick to show that Iyani is taking place. At the Iyani festival venue, some warriors also hold bow and arrows to keep guard against enemy camps who might want to invade or infiltrate Amo Runzu land and take the people into captivity.

If the best farmer/competitor is selected to lead in the next five years, he is presented to the elders for anointing. He is presented to the elders in front of the rich man’s house. The local chief welcomes the farmers back from the farm. For (2015) edition, Wada Ezekiel was the winner of Iyani, and he would lead for the next five years. The winner is known as ‘barde’. According to Wada, his ridge was the best and he finished before any other competitor. That he had been planning for the competition, and he had gone through the development stages to enable him feature in this competition. For five years, he knew what was expected of him. If the winner emerged, it was usually time for the celebration.

This discourse on anthropology and theatre also gets attracted to this issue of religion and magic becoming two central phenomena in Iyani festival which contribute to its identity and viability.

Since every African society has both magic and religion, it was inevitable to conclude that Africans had not evolved beyond the stage of detaching religion from magic. Magic belongs to the religious mentality of African peoples. But religion is not magic, and magic cannot explain religion. Religion is greater than magic, and only an ignorant outsider could imagine that African religions are nothing more than magic”. (Mbiti, p.289)

It can be agreed that magic is not the same as religion and it does not portray the long standing features that the latter has in terms of what it has stood for, but magic does add to its attraction. Human beings are attracted to what is catchy, what attracts so much attention. Religion is spectacular despite the reverence, humility and pastoral credence it preaches. Contemporary religious practice has passed this limit of character. Iyani competition does not

just entail who tilts the most beautiful ridge but who also does it the fastest. Some people believe that there is usually a spiritual battle that ensues among the competitors and the prospective winner heaps obstacles in form of stones that clash with the local hoe of the competitor. This 'misdeed' slows down the pace of the competitors and frustrates them into giving up on the contest.

Iyani festival thrives on restored behavior in that it deals with actions that are from the catalogue of everyday activities of Amo people. Amo Runzu are predominantly farmers who live communally. So what is Iyani is the performance of activities that have been restored. They are disjunctive actions that have been restored to the delight of their ancestors and for the benefit of the community. The performers have cherished these actions and they usually look forward to it at a moment of Iyani. No step of the process can be skipped. But be that as it may, for the fact that no human activity which is spiritual, ritual or profane is static, Iyani too has been tinkered with.

Ritual is what makes the Iyani festival unique. Ritual is central to traditional African festival theatre. Ritual itself gets modified through time. Kanhailal (2008) posits that:

We are disillusioned with the spirit of the times. We reject the clichéd and often-made claims that nothing can be changed. Ours is an entirely different kind of awareness, reflecting on the past and present. The importance of our work consists in that we have breathed new values into the empty shell of theatre. Therefore, we believe in distilling new meaning from the social report, which is theatre. We believe in such production that can shelter the way of seeing and doing theatre.

The above quote captures the essence of this paper, that the theatre as a discipline and profession still has slim space to be filled with vistas of production. How much the ritual reaction has offered contemporary practice another direction of this paper. Unless the theatre and if possible film in Nigeria, take such a direction, we will lose it all in monotony and lack of variety. We will even lose it in trying to promote what is ours. Theatre ought to connect a people's past with the present. For instance, Soyinka became very prominent in the 1960's to 1980's because he took a direction that was new. He was idealistic, ritualistic and social in trying to carve a niche for Nigerian theatre and drama. His plays have picked substance and materials from the traditional repositories of the Yoruba people. Soyinka attemptst in dramatizing Yoruba festivals and synthesizes them with serious aspects of their mythology. Blau (2008) posits that theatre is the art of impossible. Artists have not ceased to be

iconoclastic by trying new things, some unconsciously if we go back to Schechner's concept of restored behaviours.

### **Performance Aesthetics of Iyani Festival**

- **Dance**

Dance as a performance aesthetic in Iyani implies the tonic which invigorates the farmers to work hard and fast. The female dancers dance *Iwawa* which are some diagonal movements. They make two steps to the right and one to the left in a cycle. But during the farming contest, they sing and dance to cheer the farmers while showing their beauty.

- **Music**

Music during Iyani is always that of supplication and thanks giving for the current year's bountiful harvest and for the previous year. Music in Iyani performs the same purpose as in Izara circumcision festival. It is myth-embryonic. It is what the ancestors/ gods understand, according to Baba David Awuya. They sing with the accompaniment of the beats of the drums.

- **Costumes**

The costumes are leaves (agwaw) and black apparels for the female performers and tanned skin (Kukii) for the male performers. The women wear some fabric to cover their breasts. The tanned skins are usually decorated with African cowries or buttons.

- **Ritual**

Every stage in Izara is done carefully and correctly. Every stage is done with reverence though there is so much of dance and music. All performers must adhere to every rule that applies to the performance and activity of Iyani festival. Rituals keep the festival still relevant and in good structure even though modernity has had its impact on the festival.

- **Audience participation**

African performance space is fluid. There is no clear dichotomy between performers and audience. It is a festival that has so much relevance to the life of the community, so every willing member participates in the dance in supplication for a better harvest or farming season. But the dancers/farmers and the drummers are more active other ones.



- **Farming contest**

Farming contest is the reason for the festival. The beauty of the season is combining farming activity and dance/music to the delight of the participating audience. The winner is guaranteed longevity and a woman to be married to him.

- **Properties**

The properties used in every stage add colour to the event. The effigy-like objects at the beginning, the drums, the local brew, the bows and arrows held by the guards, etc add beauty to the whole event.

### **Contemporary Relevance of Iyani Festival**

As we have established above, no human activity is static and so is African traditional festival. No aspect of it is untouchable by dynamics of time. Time searches for new meanings in new places. So time moves motifs, symbols, signs, movements etc. to such new places or art forms. Today, highly ritualistic performances belonging some ethnic nationalities have been transported to Europe and America like the Ikeji festival of the Igbo of Nigeria, a masquerade that has performed severally in New York and Washington D.C. Although there are changes done to the festival, the philosophy and belief remain the same. The same masquerade is seen with same costume, and he dances the same way in his full masculinity. The change remains that not enough personnel and logistics are deployed when it comes to the performances of Ikeji in New York.

For Iyani the narrator keeps saying that a lot has been missed in this course of history. An event that should be annual was not held for a long time despite its potency. Could it be that the people's existence has been overtaken by other events deemed more germane? According to Baba Awuya, Iyani holds the key to the bountifulness of the people's harvest or it symbolizes "plenty". Until the gods accept such reverence from Amo land before crops can yield plenty. The music and dance that accompany the event carry the spirit of the movement. Soyinka contends that in such African festivals, music is myth-embryonic. The essence and meaning are carried to the ancestors and the gods through music.

In contemporary terms, the observance has become more of a ceremony for other tribes within the region to see. It is more or less political. It is an avenue of getting finances for the conduct of communal projects. The dances have de-ritualized, music has been desecrated; its essence is more or less lost to modernity. Today, we witness how multi-purpose cultural troupe have veered and ventured into hitherto "secure" traditional

performances adopted recklessly the artistic aspects of a people's performances. Where this imitation, transposition and adoption are done, the audience does not connect with the original owners or abode of such quintessential performances. No dance, ritual movement or music is sacred in the hands of such purveyors of sacred codes. But that is the position of the phenomenon of postmodernism; it mixes several sorts together in a single artwork/performance.

What has happened to the identity of owners of Iyani festival? This question has to do with anthropology which deals with the nature of the existence of tribes and cultural events that define them. Amo people with regard to identity have to be redefined considering their present belief system. Most of them have become Christians and a few Muslims now, and Iyani is observed ceremonially, not as an event that used to determine how well and successful the people existed. The young people probably see the event as being distant from their existence because Christian beliefs oppose what Iyani stands for. In the case of Izara circumcision festival, it now accommodates people from other tribal extractions. They join in the dance and sing Izara song which captures the spirit of the race. Iyani looks strange to other tribes probably because it belongs to a region of Amo.

### **The Future of Iyani Festival**

The best way to view the future of a festival that is in decline is to see it in the good light. Vital aspects of the highly revered event are being lost in the swamp of modernity. To salvage the situation is to utilize the materials it can provide for film and theatre, and to also absorb its substance in other areas that are memorably based. For instance, museums can collate some of the properties used during the festival to be stocked in their galleries.

Theatre has been utilizing information and materials gathered from the traditional milieu of the Nigerian communities. However, there are rich and resourceful traditional festivals which are still untouched. Dramatists have often utilized interesting aspects of these festivals to dramatize them. These dramatists should majorly pick the performance idioms to dramatize. A dramatist like Wole Soyinka picked from the Yoruba tradition from tradition of the carrier to pitch his play, the Strong Breed. The same way, Clark has picked from the Niger-Delta people to develop the happenings in his plays. Performance idioms of those traditions are languages imbued with folk philosophies and meanings special to them. These dramatists unlock these idioms from the original and pristine bases, and transpose, adapt or adopt them into drama.

In the same vein, the Nigerian film industry, Nollywood has been capturing these idioms on screen. The whole process becomes so easier in film than drama due to sophisticated and complex technology use in film production. From the continent, there have been films with traditional content, but the ratio is still trailing films from other genres. India and China can be said to have led the market in this respect. Films like *Saikati* (1993) by Ann Mungai about circumcision amongst the Maasai people of Kenya, *Battle of the Sacred Tree* (1994) by Kinyanjui have so much influence in film market in Kenya. In Nigeria, there have been films with traditional materials such as *Agony Prince*, *Throne of Glory*, *Akutu*, *Roots* etc.

In music and dance, there has been so much synthesis of traditional dance movements with contemporary movements. We could see the Iwawa dance and Ikarma dances mixed with other movements in contemporary dance shows. This can be one of the ways that the dance can be relevant in contemporary terms.

This approach is crucial to the survival of the traditional materials which ought to be applied to other arts like film and theatre that have benefitted from other traditions. This only becomes serious if the authority organizing Iyani keeps it going as an annual event as it used to be. This should be done as a matter of urgency because the festival is capable of appealing to people of other cultures.

## **Conclusion**

Iyani festival has a lot to be desired by contemporary audience if given attention by artists. The festival's activities are waning because it has not been given appreciable attention for a long time. However, contemporary artists of different places stand to benefit from the festival's materials if utilized. Museums, theatre and film can tap from this festival.

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**LITERATURE**

# The Way of Speech Unique to the Neighbourhoods of Mostar in the Literary Works of Hamza Humo



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## Abstract

This paper focuses on the lexical treasure that is preserved within Humo's literary work; the lexemes that are unique to the neighbourhoods in Mostar, which is distinct from the way of speech unique to the rural areas east and west of Mostar. The analysis of five short stories whose setting is related to specific neighbourhoods in Mostar has brought out certain lexemes that are typical of the time when Humo wrote his works. Some of these lexemes are integral parts of the standard language, some belong to the dialects, while some are so unique to the extent that we cannot find any verification of their meaning in existing dictionaries. Considering these lexemes as witnesses of a certain period of time give these features even more extensive value, in this case the times of Humo's Mostar and the unique features of the Herzegovina region. In addition to distinguish and point out the uniqueness of these lexemes whose meaning is considered within the context, the aim of this paper was to analyze these unique lexemes in order to create an illustration of the extent of use of this lexical layer. As a matter of fact, the aim was to find out which lexemes can be regarded as active lexicon and which lexemes have become parts of the passive lexicon. Since this paper deals with the lexical and semantic aspects of the analysis, the meaning of lexemes such as *bjelasati se* (glimmer), *cik* (early), *ljuta* (an alcoholic drink), *opor* (pungent), *prozebla* (wintry) etc. have been clarified as lexemes that we do not find any verification in dictionaries. Furthermore, the lexemes were observed and classified through categories related to the ambience, such as courtyards and gardens, wildlife, Herzegovinian karst, the heat and the unique wind, etc., hence all features of material reality and those ones related to visions and passion.

Keywords: way of speech, lexemes, meaning, lexicon

## Introduction

Mostar, with its magnificent landscape, is a source of incessant inspiration for many scholars and admirers of the written word. This simple, but inspirational notion extracts and revives in order to become part of a larger whole and in that way give confidence to new reflections and research. For this reason, it is important that the thread is not broken off,

because every new thought serves as a continuation of the previous one, but also as the beginning of the next one. The image itself of the ambience of the sunlit Mostar ravine is alluring, with its streams of water, heated up by its rocks and covered in blossoms, the mature fruits of golden autumn, as well as those of spring, from the hill Stolac and the hollow slopes of Hum. This noteworthy Herzegovinian countryside is essential in Hamza Humo's literary works. By pointing out this statement, we do not state that the writer never left his hometown in his lifetime. Hamza Humo travelled a lot and visited his birthplace from time to time, but it is significant to draw attention to the fact that this absence is nowhere to be found in his written works, because he kept Mostar and the entire Mostar ravine in his heart and soul. On one occasion he said: "*Mostar is and remains my first and almost the only inspiration.*" (Humo 2005: 27). Therefore, this paper is going to provide insight into the unique lexical layer within Humo's literary work; the lexemes that are distinctive to the neighbourhoods in Mostar during Humo's lifetime, and the analysis itself is based on the lexical-semantic aspect. In order to highlight this particular lexical layer, the analysis has brought out certain lexemes that are integral parts of the standard language, while some merely belong to the dialects. In addition, there are some lexemes that are unique to the extent that we cannot find any verification of their meaning in existing dictionaries<sup>3</sup>, classified as *Herzegovinisms*, because they bring forth the unique features of the Herzegovina region. (Peco 2007: 150). The study is mainly based on the short stories *Ašikovanje*, *Krnata*, *Sevdalijina ljubav*, *Raspevani grad* and *Policajac br. 37*. The material that served as an adequate corpus gave indicative indicators of aspects that were the subject of the abovementioned analysis.

### **Between material reality and artistic value of Sevdah music (sevdalinka)**

In the same way as Hamza Humo did not have boundaries or obstacles in his writing, likewise, this paper cannot be clearly and distinctly framed. Because of this, an interweaving occurs between the external and the internal. The external refers to the ambience related to **neighbourhood** (mahala), **alley** (sokak), **garden** (avlija), while the internal part is most often expressed by the songs of **Sevdah music** (sevdalinka), the sound of **tambourine** (krnata) and

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<sup>3</sup> Dictionaries written by Dževad Jahić were used to explain the meaning of certain lexemes: The School Dictionary of Bosnian language and Dictionary of Bosnian language, and the dictionaries Dictionary of Serbo-Croatian Standard Language (MS-MH) and Dictionary of Serbo-Croatian Standard Language and Vernaculars (SANU), as well as the dictionary Turcizms in Serbo-Croatian Language written by Abdulah Skaljic.

**tamboura** (šargija), the sigh of a **girl** (djevojka) or a **brook** (potok), adjoining the personified and abstract.

To begin with the classification, the lexeme **neighbourhood** (mahala) refers to a word of Turkish origin. Within this paper, only the part of its meaning that points to a section of a city or a city quarter is taken into consideration, although Skaljic suggests that it is a street, i.e. an alley (Skaljic 1989: 439). It is important to point out that the aforementioned lexeme becomes an integral part of the commonly used lexicon. With a unique linguistic expression, Hamza Humo offers images of many neighbourhoods in Mostar. One of these images is presented with the help of lexemes that indicate cold days and wind; *"The Radobolja river flows through Pasha's neighbourhood, the cold wind blows through the naked gardens, empty and sad."* (Humo 1928: 92). Some of these toponyms, such as **Baščine**, are derived from the general noun bašča (garden), but with the augmentative form. In addition to the aforementioned, some other neighbourhoods in Mostar are also mentioned in the paper, where the setting in the short stories takes place, such as *Kantarevac*, *Mazoljice*, *Raljevine*, *Cernica*, *Zahum*, as well as the settlement on the right riverbank of Neretva - *Vihovići*. The hill Stolac is also highlighted as a magnificent place where the view of the city and the rivers Radobolja and Neretva is considered breathtaking. Moreover, in the sentence *"In the middle of the city, the market is full of murmurs and colours and exclamations."* (Humo 1932: 121), the market is portrayed. It is a place of gathering, trading and bargaining of harvested fruits from surrounding gardens. The word **Tepa** (market) refers to negotiation, although Skaljic insinuates the word Tepa to be the name of one of neighbourhoods in Mostar (Skaljic 1989: 610).

### Gardens of Mostar

A space surrounded by high walls - **garden** (avlija), according to Skaljic, is the *"house courtyard enclosed by walls"* (Skaljic 1989: 106) and represents the isolation from external influences, a more intimate corner where the residents feel they have a place to call their own. In these surroundings *"a lot of tears are shed"* (Humo 1932: 53) and there are moments *"of sudden weakness"* (Humo 1932: 52) *"and longing for affection on the sheet"*. (Humo 1932: 53). In addition, the following lexemes that we point out within the context; *"[...] and languish in pain"* (Humo 1932: 41) [...] *"completely horrified, Šemsa was shivering"*. (Humo 1932: 45) describe the mental state of certain characters. In the example *"Your eyes burn of shame [...]"* (Humo 1932: 42), the syntagm *"burn of shame"* is a phrase that means being embarrassed, feeling shame. Regularly, Hamza Humo uses phrases, such as *"wins every*



girls heart“ (Humo 1932: 52) in order to make the verb **win** (upiljiti) point to the meaning to be embedded, nestled. Through another phrase “*Troubled by thirst* [...] (Humo 1932: 42) *Šemsa felt dizzy*.” (Humo 1932: 42) and was “*exhausted as a patient*.” (Humo 1928: 92), it is clearly seen that comparison is used. For that reason, the use of phrases is one of the essential features not only in Humo's linguistic expression, but in the whole region.

Commonly, Hamza Humo uses lexemes with an onomatopoeic meaning in his descriptions, such as **click** (klikćati), **quake** (ceptati), **grumble** (zagundati), **buzz** (žamoriti), **snicker** (cerekati), **creak** (škrinuti). We can find an example in the phrase “*The garden door was creaking*“ (Humo 1932: 59), describing an action launched with a certain sound, while another example is the lexeme **flick** (kvrcnuti); “*The rock flicks the window with a cracked sound* [...] *his squeal hit Iša right in the heart*.” (Humo 1932: 58). Here, echo is found in the lexeme squeal.

Furthermore, in the syntagm “*vast desire*“, a great desire is expressed, but not feasible. There are also other examples, such as “*hidden breathing*“, indicating interruption in breathing. There are frequent examples of the verb **glimmer** (belasati), such as in the example “[...] *and to watch how her shirt glimmers on the grass*.” (Humo 1932: 41), pointing directly to the girl and her purity, and at the same time introduce the setting in a different way. Another example is also **swing** (ljuljnuti) in the syntagm “*She swung in a ecstatic manner*.” (Humo 1932: 55), indicating a single and sudden movement. In addition, the following examples of verbs indicate specificity, such as **place** (metnuti) in the example “*He placed the hand*.” (Humo 1932: 56), **withdraw** (prezati) in the example “*Omer began* [...] *to withdraw in front of him*.” (Humo 1928: 98), which means to be afraid or to hesitate. In this case, Mrgan makes Omer anxious. In the past, Omer's father used to be wealthy; he was a respected person in the society (aga), while Mrgan was the son of his steward. But the times are different now and the wheel of fortune has changed its course; “*The old mother whined in misery, and the shame fell on him*.” (Humo 1928: 93) [...] “*Recently his father passed away* [...]” (Humo 1928: 92). In the previous example, the use of the adverb recently is interesting, which additionally indicates that the action is ended, while the proximity of the moment is emphasized by the use of the verb in the present tense. With the help of this contrast, the very act of death and the consequences it brings to the family members are intensified. Moreover, various verbs are used to describe the relation between the characters, such as **obstruct** (sapeti) in the example “*Omer felt an obstruction in his throat*.” (Humo 1928: 93), **utter** (proslaviti) in the example “[...] *but he was unable to utter a word*.” (Humo 1928: 93), **chill** (zazebsiti) in the example “*By this thought, he was chilled to the bone*.”

(Humo 1928: 96). At the same time, Hamza Humo uses a number of adjectives that have the same function; to present and describe in details the characters' state of affairs, such as **coy** (postidan), **deceived** (zavađeni). The same function is also found in adverbs, such as **contritely** (skrušeno) in the example “*She sat contritely bent down.*“ (Humo 1928: 99), **pitifully** (sažalno) in the example “*People looked at him somewhat pitifully.*“ (Humo 1928: 98), **unintentionally** (nehotice), **stealth** (kradomice), **suddenly** (nenadno) in the example “*He suddenly stopped talking.*“ (Humo 1932: 56). Besides, of the additional lexemes, these are notable: **become dark** (sunoćalo) in the example “*Ithad already become dark.*“ (Humo 1928: 95), **frivolous** (prpošno) in the example “[...] *with a happy laughter of a frivolous childhood.*“ (Humo 1928: 97). There are also syntagms, such as **provoked cat** (nakostrešeni mačor) and **squint gas lamp** (škiljava gaznjača), which, on another place, is transformed into a simple sentence; **squint lantern** (škiljila svetiljka). Accordingly, Hamza Humo skilfully transforms and interweaves the lexemes, making them a part of a more expressive use of language.

As for the music, **Sevdah music** (sevdalinka) along with a **tamboura** (šargija) is applied in Hamza Humo's literary works, although there are examples where only the **sounds of tambourine** are mentioned. The sounds of instruments are connected to love, lust and the desire to achieve the dream. This can be observed in the example “*Whocan resist the sounds of the tambourine.*“ (Humo 1932: 42). “*Does not the tambourine make melodies even more luring?.*“ (Humo 1932: 42) while the heart of a young girl “[...] *beats sometimes so strongly.*“ (Humo 1932: 42). The main character cannot resist the sounds of the instrument that **strives** (grcati), a statement that can be seen in the example “*It is solely the tambourine that strives on Mazoljice.*“ (Humo 1932: 42). It produces sounds that overwhelm and last as long as the strength of the one who is playing, and then suddenly **falls silent** (zamuknuti), because the sounds do not reach the one they are intended for. Moved by it, the musician “*embraces the tambourine and goes away.*“ (Humo 1932: 41).

The flowers maintain the ambience of the garden with its beauty, which is portrayed “*inthree hundred colours [...] singing with a whisper.*“ (Humo 1932: 53), that is, the colours and the sound are presented with the help of hyperbole and contrast. Through the description of the colours, the writer is pointing to different flowers, although in one place, only hyacinths are highlighted. It is also relevant to point out that the description of fragrance is nowhere to be found, which means that the sound is dominant. The living space within the garden is portrayed by lexemes, such as **enclosed area** (kanat). Furthermore, underneath the roof is a **dove** (kumrija), a bird that is singing, a symbol of love. There are examples in the selected

works, such as “*The city silenced as if it was craving for something.*” (Humo 1932: 41), where the transfer of meaning is presented, as well as in the example “[...] *tense and stunned by the heat, he breathed convulsively.*” (Humo 1932: 52 ). The writer relocates us with the melody, precisely the sound, into the ambience of the garden. In fact, the melody is set up in the garden, and its echo is transferred to the ambience of the house, behind the enclosed area of the house. But this does not mean that the sound of the instrument or the voice of the singer cannot reach the loved one. The lexemes, that are characteristic for this ambience, are emphasized, such as “*Biber’s embellished garden*“ and “*the gardener Fazla, unbuttoned and with rolled up jeans.*“ (Humo 1932: 55). In addition to the clothing, there is an example of the lexeme **rolled up head** (zavraćena glava), meaning head bent backwards.

We link the lexemes about the garden to the syntagms or the context: **blooming cherry, the Herzegovinian fig tree, pomegranates** that have gotten its name after the colour and shape they get when they ripen and split. Of the other fruits, the apple tree is emphasized, as the writer puts it; “*The beetle’s sounds can be heard from the crown, covered by the yellow blossoms.*“ This description is the beginning of a new cycle, because the nature is woken up in the spring, while the sounds of the crickets are dominated during the summer, that “*scream as crazy*“ (Humo 1932: 57), and then, in the golden autumn, “*the leaves murmur in the fig tree.*“ (Humo 1932: 57). Afterwards, the gardens become **bare** (ogolele), announcing the arrival of winter.

### Wildlife of the Mediterranean landscape

If we put aside the garden for a while and step outside the courtyard, we are faced with the rough slopes of the hill, the steep cliffs and the capricious waves of the Neretva river, the flood from its tributary Radobolja, the fierce sun and the strong wind. And it is exactly the colours and the sounds that are describing the profligacy of the environment, if we compare the inner world of the garden with what is beyond its walls.

Hamza Humo often points to the beginning of the day, the dawn. It is described as if “*it has whitened over the crystal blue hills.*” (Humo 1932: 120). In this example, the use of the verb **whiten** (zabjeliti) has evoked the purity of a new day, while in the sentence “*The sun dashed behind the mountain Velež.*” (Humo 1932: 120) the writer is highlighting the intensity of the light of Mostar, the city of light. Many writers who spent at least one morning in Mostar have written about this particular light, for instance one of the most prominent writers, Nobel laureate Ivo Andrić. The sun rays are indirectly compared to the colour of a noble metal in the example “*The sun [...] with its rays, as if it is scattering golden hair, gilds all of*

*the roofs and the towers.*” (Humo 1928: 92). In the same way as in the previous examples, this is a description of the awakening of a new day, in which “[...] *the silenced city starts to bestir.*” (Humo 1932: 120), meaning to slowly get going, awaken. In addition to the description of the morning, other parts of the day are also portrayed in Hamza Humo's literary works, such as before midday, which is described with the lexeme **hubbub** (žagor); “*The market [...] hubbubs.*” (Humo 1932: 60). Furthermore, the midday is depicted by the lexemes **respite** (prolom) and **shriek** (krikovi) in the example “*The day goes by in respites and monotonous manner on the warm sand.*” (Humo 1932: 124) and “[...] *keep on bringing shrieks and songs.*” (Humo 1932: 124). The recognized summer heat is depicted by the onomatopoeias, such as **yelp** (cičati), **flute** (pištati), which can be found in the example “*The Earth is yelping, it flutes like a snake.*” (Humo 1932: 121). Another example is **quiver** (ceptjeti) in the example “*The voices glisten, overpowering everything and quiver in the heights.*” (Humo 1932: 120). The end of the summer day is depicted with an image of the sunset, as follows: “*Up in the heights, shaken by the glow, the sun is flooded by bloody jets.*” (Humo 1932: 121).

The coming of autumn is portrayed as “*the days full of rain and wintry fog.*” (Humo 1932: 63), referring to the rain that is specific for the Mostar region. When it starts to rain, it rains for a long time, all day and night. It is especially daunting to listen to the rain at night. This image is the typical portrait of Herzegovina, just as the previously described power of the sun's rays. Furthermore, the illustration of the wind, the cold and strong wind from the north, is also crucial. On one occasion, Hamza Humo gives a picture of a winter day through the lexeme **vitreous** (stakleni) in the example “*Avitreous winter day, fragile and frozen.*” (Humo 1932: 92), indicating cheerfulness and frostiness. The lexemes **wintry** (prozebli), **bare** (goli) and **grip** (stegao) are observed in the example “*The peaks of the bare mountains were whitened and the frost gripped our city.*” (Humo 1932: 63). The description of the coldness caused by the frost is another expression typical of the Mostar region. Additionally, the night is portrayed through the lexemes that contain sound in their meaning, such as: “*The sparrows revived and the neighbours' conversations as well.*” (Humo 1932: 54), “*The ewers started to make sounds.*” (Humo 1932: 54) and “*The moonlight enmeshed the city in its dreamy nets.*” (Humo 1932: 125).

The wind is welcomed during the summer period as a dear guest because “*it scatters the burning sultriness.*” (Humo 1932: 124), which means dispel the sultriness, making it more enjoyable. Sometimes, the wind may **breathe** (pirnuti), meaning blow slowly, and, equally, it

occurs during autumn, winter and even spring. The writer gives it a specific meaning by using the lexeme **whiz** (fijukati) that depicts the sound of the wind. This particular wind is represented by various lexemes, such as **bura**, describing north-eastern wind that is characteristic of the Mostar region, often followed by rain. As a result of the wind's strength, “[...] *the inhabitant shrink in the small houses*“ (Humo 1928: 92). Another example can be found in the sentence “*only around some skewed chimneys, the wind was carrying off the blaze of blue smoke and blowing through the streets.*” (Humo 1928: 92). The depiction of the wind scene is particularly scary during the night. It is to a large extent associated with the changes in the inner life of the characters in the stories. The mentioned correlation of changes in nature and in human beings can be evenly referred to as the essence. At the same time, this is only another confirmation that Hamza Humo entered literature through an expressionist movement, what can be seen through the following example: “[...] *the autumn wind was singing the song of the homeless around the sole house of Biber, the song of the sole.*” (Humo 1932: 63) and “[...] *the house door was knocking and the wind was whistling in the trees.*” (Humo 1932: 64) These are the last sentences in Hamza Humo's short story *Sevdalijina ljubav*, reflecting on the inexplicable downfall in terms of loneliness and surrender to alcohol of those who defied the whole world during the summer nights. By the help of the lexeme **alter** (izviti) in the example “*Biber altered his voice [...].*” (Humo 1932: 63), Hamza Humo shows sympathy for the hero, while the lexemes **sorrow** (čemer) and **past** (minulih) in the example “*He headed for [...] carrying sorrow of life [...] and the pain of the past.*” (Humo 1932: 63) show the other side of the same hero. This song is merely a mask of the world of his home city, but not for him. The hero is seeking consolation in alcohol, while absorbing the long summer nights and waiting for new love and new summers, because he cannot disunite (rastaviti) himself from “*his bachelor days*”. (Humo 1932: 62).

## Conclusion

With the help of his literary works, Hamza Humo has played a tremendous role in creating a unique image of the city of Mostar and the entire Mostar region. The writer only used the lexemes that are characteristic for the specific environment in which his heroes lived, but that were a part of his linguistic milieu as well. For that reason, the selected literary works contain elements of the writer's language, but also the language given through the speech of his characters. In some parts, we can trace elements of the standard language as well as those belonging more to the dialects. There are also elements that we can, without any doubt, declare the work of the writer itself, because the idiolect happens from the desire and the need

to make the literary work unique and completely different from all other works. At the same time, through the display of a setting, in this particular case - certain neighbourhoods in Mostar, the language of the city of Mostar is clearly reflected. It appears like a mosaic, where we get a complete image by putting together certain parts. Through the analysis of the five short stories written by Hamza Humo, we have only selected a part of this rich mosaic, which is called the way of speech in the city of Mostar. Within these parts, it is possible to speak of further classifications, such as traditional milieu or the milieu that experienced the transformation under the influence of other linguistic milieus caused by migration, especially those with the mark of migration to certain areas of Mostar. So, it is possible to talk about different influences on the language in the city of Mostar. Of course, this is a topic that requires a more detailed analysis, not only through the literary work of one writer but much more widely, but since it is not the subject of this paper it could serve as an idea and motivation for another research. In this paper, the emphasis is put on the speech itself, that is, the lexemes that are found in the selected short stories written by Hamza Humo. This fact can be classified as unique, because they are related to the writer's linguistic layer. However, it is particularly important to note that some of the mentioned lexemes are no longer in use; they are only preserved in the literary works as a testimony of the time when Hamza Humo wrote his works. We can also conclude that these lexemes have become a part of the passive lexicon, although this layer of lexicon is not and will never be forgotten, because there are still researchers who think of it as an integral part of the speech in the city of Mostar. Simply, when all is said and done, it is easy to detect the value of this specific way of speech that is preserved within Humo's literary work, which can rarely be found outside the region of Mostar.

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## Slika Sarajeva u francuskom književnom časopisu *Revija dva sveta*



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### Sažetak

U ovom radu imagološkom književnom analizom predstavimo sliku Sarajeva u najstarijem francuskom književnom časopisu *Revija dva sveta* kroz sedam analiziranih tekstova objavljenih između 1883. i 2004. godine kada je objavljen poslednji tekst vezan za ovaj grad. Zanimae nas kako i zašto se menjala slika Sarajeva u očima putopisaca i hroničara i kako su oni videli ovaj grad, narode koji u njemu žive i događaje koji su se dogodili na tlu ovog grada, a koji su ostavili neizbrisiv trag na svest evropskih hroničara.

Ključne reči: Sarajevo, književna imagologija, francuski putopisi

### Uvod

Predmet ovog rada biće slika Sarajeva u najstarijem francuskom književnom časopisu – *Revija dva sveta* (*Revue des deux mondes*). Ovaj književni časopis osnovali su Prosper Moroa (Prosper Mauroy) i Pjer de Segir (Pierre de Segur) prvog avgusta 1829. godine u Parizu. Redakcija ovog časopisa smatra ga za jedan od najstarijih u Evropi<sup>1</sup>, dok se značenje imena ovog časopisa odnosi na dva sveta: Evropu i Ameriku. U XIX veku *Revija dva sveta* bio je jedan od najuticajnijih književnih časopisa na svetu. Svi viđeniji književnici, poput Šatobrijana (Chateaubriand), Misea (Musset), Dime (Dumas) i Žorž Sandove (George Sand), pisali su za njega. Ako govorimo o usmerenju ovog časopisa, trebalo bi napomenuti da je po osnivanju pretežno objavljivao putopise i književnu kritiku, dok je danas ovaj časopis samo jedan od mnogih u Francuskoj koji se bavi sličnim pitanjima, ali zahvaljujući svojoj bogatoj prošlosti i ugledu, za njega danas pišu najpoznatiji svetski univerzitetski profesori i hroničari. Njegovo prvobitno usmerenje nije se mnogo promenilo od osnivanja, tako da i danas u ovom časopisu pronalazimo putopise, geopolitičke tekstove, književne i političke analiza iz celog sveta, sa Balkana, ali i sa prostora bivše Jugoslavije.

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<sup>1</sup> Čitaoc treba podsetiti na činjenicu da je časopis *Letopis Matice srpske* osnovan 1824. i da od tada izlazi skoro neprekidno.



Kako je Sarajevo, još od vremena kada je bilo pod austrougarskom vlašću pa sve do danas, jedan od kulturnih i političkih centara Balkana, logično je da se o ovom gradu u Reviji dva sveta mnogo pisalo. Zato smo mi za ovaj rad i istraživanje odabrali sedam tekstova koji su objavljeni u ovom časopisu od 1883. do 2004. godine koji se odnose direktno na Sarajevo, koji već u naslovnu sadrže ime ovog grada i one tekstove u kojima se ovaj grad samo pominje.

Predmet našeg rada biće obrađen metodologijom književne imagologije. Imagologija je nastala u okvirima komparativne književnosti i njen predmet istraživanja je predstavljanje drugog u književnosti. (Milanović 2012: 90). Ova oblast komparativnog izučavanja književnosti formalno je nastala pedesetih godina XX veka i za njenu afirmaciju najzaslužniji su francuski komparatista Danijel-Anri Pažo i belgijski naučnik Hugo Dizernik. Radi lakšeg razumevanja metodološkog pristupa koji ćemo primeniti, smatramo da je neophodno da u kratkim crtama objasnimo čime se ova nauka bavi i kojim se sredstvima u analizi služi. Tihomir Brajović kaže da se imagologija bavi predstavama koje su suštinske za shvatanje odnosa među zajednicama (Vidi: Brajović 2007: 15), a za našu analizu najpogodnija je definicija Ivane Živančević Sekeruš koja ističe da se imagologija „ne bavi stepenom tačnosti neke slike/predstave, jer se ne proučava kakva je zaista neka nacija, već kako su drugi o njoj govorili/pisali“ (Živančević-Sekeruš 2008: 8). Pošto se imagologija bavi proučavanjem slika o drugome, tako će i naša analiza pokušati da osvetli dominantne obrasce opisivanja drugoga kroz prisustvo hetero slika kao refletovanje sopstvenog identiteta (auto-slike). Kako se ne može pisati o drugome bez uplitanja sopstvenih saznanja i kulture, tako je za pojam slika u imagologiji vezan termin stereotipa. Džošua Lipman (Joshua Lipman) u svom delu *Javno mnjenje* iz 1922. godine, prvi put koristi termin stereotip i definiše ga kao predstave u našim glavama o spoljašnjem svetu. Postoji više vrsta stereotipa, oni mogu biti pozitivni ili negativni i najčešće su uopštene predstave o drugome zasnovane na našoj percepciji o grupi kojoj taj pojedinac pripada.

Zato će nas u ovom istraživanju pre svega zanimati ko su autori tekstova o Sarajevu, da li su oni Francuzi koji pišu za francuski časopis ili dolaze iz drugih krajeva sveta, da li se u njihovim tekstovima eksplicitno navodi da su posetili ovaj grad ili su o njemu pisali na osnovu posrednih izvora. Takođe, pozabavićemo se i istorijskim periodima u kojima su određeni tekstovi objavljeni – od živopisnih putopisa vezanih za Sarajevo sa kraja XIX veka, do tekstova vezanih za rat na Balkanu devedesetih godina. Predstavićemo i kako se slika

Sarajeva menjala kroz jedan vek u očima putopisaca i šta je njima bilo najvažnije da predstave svojim čitaocima.

## II Slika Sarajeva u časopisu Revija dva sveta

Od 1840 godine u časopisu Revija dva sveta počinju da se objavljuju tekstovi vezani za Južne Slovene. Prvi tekst te vrste koji je objavljen u ovom časopisu napisao je Kvinet (Quinet), francuski pisac i istoričar i u tekstu se navodi: „slovenska rasa, koja je sa nemačkom rasom, spasila Evropu od najeze Orijenta“<sup>2</sup>, dok je prvi tekst koji se direktno odnosi na Bosnu i Hercegovinu i Sarajevo objavljen 1883 i naslovljen je Bosna i Hercegovina, posle austrougarske okupacije – Beleške sa putovanja sa podnaslovom „Bosna - od Broda do Sarajeva“ (Bosnie et Hercegovine, après l’occupation austro-hongroise – Notes de voyages, La Bosnie – De Brod à Serajewo). Ovaj tekst zapravo je isečak iz knjige Južnoslovenske zemlje pod Austrougarskom (Hrvatska, Slavonija, Bosna, Hercegovina, Dalmacija), (Les pays sud-slaves de l’Autro-Hongrie (Croatie, Bosnie, Hercegovine, Dalmatie) autora Amedea Sen Emura (Amedée Saint Aymour) francuskog arheologa i istoričara koji je 1869. godine bio na čelu arheološke ekspedicije u Bosni i Hercegovini i koji je utiske sa ovog putovanja pretočio u knjigu. Zanimljivo je da naše istraživanje započinjemo čitanjem jednog putopisa, jer iz ovog književnog žanra možemo dosta saznati o opisanom mestu, kulturi, občajima mesta koje putopisac posećuje i o kojima piše. Putopisi su najkorisniji književni žanr – posredstvom njega čitalac dospeva tamo gde je pisac bio (Đerić 2012: 469).

Svoj putopis autor započinje citirajući Elizea Reklisa<sup>3</sup> (Elisée Reclus) i njegovo delo Geografija (Geographie) u kome se navodi da je Bosna i Hercegovina najmanje posećena regija Evrope, ako izuzmemo Albaniju, Skandinaviju i Rusiju. Na početku će navesti razloge svoje posete Bosni i Hercegovini i istaći da je on prvi francuski pisac koji piše o ovim evropskim regijama.<sup>4</sup> Njegova ideja je da, bez obzira na političke prilike tog vremena, svojim beleškama približi i podseti svoje čitaoce na dvadeset miliona Slovena čije je budućnost neizvesna i da ovaj narod zapravo zavisi od velikih evropskih sila. Za ove narode kaže da

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<sup>2</sup> „la race slave. Qui, avec la race germanique, a sauvé l’Europe des invasions de l’Orient.“Pavle Sekeruš, Cyprien Robert, un slavisant français du XIX siècle, Filozofski fakultet Novi Sad, 2009, str. 49.

<sup>3</sup> (Jacques Élisée Reclus, 1830-1905). Od 1859–1868 pisao je članke za časopis Revija dva sveta i izuzetno je ugledan naučnik čak i danas.

<sup>4</sup>Sen Mari (Sainte Marie) objavila je pre njega više članaka vezanih za Hercegovinu kao i M.C. Irijart (Yriarte) koji je 1876. objavio tekst Bosna i Hercegovina, sećanja sa putovanja tokom bune (Bosnie et Hercegovine, souvenirs de voyage pendant l’insurrection).

zaslužuju da uđu u francusku interesnu sferu. Kulturu i narod iz kog dolazi i narod o kom piše ne opisuje već ih samo poredi. U delu *Mi i drugi* Cvetan Todorov definiše deset tipova putnika i prema tim definicijama Emura bismo mogli klasifikovati kao putnika devetog tipa, odnosno – kao putnika impresionistu. Za takvog putnika Todorov kaže da je veoma usavršeni turista, i da on svoje vidike proširuje i na ljudska bića (Todorov 1994: 330).

Prvo poglavlje teksta posvećena je prošlosti naroda koji žive na teritoriji Bosne i Hercegovine i koji su nedavno okupirani od strane Austro-Ugarske. Autor ne želi da podseća čitaoca na davnu prošlost ove teritorije koju mi danas nazivamo Bosna i Hercegovina, već želi da govori samo o ključnim momentima istorije kada su ovi narodi uspeali da izdejstvuju svoje etničke i nacionalne karakteristike. Pokušavajući da objasni poreklo naroda na ovoj teritoriji, autor će reći da su Srbi i Hrvati narodi koji su Bosnu i Hercegovinu počeli da naseljavaju još u XII veku. Hrvati su se naselili prvi, zauzimajući severnije krajeve, dok su Srbi išli više ka jugu. Od ključnih istorijskih događaja na ovim prostorima, autor će pomenuti prve vladare Bosne, kneza Lazara i ujedinjenje srpskih zemalja. Važan istorijski momenat na kojem će autor insistirati da ga što detaljnije objasni, jeste godina 1878. Te godine na Berlinskom kongresu Austro-Ugarskoj je dato ovlašćenje da okupira slovenske teritorije koje su do tada bile pod turskom vlašću, uprkos „delimičnim protivljenjima bosanskih Muslimana i Hercegovaca i suprostavljanju Rusije<sup>5</sup>“ (Emur, 1883: 187). Ovaj čin je prihvaćen u Evropi koja se „uprkos svom egoizmu osramotila, jer je napuštala svoju braću i sestre po rasi i religiji“<sup>6</sup> (Emur 1883: 137).

Drugo poglavlje ovog putopisa autor započinje rečenicom: „Konačno smo u Bosni<sup>7</sup>“ (Emur, 1883: 138). Napustio je grad Brod i uputio se ka Derventi. Najpre iznosi faktografske podatke vezane za ovaj grad i kaže da je u njemu bilo tada 4000 stanovnika. Opisuje ga kao prvi muslimanski grad kada mu se prilazi sa Save. Prvo što putopisac zapaža jeste spoljašnji izgled grada i ima potrebu da ga predstavi svojim francuskim čitaocima. Napominje da su svi bosanski gradovi građeni pretežno od drveta. Kuće siromašnih Hrišćana liče na male kolibe, dok su muslimanske kuće komfornije. Autor ovog teksta opisuje grad na „rusoovski način“.

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<sup>5</sup> (...) „et malgré les résistances partielles des musulmans bosniaques et herzégoviniens et la mauvaise humeur de la Russie“ (...)

<sup>6</sup> (...) „malgré son égoïsme, avait honte de l'état d'abandon dans lequel elle laissait des frères de race et de religion“.

<sup>7</sup> „Nous voici enfin en Bosnie“.

Ruso je još govorio da kuće čine naselja, ali da građani čine grad. Zbog ovakvog doživljaja grada, pravu sliku o bosanskim gradovima imaćemo tek kada budemo čitali opise stanovništva. Emur građane opisuje kao ljubazne, koji žive veoma miran život pod Austro-Ugarskom zastavom. Zato je pri proučavanju ovakvih tekstova važan detalj onaj kada čitalac otkriva ko su prvi ljudi sa kojima se putopisac direktno susreo i o čemu su razgovarali i kakav su utisak ti ljudi ostavili na putopisca. Ovaj autor prvo je upoznao policajca koji ga je pozdravio i bio ljubazan prema njemu.

Treće poglavlje bavi se opisivanjem putovanja i puta od Doboja do Tešnja – grada koji se nalazi 24 kilometra od Doboja i do koga se teško stiže, jer nema pravog puta, dok se svuda okolo nalaze austrijske trupe vojnika. Susrećući se i razgovarajući sa meštanima, primetio je u njima rusofilstvo koje je vezano pre svega za rusku zaštitu Pravoslavne crkve na Balkanu. Jedan slovenski oficir mu je rekao: „Bez Rusije ne bi bilo više Slovena“<sup>8</sup>(Emur 1883: 151).

Četvrti deo putopisa odnosi se na grad Doboj, do kog je autor teksta stigao na konju. U njemu se on susreo sa meštanima, kod nekih je prijatno ručao, razgovarao je sa begovima koji su mu rekli: „Mi Sloveni, nismo ni Austrijanci ni Turci“<sup>9</sup> (Emur 1883: 152) Pored ovih gradova autor je još posetio Zenicu, manastir Vojnicu franjevačkog reda, koji se nalazi izvan glavnog puta Travnik – Sarajevo. Ovo je prvi put da se u tekstu pominje grad Sarajevo koji je i krajnje odredište ovog putopisca. Pitanje identiteta i crkveno uređenje, nešto je što autora jako zanima. Komentarišaće kako su, i pored toga što su jake, muslimanska i katolička crkva uvek bile potčinjene. Nabrajaće i druge konfesije koje postoje u Bosni, dok će grad Sarajevo najpre opisivati na romantičarski način: kao idilični grad, sa raznovrsnom prirodom, i koji je okružen lepim planinama. Prolazeći kroz Bosnu naišao je na sarajevsku ravnicu nazvanu „Sarajevsko polje“, i ta dolina je najveća u regiji za koju će autor reći da se u njoj može smestiti jedan veliki grad.

Ovaj tekst ne samo da je važan kao prvi putopis koji se pojavio u časopisu Revija dva sveta posvećen Bosni i Hercegovini i gradu Sarajevu, važan je i zbog toga što autor čak četiri

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<sup>8</sup> (...) „Sans la Russie il n’y avait plus de Slaves“.

<sup>9</sup> „Nous, Slaves, nous ne sommes ni Autrichiens, ni Turcs“.

puta u tekstu pominje reči jugoslovenska nacija ili jugosfera, termine koji su u vreme objavljivanja teksta svakako postojali u svesti posetilaca Bosne i Hercegovine.<sup>10</sup>

Sledeći tekst istog autora, na trideset šest strana, naslovljen Sarajevo - agrarno pitanje Bosne (Serajewo - la question agraire en Bosnie) objavljen je u narednom broju časopisa Revija dva sveta iste godine i predstavlja nastavak prethodnog. Tekst započinje opisom samog grada i njegovog geografskog položaja. Autor kaže da se Sarajevo nalazi u „ćorskokaku ili tačnije okružen je planinama“<sup>11</sup> (Emur 1883: 378). Dok opisuje severnu stranu grada, ističe da su odatle dolazili Austrijanci i pošto je otpor stanovništva bio veliki, autor želi da u nastavku teksta o tome govori. Fasciniran je bogatom i za njega neobičnom istorijom Sarajeva, susretom i sudarom više kultura i zato će putopisca pre svega zanimati da pokuša svojim čitaocima da objasni zašto Sarajevo baš tako izgleda. Ističe da su Osmanlije htele da ovaj grad, glavni grad Bosne, bude posle Konstantinopolja najlepší turski grad u Evropi. Nije siguran da li može da istorijskim činjenicama i dokumentima potvrdi ovu tvrdnju, ali sigurno može da potvrdi da „Sarajevo liči na sve druge orijentalne gradove sa minaretima džamija, kupolama turskim kupatilima i sa grčkim pravoslavnim crkvama (Emur, 1883: 384)“<sup>12</sup>. Opisujući stanovnike Sarajeva, autor će se najviše zadržati na njihovoj odeći, na spoljašnjem izgledu, na onome što svaki putnik može prvo primetiti. Opisivao je haljine, pantalone, ali su najveći utisak na njega ostavile cipele koje predstavljaju ne samo modni detalj, već i nešto po čemu se tri naroda koja žive u Sarajevu razlikuju.

„Cipele imaju političku važnost, Turci nose zašiljene sandale, Grci patofne sa okruglim rubom, a Katolici, golje, nose nacionalnu obuću opanke jugo-slovena.<sup>13</sup>“ (Emur 1883: 385)

U centru grada Sarajeva žive pravoslavci i Jevreji, a Romi na zapadnom ulazu u grad u kvartu u kome su kuće od drveta. Takav deo grada je lako prepoznatljiv po niskim kućama.

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<sup>10</sup>Treba podsetiti na važan tekst Siprijena Robera (Cyprien Robert), slaviste, koji je 1846. objavio u časopisu Revija dva sveta tekst Dva Panslavizma. Aktuelna situacija slovenskih naroda nasuprot Rusiji (Les deux Panslavismes. Situation actuelle des peuples slaves vis à vis de la Russie). Pogledati više u: Siprijen Rober i panslovenska ideja u Francuskoj, Pavle Sekeruš, Književnost i jezik, 1-4/38-44. Panslavizam Rober vidi kao bratsko približavanje i konačno sjedinjenje Južnih Slovena.

<sup>11</sup> (...) „dans un cul-de-sec ou plutot dans un cercle de montagnes“ (...)

<sup>12</sup> „Serajewo ressemblait a toutes les villes orientales avec les minarets de ces mosquees, les coupoles de ces bains et de ces eglises grecques orthodoxes (...)“

<sup>13</sup> „Les chaussures elle-meme a son importance politique: tandis que le Turc porte des souliers pointus, les grecs mettent des pantoufles a bouts ronds, et les catholiques, pauvres diables en general, chaussent le national opanake des Jougo-slaves.“

Žene iz ovog kvarta putuju u druge delove grada kako bi radile kućne poslove. Pravi poređenje među nacijama koje žive u Sarajevu i kaže da mulimanska nacija i dalje nije priznata i da je inferiorna u odnosu na Turke. Opisuje na stereotipan način fizički izgled meštana i kaže da su svi muslimanski muškarci visoki, puni energije i imaju aristokratsko držanje, dok žene, iako su teorijski potčinjene, uživaju u svojoj slobodi. Rome opisuje kao narod koji mnogo vodi računa o modi i detaljima. Kako bi bio bliži narodu i kako bi se bolje sa njim upoznao, putopisac je posetio i oba sarajevska bazara. Navodi kako nisu svi dani u nedelji pogodni za odlazak u bazar, naročito ne petak kada je za Muslimane neradni dan, subota kada je za Jevreje i nedelja kada je za Hrišćane. Poredio je bazare sa evropskim tržnicama, njemu poznatim, i kaže da u Sarajevu ima i takvih, ali da liče na austrijske.

Što se tiče Emura, najvažnije pitanje za njega jeste otkriti i predstaviti svojim čitaocima jednu egzotičnu zemlju i grad. Bosansko agrarno pitanje i društveni sistem je nešto što se u Bosni mora rešiti i što čak nisu upesli da odrade ni Habzburgovci, kojima za to, smatra autor, treba mnogo više ideja i odlučnosti.

Treći tekst koji se bavi Bosnom i Hercegovinom i gradom Sarajevom objavljen je mnogo godina kasnije kada su se već u Sarajevu dogodile značajne političke i društvene promene: atentat na prestolonaslednika, oslobađanje od Habzburgovaca, proglašenje Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca 1918. godine i zbog toga u ovom tekstu možemo očekivati sasvim drugačiju sliku Sarajeva. Tekst je naslovljen *Jugoslovenska etapa* (II od Dubrovnika do Sarajeva), (*Etapes Yougoslaves, (II de Raguse à Sarajevo)*) i objavljen je prvog januara 1938. godine, a autor je Albert Serstevens (Albert Serstevens), francuski pisac belgijskog porekla. Kao i prethodni, ni ovaj tekst nije pisan specijalno za časopis *Revija dva sveta*, već predstavlja isečak iz knjige *Putovanje u Jugoslaviju* (*L'itinéraire de Yougoslavie*) objavljene iste godine. Tekst je podeljen na poglavlja: *Od Dubrovnika do Sarajeva* (*De Raguse à Sarajevo*), *Skoplje* (*Skoplie*), *Atentat u Sarajevu* (28 juni 1914), (*L'attentat de Sarajevo* (28 juin 1914)) i ima ukupno dvadeset i dve stranice. Za ovaj rad i naše istraživanje zanimae nas samo treći deo teksta koji se direktno odnosi na Sarajevo.

Putopisac je u gradu bio na Ilidži koja se nalazi na putu za Mostar, jedanaest kilometara od Sarajeva. Godine 1914. dva hotela na ovom mestu zvala su se Austrija i Mađarska, dok se u vreme posete ovog pisca Sarajevu oni zovu Srbija i Hercegovina. Iza njih se nalazi treći hotel koji nije menjao svoje ime od osnivanja i nosi naziv Bosna. Autor ovog teksta otkrivajući istorijske činjenice vezane za događaje iz juna 1914. godine, želi sa što više

detalja da ga predstavi svojim čitaocima. Govori kako su prestolonaslednik i njegova supruga boravili u hotelu Bosna i tu čekali da se vojna parada završi, kako su bili smešteni u prelepoj sobi sa terasom koja do njegove posete gradu nije promenila prvobitni izgled. Pored ovih i drugih istorijskih činjenica, danas svima dobro poznatih, autor će u tekst unositi i ono što je od meštana čuo u samom gradu – kuda se kretao prestolonaslednik sa suprugom, koja su mesta u gradu posetili i sa kim su razgovarali.

Kada opisivanje pređe na pripadnike Mlade Bosne, autor teksta će zauzeti neutralan stav i reći da je ova organizacija mladih ljudi osnovana još 1908. godine, kada je anektirana Bosna i Hercegovina i da im je osnovna ideja bila da se Južni Sloveni oslobode. Nigde u tekstu autor neće iznositi druge ideje Mlade Bosne (jer možda sa njima nije bio upoznat), niti će ih kriviti za izbijanje rata. Ono što autor još zna o Mladobosancima, jeste pominjanje malo poznate činjenice – da su Mladobosanci još u Tuluzu želeli da ubiju Ferdinanda „jer je pravda u Francuskoj razvijenija nego u drugim zemljama“<sup>14</sup> (Serstevens, 1938: 18).

Kako tekst odmiče, ovaj putopis sve više dobija karakteristike umetničkog narativnog teksta sa razvijenom i jasnom dramaturgijom. Igrom i izborom reči, opisom scena za vreme atentata, autor želi da pokaže svu tragičnost i važnost ovog događaja koji je uzdrmao svet, nigde ne iznoseći neka lična zapažanja i komentare. Takođe, autor neće iznositi svoje impresije vezane za dva natpisa koja su postojala na mestu atentata, prvi na kome je pisalo: Na ovom mestu Gavrilo Princip izvojevao je slobodu (na Vidovdan, 15 (28) juna 1914)<sup>15</sup> i drugi koji su 1917. godine Austijanci postavili: Na ovom mestu su kao mučenici poginuli od strane jednog ubice Fransa Ferdinand i Sofija Hoenberg<sup>16</sup>. Čitaocima ostavlja da procene kako su ove dve sukobljene strane gledale na ovaj događaj i zašto se dva natpisa razlikuju.

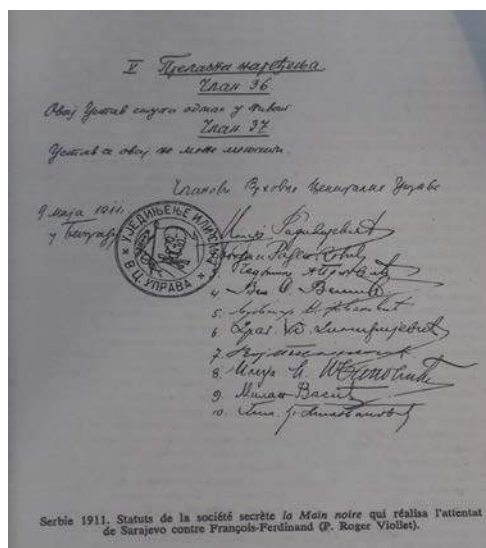
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<sup>14</sup> (...) „parce que la justice y est plus juste que dans les autres pays“.

<sup>15</sup> „En ce lieu GAVRILO PRINCIP annonça la liberté le jour de Vidovdan 15 28 juin 1914“.

<sup>16</sup> „A cette place sont morts comme des martyrs de la main d’un assassin François Ferdinand et Sophie Hohenberg“. Čitaocima treba podsetiti na činjenicu da se supruga Franca Ferdinanda zvala Sofija Hotek, a njihova ćerka Sofija Hoenberg (1901-1990).

U zaključku teksta, koji je deskriptivan i poetičan, autor navodi da na mestu atentata stoji jugoslovenska zastava koja ga podseća na francusku i da ljudi mirno prolaze pored ovog tragičnog mesta, da je čak i on tuda prolazio ne razmišljajući koliko je to mesto važno za događaje koji su posle atentata usledili. Možemo slobodno reći da događaji iz 1914. godine ostavljaju neizbrisiv trag na francuske autore koji žele da pišu o Sarajevu. Tako će i povodom šezdesetgodišnjice od atentata na prestolonaslednika, juna 1974. godine, Revija dva sveta objaviti autorski tekst Viktora L. Tapijea (Victor Lucien Tapié), francuskog istoričara i univerzitetskog profesora, stručnjaka za centralnu Evropu, naslovljen Sarajevo: 28 jun 1914. (Sarajevo: 28 juin 1914). Čitaocima naslov može zavarati da pomisle da se u ovom kraćem tekstu, od samo osam stranica, govori o gradu Sarajevu i nekim ličnim autorovim utiscima koji su vezani za njega. Međutim, osim naslova koji je upečatljiv i zvučan, u tekstu nećemo naći ništa o samom gradu Sarajevu. Za ovog autora događaji iz 1914. godine izuzetno su važni, ali i ono što im je prethodilo. On će pokušati da naučnim pristupom i jezikom objasni položaj prestolonaslednika Ferdinanda, njegov odnos sa vlastelom i politiku koja je možda dovela do atentata. Ovaj način pisanja i objašnjavanja nam ukazuje na to da se autor nije mnogo služio bosanskim već evropskim izvorima za proučavanje ovog pitanja. Jedina neposredna veza sa Bosnom ili Srbijom jeste slika statuta udruženja Crna ruka koje je i



sprovelo ovaj atentat. Ovo je ujedno i jedina fotografija ili originalni dokument vezan za Bosnu i Hercegovinu ili Sarajevo koji je objavljen u tekstovima koje smo mi odabrali za analizu, i smatramo da je važno da taj dokument prenesemo našim čitaocima.

Figure1. Srbija 1911. Satut tajnog Udruženja Crna ruka koje je realizovalo atentat u Sarajevu na Franca Ferdinanda



Posle ovog teksta u časopisu nisu objavljivani članci vezani za Sarajevo sve do početka ratova na Balkanu (1992-1995), kada je Sarajevo po drugi put u XX veku postalo značajno mesto ključnih promena i odakle su razne vesti odlazile u svet. Od tada do danas objavljena su ukupno četiri teksta u časopisu Revija dva sveta koja se odnose na Sarajevo i na ratove devedestih godina. Tako će i septembra godine 1992. biti objavljen autorski tekst Fransoa Beksona (Francois Bexon), francuskog inženjera i bivšeg oficira, priznatog i poznatog stručnjaka za vojna pitanja, pod naslovom Jugoslavijo, čemu taj rat? (Yugoslavie pourquoi cette guerre?). U ovom tekstu autor pokušava predočava ali ne i komentariše istorijske činjenice i na taj način želi svojim čitaocima da predочи istoriju balkanskih naroda i stvaranje Jugoslavije. Što se tiče Sarajeva u ovom tekstu, ovaj grad će se opet pominjati kao mesto atentata na prestolonaslednika Ferdinanda. Dok se u tekstovima koji su objavljeni pre raspada Jugoslavije autori bave samim atentatom, u onim posle ratova na Balkanu autori atentat pominju smatrajući da je to dobar način da podsete čitaoce o kom gradu govore.

Drugi tekst koji je objavljen posle ratova na tlu Jugoslavije jeste tekst Renoa Žirara (Renaud Girard), francuskog novinara lista Figaro (Le Figaro), za koji je on objavljivao reportaže i analize iz najvećih i najvažnijih sukoba koji su se dogodili u poslednjih trideset godina. Našoj publici je poznat kao hroničar ratova sa Balkana. Njegov tekst pod nazivom Veštačka sreća Sarajeva (Le bonheur artificiel de Sarajevo) objavljen je 1997. godine i podeljen je na pet poglavlja: Groteskna fikcija (Fiction grotesque), Propast Dejtonskog sporazuma (L'échec du volet civil des accord de Dayton), Kraj sna o multietičnosti (La fin du rêve multiethnique), Nostalgija za nekadašnjim kosmopolitizmom (La nostalgie du cosmopolitisme passé) i Deset milijardi dolara (Dix milliards dollars). Ovaj tekst ne pripada putopisnoj prozi, već bismo žanrovski mogli da ga smestimo u izveštaje ili geopolitičke komentare.

„Više ne govorimo o ratu u Sarajevu. Kada jedna aktuelnost prestane da bude dramatična, mediji se učute“<sup>17</sup> (Žirar 1997: 38).

Ovo je rečenica kojom Žirar započinje svoj tekst vezan za situaciju u Sarajevu i Bosni i Hercegovini, osamnaest meseci posle potpisivanja Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma kojim su okončani sukobi u Bosni i Hercegovini. Konstatuje da u bosanskoj prestonici sve ide na bolje, opisuje ulice Sarajeva koje sada, posle opsade, oživljavaju i spremaju se da dočekaju

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<sup>17</sup> „On ne parle plus guère de Sarajevo. Lorsqu'une actualité cesse d'être dramatique, les médias se taisent“.

Papu Jovana II. Međutim ta „sreća“ na ulicama Sarajeva u očima ovog autora deluje neodrživo i za nju će reći da je veštačka. Pravi poređenja sa opsadnim Sarajevom i sa onim kada ga je posetio Papa. Za vreme opsade u gradu nije bilo pijaće vode i na ulicama su stalno goreli automobili. Kada je Žirar posetio Sarajevo uverio se da se situacija dosta promenila: video je radnje pune hrane i odeću koja je dolazila iz Hrvatske, a na ulicama automobile koje su građani Sarajeva kupovali u Nemačkoj. Taj prividni prosperitet najbolje će biti opisan u sledećoj rečenici: „Svake nedelje se otvara novi kafić ili nova picerija“<sup>18</sup> (Žirar 1997: 38).

Sarajevo će definisati kao glavni grad federacije hrvatsko-muslimanske, koji postoji samo na papiru, jer su za autora skoro sve odredbe Dejtonskog sporazuma propale. Tri naroda žive podeljeno, čini se da se ne mešaju i da slabo sarađuju.

Ovde uočavamo da se realna slika Sarajeva, kao i ona kako ga posetioci vide, mnogo promenila od prvog putopisa koji smo ovde analizirali, pa do ovog teksta. Dok su u prvim putopisima o Sarajevu stanovnici ovog grada opisivani kroz svoj fizički izgled, odeću, kulturne i verske razlike, koje zapravo predstavljaju bogatstvo, ovde se tri naroda opisuju kao da su posle Dejtonskog sporazuma primorana da žive na istom prostoru. Autor kaže da u vreme njegove posete Sarajevu nije bilo centralne banke. Muslimani su koristili svoj novac, Srbi iz Republike Srpske novac iz Beograda, a Hrvati krunu iz Zagreba. Neslogu među ovim narodima i njihovim političkim elitama, autor teksta će čitaocima slikovito predočiti dočekom Pape Jovana II na aerodromu, kada toj ceremoniji srpski predstavnik Predsedništva BiH nije prisustvovao.

Sporazum koji je potpisan i kojim je okončan rat, kao i mir koji je nastupio, trebalo bi da osiguraju povratak raseljenih lica. Samo 250 000 ljudi pronašlo je svoje domove, prema informacijama kojima raspolaže autor, a raseljenih ima više od milion i dvesta hiljada. Ovakvo stanje u gradu zabrinjava autora i on se pita kako će taj podeljeni grad izgledati za nekoliko godina. Ne favorizuje nijednu sukobljenu stranu, već će u svom tekstu samo iznositi činjenice do kojih je došao, ističući kako je religijska razlika među ovim narodima instrument za manipulaciju i sukobe. Sarajevo pre rata u kome su se susedi poštovali i kada je bilo sasvim uobičajeno da Muslimani proslavljaju Božić sa svojim susedima Hrvatima ili Srbima, poredi sa jednim podeljenim i razorenim gradom posle velikih sukoba.

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<sup>18</sup> „Toutes les semaines s’ouvre un nouveau café ou une nouvelle pizzeria“.

„Očigledno je, Sarajevo je još uvek nostalgичno za svojim nekadašnjim kosmopolitizmom“<sup>19</sup> (Žirar 1997: 43).

Ekonomska stabilnost Sarajeva takođe je iluzija u Žirarovim doživljajima ovog grada. Privreda se oslanja na novac koji dolazi iz inostranstva i takva ekonomija na duži period svakako ne može biti održiva. Autor završava tekst o geopolitičkim prilikama u Sarajevu smelim zaključkom, citirajući Amerikanca - direktora Međunarodne krizne Grupe koji je rekao da ukoliko izbiје novi sukob, Dejtonski sporazum bi bio najskuplji prekid vatre u istoriji.

Poslednji tekst iz časopisa Revija dva sveta vezan za Sarajevo objavljen je novembra 2004. godine i zapravo je intervju Jovana Divjaka ovom časopisu. Tekst je naslovljen Rat i mir u Sarajevu (*Guerre et paix a Sarajevo*). Divjak je bivši oficir JNA, potom je bio brigadni general armije Bosne i Hercegovine. Pre samog intervjuja postoji mali uvod autora Patrika de Sinetija (Patrick de Sinety) u kome on francuskoj publici predstavlja generala Divjaka. Iako nas naslov upućuje da će u tekstu biti reči o Sarajevu, u intervjuu se zapravo ovaj grad malo pominje i to isključivo kao mesto na kom se vodio rat. U svom intervjuu za ovaj časopis Divjak objašnjava kako je nastala Jugoslavija i kako su tri naroda objedinjena zajedničkom istorijom i jezikom živela na tom prostoru sve do početka rata. Objašnjavajući vojno pitanje u Sarajevu za vreme ratnih godina i novoosnovanu vojsku, ističe da je cilj te vojske bio isključivo odbrana.

## **Zaključak**

Analizirajući ove tekstove uočili smo da su vesti iz Sarajeva skoro ceo jedan vek bile prisutne u ovom evropskom magazinu i da su francuski autori različito gledali na sve što dolazi iz ovog grada ili sa ovih prostora. Uvideli smo da su autori svih tekstova koje smo analizirali Francuzi.

S prvim putopisima prosto je bilo nezamislivo govoriti o Sarajevu iz posrednih izvora i zato se objavljuju tekstovi onih autora koji su grad posetili. Kako su nastupali veliki istorijski događaji u Sarajevu, koji su u evropskoj javnosti izazvali mnogo komentara, tako su se i tekstovi žanrovski i sadržinski menjali. Sve je to dovelo do toga da je autorima važnije da čitaocima prenesu svoj komentar ili poruku od toga da ubede čitaoce da su Sarajevo posetili. Svi tekstovi koje smo analizirali pažljivo su birani za časopis, nijedan

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<sup>19</sup> „A l'évidence, Sarajevo est encore nostalgique de son cosmopolitisme passé“.

autor se sadržinski ili formalno ne poziva na svog prethodnika. Jedini motiv koji se može pronaći u više tekstova jeste vezan za *auto-slike*, kada autori prepoznaju u Sarajevu ili samoj Bosni, dakle jednoj za njih novoj i možemo reći nepoznatoj kulturi i tradiciji, nešto od prisustva svoje kulture.

Iako smo ustanovili da postoji više različitih *slika* o Sarajevu, mi ćemo ih uprostiti i svesti na dve najznačajnije: jedna se odnosi na to da je Sarajevo za francuske putopisce važan kulturni, politički centar Balkana, grad zanimljive arhitekture i naroda koji za svakog posetioca predstavlja orijentalnu oazu u Evropi i druga slika koja bi se odnosila na to da je ovaj grad u XX veku centar velikih političkih previranja, patnje, kao i sukoba koji su potresli svet.

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## Laughter in Dark Comedy – an Interdisciplinary Reading



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### Abstract

Until the twentieth century, comedy was considered and validated only in contrast to tragedy. Although the latter held the privileged position of a high dramatic genre for centuries, comedy remained an “not serious”, even frivolous genre inferior to tragedy, and the distinctive conventions of the two “contrasting” genres were strongly upheld. Yet, since the advent of the Theatre of the Absurd in post-war Europe, there has been much discussion on what makes modern “comedies” comic, and whether they deserve a generic term. Dukore (1976) suggests that the lack of comic formula at the end of absurdist pieces, and their pathos and themes, transformed comedy into the modern comic tragedy (pp. 2–3). Moreover, Styan (1961) claims that dark comedy, which dominates the latter half of the twentieth century, routinely possesses an open ending, without resolution or closure (p. 285), thus further deviating from the formula. Humour as a cross-cultural phenomenon was to a large extent considered irrelevant in linguistics until the mid-twentieth century. However, it has since become one of the most prominent fields of research in contemporary linguistics. A number of theories have been proposed – Incongruity-resolution (Koestler, 1964), Semantic Script (Raskin, 1985), General Theory of Verbal Humour (Attardo, 1991) – and their subclasses are still emerging. Further, humour in plays has been of particular interest, because the humorous element, encapsulated in a culture at a certain point in time, is a valuable testimony to the human spirit and its creativity around the world. This paper analyses comic elements in T. Stoppard’s *The Invention of Love* (1997) and D. H. Hwang’s *Chinglish* (2011), applying an interdisciplinary approach to the two Anglophone plays, while simultaneously proposing that to better appreciate a culture, one must assess it from as many angles as possible.

Key words: drama, humour, T. Stoppard, D. H. Hwang, *The Invention of Love*, *Chinglish*

### Introduction: Literary-Theoretical Scrutiny of Comedy

In traditional aesthetic theory, as of the drama of antiquity and Aristotle’s *Poetics*, comedy was considered a low genre that staged the stories and enlarged the flaws of lower

class characters in order to satirise them, and provide the audience with the joy of laughter. Conversely, tragedy, with its elevated tone and depiction of critical moments in the lives of heroes who had committed tragic mistakes (in judgement), was supposed to provide a cathartic experience to its audience, and was consequently considered a high dramatic genre. Until the twentieth century, despite the influx of popular dramatic forms such as burlesque, vaudeville, farce, parody and travesty into the New Greek comedy (whose plots were characteristically structured around the tribulations of a young couple in love, and typically ended in a festive tone, with a wedding ceremony celebrating the victory of love over all obstacles), comedy was considered and validated only in contrast to tragedy. The latter remained in the privileged position of a high dramatic genre for centuries. Any attempt to theorise on dramatic genres and their subgenres was usually attached to prescriptive poetics and tragedy as the desired form, while theories on comedy were typically reduced to humour theory.

During the Renaissance, this led to the introduction of a range of strict rules that, much like a culinary recipe, ensured the successful creation and devouring of the sternly delineated genres of tragedy and comedy. Any trace of the comic in a tragedy or the tragic in a comedy was strictly forbidden, and perceived as the creation of an unwanted and aesthetically revolting “mongrel-genre” (Sidney as cited in Abrams, 1962, 496). Despite this, however, rebellions against the three unities, the five-act structure, and appropriate heroes for comedy (grotesquely presented and satirised characters from the lower and middle classes) and tragedy (heroic and dignified upper classes figures) by Shakespeare and his contemporaries lead to the creation of “romances” (tragicomedies). The comic part of the equation in such subgenres was provided by the play’s happy ending, and through the use of realistic and prose dialogues, rather than the grotesque characterisation of the “unworthy” lower classes, and farcical humour. Shakespeare’s rebellions also lead to the modification of tragedy, which, besides the bloody scenes of murder, suicide, mutilation, and general death of noblemen and royalty in the “democratic” thrust-stage theatres, began offering its mixed audiences plenty of rough and lascivious humour, and the renowned Shakespearean “comic relief”.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Niccolo Machiavelli, Ben Jonson, and Moliere managed to enrich and diversify the genre of comedy with their comedy of intrigues, comedy of humours, and modern character-comedy (the English comedy of manners). However, despite Shakespeare, Machiavelli, Jonson, and Moliere, the comic genre in the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth centuries was mostly defined by its festive tone, prose

dialogues and wedding ceremonials, and its strict delineation from the poetic and elevated tone of tragedy that from that point began to incorporate elements of the grotesque. Neither Romanticism nor the Victorian Era proved influential to the evolution of dramatic theory either, since they engendered the sentimental comedies and tragedies (and closet plays) that used representatives of the growing middle class as their protagonists, and were composed to be read rather than performed. Thus until the twentieth century, comedy remained an “unserious,” even frivolous, genre, inferior to the dignified tragedy, and any combination of the structural, stylistic and generic conventions of the two opposed genres was avoided.

However, at the beginning of the last century, George Bernard Shaw and his comedy of ideas gave importance to comedy, moving it from its usual lowbrow position into a highbrow position on par with that of tragedy. Yet, it would take at least 40 long years, and the entrance of Beckett, Ionesco, Genette and the Comedy/Theatre of the Absurd on European (and world) stages for comedy to finally emerge from tragedy’s shadow to win a separate, equal place in aesthetic theory. Moreover, the Theatre of the Absurd has achieved the unthinkable: its lack of a comic formula at the ending of pieces, and their existential pathos and themes, have transformed comedy into the modern comic tragedy<sup>1</sup>. Since then, the traditional middle-brow pieces have incorporated elements from lower, popular theatre forms, such as: physical humour and grotesque characters from farces; clowns and their conduct from the circus; and musical and duologic numbers from vaudeville and variety shows. In the words of Nell from Beckett’s *Endgame*: “Nothing [became] funnier than unhappiness” (Beckett, 1976, p. 20), and, one could add, dark humour.

From the 1960s, the Pinteresque comedy of menace added to the outlined amalgam an atmosphere of suspense and fear. In the words of Bernard F. Dukore (1976), the menace plays launched a formula in which their first scenes provoke rounds of infectious, even hysterical laughter, with the play remaining comic until the crucial moment at which the “comic nature of its characteristics ceases to be comic, where the audience stops laughing, where the nonfunny dominates” (p. 4). Beyond that threshold, those things that initially provoked laughter become the source of the tragic. Similarly, Styan (1961) claims that dark comedy, which has dominated the dramatic genre and theatres throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, routinely has an open ending, without resolution or closure, because “[t]his drama does not make decisions for us, but at the most suggests likelihoods, depicts chanciness

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<sup>1</sup>See Dukore, 1976, pp. 2–3 for further information on the term and its characteristics.

and stresses both sides[; i]t stimulates us by implications, and does not pass judgements ...” (p. 285). The dark comedy thus finds its ultimate purpose in its attempts to free its audiences of the stereotypical and the arbitrary, and in ensuring that their beliefs, presumptions and attitudes, which in time have turned rigid, become more flexible (Styan, 1961, p. 285).

As can be seen above, the ambivalent relationship of authors and critics to the demands and clichés of strictly delineated literary (including dramatic) genres has been the product of a complex of range of historic, sociological, ideological, and cultural ideals and projections since the establishment of early literary theory. Literary theory in the modern era has started to comprehend the considerations of the genre as “anachronistic, to a certain extent a discrediting approach” (Čaušević-Kreho, 1998, p. 35), which still serve as a convenient “referential code” (p. 35). According to Biti (1997), Russian Formalists, Morphological Poetics, Archetypal Criticism, the Chicago School of Literary Criticism, Hermeneutics, Structuralism, Marxist Criticism, Reception Theory, and Systems-Theory have played a significant role in the evolution of genre theory in the twentieth century (p. 427). Moreover, due to the propensity of Postmodernism to open forms and “global generic categories such as discourse, writing, media, communication, text, life-form, cultural poetics, discursive communities and alike” (Biti, 1997, p. 429), the defining features of the genre and intrinsic conventions of its (sub)genres have expanded to be seen as “highly arbitrary” (p. 429). Hence genre hybrids became a (literary and dramatic) standard. This postmodernist erasure of genre boundaries and promotion of genre hybrids to the position of a literary norm essentially frees literature and culture from the shackles of structural hegemony, as it subverts the established “consistency of genre systems”, devalues the “generic comprehension of an era” (Biti, 1997, p. 429) and further emphasises the “playful” nature of postmodernist texts.

### **Introduction – Humour in Linguistics (An Outline)**

Three groups of humour theory fall within the scope of linguistic research: 1) the Incongruity-resolution Model; 2) Superiority Theory; and 3) Relief Theory. The Incongruity-resolution Model is most interesting to linguists, since it proposes a semantic opposition entailing an array of different levels of analysis, spanning from stylistics to pure generative models; Superiority Theory is proximate to pragmatic and critical discourse analysis research. It observes the psychological states of humour recipients and their reactions to humorous texts, which can often be associated with the concept of power relations between those who express humour and those who receive it. Relief Theories are psychological theories,



proposing that humorous content relieves tension between collocutors. They do not generally concern the text itself, but rather the participants in a conversation in which tension arises, and where humour is introduced to suppress this tension. Because of the nature of our analysis (text-based, and connected to literary studies), the Incongruity-resolution Model will be applied in this paper.

Humour as a cross-cultural phenomenon was to a large extent considered irrelevant in linguistics until the mid-twentieth century. A number of incongruity theories have been proposed – the Incongruity-resolution Model, (Koestler, 1964), the Semantic Script Theory of Humour (Raskin, 1985), and the General Theory of Verbal Humour (Attardo, 1991) – and a number of subclasses are still emerging.

Humour incongruity in linguistic research entails semantic incongruity between the expectations of hearers and the semantic content of the punchline in different humorous texts. “Failed expectations” result in humour, but the reaction of the hearers may (not) be laughter<sup>2</sup>. The roots of incongruity in contemporary linguistic research stem from Immanuel Kant: “In everything that is to excite a lively laugh there must be something absurd (in which the understanding, therefore, can find no satisfaction). Laughter is an affection arising from the sudden transformation of a strained expectation into nothing.” (Kant, 2007, p. 133).

Many authors who wrote about incongruity in humour (Ritchie, 1999; De Mey, 2005) believe that a single, all-encompassing humour theory in linguistics is yet to be conceived. Tim de Mey is one of the leading experts on humour research, and he comments on the incongruity-model:

Incongruity-resolution theorists typically (a) differentiate between the set-up and the punch line of a joke, (b) claim that the punch line does not make immediate sense to the cognitive agent, and (c) assume that, subsequently, the cognitive agent somehow finds a ‘resolution’ which allows the punchline to be congruous. (De Mey, 2005, p. 73)

Graeme Ritchie (2004) presented the linguistic understanding of incongruity as follows: “The punchline creates incongruity, and then a *cognitive rule* must be found which enables the content of the punchline to follow naturally from the information established in

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<sup>2</sup>Linguists do not treat individual reactions to a humorous event; rather they study semantic relationships that may lead to the realisation of humour. Individual perceptions of humour, laughter and the degree of humour are topics for research in psychology, not linguistics.

the set-up” (p. 59). Cognitive rules entail the establishment of semantic nodes; these nodes are a part of certain semantic fields, which may at times overlap, but most often do not. The nodes contain distinctive features: categories that establish possible meanings of semantic units (Radford, 1999), which in this case are applied to the context of a play, i.e. a literary text. A network of hyponymic relationships is of interest in this sense, because hyponymy can, and often does, entail an unexpected (and invading) semantic element that causes incongruity. The result is, thus, a humorous location in the text.

In the linguistic section of this paper, the semantic opposition of the text will be analysed for the purpose of illustrating humorous events in the selected plays.

### **Comic Elements in *The Invention of Love* and *Chinglish***

Both Stoppard’s and Hwang’s scopes fit well within the mutual rapport of contemporary comedy and tragedy, the destiny and amalgams of modern tragicomedies, and the patterns of current comic tragedies, dark comedies, and postmodernist drama, as will be expounded upon below.

Stoppard’s first plays, composed and premiered in late 1960s<sup>3</sup> Britain, mirror the postmodern(ist) turn in literature and critical theories of the decade with their themes, techniques, structural and dialogic experimentations, and with the stretching and erasure of borders between “highbrow/lowbrow” literature, “serious/trivial” genres, and “comic/tragic” subgenres. His early “high/pure” comedies display an intense propensity for rough and farcical humour, and are marked by protagonists who could nowadays be considered representative of elite estates, be they royal spies, contemporary philosophers, or modern men of literature. These protagonists are then parodied and typified as grotesque, and the plots structured so that individual scenes or the overall plot rely on partial or complete implementation of the formula of popular (comic) genres, such as vaudeville, farce, parody or even travesty. Stoppard’s later, more mature comedies, display a greater propensity for dark humour, and concurrently incite laughter, bitterness, and even sadness in their audiences. Their endings do not come in the manner expected of comedy, or even of tragicomedy; nor do they offer the prototypical happy ending, or a festive, victorious tone. What dominates his

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<sup>3</sup>These are: *The Dissolution of Dominic Boot*, and “M” is for Moon Among Other Things 1964; *If You’re Glad, I’ll Be Frank* 1965; *A Separate Peace and Teeth* 1966; *Albert’s Bridge, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead* and *Another Man Called Earth*, 1967; *Enter a Free Man*, *The Real Inspector Hound* and *Neutral Ground*, 1968; *After Magritte*, and *Where Are They Now?*, 1970.

dramas is an open ending, or rather the “Styanian” purpose of dark comedy: Stoppard continually presents his audience with diverse possibilities, as well as the arbitrary nature of such variations, so that it might break free from its rigid attitudes and petrified prejudices.

Although a highly prolific dramatist,<sup>4</sup> Stoppard’s reputation has varied among critics (and audiences), especially in the latter half of the 1980s<sup>5</sup>. His play *The Invention of Love* was composed and premiered in 1997 at the National Theatre, then moved to the West End the year after, and was produced in the US in San Francisco in 2000 (Delaney in Kelly, 2001, pp. 8–9). Like most of his plays, this one has provoked mixed criticism and reactions, including: Simon’s (2001) verdict that it is “Stoppard’s most literary play yet” (par. 1); Penistan’s (2009) claim that it is a “unique play” (para. 7); Clapp’s (1997) suggestion that the piece “is a parade ground for Stoppard’s talents and for his tics. ... full of interesting material ... too busy and sometimes repetitious” (para. 5); Trevelyan-Davies’ (2015) conclusion that it was “written with the acidic humour of Tom Stoppard” (par. 1); Brustein’s (2001) observation that it is “the showiest of all of Stoppard’s intellectual exercises” (as cited in Brustein, 2006, p. 50); Jones’s (2001) remark that it “can seem as coldly cerebral as its key figure” (as cited in “the complete review”, 2009, para. 21); and Moore’s (2000) admission that “it’s slow going, especially if you haven’t read the script” (para. 4). All these reviewers and critics acquiesce that the play lacks action and causal structuring of the plot, and indeed its dialogues are combined in 40 scenes of two acts and “connected associatively” (Hodgson, 2001, p. 164). *The Invention of Love* presents its audiences with the reminiscing and fragmented recollections of the key character, Alfred Edward Houseman (referred to as AEH), on his deathbed, and might appear as a dramatic biography of this rarely studied and poorly-known English poet and Classics scholar. The impaired and chaotic brain of the aged Houseman is “visited” by the ghosts of his personal and common British (and European) past: historic, literary and cultural figures such as Walter Pater, John Ruskin, Henry Labouchere, Jerome K.

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<sup>4</sup>His first pieces emerged in the early 1960s, and he has composed and adapted many dramatic works, including: radio, TV and stage plays; screenplays; and pieces translated or adapted from German and Russian dramatists (such as Schnitzler, Nestroy, Molnar, Havel or Checkov). Stoppard has authored approximately 50 dramatic pieces in total, his most recent being *The Hard Problem*, staged in 2015.

<sup>5</sup>After Bryden and Hobson’s reviews of Stoppard’s debut play *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead* “rescued” Stoppard from accusations of plagiarism, Stoppard’s fame and fortune rose quickly with his “entertainments” and “plays of ideas” (Stoppard as cited in Delaney, 1994, pp. 129–130) from the late 1960 and 1970. Yet the 1980s were particularly trying for the author, despite the fact that his plays from this period (such as *The Real Thing* or *The Dog It Was That Died*) received critical acclaim and awards. When his first 1990s play of ideas, *Arcadia*, was set to stage and revered as probably the best play Stoppard had ever composed, the critics asked “Can *Arcadia* revive a faltering career?” (as cited in Hodgson, 2001, p. 152).

Jerome and even Oscar Wilde, Stoppard's ceaseless spring of inspiration. Therefore, the play turns into a long-standing debate on diverse issues – Classics, the role of Universities and academia, the function and duty of literary work and criticism, Aestheticism, the responsibility of politics and journalism towards the general public, comradeship and (same-sex) love, and life and death – scrutinised and considered from a dominantly postmodernist perspective, at a distance and with irony. The dramatic text bulges with citations of and allusions to the myths and works of antiquity, to numerous literary and non-literary events and documents (from antiquity, and nineteenth-century Britain), displaying Stoppard's eclecticism, and the metadramatic and intertextual qualities of this postmodern piece. The play's opening and closing scenes, the overall nightmarish setting, the gravity of the themes debated, the ultimate sense of loss (of a meaningful life, of love, and of one's own purpose) and the destiny of the protagonist(s) might categorise the work as bordering on (modern) tragedy, were it not for its witticism and humour.

The comic elements in this play arise distinctly from the following aspects: its characterisation, wordplay and irony, and the incompatible and bizarre reactions of the protagonists. From the first scene to the last, AEH and most of the scholars and academics are presented as perplexed, inadequate and inane men of letters, who rant on the conflicting issues of the role of education and Classical scholarship. They tediously cite and refer to philosophical and literary works from their own specialised fields while playing croquet or while with their students, reducing literary criticism to citing and meticulously correcting errors in the translations of poets from antiquity, yet not interacting with real life. "Pater does not meddle, minds his business, steps aside. When *he* looks at a thing, it melts: tone, resonance, complexity, a moment's rapture and for him alone. Life is not there to be understood, only endured and ameliorated", AEH explains to Houseman, the younger version of himself, whom he encounters in his bed-ridden hallucination (Stoppard, 1997, p. 45). Moreover, Jowett, Professor of Greek and Master of Balliol (a College at Oxford University), whom the elderly AEH criticises for his inaccurate pronunciation of Greek (p. 3) instructs Houseman, having at first mistaken him for Wilde, that he has

been put on earth with an Oxford scholarship ... to take the ancient authors as they come from a reputable English printer, and to study them until [he] can write in the metre. If you cannot write Latin and Greek verse how can you hope to be of any use in the world? (Stoppard, 1997, p. 24)

Other figures, such as journalists Henry Labouchere<sup>6</sup>, Frank Harris<sup>7</sup> and W. T. Stead<sup>8</sup>, all introduced into the play in connection with Wilde's trial and the related topic of the demonisation and persecution of the LGBT population in nineteenth century Britain, or Alfred William Pollard and Moses John Jackson, Houseman's Oxford peers, are also presented as self-centred, charmless buffoons, whose relevance in the world is limited to that of their centre-stage characters, Wilde and Houseman respectively. Yet Labouchere, Harris, and Stead keep incongruously uttering their maxims,<sup>9</sup> and narrating tall-tales in the manner of the Theatre of the Absurd's grotesque characters' duologues, or the burlesques of paperboys selling the news, and are parodied in the best Stoppardian reworking of historic figures. Conversely, Mo Jackson is the best example of one of Stoppard's naive and ignorant clown-like characters in the *Invention of Love*. His lack of knowledge (as shown in the scene of his first encounter with Pollard and Houseman at school, when he cannot recognise or differentiate between Greek and Latin [Stoppard, 1997, p. 6–7]), his genuine lack of interest in long lectures and the intellectualism of his peers (as when he cuts Pollard and Houseman short while they are citing and discussing a poem by Catullus [p. 12]), and his misunderstanding of Wilde and Houseman's subtleties and advances (p. 18; pp. 53–57) provoke rounds of (astringent) laughter. Finally, Charon's chuckling, misunderstandings, instructions and irritation with AEH (which verify that the Boatman is indeed of another world), and AEH's confusion, wise-cracking, and passionate (if prolonged) lectures, and continuous worry over his physical needs induce a somewhat sad smirk, once the audience

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<sup>6</sup>The real life Labouchere is best known for his humorous dispatches from Paris, his rather dubious work and reputation as a Liberal MP and a diplomat, and the so-called "Labouchere" Amendment of 1885, which penalised homosexuality as a criminal act (Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Henry Du Pré Labouchere", n. d.).

<sup>7</sup>Frank Harris was an Irish and American journalist, editor of journals, and author of Oscar Wilde's and Shaw's biographies. He was acclaimed for his own fictional and provocative autobiography (Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Frank Harris", n. d.).

<sup>8</sup>Dying in the sinking of the Titanic, William Thomas Stead was British journalist and an editor of magazines such as *Echo* and *The Pall Mall Gazette*, who, with his introduction of innovative techniques (like illustrations) and forms (such as the interview) helped create modern (investigative) journalism. He is famous for exposing prostitution in London by going undercover as a client, and reporting on his experiences in "The Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, "William Thomas Stead", n. d.; Encyclopaedia Britannica, "History of Publishing", n. d.).

<sup>9</sup>"I invented the New Journalism", exclaims Stead (Stoppard, 1997, p. 60), while Harris and Labouchere are telling stories of their experiences in the Turko-Russia war – which is Harris' "flight of fancy" (p. 59) – and eating rats, cats, dogs and "the animals in the zoo" (p. 60–61) – which is a parodic reference to Labouchere's dispatches from the Siege of Paris in 1870.

realises the facts of his “rather lonely and loveless life” (Jones, 2010, para. 2), and the “roads Houseman might have taken, or the lives he didn’t lead” (Brantley, 2001, para. 14).

The play abounds in linguistic witticisms: puns, clever remarks, ironic comments, paradoxes, contradictions, non-sequiturs, jokes, and anecdotes. The witticisms mostly involve Charon and AEH (in his elderly version and throughout the play, but also as Houseman in Act II, aged 26), as they fit the scenario and dialogues that play themselves out in the mind of the protagonist. In the opening scene, AEH is met by Charon. When the latter’s misapprehension is corrected that the “poet and a scholar” he should be taking to the underworld are two persons, he asks the former to “give him [the other] a minute” (Stoppard, 1997, p. 2). A moment later, Jerome’s *Three Men on a Boat* is visually recreated on stage with Pollard, Jackson, and the young Houseman, splashing their oars in what might be the river Styx, or any of the Oxford rivers, with a dog “played realistically by a toy (stuffed) dog” (Stoppard, 1997, p. 4). Charon unabashedly exclaims “Well, I never! Brought their own boat, whatever next?” (p. 5). When, in this very scene, AEH yearns for Moses Jackson, referring to him as Mo, and suggesting he “would have died for [him] but I never had the luck,” Charon asks if AEH is aching for the dog (p. 5). Later in the play, the exchanges between Charon and AEH become even more disconnected and contradictory. For example, when AEH asks if Charon knows Propertius, implying his works, and Charon responds with: “You mean personally?” (p. 26), or Charon’s ironic comment on Houseman’s arrival for his encounter with AEH, “Dead on time!”, implying both that Houseman arrived exactly on time, but is also dead, a figment in the mind of a dying senile man. This is then extended into an irritated “there’s no end to them” (p. 29). AEH is particularly prone to wise-cracking and ironic comments, as can be seen in his response to Houseman’s introduction (which is when the elderly man finally recognises that his younger version is standing before him): “Well, this is an unexpected development. ... I’m not as young as I was. Whereas you, of course, are” (Stoppard, 1997, p. 30). The entire scene has the flavour of Ionesco’s *Bald Soprano*, with its clocks running erratically and Mr. and Mrs. Martin’s extended dialogue before they establish they are spouses (Ionesco, 1982, p. 18). Stoppard’s scene, which Clapp (1997) marks as the play’s best, “a telling scene because, in picturing Housman as two people, it dramatizes something important about him [Houseman]” (para. 2), AEH suggests that Houseman is to “ask [Baehren’s] mother” whether “he [is] good or bad?” (Stoppard, 1997, p. 33), and that “really there’s no need for you to read anything published in German in the last fifty years. Or the next fifty” (p. 34), while discussing scholarship on Propertius. When Housman boasts that his

poems were “quite speakable, I think”, AEH cracks that his “were quite unspeakable” (p. 35). Moreover, after AEH delivers a long and obtuse lecture that ends with his own translation of Horace’s “Diffugere nives,” Houseman asks him what it was, implying the poem, and AEH responds it was a “lapse” (p. 39), punning on the noun’s multiple meanings. His ironic comments on Houseman’s passionate deliberation on the issue of camaraderie foreground all the sexual connotations of Houseman’s “love of comrades ready to lay down their lives for each other” (p. 39), and accentuate the thematic framework of the play. Additionally, when he paraphrases Ruskin, and Houseman asks where (as in which work of his) the art critic made that statement, AEH points to an actual place, and says: “There” (p. 45). He follows this immediately with a question that is a part of a “running gag about incontinence” (Zeifman in Kelly, 2001, p. 195). In act II, AEH suggests morosely to his sister that the larks might think it is “the end of the world” and not, as she thinks, “a daybreak” (Stoppard, 1997, p. 90). He objects to the barbarity of “homosexual”, a term that is “half Greek and half Latin” (p. 91), and rudely tells Chamberlain that the latter “became a sort of footnote” (p. 91). The comic elements in the play’s second act rest partly with Houseman, now aged 26, whose paradoxes and double entendres with Chamberlain<sup>10</sup>, Pollard<sup>11</sup>, and Jackson<sup>12</sup>, along with this act’s greater focus on death,<sup>13</sup> truly bring about the gloom of the (postmodern) dark comedy.

Yet the most prominent comic aspect of the *Invention of Love*, which delineates the play along the categories of an absurdist comic tragedy, a modern dark comedy and a playful postmodern hybrid drama, is the incongruous and bizarre behaviour of the characters. All of them, from major to minor, have reactions that are utterly inappropriate to what is occurring or being discussed at a particular moment. Charon is surprised that AEH, a Classics scholar and professor, understands Latin (Stoppard, 1997, p. 2). For his part, AEH, at the moment of his death, delivers long lectures that irritate Charon (p. 2–3); wonders whether he knows people, even when it is obvious who they are (for example, his sister’s children [p. 89]); frets

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<sup>10</sup>Such as: “You can’t have two goes at the same virgin” (Stoppard, 1997, p. 63).

<sup>11</sup>To whom Houseman responds with “You are an exhibit,” and then tidies his tousled clothes, when Pollard clarifies Houseman’s earlier statement that he “is at the British Museum” with “Not an exhibit, I work at the library” (Stoppard, 1997, p. 66).

<sup>12</sup>This ironic scene ends in the revelation of Houseman’s feelings for Jackson, and their ultimate breach (see Stoppard, 1997, pp. 73–78).

<sup>13</sup>Even Wilde’s reading and acerbic commentary of Houseman’s poem “XLIV. Shot? so quick, so clean an ending” does not relieve the audience of the sense of an anticipated demise.

about his incontinence while discussing Oxford with Charon (pp. 26–27) or lecturing Houseman on Classical literature (p.44); and tells Wilde that the latter’s life was terrible, and a “chronological error” (p. 96), although it was he, not Wilde who lived a repressed and lonely life. Moreover, Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, suggests to students Houseman and Pollard that no knowledge can be gained at the University, and that “love of learning ... cause[s] blindness and lead[s] a young man to ruin” (p. 8–9). He further claims that the “university exists to seek the meaning of life by the pursuit of scholarship” (p. 15). Jackson commits all possible social faux-pas: he mistakes Latin for Greek (p. 11); responds to Wilde’s compliment for having won a race with an unintended double entendre on not being a Jew; receives further compliments on his “left leg [being] a poem” (p. 18); marvels at a theatre for its introduction of electricity, rather than the play he has seen (p. 52); and suggests that Wilde’s publicity is undeserved, and asks “what has he ever done?” (p. 58) even after Houseman points out that Wilde is a published author. Jowett, the Master of Balliol, mistakes the young Houseman for Wilde, and rants about his tasks and duties, stating that Houseman, a student of classics at Oxford, should not be bothered with spurious lines in classical texts (p. 23). Yet when Robinson Ellis, a fellow Trinity College scholar whose work he has just criticised, enters the stage, Jowett exchanges childlike accusations with an infantile demeanour.

As pointed out in the theoretical framework of humour research in linguistics, in this paper semantic relationships (nodes and hyponymy) will be observed within the Incongruity-resolution Model. This time, the linguistic analysis of Stoppard’s *The Invention of Love* will address just three scenes from the play, bearing in mind the limited proposed length of the paper. However, the humorous events we will pay close attention to in all three scenes concern the “mockery of scholars”, i.e. of the learned. Interestingly, the humour often comes from varying degrees of insults. Such is the case with the perception of poets in the following:

*Charon:* A poet and a scholar is what I was told.

*AEH:* I think that must be me.

*Charon:* Both of them?

*AEH:* I’m afraid so.

*Charon:* It sounded like two different people.

*AEH:* I know. (Stoppard, 1997, p. 2)

In this short excerpt, the semantic incongruity rests on the on common perception of a SCHOLAR and a POET on one hand, and the unexpected utterance that finds the two



semantic nodes mutually exclusive on the other. In the network of semantic meanings that the two notions entail are the following distinctive features: SCHOLAR (+ wit; + perception; – emotions); POET (+ wit; + perception; + emotions). Indeed, the ability to create is characteristic of both poets and scholars, as is an ability to perceive one's surroundings. However, in the common perception of scholars, emotions are frequently left unconsidered, since people tend to perceive emotions as a human trait standing in the way of logical reasoning. The incongruity in this case is accentuated further when AEH perceives his own personality as containing two completely different aspects, to such an extent that the reader may make an analogous connection to Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.

The following example is more direct, and perhaps more extreme:

AEH: [...] There are places in Jebb's Sophocles where the responsibility for reading the metre seems to have been handed over to the Gas, Light and Coke Company. (Stoppard, 1997, p. 3)

Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb, among the most distinguished Sophoclean scholars, is being criticised here. Readers are immediately drawn to the irony of AEH's utterance, whose surface structure contains mockery. As far as the deep semantic structure is concerned, semantic opposition is present in essentially incomparable notions. First, the issue is related to semantic entailment: SIR RICHARD CLAVERHOUSE JEBB (+ scholar); THE GAS, LIGHT AND COKE COMPANY (– scholar). This essential rift between the nodes is striking to the extent that readers become aware of an absurd situation, in which the semantic network is further activated in the readers' cognitive efforts to include: SIR RICHARD CLAVERHOUSE JEBB (+ ability to read the metre); THE GAS, LIGHT AND COKE COMPANY (– ability to read the metre). The resolution is not only in the pure "solving" of the issue of whether the nodes in question are distinctively characterised by an ability to understand any form of artistic endeavour, but also in the impossible analogy: it is practically impossible to draw these two nodes into the same context to perform the same action. In this case, the speaker understands that the (– ability) feature is assigned to the node that does not originally contain it.

Houseman: It was clear something was amiss from the day we matriculated. The statutes warned us against drinking, gambling and hoop-trundling but not a word about Jowett's translation of Plato. The Regius Professor can't even pronounce the Greek language and there is no one at Oxford to tell him. (Stoppard, 1997, pp. 10–11)

In this excerpt, the surface structure contains a sarcastic remark, while, in the deep semantic network, the superordinate node FORBIDDEN contains co-hyponyms DRINKING, GAMBLING, HOOP-TRUNDLING, as well as another semantic entity: JOWETT'S TRANSLATION OF PLATO. Here, readers are essentially seeing a criticism of Benjamin Jowett's translation of Plato. This downright offence to one of Oxford's most distinguished scholars is presented through the entailment of his translation within the semantic scope of the superordinate FORBIDDEN, implying that the work is so horrible that it should be banned. On another level, Benjamin Jowett is frowned upon by an opposition that leads to the absurd: REGIUS PROFESSOR OF GREEK is an honorary title, and the main distinctive features are (+ Greek; + ability). The utterance expressly denies that Jowett is able even to pronounce Greek, hence the implicature is that he is not worthy of the title. However, the sarcasm does not solely concern Jowett; it encompasses all Oxford scholars. The verb BE and its negation contain distinctive features (– existence), leading to the conclusion that nobody at Oxford is competent at classical studies.

Having presented these three prominent scenes from Stoppard's play, we will now analyse the other writer – David Henry Hwang – and his play *Chinglish*.

David Henry Hwang is usually presumed to represent all Asian American dramatists (and theatre), regardless of the heterogeneity of the given “ethnic/racial/cultural” social group, and the multiplicity and hybridity of the experiences the subgenre frequently dramatises<sup>14</sup>. Although he is best known for his postmodernist play *M. Butterfly* (1988), Hwang has been amply publicised and theorised upon (see Bigsby, 2000; Lei, 2005; Saddik, 2007) since his entry into the dramatic world with the play *FOB*<sup>15</sup> (1980). He has been present in dramatic, theatrical and academic circles for at least forty years, first as a student, then as a dramatist (staging his plays in off- and on-Broadway theatres), and finally as a professor who is still actively composing for theatres worldwide. Hwang is a second generation Chinese-American<sup>16</sup>, who reached fame and Broadway relatively soon after his debut play *FOB*. Less

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<sup>14</sup>For a detailed explanation and discussion of the genre, the classifying terminology, and its limitations see Bigsby, 2000, pp. 348–357; Hwang, 2000, pp. 50–56; Lei in Krasner, 2005, pp. 301–317; Saddik, 2007, pp. 151–158; Kim in Ono, 2005, pp. 197–214; and Lowe in Ono, 2005, pp. 254–275.

<sup>15</sup>This play received an Obie Award in 1980–81 for Best New American Play (Kuiper, 2015, para. 2).

<sup>16</sup>Hwang's parents were both born in China, although his mother was raised in the Philippines. They moved to the U.S.A., where they met and married, and had three children (Kuiper, 2015, para. 2).

prolific than Stoppard, Hwang has composed about 20 original plays, but like Stoppard, he has been involved in the film industry, as well as musical and operatic theatre. Similarly to Stoppard, Hwang has received numerous awards and fellowships for his professional and educational work. One of his ongoing interests is the “fluidity of identity” (Kuiper, 2015, para. 1), and the “social dynamics, cultural nuances, and racial problems which reflect aspects of America’s troubled plurality, a reality which is rarely treated in literature, or on the stage” (Uno, 1993, p. 156). His most recent play *Chinglish* (2011) premiered in Chicago, then showed a few months later on Broadway. It was subsequently staged twice by the East West Players in the 2015/16 season, the second time by popular demand and with a revised ending (East West Players, n. d., “Production History & Archive”; n. d. “Chinglish-Back by Popular Demand”).

In *Chinglish*, Hwang thematises human prejudices, conjectures and the essential lack of understanding between two (or more) beings, whether or not they speak the same language. The play consists of thirteen scenes divided into two acts, and in its structure and formal traits it is a hybrid of genres. With its pathos and generic more-or-less happy ending for the two leading characters, the play is a comedy overall, but because of its use of buffoonery and typically crude characterisations of the party officials and their translators it borders on farce. Moreover, it is a glum comment on the tragic destinies of humans as political and social beings, executed in the manner of a realist drama, although with brief and swiftly exchanging cinematic episodes, and the use of minimalist stage sets/props with elements of intermediality. *Chinglish* opens and closes with a scene in which the play’s protagonist, Daniel Cavanaugh, an American who runs a small family business, is giving a presentation to his countrymen on successful entrepreneurship in the East, three years after undertaking a venture in provincial Guiyang, in China. Thus the action in Guiyang, just like the dialogues in Stoppard’s *The Invention of Love*, occurs in retrospect, and from the main protagonist’s perspective. The cast comprises two male Westerners and five Asians of both genders (three women and two men), with several members of the cast playing multiple roles and doubling up according to need, blurring the play’s edges further. The Chinese characters are commonly dressed in suits and western clothes, except in the episode in which Minister Cai is to be imprisoned. The Caucasians, on the other hand, dress more diversely: American businessman Cavanaugh dresses in the attire of his profession (a suit), whereas ex-pat Brit Peter Timms wears local clothes, seemingly at odds with his origins but signifying his long involvement with Chinese culture. Half the dialogues are in Mandarin Chinese, and half are in English (including some

Chinglish), with profuse use of body language. The action is set in motion by Cavanaugh's attempt to close an exclusive deal on English translation signs in China, with the help of an alleged consultant, the aforementioned British-born, Chinese-based Timms<sup>17</sup>.

Much of the play's laughter arises from interpretative mistakes, the signs of which are vividly displayed either above the stage as supertitles/scripts of one of the two languages used, and/or communicative glitches and knots that slow down and, at times, prevent the dialogue from continuing, and are enhanced by gestural/non-verbal communication. For example, in the opening scene, while Cavanaugh is giving his presentation to his fellow Americans, and again in the third scene, when Cavanaugh and Timms are discussing a possible business deal with the Chinese officials, the audience sees and hears about public signs in China, which are poorly translated from Mandarin to English, thus belonging to the hybrid language colloquially known as Chinglish. When a sign should read "Slippery Slopes Ahead", it states that one should "take notice of safe The slippery are very crafty" (Hwang, 2012, p. 7); or when it should signify a direction to "Dry Goods Pricing Department" (p. 8), the sign rudely states "Fuck the Certain Price of Goods" (p. 7); further, "the handicapped restrooms" becomes "Deformed Man's Toilet" (p. 24). Particularly entertaining are the scenes that involve translators, namely Scenes Three and Seven:

Daniel: We're a small family firm.

Qian: Tā nà jiā shì xiǎo gōng sī, méi shén me míng qi de.

*His company is tiny and insignificant.*

Daniel: Started by my great-grandfather in 1925.

Qian: Gōng sī shì tā zǔ xiān zài èr shí shì jì chū jiàn lì de.

*His ancestor founded it in the early twentieth century.*

Peter: É hài é zhōu zhāo pái shè jì gōng sī shì qí zhōng yī jiā zhòng

yào de zhāo pái zhì zào gōng chǎng

*Ohio Signage is one of the major manufacturers*

shì měi guó zhōng xī bù zuì jù sù zhì de zhāo pái zhì zào gōng chǎng,

*of top-quality signage in the American Midwest,*

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<sup>17</sup>As the audience learns much later in the play, when Cavanaugh's deal almost falls through because Timms' calculations and networking backfire, Timms is actually an English teacher, who has intentionally misled Cavanaugh as a result of his own eventual regrets (Hwang, 2012, pp.114–118).

fú wù dì qū bāo kuò zhī jiā gē.

*the region which includes Chicago.*

Cai: Ah! Chicago!

Daniel: Chicago? No, we're based in—

Peter (*To Daniel*): Your firm is based in Cleveland, but you've done  
business in—

Daniel: Chicago.

Cai: Chicago.

Qian: Zhī jiā gē yǒu tā chù lì de zhāo pái,

*He has erected signs in Chicago,*

dàn tā gè rén lái zì bú zhù míng de xiǎo cūn zhuāng.

*but his home village is insignificant.*

Cai: Wó lǎo jiā yě shì gè xiǎo cūn zhuāng.

*I also come from a small village.*

Qian (*To Daniel*): Minister Cai was also—

Peter (*To Daniel*): The Minister ... (Hwang, 2012, p. 12–14)

In this excerpt from the third scene of the play, Qian is attempting to translate Daniel's words to Minister Cai, and Peter intervenes at points when Qian is overwhelmed. Funnily, "a small company firm" becomes "tiny and insignificant" (p. 12), and Peter's explanation to Daniel that he has translated Daniel's company as being based in Cleveland but having done business in Chicago, in Qian's translation suggests that the business in Chicago was "erect[ing] signs", but that "his home village is insignificant" (p. 14). Later in the scene, the ill-informed and badly-skilled Qian offends her employer, Minister Cai, by suggesting that the latter's desire to "showcase the traditional Chinese art" is actually a reference to Cai "enjoy[ing] the art which is old and unpopular" (Hwang, 2012, p. 26). She digs herself deeper, translating "The signs must be correct! ... So foreigners will appreciate such classic works" as "The signs must be right. Or the shows will be even worse" (p. 28).

The above catastrophe in interpretation continues in Scene Seven, when the incompetent translator is removed and replaced by the even more inept nephew of Cai:

Cai: [...] Shì shí shàng, wǒ zhèng chéng shòu zhe chén zhòng de yā lì.

*The fact is, I am under a great deal of pressure.*

Bing: The Minister is underneath you.

Cai: Shéng wěi shū jì yǒu tā de yì xiàng wǒ néng zuò shén me ne?

*The Party Secretary has his priorities, so what can I do?*

Bing: He also underneath his Party Secretary.

Cai: Wǒ shù shǒu wú cè!

*My hands are tied!*

Bing: He is in bondage.

Peter: Jú zhǎng, hén gǎn xiè nín de jiē jiàn, dàn nín de yì si shì—

*Minister, we are grateful for this meeting, but are you saying—?*

Cai: Bǐ dé lǎo shī, zhè fèn jì huà shū wǒ bù néng pī.

*Teacher Peter, I cannot approve this proposal.*

Bing: He cannot fulfill your desires.

Peter: Shén me?

*What?*

Cai: Wó hěn bào qiàn.

*I am so sorry.*

Daniel: What's going on, here?

Peter: Wǒ men bú shì gōu tōng hǎo de ma!

*But we had an understanding!*

Cai: Wǒ huì lǚ xíng wǒ de chéng nuò! Xià yí cì ba!

*And I will honor our agreement! Another time!*

Bing (To Daniel): Next time, he may give it to you.

Peter: Dàn shì nǐ dā yìng guò, nǐ shuō—

*But you promised, you said—!*

Cai: Wǒ bù néng bá zhǐ shì pái de hé yuē pī géi kǎ fán nuò xiān sheng!

*I cannot give Mr. Cavanaugh the signage contract!*

Wó hěn bào qiàn!

*I'm very sorry!*

Qíng ní lí jiě.

*You understand.*

Daniel (*To Peter*): What's he saying?

Bing: Teacher Peter begs the Minister for his favors—

Daniel (*To Bing*): It's OK.

(*To Peter, regarding Bing*) This guy's even worse than the last one. (Hwang, 2012, pp. 67-69)

What one learns from these two scenes is a valuable lesson not only about the importance of well-executed interpretation and the significance of understanding subtle and intricate nuances in cultural difference, but also about the networking (and nepotism) in China, or the “guanxi” that Timms warned Daniel about (Hwang, 2012, p. 9–10).

The communicative knots are most visible in exchanges between Daniel and Xi<sup>18</sup>, the Vice Minister of Culture, who eventually starts a love affair with Daniel. Her attempts to communicate with him in her broken English, when Daniel is struggling to connect the dots and fill in the gaps, make her “such sleepy” (Hwang, 2012, p. 43), that is, so tired and exasperated, that she slips back into Chinese, and has to repeat the information that might put her at risk:

Xi: ... (*Xi leans in, whispers to Daniel:*)

English-writing firm. Currently enter. Through the back door.

Cai wife sister. Open door. So will not close.

(*Pause.*)

Now, you know.

(*Pause.*)

Daniel: Could you repeat that?

Xi: “Repeat”?

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<sup>18</sup>Hwang's double entendre is that Xi is pronounced like the English pronoun “she”. This highlights that apart from being female, the Vice Minister will become the “xi” in Cavanaugh's “guanxi”.

Jiù píng gāng cái zhè xiē huà, dōu gòu wǒ qiāng bì de le!

*For what I just told you, I could be shot!*

Nǐ hái yào wǒ zài shuō yī biàn?

*You want me to say that again?*

Jiù pà wàn yī yǒu rén méi tīng qīng shì ba?

*In case anyone else in the room missed it?*

Daniel: I understand. That what you're telling me is a huge—use at your own risk.

Xi: Yes! Use at your own risk!

Daniel: But I— <have no idea—>

Xi: OK, OK ... (*Leans in again*) English-writing firm ...

Daniel: The company making the English signs ...

Xi: In present ...

Daniel: Um, presently?

Xi: Enter through the back door. Of Minister wife sister.

(*Silence.*)

Wǒ kuài bèi nǐ qì fēng le.

*I'm going to shoot myself.*

Daniel: Give me a chance here. “Minister wife sister.” Cai's sister in-law?

Xi: Yes ...

Daniel: Is presently hired—to make the signs?

Xi: Yes! Through the back door!

Daniel: That's the part that keeps tripping me up. ... (Hwang, 2012, pp. 44–45)

Yet these errors in communication, whether misinterpretations or communicative glitches, are not reserved only for the Chinese characters; Xi is swift to point one out at her first official meeting with Daniel. The following scene discusses the alleged first page of the Max Planck Institute journal, when it decided to honour Chinese culture:



Daniel (*To Qian*): What's that?

Peter: Yín dàng dì jiào fēng qíng wàn zhǒng

*"These enchanting and coquettish spring chickens will be available in our darkened basement."*

Tài kě xiào le!

*So funny!*

Gāo xīn nán rén huān yíng tàn fǎng.

*"Visit us now, all men of high incomes."*

Zhuàng yáng chūn yào yuán yuán sòng shàng.

*"We can also supply to you the elixir of Viagra."*

Xi: Tā men kān dēng le shàng hǎi yè zǒng huì de guǎng gào cí!

*They pulled some ad off a girlie bar in Shanghai!*

Qian (*To Daniel*): A magazine.

Daniel (*To Qian*): I know it's—! // Why—?

Qian: I am attempting to explain! The Vice Minister is—oh, this is quite subtle drawing a comparison between attempts to make translation both in Western and in China, also pointing out the absurdity of both cultures' attempts to—

Daniel: Never mind—what are they talking about *now*?

Qian: Shanghai sex clubs! (Pause. All look to Qian.)

To Xi and Cai:)

Duì bu qǐ, wó zhǐ shì xiǎng—

*Forgive me, I was just trying to—*

(Hwang, 2012, pp. 31–32)

Moreover, the misinterpretations (similar to those in absurdist dramas, or Stoppardian postmodern travesties) are taken to another – bitterly comic, even tragic – level, with the cultural expectations and misapprehensions of all characters, Asian or Caucasian (British or American). To the Westerners, the Chinese appear shifty and corrupt, and to the Chinese, the foreigners are “ignorant” (Hwang, 2012, p. 72), and considered “the white devil [with] lust in [their] eyes” (p. 70). In truth, none are “Honest. Good men” (Hwang, 2012, p. 56): Peter Timms is not a consultant, but an English teacher; Minister Cai has no intention of sealing the deal with Cavanaugh, as he has already promised it to his sister-in-law; Cavanaugh is not running a successful company, but trying to enter the Chinese market while recovering from a series of bad business decisions and disasters; and Vice Minister Xi is a married woman who assists Cavanaugh and backstabs Minister Cai only to advance her husband Judge Geming’s position.

As far as the semantic opposition in *Chinglish* is concerned, the root of all humorous events rests upon misinterpretation of utterances, where readers observe the incongruities between real and misinterpreted meanings. Very early in the play (excluding the opening sequences, where mistranslated signs are read and commented on by a native English speaker), we encounter a translation that is far outside the scope of its intended meaning:

Daniel: We’re a small family firm.

Qian: Tā nà jiā shì xiǎo gōng sī, méi shén me míng qì de.

*His company is tiny and insignificant.*

Daniel: Started by my great-grandfather in 1925.

Qian: Gōng sī shì tā zǔ xiān zài èr shí shì jì chū jiàn lì de.

*His ancestor founded it in the early twentieth century.*

(Hwang, 2012, p. 12)

In this case, the main semantic fields in the sequence concern the physical and psychological perception of size. Although they are not necessarily mutually exclusive, in this case the translation insists on an illogical order: the node SMALL contains the semantic feature (– large), but in this context, the node TINY further accentuates the (– large) feature. However, the true incongruity rests in the contrast between the nodes SMALL and INSIGNIFICANT. The node INSIGNIFICANT

contains the feature (– important), which the node SMALL does not contain at all in the intended meaning. This is the main incongruous location. Another case of semantic incongruity in this scene relates to the semantic hierarchy of the node FAMILY. In many different cultures, the positioning of family members varies on a scale of superordinates. Some cultures have a highly developed network of co-hyponyms, conditioned by the need to emphasise a certain person's gender, age, or other important trait in the family network. However, contrary to established expectations (which can even be considered stereotypical in some cases), one would predict that the Chinese tradition would possess an advanced semantic network of family relations. In the context of this particular scene, the linguistic hierarchy related to the node FAMILY in Chinese ceases to be important, since the interpreter clearly fails to provide an adequate translation for a close relative in the English language hierarchy – GREAT-GRANDFATHER – thus minimising this person's familial and business significance.

One of many interesting examples of mistranslation is found in Scene Seven, in which Bing interprets:

Cai: ... Shì shí shàng, wǒ zhèng chéng shòu zhe chén zhòng de yā lì.

*The fact is, I am under a great deal of pressure.*

Bing: The Minister is underneath you.

Cai: Shéng wěi shū jì yǒu tā de yì xiàng wǒ néng zuò shén me ne?

*The Party Secretary has his priorities, so what can I do?*

Bing: He also underneath his Party Secretary.

Cai: Wǒ shù shǒu wú cè!

*My hands are tied!*

Bing: He is in bondage.

Peter: Jú zhǎng, hén gǎn xiè nín de jiē jiàn, dàn nín de yì sī shì—

*Minister, we are grateful for this meeting, but are you saying—?*

Cai: Bǐ dé lǎo shī, zhè fèn jì huà shū wǒ bù néng pī.

*Teacher Peter, I cannot approve this proposal.*

Bing: He cannot fulfill your desires. (Hwang, 2012, p. 67)

Two principal semantic nodes established in the deep structure are: POWER (intended meaning) and SEX (misinterpreted meaning). Although the real intention was not to achieve a sexual content with the translated utterances, the discrepancy causes a comic effect. The co-hyponyms entailing the superordinate node POWER (in the English language) are: *pressure*, *priorities*, *tied hands* (an idiomatic expression), *approval*. On the other hand, the superordinate SEX, in direct opposition to the POWER node, contains the following co-hyponyms: *being underneath*, *bondage*, *desire*. It should be emphasised that, in this case, readers who are fluent in both Chinese and English will be able to establish even deeper semantic structures. Namely, it is possible that Chinese-speaking readers will notice an overlap in meaning between the two principal nodes and their co-hyponyms. If that is the case, the semantic network is significantly wider, meaning that the humorous effect is even more prominent.

## Conclusion

Analysing humour in literature and/or linguistics is a challenging task, given the phenomenon's ever-changing perception. We proposed elements of humour analysis in these two plays from a literary studies angle, which encompassed: the presentation of characters; wordplay; irony; the bizarre reactions of characters; stereotypes; a lack of understanding between protagonists; and mistakes in verbal and nonverbal communication. We also addressed these issues from an angle of linguistic analysis that established semantic relations between elements of language in the dialogues of plays, which cause incongruities resulting in humour. During that process, the focus was on establishing distinctive features of nodes that constitute incongruity, and establishing a semantic hierarchy showing the so-called "intrusive elements" as signals of incongruity.

Fully aware of the different perceptions of comedy/humour in the contemporary scientific community (literary and linguistic), we are of the opinion that humour can and should be observed through an interdisciplinary approach, because different perspectives lead to new findings in different fields of science, and shed light on elements of the text that may have otherwise been neglected. Finally, we decided against introducing other elements of humour analysis into this paper in order not to

exceed the proposed length; this has left us a window of opportunity for a future joint research endeavour.

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# **Kirkpatrick's Model Survey and Travel Writing in Bosnian-Herzegovinian Schools**



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## **Abstract**

Considering inadequate representation of travel literature in curricula for the Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian Language and Literature in Bosnian-Herzegovinian schools, this paper aims to present the current state of travelogue and travel literature among student population and general reader population using Kirkpatrick's evaluation model survey. Namely, along with Bloom's taxonomy, Kirkpatrick's model is one of the basic models for preparation, systematization, planning and assessment of knowledge at all educational levels. Today, it is most often used for the purpose of assessing already existing knowledge, enabling lecturers and other researchers to gain a better insight into the results of teaching process and to establish better basics for further education process. Knowledge of travel literature helps fostering intercultural communication and sensibility and it is very important that it is included in education process.

Key words: Travelogue, Travel writing, Kirkpatrick's model, intercultural communication, genre

Recognizing of significant social diversity is a key feature of modern life and affirms our sense of belonging to various types of collectivity. (Atkinson et al, 2008, p. 127)

Travelogue and travel literature as a literary genre is increasingly concerned with the general literary theoretical publicity, largely because of the phenomenon of interculturality and the overall complexity that this concept implies, but also due to the situation of general globalization processes and a number of other, extremely



complex factors. Mostly because the text of the travelogue is enrolled in the culture to which it belongs, but also in the culture it describes, the culture of the Other (cf. Leboš, 2007, p. 153). Namely, travelliterature is a significant and most effective medium for global circulation of (trans)cultural information (Holland & Graham, 2003).

In view of the inadequate representation of travelogues and travel literature in the curricula for Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian language and literature in Bosnian-Herzegovinian schools, this paper, based on the Kirkpatrick evaluation model, aims to present the current state of knowledge of travelogues and travel literature, through the example of travelogues of Zulfikar Z. Džumhur (Konjic, 1920 – Herceg-Novi, 1989) as one of the most representatives examples of Bosniak and Bosnian travel literature writers in general, and even wider, with a significant place in the wider South Slavic literary context.

With regard to this, it is first necessary to clarify why the questioning was conducted through a survey by the Kirkpatrick model and what, in fact, is this model at all. Namely, with Bloom's taxonomy (cf. Bloom, 1956; Krathwohl, D. R., Bloom, B. S., & Masia, B. B., 1964), Kirkpatrick's model is one of the basic models for preparing, systematizing, planning and evaluating knowledge at all educational levels (cf. Kirkpatrick, 1994). Today, it is most commonly used to evaluate already existing knowledge and is mainly used by lecturers and other researchers to gain a better insight into the learning outcomes and to establish better grounds for further education. The Kirkpatrick model was created in 1954, when the author – Donald Kirkpatrick (1924-2014), a former professor at the University of Wisconsin, USA – developed it in his doctoral dissertation precisely to describe different cognitive levels of knowledge and the idea that all forms of knowledge obtain full value and sense gained by their valorisation. In that sense, precisely by insisting on the valorization of knowledge, he developed the idea of four levels of knowledge that are cognitively distributed at four different levels:

1. **Reaction:** Kirkpatrick's model represents the lowest level of knowledge of certain concepts, but it is of utmost importance because it leaves to the respondents of various educational processes and training enough space to respond to the knowledge they were exposed to, on the basis of their reactions and impressions, entirely subjective;

2. **Learning:** It is already a higher cognitive level at which specific knowledge is examined within the scope of what is being studied in terms of knowledge, i.e. the learning of basic features that the knowledge implies;
3. **Behavior:** implies the application and transfer of knowledge and refers to very specific "behavior" changes that knowledge has to produce if it is useful;
4. **Results:** implies concrete achievements and effects and represents the highest level of use and generally the purpose of a particular educational process.

The survey included two groups of participants:

- The student population of the Faculty of Education at the University of Sarajevo (50 respondents) and also the student population of the International University of Sarajevo (50 respondents) in the Fall semester of the academic year 2016/2017;
- The general reader-population from the environment of the author of this paper, of different ages, interests and professions (the oldest respondent was born in 1944, and the youngest in 2003), as well as from different parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### **An example of a questionnaire**

The results of this survey, designed by Kirkpatrick's model, are aimed at examining the general knowledge of travel and travel literature in Bosnia and Herzegovina. You only need to write your year of birth and occupation, and enter a numerical grade in the questions that follow.

Year of birth: \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Do you remember your impressions from the lessons when for the first time in the classes of Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian Language and Literature you have heard about travelogue and travel literature? (Score 0-5):\_\_\_\_\_
2. Have you ever studied Zulfikar Z. Džumhur or any other travel writer during these classes? (Score 0-5):\_\_\_\_\_
3. How would you assess your current knowledge of this topic? (Score 0-5):\_\_\_\_\_
4. Did you ever apply this knowledge in every day life (e.g. in travel, when getting acquainted with different cultures, acquaintances, friends, etc.)? (Score 0-5)\_\_\_\_\_
5. Did it change your perception of literature and do you think that the result of learning about Difference and Different Cultures can make the world better, or did you feel that effect already on yourself? (Score 0-5):\_\_\_\_\_

Place and Date:\_\_\_\_\_

### **The Survey Results by the Kirkpatrick Model 1(Student Population)**

As already mentioned, within the student population survey, a total of 100 respondents, there were 50 respondents from the Faculty of Education at the University of Sarajevo, and 50 respondents from the International University of Sarajevo.

1. Do you remember your impressions from the lessons when for the first time in the classes of Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian Language and Literature you have heard about travelogue and travel literature?

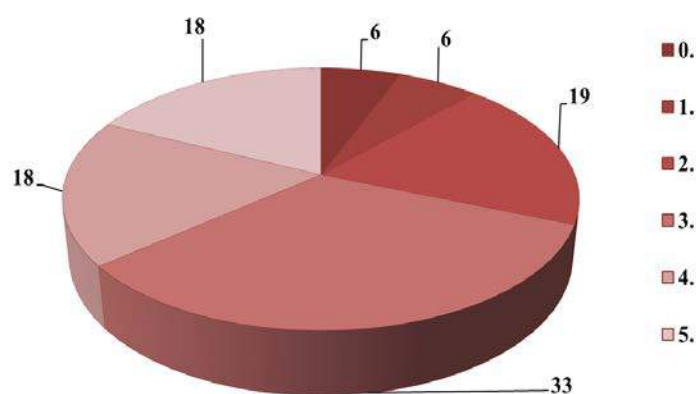


Chart 1

Comments on the results presented in Chart 1: From 100 students, only 6% stated that they did not even remember any impressions of the travelogue and travel literature from their Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian Language and Literature classes, rating their impression with the number 0. Interestingly, also 6% of the respondents rated their impressions as 1, which could be estimated as a very low level of recollection of what travelogue and travel literature is (the lowest percentage of answers to this question), while 19% of the respondents rated it with the number 2. As many as 33% of students in the student population rated their impressions with respect to the above-mentioned question by the number 3, which was the highest percentage of the answers to this question, while 18% of respondents rated their memories 4 and 5, which represents a very high percentage of recollection. This data is very interesting mostly when compared to the current curricula, in which travelogue and travel literature in both primary and secondary school are nearly no longer represented and yet this data nevertheless states that at least, when it comes to respondents of this anonymous survey, the current students of the Faculty of Education at the University of Sarajevo, as well as the International University of Sarajevo, still have a solid knowledge record of travelogue and travel literature. Whether this knowledge comes from classes of Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian Language and Literature and / or it is part of a student's own general culture can not be assessed, but the fact is that these results are still very different from what could be expected with regard to current curricula and programs in which travelogue and travel literature are hardly ever studied.

2. Have you ever studied Zulfikar Z. Džumhur or any other travel writer during these classes?

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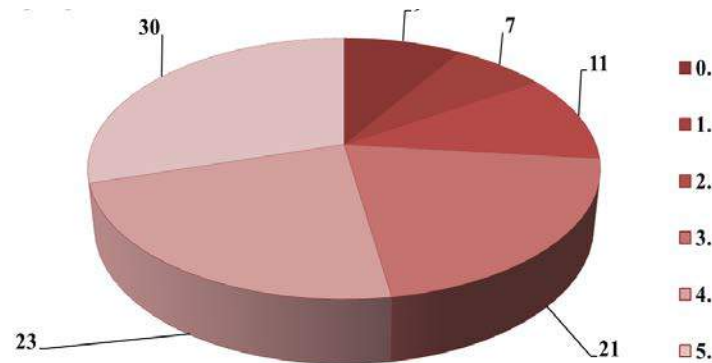


Chart 2

Comments on the results presented in Chart 2: Only 9% of respondents included in this survey claim that they never studied the work of Z. Z. Džumhur during their classes, and 7% (the lowest percentage of answers to this question) evaluated the level of their knowledge with the grade 1. Only 11% of respondents rated their level of study of this writer with the grade 2, and a little more - 21% - with a score of 3 and 23% with the grade 4. Most of the respondents of this survey, 30% of them, claim to have studied the work of Z. Z. Džumhur during their classes, which seems doubtful, not only because of insights into curricula, but also because in the first question of this survey (see previous Chart number 1), only 18% of the respondents rated their knowledge with the grade 5. Related to this, the question arises as to how the respondents during their class time studied travelogue and travel literature at a very low percentage (18%) while still studying Z. Dumhur's work at 30%? Such a high number of students responding to this question with a high score (4 and 5 as much as 53%) could be attributed to the general culture, but also to the exposure to mass-media, where luckily, travel literature is mentioned relatively frequently, especially the travelogues of Zuko Džumhur.

3. How would you assess your current knowledge of this topic?

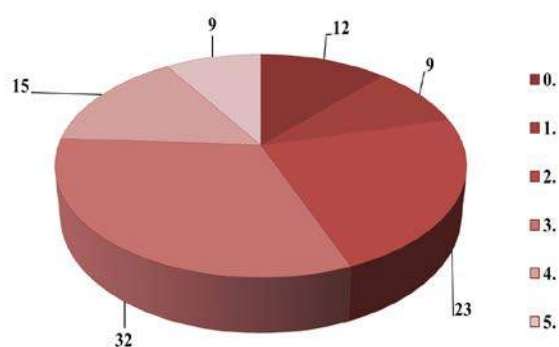


Chart 3

Comments on the results presented in Chart 3: The assessment of their own knowledge of the work of Z. Z. Džumhur or any other travel writer from the classes of Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian Language and Literature as totally ignorant (grade 0) was marked by 12% of the respondents, while 9% estimated the level of assessment of this knowledge with number 1 ( the lowest percentage of responses to this question and the equivalent percentage of responses was rated with 5). As many as 23% of the respondents rated their knowledge of the given field with number 2, while 32% of respondents with 3, which is the highest number of responses to this question, only 15% at 4 and only 9% with the grade 5.

4. Have you ever applied this knowledge in every day life (e.g. in travel, when getting acquainted with different cultures, acquaintances, friends, etc.)?

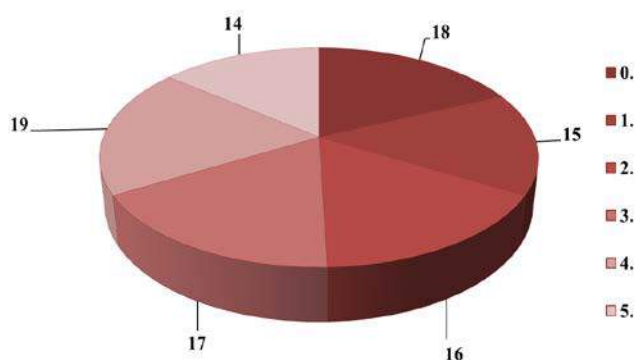


Chart 4

Comments on the results presented in Chart 4: The results of this chart are extremely interesting, mainly because these results obviously disagree with all the previous results in terms of the paradox that very little of the extremely rich knowledge offered in travelogues and travel literature is present in the daily life of the student population. This questions the quality of all previous knowledge in the field of

travel and travel literature in general, as well as the work of Z.Z. Džumhur or any other travel writer. Especially since because 50% of respondents in this survey are in constant intercultural communication with other students from different cultures (International University of Sarajevo). The usage of this intercultural knowledge has been rated with the number 0 by 18% of the respondents, which appears to be truly defeating and with the number 1 by 15% of students. Only 16% of the student population applied their knowledge of travelogue and travel literature and rated their application with the grade 2 out of 0-5, 17% with the grade 3 and 19% with 4, which is also the highest percentage of answers to this question. However, if this percentage is compared to the previous 18% (score 0), too many conflicting answers to this question arise, from which it may be concluded that some students do not even have a developed awareness that travelogue and travel literature in practice could specifically imply precisely the application of travel knowledge in various intercultural interactions, while other students are still applying this practice. A deceptive 14% of students rated their application with the grade 5, which is the lowest percentage of answers given to this question.

5. Did it change your perception of literature and do you think that the result of learning about Difference and Different Cultures can make the world better, or did you feel that effect already on yourself?

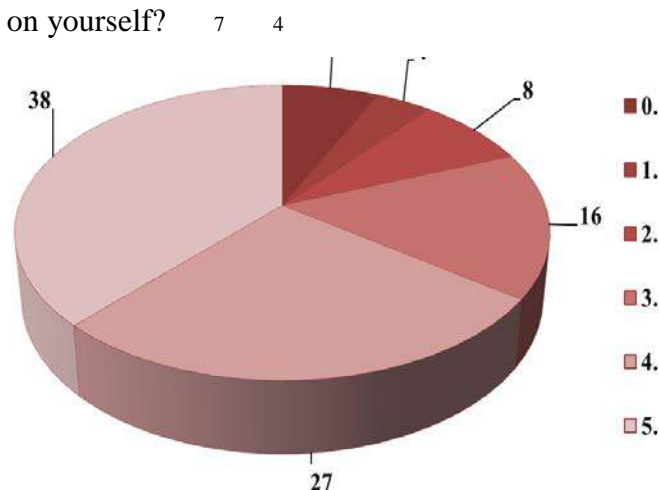


Chart 5

Comments on the results presented in Chart 5: In terms of educational-teaching tasks, the results of Chart no. 5 seem to be the most important part of the Kirkpatrick model survey, and it is even more interesting that given answers to this question,

calculated by numbered responses, are very promising and positive. Namely, 7% of students rated this question with a 0 and 4% with a 1 (the lowest percentage of responses). Only 8% of students rated the significance of the question with 2, and 16% with the grade 3, while 27% of students an impressive 38% (the highest percentage of responses) signified the importance of changing their own literary performance and learning outcomes on Difference and Different Cultures as an essential segment in the creation of their worldview. In this respect, chart no. 5 clearly shows that the study of travelogues and travel literature and the work of Z. Z. Džumhur, on all educational levels in the classes of Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian Language and Literature subjects has to be taken more seriously because they are of enormous importance to the global world in which we live, and the students themselves are aware of this. Also all these results should be a clear indicator for the teachers in elementary and secondary schools that the wrongful ignorance of the study of travelogue and travel literature is a problem that should be addressed in terms of individual and collective totally different teaching approaches to the given topic.

### Survey Results by the Kirkpatrick Model 2(General reader population)

In this, the second part of the survey, a general reader population participated (100 respondents) ranging from high school students, retired people and the middle aged readers of completely different interests and professions.

1. Do you remember your impressions from the lessons when for the first time in the classes of Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian Language and Literature you have heard about travelogue and travel literature?

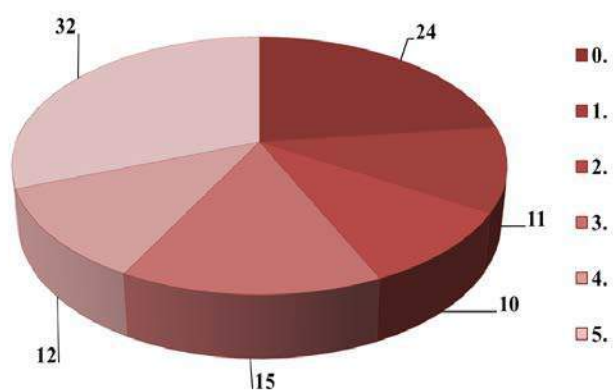


Chart 1

Comments on the results presented in Chart 1: The first question from the survey was rated with the grade 0 by 24% of the respondents, and 11% rated their



impressions of the lessons with an unsatisfactory grade 1 - which would still represent a very low level of recollection. Only 10% of the respondents rated this question with a 2, and 15%, with the grade 3, and 12% by grade 4. However, as many as 32% of their impressions were rated with the grade 5 (the highest percentage of answers to this question), and this sum does however indicate that the knowledge the population tested by this survey at the lowest level of knowledge – the level of impression – is not so bad. Again, it is a fact that it is impossible to ascertain whether this knowledge (as with students) derives from general knowledge and exposure to mass media or is, indeed, the result of their education in the Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian Language and Literature school courses or former Serbian / Croatian, Croatian/Serbian Language and Literature school courses.

2. Have you ever studied Zulfikar Z. Džumhur or any other travel writer during these classes?

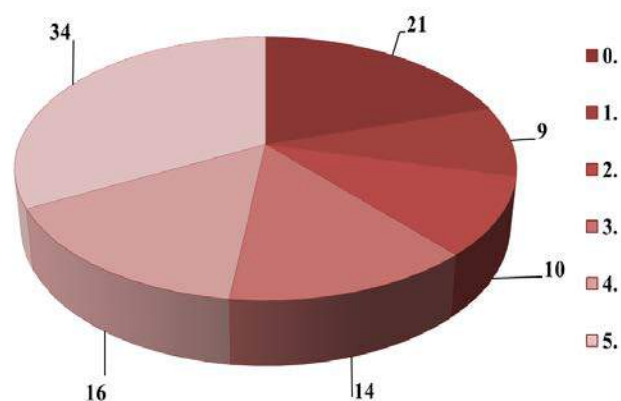


Chart 2

Comments on the results presented in Chart 2: As many as 21% of respondents in this survey have never heard about Z. Z. Džumhur's travelogues or of any other travel writer in their classes, which is the most defeating answer to this survey question, and 9% of the respondents rated this question very low with the number 1. Only 10% of the respondents rated it with the grade 2 and 14% with the grade 3. A solid 16% of respondents rated Dzumhr's work or any other travel writer with the grade 4 and as many as 34% with the grade 5. Such a high number of answers of the general readers population (the highest percentage of responses to this question) that gave this question a high grade (the percentage of responses to the fourth and fifth questions of this chart is 50%), almost as high as students (the percentage of student

answers to the 4th and to the 5th questions of this chart is 53%) could be attributed to general culture, but also to mass media exposure, since, fortunately, the travelogue and travel literature (as the once popular Džumhur's „Hodoljublja“ tv serial on television that most people from the Balkans viewed at least once in their lifetime) frequently appeared in media.

### 3. How would you assess your current knowledge of this topic?

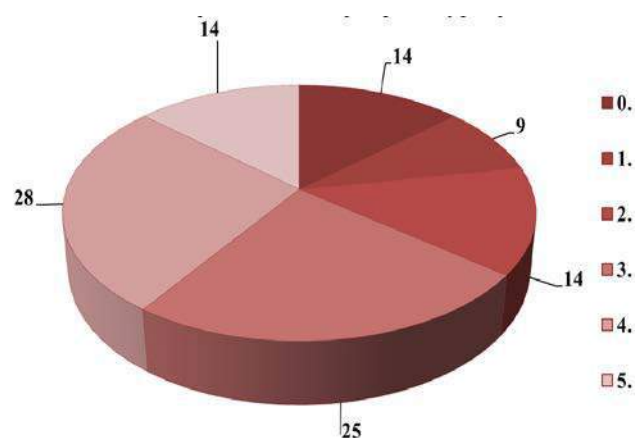


Chart 3

Comments on the results presented in Chart 3: According to the results of this chart, 14% of the respondents of this survey rated the level of their own knowledge of the work of Z. Džumhur or any other travel writer with the number 0, and only 9% with 1 (the lowest percentage of answers to this question), while 14% of respondents rated this level of assessment with the grade 2. The grade 3 for their knowledge was attributed to 25% of the survey participants, 28% graded it with number 4 (the highest percentage of answers to this question), and 14% with the grade 5. The results of this chart clearly show disagreement with the previous chart 2, because it is logical to pose the question how in the previous chart, as many as 21% of the respondents never had the opportunity to meet with Z. Z. Džumhur's travelogues or some other travel writer, yet in Chart 3 only 14% rated this knowledge with 0 and 28% with 4 etc. This clearly shows that the respondents of this survey still feel that they have solid knowledge of the work of Z. Z Džumhur or some other travel and that the appearance of the mass media has certainly influenced their education in that sense, which is positive. But there is still a question as to whether schools should be, above all, the primary educational venues for this purpose.

4. Have you ever applied this knowledge in every day life (e.g. in travel, when getting acquainted with different cultures, acquaintances, friends, etc.)?

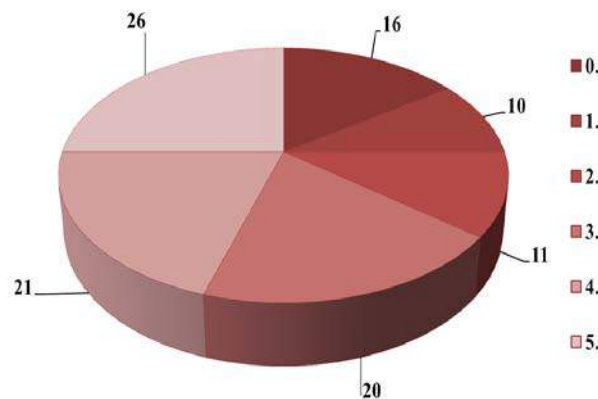


Chart 4

Comments on the results presented in Chart 4: The results of this chart are very varied. They clearly point out that in education at all levels, more attention should be paid to raising awareness of the importance of travelogue and travel literature, especially in terms of intercultural capital, and awareness of the importance of understanding global mobility processes. Thus, 16% of respondents rated this question with 0 and 10% with 1 and 11% with the grade 2.

5. Did it change your perception of literature and do you think that the result of learning about Difference and Different Cultures can make the world better, or did you feel that effect already on yourself? 5

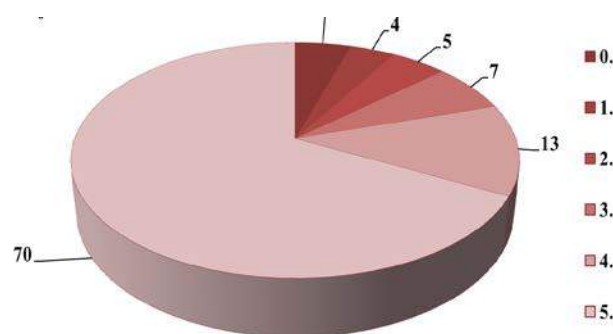


Chart 5

Comments on the results presented in Chart 5: Considering the basic idea of this chapter, which in principle advocates for a more adequate study of travel literature and Z. Z. Džumhur in the curriculum, Chart 5, as well as in the student population,

clearly shows that the general reading population covered by this survey is aware of this importance. As many as 70% of the respondents stressed the importance of studying travel and travel literature and the results of learning about the Other and Different ones. Only 5% of the respondents rated the importance of this question with a score of 0, only 4% with a score of 1 (the lowest percentage of answers to the given question), and 5% with the grade 2, while 7% rated with the number 3, and 13% with the number 4. All this clearly, empirically shows the significance of the work of Z. Z. Džumhur, as well as the prominent importance of travel literature as a literary genre, and hence the necessity of a more suitable presence of it, as well as Džumhur's travelogues in Bosnian school curricula in general.

It is often said that literature is the best laboratory for studying human motives, emotions and character. At the same time, while reading some piece of literature, through its heroes and characters, we understand our own selves better. (Stojaković, 2000, p. 133)

This, however, is not the case at present, and the gap in this sense is fulfilled by some media, in their own way and for their own interests. However, the media interests are not always the interests of education, so the position of travel literature in Bosnian schools at all levels should be changed for those reasons.

The literature hour gives students the opportunity to establish a new relationship with themselves and with the world, builds on social, moral and aesthetic awareness, and to ideally and philosophically find himself, and to form a world view. (Rosandić, 2005, p. 82)

Namely, "those hours" in travel literature would greatly enhance the opinions and attitudes of students in terms of nurturing the intercultural relations they are exposed to on a daily basis.

But also for the purpose of a better understanding of the phenomenon of the imperial vision of the "powerful" imperial cultures and of all that their imperial vision of the world has brought about in the contemporary perception of history. And generally in human relationships abounding in prejudices in understanding the notion of "great culture" (cf. Pratt, 2002), because the stories from "far countries" (cf. Lisle,

2006, p. 1) were crucial in the formation of unequal, unfair and exploitative world relations.

Namely, postmodern critical thinking, by asking the questions of the general nature of the genre, the relationship between fiction and fiction, intertextuality, interdependence, interculturality, colonialism and postcolonialism, and a number of other issues, has opened up a new door for travelogues and travel literature, that neglected and widely diversified genre of the ancient (Pašić Kodrić, 2017), which should finally get its well deserved place in all Bosnian-Herzegovinian school curricula in the Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian Language and Literature courses.

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## Films inspired by Shakespeare between Hollywood and Bollywood



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### **Abstract**

Ever since the emergence of film and its latter development throughout 20th century William Shakespeare's works often served as a suitable inspiration for various adaptations on silver screen. Subsequently, TV versions of his plays, and, more recently, digital hybrid productions at the outset of 21st century continued this fascination with the impact the Bard's works exerted all over the world. The paper tries to explore briefly the origins of film industry in one of the most productive places of contemporary film industry – Bollywood in India, as well as to analyse the consequent interest for accommodating diverse topics based on Shakespeare's plays in diverse creative reinterpretations. Furthermore, the paper wants to discuss possible levels of impact the Bard's plays in their film versions had exerted in different cultures and in specific periods of history – from the era of silent films through 'talkies' and grand productions in the post World war II period to the more recent adaptations and reinterpretations at the outset of globalisation and diverse multimedia forms that emerged with the spread of information technology and internet. These trends will be illustrated by the most popular or famous film versions in the genres of romance and comedy: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet* in their re-interpreted Indian iterations. A particular attention will be given to the comparison of these versions in the Western and post-colonial context of several more recent Indian film productions.

Key words: Shakespeare on film, appropriation, creative reinterpretation

### **The emergence of film as a new form of entertainment at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century**

When, towards the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, the emergence of film and its latter development throughout 20<sup>th</sup> century became one of the most favourite pastime all over the world, it were William Shakespeare's works that had often served as a suitable inspiration for various adaptations on silver screen. Subsequently, diverse TV versions of his plays, and, more recently, digital hybrid productions at the outset of 21<sup>st</sup> century, continued this fascination with the impact the Bard's works had

somehow exerted on performing visual media across different cultures. His plays and poetry could be found in other performing arts as well. Suffice to mention operas by Verdi (*Othello*<sup>1</sup> and *Macbeth*), or three ballet versions of *Romeo and Juliet* by equally grand composers Berlioz, Prokofiev and Tchaikovsky. Although, by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, his works for stage, as well as his renowned series of Sonnets, had been well established in the framework of Victorian worldview and embodied values that emphasised the supremacy of English language and literary works produced by prominent authors from the British isles in the past, it seemed that a rather happy coincidence would provide a wide variety of his plays soon to become an inexhaustible source of adaptations in new media, such as photography, phonograph and film. A possibility to transfer not only motives or themes from painting, architecture, music or literature into different yet recognizable artefacts in other kinds of expression was exciting for those generations of 'consumers', and even more so for people of genuine artistic talents, who soon readily would embrace technological innovations for their own purposes. In addition to their intriguing potential in view of their making and distribution, these products had another particular advantage – they could be reproduced in many copies and sold to millions of people at affordable price. In this way, they could become accessible to large audiences already conditioned for such a situation. It could be compared only to the period following the invention of Gutenberg's printing press, and the spread of books and other printed materials throughout Western world from mid-15<sup>th</sup> century on, especially during the era of Enlightenment. In turn, it had led to a greater literacy among public at large, and the growth of book publishing, which was a lucrative activity in the Victorian Britain, due to considerable numbers of those able to purchase books and magazines, notably among the middle and upper classes. It was a different story among those who happened to be barely literate and underprivileged. Their taste and attitude towards free time they could spare when not working was mostly directed towards drinking in pubs or popular dances during festive days or holidays. This section of society clearly opted for less serious kinds of public entertainment. The same could be said for similar types of audiences all over the world:

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<sup>1</sup> Verdi chose the title *Otello* for his opera.

Respect for the Bard was a long time coming; support among the public, on the other hand was immediate. The mob loved Shakespeare in his time and has continued to feel that way for several centuries.

On the American frontier cowboys and miners crowded the Bird Cage Theater in Tombstone, Arizona, whenever a touring Shakespeare company hit town, as portrayed in the films *My Darling Clementine* (1946) and *Tombstone* (1993). In the early part of our century, the first moviemakers, hardly a classy lot, fashioned shortflicks from Shakespeare's plays for déclassé immigrants. The Bard was, at film's dawn, a big draw with the common man; how his name shortly became box-office poison will be considered in due time. (Brode, 2000: 5)

It must be remembered that the last quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century preferred 'lighter' forms of entertainment, such as popular operettas and musicals, as well as vaudevilles and music hall performances on both sides of the Atlantic. At the same time, other kinds of leisure activities, such as sports – wrestling, boxing or, at time, still emerging yet ever popular soccer, would attract large crowds eager to the different types of locations – open field arenas or stadiums that could receive tens of thousands of spectators, primarily from the working class, or, generally, lower and not so educated and refined strata of the British society. As for literature, these types of 'consumers of culture' would rather prefer equally undemanding 'low' genres, such as love romances, detective fiction or horror, 'Gothic' tales, although great social novel of writers such as Dickens or Hardy still enjoyed the affection of the broad reading public.

It is worth mentioning that the first Shakespeare film in any country was made in 1899 in Great Britain. It was not the whole play, but a simple photographic record of a small part of Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree's stage production of Shakespeare's play *King John*. Actors were asked to walk out of the theatre in historical costumes and the few scenes from the play were shot in the open. At first, Shakespeare, or any other author for that matter, was not considered adequate for the new medium, but this kind of attitude towards literature as a source for visual adaptations of his texts would quickly change. Although the scenes from everyday life, inspired by similar silent creations by the Lumière brothers, like *The Gardener*, *Blacksmiths*, *Fishing for Goldfish*; were also shot in Britain, soon the short narratives based on the well-known works by Shakespeare or Dickens became fashionable. After the contemporary



preference for comedy and melodrama, they reflected the taste of the first film-goers from lower strata of society for such kind of production. That is why early Shakespearean films played in the cheap adapted premises, called nickelodeons, because of the American name for five cents tickets played at 'odeons',<sup>2</sup> alongside spectacle-oriented circus clowning, freak shows, and vaudevillian slapstick, just as Shakespeare's plays had originally shared stages used for bear-baiting in his Globe Theatre in London. Paradoxically, since they had been unable to be carried by Shakespeare's words, these silent films had to reinvent the Bard's spirit in their own terms, due to the priority of image and not the power of oral dialogues in film.

### **Shakespeare in India: Everlasting love affair between the Bard and Bollywood**

As a former colony of the British Empire, often affectionately called by its complacent European masters the 'jewel in the crown', this huge territory could boast of a surprisingly rich history of drawing from Shakespearean themes in a wide array of theatre performances, works of literature and, most recently, the world of Indian Cinema (Mohan, 2012: 2). The use of Shakespeare in Indian performance art could be traced over 200 years, having started from the period of the early and aggressive British colonial expansion in mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. Far away from their homes, the officers in garrisons scattered across this vast area described as an Indian 'sub-continent,' together with some enthusiastic members of the British colonial administration, managed to stage their versions of the Bard's plays in English. Among the fashionable social activities, theatre-going was a popular pastime, which clearly reflected the expatriates' anxiety to imitate the cultural practices of metropolitan London.

English theaters in Calcutta entertained a largely British audience of officers, merchants, clerks, and “adventurers” associated with the East

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<sup>2</sup>The name "Nickelodeon" was first used in 1888 by Austin's Nickelodeon, a dime museum located in Boston, Massachusetts, USA. However, the term was popularized by Harry Davis and John P. Harris, who opened their small storefront theatre with that name on Smithfield Street in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on June 19, 1905. The word "Nickelodeon" was a compound from *nickel*, the name of the U.S. five-cent coin, and the ancient Greek word *odeion*, a roofed-over theatre, the latter indirectly by way of the *Odéon* in Paris, emblematic of a very large and luxurious theatre, as much as *Ritz* was of a grand hotel. Usually set up in converted storefronts, these small, simple movie theatres charged five cents for admission, and flourished from about 1905 to 1915.

India Company and later with the civil service. The repertoire of plays performed here included *Hamlet*, *Richard III*, *The School for Scandal*, and a medley of lesser known plays such as *The Comedy of Beaux Stratagem*, and *She Would and Would Not*. Most theater historians note that the model for the playhouse in the colonies, including the popular proscenium stage, came from the architecture of London theaters such as Covent Garden and Drury Lane. (Singh, 1996: 102)

Once the British amateur playhouses had begun to stage the Bard's plays, this phenomenon created a supplementary appetite for theatrical performances amongst educated native Indians, who wanted desperately to adjust to their recently acquired European manners and culture. It, eventually, led them to read or watch the Bard's works in their original language. Shakespeare's plays soon became a part of required curriculum in the newly established Hindu College, as well as in many other colonial schools with zealous English teachers steadily promoting unsurpassed qualities that could be found only in a thorough studying of complete Shakespeare's works. Their continuous efforts induced in the students a taste for such drama, because, in addition to glorify this genre in Indian context, they also taught them how to appreciate it within the imposed taste of their European colonial masters. After all, if Shakespeare belonged to the whole world, as it had been claimed by their British rulers, the knowledgeable Indian elites did not want to remain at its periphery.

Such an interest in Western drama coincided with the official colonial policy of promoting the English language and literature in India. As the British consolidated their presence in India, the impulse to educate the natives gained a wide consensus because it was based on an awareness that the rulers could only rule by co-opting a native elite as a "conduit of Western thought and ideas. (Singh, 1996: 103).

In a way, these Anglophiles in India created such a mood that could not be compared to any other British controlled overseas possessions.

No one was forcing Indians to attend the theatre; they wished to do so in emulation of their foreign leaders and to 'better' themselves through Western high culture. A glimpse of the growing hybridity of the colony can be seen in the example of the Hindu Theatre of Calcutta, the first Bengali playhouse, which opened in December 1831 with a double bill of scenes from *Julius Caesar* and an English translation of a classic Sanskrit play. Thereafter the Western notion of theatre spread widely into the regions, providing the main source of urban drama. The language of performance could vary enormously, from Urdu or Hindi in the north to Bengali or even Tamil in the south. (Kennedy, 2001: 259).

The interest for his works did not stop there, but it was reinforced through continuously supported efforts to have the English texts translated into the major local languages. It should be noted that the most frequently translated plays of Shakespeare in India, were some of the tragedies (notably, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet*) and comedies (*The Merchant of Venice*, the most popular Shakespeare play across all Indian languages, followed by *The Comedy of Errors*). His more specific history plays could not be easily transferred into recognisable Indian context. They had been neither translated nor subsequently performed, with the possible exceptions of *Henry IV* and *Richard III*. That is why, when almost all of Shakespeare's dramatic writing had been translated into Indian vernacular languages by the 1930s; these plays were left out and never managed to cause any substantial interest, even among the Bard's most faithful admirers.

Given that published versions in diverse local languages such as Hindi, Bengali Urdu, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Tamil, or Telugu could not be considered as belonging to 'minorities', since they were spoken by tens of millions of people; both commercial market conditions and cultural aspects had been met in this way. According to 2001 census, about 422 million people in India spoke Hindi; 83 million listed Bengali as their native tongue; whereas other languages varied from 74 million speaking Telugu, or 71 million Marathi, to 33 million of those who mentioned Malayalam or Odia as their first or 'native' language. In due time, the possibilities of adapting European settings and characters into more specific Indian context were also considered, since few changes had been made to the plays inspired by Shakespeare's original works. At one point, they have been even appropriated by the traditional Indian "story play" genre of *Kathakali*, but also by the dynamic film industry ever since its beginnings. Shakespeare, therefore, became quite a familiar name on Indian sub-continent. He rightly deserves the enviable claim to be the most performed western author in India. His fame grew in time with diverse theatre productions, both in English and in numerous local languages. When silent films were brought to this part of the world, Shakespeare continued to be translated and performed on stage, films and TV, often transformed and adapted to different aesthetic assumptions and cultural appropriations. Nevertheless, this tendency to have Shakespeare 'indigenised' or 'Indianised' had had its true origins in the specific theatrical traditions of the sub-continent, the most important being the Parsi theatre.

### **Parsi theatre as a predecessor of the 'Indianised' Revival**

Although drama and theatre had been present on this soil for quite some time, having relied on topics often borrowed from the rich mythologies of its people, their religions and cultural facets, as well as on some formal, not only technical, rules for such performing arts; the British amateur playhouses and productions instigated the emergence of yet another curious blend of the East and West. It started among Parsis, members of a group of followers in India of the Iranian prophet Zoroaster. They immigrated to India to avoid religious persecution by the victorious Arab Muslims, who had defeated the mighty Persian Empire between 8<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century AD. Their ethnic name means "Persians", which they have retained together with other particularities related to their geographic origins, religion, language and cultural practices. Having settled mostly on the western coast of the Indian sub-continent, in the regions of Sindh and Gujarat, just across their native homeland; they embraced the opportunities of the British colonial presence in these parts from very early on. Parsis were quick to learn English and adjust in the best opportunist manner to the newly imposed political, social and commercial system. Perceived as 'natives' by the colonial British administration, they soon began to fill in diverse posts in local government and public works. It is not surprising that their exposure to English language and literary heritage, which had been very much present in India from the first years of British rule, led some more entrepreneurial members of Parsi community to establish their own variation of theatre in European manner.

At the same time, the similar profit-oriented spirit urged business people on the opposite side of the sub-continent, in West Bengal, both in its urban centre in Kolkata,<sup>3</sup> but also in some rural areas; to initiate their own version of performing arts entertainment. It had started as an imitation of British playhouses in India, but it soon outgrew its original forms of private entertainment and became the strong tool in raising the national awareness among the diverse strata of Indian people, already discontented with the British rule. It could partly explain the failure of one of leading actors in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Girish Chandra Ghosh (1844-1912) to stage *Macbeth* from 1893 in his own Bengali translation, which had tried to be rather 'faithful' to the

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<sup>3</sup> This principal commercial, educational and cultural centre of East India was spelled as 'Calcutta' until 2001.

English original.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, more ‘Indianised’ adaptations such as *Hariraj* (after *Hamlet*), *Prabhabati* and *Soudagar* (both adaptations of *The Merchant of Venice*) by minor figures proved quite successful in the city of Kolkata. This attitude also prevailed among the directors on the Subcontinent’s West Coast, who presented a thoroughly transculturated Shakespeare from the very beginning of their productions. The tradition of Parsi theatre had flourished between 1850s and 1930s in India. The plays were performed in Gujarati, Hindi and Urdu, and, after its beginning in Bombay, it soon developed into various travelling theatre companies, which toured extensively across India, especially North India, Gujarat and Maharashtra. They promoted proscenium-style theatre in regional languages. This kind of performance

[blended] realism and fantasy, music and dance, narrative and spectacle, earthy dialogue and ingenuity of stage presentation, integrating them into a dramatic discourse of melodrama. The Parsi plays contained crude humour, melodious songs and music, sensationalism and dazzling stagecraft. (Gokulsing and Dissanayake, 2004: 98-99).

It freely borrowed from European, Persian and Sanskrit sources and incorporated popular entertainment, musical and folk theatre forms in their own appropriated dramatic versions. In early 1900s, some Parsi theatre producers switched to new media like cinema, and, subsequently, many of them became the first film producers in India. The tradition of ‘Westernised’ theatre, as a direct consequence of changing moods and fashion, diminished in popularity, with arrival of ‘talkies’ era in Hindi cinema in 1930s. The early plays in Parsi theatre presented domesticated, ‘Indianised’ versions of Shakespeare’s plays, by turning them into folk performances, with dozens of songs added in. Soon, Indian legends, epic and mythological tales

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<sup>4</sup> Ghosh worked diligently on the translation. It took him nearly seventeen years to come up with the final version, and he backed it with setting and costumes that received generous praise from the English press for their “admirable reproduction of all the conventions of an English stage.” However, he was so bitter by his failure that he commented later: “If Shakespeare himself came to Bengal, the Bengali spectator would not understand him.” It is worth noting that Ghosh subtly introduced a subversive element in his translation by drawing parallels between Macbeth’s rule and that of the British colonial administrators. Abhishek Sarkar (2011-2012: 270-276).

made an appearance as a suitable source material. It was in part the result of the powerful nationalistic sentiments, which wanted to effectively end the British colonial domination through the efforts of Indian Congress and its charismatic political leaders Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, and, for a while, together with the Muslim League and their leader Ali Jinah. Their political differences about the future of India could not be settled down during the negotiations on attaining the full political independence with the British government in the aftermath of World War II. Both sides from the Sub-continent tried to retain most influence on the territories and population of their ethnic or religious background. The result was an unprecedented exodus of millions of Muslims all over India towards Punjab in the East and Bengal in the West, as well as the same movement by Hindus, only in the opposite direction. It was a tectonic disruption of ominous consequences for the already tarnished image of 'jewel in the crown', which had shaken deeply the overall social, ethnic, religious and cultural foundations of South-East Asia. It changed the course of their common history having caused the major rift among its native peoples.

After the independence had been finally granted in August 1947, which also saw the partition of the sub-continent into two countries of India and Pakistan; Shakespeare was absent for a while from arts and culture in India. After the 1950s, the Bengali literary tradition slowly came back. It resulted in several faithful translations and adaptations of Shakespeare, referred as the 'Indianised' Revival, which, in conjunction with the inspiration of Hollywood-produced Shakespeare films at the same period, had led to more complex adaptations of Shakespeare in Bollywood in the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. The revival started in 1964 with increased performances in different Indian theatrical modes with considerable alterations of the original text, the localisation of the works through the changes of names and settings, the lack of former literal translations and the stage adaptations of the significant Asian theatrical modes. Indian Shakespeares included many songs and dances, his plays were shortened, and there are no references to the Bard's sources in the re-writings and off-shoots.

## **Bollywood as the Centre of Film Industry in India**

Bombay, today's Mumbai,<sup>5</sup> is the capital city of the Indian state of Maharashtra, which is located on the sub-continent's west coast, had become the centre of India's Hindi cinema industry, when the Lumière brothers came there for the first time on July 7, 1896 to introduce their latest creation - the cinematograph. It took place only six months after the first London public presentation of their technological innovation. Very quickly, the Indian viewers started to love this invention, which was something they had already experienced before; in the form of shadow plays and storytelling through hand-drawn images. Stories from the Indian mythology were the main themes in the silent films era. Since these were already popular, they would attract many people, who would every Friday have a possibility to consider a variety of new movies to choose from, with genres covering all sides of the spectrum. The most prevalent ones proved to be love romances with a lot of traditional dances and music. Nevertheless, the history of film production in India had begun modestly in the second decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the filmmakers in Britain had been struggling to survive, and the 'real' Hollywood was just about to be established, once the American cinematographers abandoned gloomy and expensive New York settings for sunnier and cheaper place on the West Coast in southern California. A rather lucrative industry was soon established across the whole of India with a number of premises bearing resemblance to 'Hollywood' in their popular celluloid variations: Pollywood (Punjabi or Pashto language in Pakistan),<sup>6</sup> Lollywood (Urdu in Pakistan), Kollywood (Tamil in Chennai – former Madras, India), Mollywood (Malayalam in Kerala), Sandalwood (Kannada in Karnataka), Ollywood (Odia in Odisha), Sollywood (Sindhi), Kabulwood (Afghan cinema), Dhaliwood or Dhallywood (Bangladeshi cinema in Dhaka), Kariwood (Pakistani cinema in Karachi), Kaliwood (Nepali cinema in Kathmandu), and Dhollywood or Gollywood (cinema of Gujarati language in Gujarat). The most significant one, which goes by the name of Bollywood as a coined term or flashy merger of Bombay and Hollywood, began its production operations in the place where the film had been presented for the first time to the sub-

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<sup>5</sup> The name was officially changed to the current spelling in 1995.

<sup>6</sup> It refers to the language and territory a particular '-wood' productions, which broadly covered them as its main cultural area and commercial market, although the films made there are distributed wherever there are people of this ethnic origin.

continent – Bombay or Mumbai. The credit for the actual name had been claimed by several different people, including the lyricist, filmmaker and scholar Amit Khanna and the journalist Bevinda Collaco (Matusitz, J., & Payano, P., 2012: 123-138). It was a process of establishing a whole jungle of film with ‘-woods’ in their names, which would also spread to other parts of the world. The most famous ones among them are Nollywood in Lagos, Nigeria, and Chinawood, which happens to be nickname for the Hengdian World Studio, the largest film studio in China.

As a matter of fact, Bollywood rose to fame only in the 1970s, when India overtook America as the world's largest film producer. The name is often used by non-Indians as a collective label to refer to the whole of cinema of India, but, although it is, certainly, one of the biggest film industries in the world, it must be understood only as a part of the larger Indian film production, which includes other notable centres making films in many other Indian languages. In 2014, Bollywood produced 252 films out of a total of 1969 films produced in Indian cinema. It also sold 2.6 billion cinema tickets in 2011, as compared to 3.5 billion ones in the whole world! It has also become the main source of India's music industry. In due time, it developed a number of film genres that appealed to its huge audiences, particularly interested to see in film theatres ‘lighter’ forms of entertainments, such as comedies or romance love stories. Having followed closely the trends in the film industry across the world, Indian filmmakers turned to Shakespeare's plays for inspiration, in the similar manner their western counterparts began to search for well-known topics in the new and changed context of the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Shakespeare's plays as Indian movie versions: comedy**

*A Midsummer Night's Dream* proved to be a rather suitable play for numerous film versions all over the world. They ranged from more traditional adaptations involving the Royal Shakespeare's Company (Peter Hall, 1966), Adrian Noble's eccentric design in 1996 version, to Michael Hoffman's in 1999, where the play's action was relocated from Shakespeare's Athens to a fictional "Monte Athena", located in the colourful province of Tuscany in Italy, although all textual mentions of Athens had been duly retained. At the outset of 21<sup>st</sup> century, the plot was transferred to more contemporary settings in the version produced in 2002 and directed by [Gil Cates Jr.](#) who changed the setting to a modern rave expression of contemporary sub-cultural setting. In his film, mischievous Puck became a drug dealer, the magic flower



called 'love-in-idleness' was replaced with magic ecstasy, and the King and Queen of Fairies were the host of the rave and the DJ exuberant entertainment party. The next one, entitled as *Were the World Mine*, was a story of gay empowerment, (2008, directed by Tom Gustafson) that featured a modern interpretation of the play put on in a private high school in a small town. The protagonist, an openly gay student Timothy, who had been chosen to play Puck in the school production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, used the recipe to create a magic potion out of 'love-in-idleness' flower and to throw the whole town into chaos. Suddenly, all the previously heterosexual community members, after being sprayed by the flower, fell in love with their same-sex friends, bosses, and co-workers. Once homophobic and provincial, American place was turned, literally, upside down. In this way it created opportunity for the necessary change in attitude on sexuality and gender issues.

The same 'love-potion' served as an appropriate pre-text for yet another 'topsy-turvy' version entitled *10 ml Love*, produced in 2010 in India. A young and aspiring director Sharat Katariya hit upon a fine idea by transposing the madness of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* to the setting of a big Punjabi wedding, but while there were indeed a few genuinely funny and clever moments, things unravelled rather fast during the final scenes. The screenwriter and director Katariya created a well-adapted and simple contemporary light-hearted story set in an Indian milieu, which made his film both simple and appealing to all strata of viewers. Multiple tracks run parallel in the film, then cross paths co-incidentally, only to come together in a witty climax. The narrative revolves around three couples, whose lives are connected by the forthcoming wedding between a rich girl Shweta (played by Tara Sharma) and Neel (Purab Kohli), quite similar to the course of action in Shakespeare's play. However, Neel loves his long-time friend Mini (Koel Purie), who loves Neel and wants to marry him, despite the fact that Neel had already been engaged to be married to Shweta, and, on the other hand, she is in love with Peter Periera, the poor mechanic (Neil Bhoopalam). Shweta wants to elope, but her righteous lover Peter, himself a God-fearing Christian and afraid of the possible consequences, refuses to encourage the runaway bride's bold plans. The third story involves a jealous shop owner Ghalib (Rajat Kapoor), a small-time merchant in the narrow streets of Mohammad Ali Road in the not-so-elite market area of South Mumbai, who happens to be selling dubious medicines (aphrodisiacs) to his naive customers. Ironically, his own married life is

completely devoid of romance and action. Torn by unfounded suspicion, he secretly follows his disinterested and suppressed Muslim wife Roshni (Tisca Chopra) everywhere, but instead of winning her back, it only further drives her away. His mother Ammijaan (Sarita Joshi) hands over a 10ml magical potion – *Josh-e-Jawani* – to her son to help him overcome his troubles, but the potion creates disorder in the lives of the three couples for one night. The 10ml love potion sorted out their lives, enabling each one to get back to the real love of their lives, albeit after a night of complexities and confusion. The music and background score was composed by Sagar Desai. It was thought to be intriguingly enjoyable, as well as Neeraj Sahay's cinematography. It was seemingly simple, but as reaching the climax, the characters entered a dreamy field. This scene had a flavour of magical quality about it with its silhouettes, making it almost surreal, which was a kind of novelty in the similar productions.

Although produced as a “Hindi” film, its language involved various linguistic registers that were highly reminiscent of its multicultural and multilingual Punjabi setting. It featured a set of lovers who spoke a mixture of Hindi and English – sometimes referred to as ‘Hinglish’ (“let me get this right: *tum mere saath ho*” – you are with me). There was a Muslim family that spoke Bhojpuri-accented mixture of Hindi-cum-Urdu (“*josh-e-jawaani ho javegi*” – the love potion will happen), whereas street performers uttered their lines in a more rustic Hindi. Very often, some Western critics described such a variety of expressions as the *masala* of everyday spoken Hindi.<sup>7</sup> ‘*Masala*’ stands for a variety of ingredients, primarily spices, so characteristic of traditional dishes in India, regardless of the ethnic, religious or cultural background of those who used them for their meals. One needs to remember here that original Shakespeare's characters in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* had also been identified by their sounds. Hermia and Lysander, the Athenian lovers, speak in rhyming iambic couplets; the fairies led by Oberon and Titania, and, especially, Puck uttered their lines in strange, incantatory English Renaissance trochees. Finally, the rustic lower-class characters, such as Peter Quince and Nick Bottom in Shakespeare's *A*

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<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Gil Harris, “The Bard in Bollywood”, as referred to in: <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-opinion/the-bard-in-bollywood/article8511113.ece>. Last time accessed on August 26, 2017.

*Midsummer's Night Dream*, who appear as dancers exchanging comments while preparing for Ramlilla ceremony in the Bollywood film, speak in astonishing prose.

The ensemble consisted of a talented star cast, not from the top-ranking Indian film stars, but mainly chosen from the ranks of those originating from theatre; and it was them who had rendered a solid realistic performance. However, there were some complaints about the quality of script based on an adaptation. The absence of additional back-stories presented the characters without depth, as they had not been established sufficiently. That is why some possible simple questions about were left unanswered, mainly in relation to why people do the things they do in the film. Some critics thought the film was slightly amateurish and theatrical in the treatment of its frame story in the beginning, but ended in a hilarious and well-executed performance.

### ***Romeo and Juliet in several different Indian film versions: romance***

The tragic and romantic story of two lovers from Verona, Romeo and Juliet, was a constant source for film adaptations all over the world. It is certainly one of the most-screened Shakespeare's plays of all times in 110 years long span. They ranged from the first silent version made at Bethesda Terrace at Manhattan, New York City, USA, in 1908 by J. (James) Stuart Blackton, an Anglo-American film producer and director, considered to be the father of American animation, and among the first ones who had wanted to bring many classic plays and books to the screen,<sup>8</sup> to the most recent production by Kenneth Branagh in 2016.<sup>9</sup> Some of the most notable screen adaptations had included the most expensive production by George Cukor in 1936 (which was nominated for a number of just established Academy Awards, nowadays better known as Oscars); Franco Zeffirelli's 1968 film *Romeo and Juliet* featuring young and beautiful actors Olivia Hussey and Leonard Whiting; to the lavish production of Australian director Baz Luhrman in 1996 consciously directed to attract wide teenage audiences at the outset of globalized culture. The film retained

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<sup>8</sup> The full title was: *Romeo and Juliet, A Romantic Story of the Ancient Feud Between the Italian Houses of Montague and Capulet* (produced by Vitagraph Company of America, which Blackton had founded in 1897. He was one of the first filmmakers to use the techniques of stop-motion and drawn animation,

<sup>9</sup> *Romeo and Juliet* (2016 West End London play; filmed version, for live broadcast to cinemas, of 7 July 2016 stage performance from the Garrick Theatre, directed by Rob Ashford and Kenneth Branagh (UK).

Shakespeare's topic and language, but the setting was transferred to "Verona Beach" in California. There had been some other memorable film productions, more or less based on this famous play, such as highly-praised *West Side Story* (directed by Robert Wise and Jerome Robbins, 1961), *Shakespeare in Love* (directed by Joe Madden, 1998),<sup>10</sup> or *Romeo Must Die* (directed by Andrzej Bartkowiak, 2000). Each of them, in its own right, had been inspired by the story of two unhappy lovers. The latter one was located in dangerous parts of Oakland, California, where two gangster families, 'black' (or Afro-American) and 'yellow' (Chinese-American), had stood against the romantic affair between a former Hong Kong police officer Han (played by action films star Jet Li) and the daughter of Black mob's boss Trish O'Day (played by the late model, singer and actress Aaliyah Dana Haughton).

The history of film adaptations of *Romeo and Juliet* in India somewhat followed the Western pattern. The first film version in India, which had been conceived as a theatre play made as a movie, was produced by Akhtar Hussein in 1947. It was a black and white version, sometimes referred to as *Anjuman*. A little is known about this production, apart from the fact that it had been done almost as a family affair. The main roles were played by Nargis Dutt<sup>11</sup> as Juliet, and P. Jairaj as Romeo.

### **Model for future productions: *Qayamat Se Qayamat Tak***

It would take forty more years until Nasir Hussain would write the new script and produce an extremely popular and successful film *Qayamat Se Qayamat Tak* (*From Doom till Doom*, 1988), also known by the initials *QSQT*. Its popularity and subsequent huge commercial success rested on many features, such as a romantic plot, a lot of colourful dances and songs, but, primarily, on fine acting by Aamir Khan and Juhi Chawla in the lead roles of Raj and Rashmi. The film version relied on a strong social message, since it incorporated in its frame narrative the feud between

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<sup>10</sup> The film won seven Academy Awards, including Best Picture, best Actress (Gwyneth Paltrow) and best Supporting Actress (Judy Dench).

<sup>11</sup> It is interesting to note that she was born on June 1, 1929 as Fatima Rashid in Rawalpindi, British India, as the daughter to Jaddanbai and Uttamchand Mohanchand, a former Hindu Mohyal Brahmin; who had converted to Islam as Abdul Rashid. Her mother was a well-known dancer, singer, actor, composer, and director. This is what paved the way for Fatima to become a child artiste (Baby Nargis) as early as 1935. She is the sister of Bollywood actor, Anwar Hussain and Akhtar Hussain, but also an aunt to another film actress Zaheeda Hussain and her son Niles Sahay, himself an actor and director.

two Hindu families in the village of Dhanakpur. A young girl Madhumati had been used, made pregnant and, consequently, rejected by Ratan Singh from a powerful Rajput family. When her two brothers, modest farmers Thakur Jaswant Singh and Dhanraj Singh, had tried to save the honour of their sister by asking the rapist to marry their sister, Ratan's father Raghuveer Singh refused to admit that his son had been guilty. Devastated Madhumati commits suicide, and her brother Dhanraj kills Ratan at his pre-arranged wedding ceremony. With Dhanraj in prison serving a long sentence and Jaswant starting a new business in Delhi, the two families became bitter enemies. Years later, the new generation meet by accident, since Dhanraj's son Raj, a talented student of music, falls in love with Rashmi, a relative of Raghuveer Singh. Although Raj learns the details about Rashmi's family, he does not want to reveal the truth to her, fearing that he will lose in the process. He is well aware that their families had openly declared their hatred for one another and would do anything in their power even kill but they will not accept the children's choice.

This new development coincides with Dhanraj's release from prison and is further complicated when Randhir Singh, Rashmi's father, finds out about her daughter's secret love affair. He plans an immediate wedding for her in order to prevent any further complications, but the lovers managed elope, clearly determined to keep their love apart from their families' past quarrels. They enjoy a short interval of happiness, but their fate seemed to be decided upon. When he discovered their whereabouts, Randhir tricks Rashmi by telling her that he had accepted her love for Raj, although he had already hired assassins to murder him. In the tragic twist of events, the killers shoot Rashmi, and Raj commits suicide with a dagger given to him by Rashmi, and, eventually, dies with his head on her chest. As their families rush to them in the final scene, the lovers remain together in death, never to be separated. The director Mansoor Khan skilfully blended the well-known Shakespearean elements with usual Bollywood attitude towards a romantic drama. His directorial debut paved the way back for the musical romantic genre in Bollywood, which used shrewdly the high critical acclaim, numerous awards and ranking among "Top 25 Must See Bollywood Films."

### **More recent adaptations of *Romeo and Juliet* in India**

Another quarter of a century would pass until the most recent adaptations of *Romeo and Juliet* would emerge in Bollywood. This time Indian film industry produced three films, almost in a sequence one after the other. The least favourable reviews went for *Issaq* (dir. Manish Tiwary, 2013). Its initial story had been transposed on purpose to the sacred city of Banaras (also known as Benares or Varanasi) and its neighbouring areas in the state of Uttar Pradesh in northern India. The city has been considered for several thousand years as the holiest of the seven sacred places (*Sapta Puri*) in Hinduism, Sikhism and Jainism. It also played a major role in the development of Buddhism, since it is believed that Buddha had founded Buddhism here around 528 BCE when he gave his first sermon at nearby Samath. Islam also made its strong presence there during the reign of Moghuls. It is estimated that 23.000 temples had been erected in this densely populated area, sometimes one next to another in a peculiar manner of religious coexistence over the centuries. According to the legend, the city itself had been established by the powerful Hindu God Shiva, who consequently battled with yet another supreme god Brahma on the banks of the Ganges River. Brahma lost and one of his four heads was carried by Shiva across the sub-continent until it was dropped over this city and disappeared in the ground. In some Hindu narratives, Banaras has been considered as the most suitable place for atonement of sins, such as fratricide, which is performed by ritual bathing on its embankments, attended by millions of pilgrims who visit it every year.

However, in the most recent decades, Banaras happened to witness violence unleashed by sand mafia controlled by urban elite and equally violent retaliation by Naxalite armies. Naxalites are the armed fraction of Indian Maoist Communist Party, which had been active from early 1970s in many federal states of India. Despite numerous attempts by the government authorities on various levels to suppress this movement by force, its activities even increased at the turn of 21<sup>st</sup> century. The film combines the traditional romance between the daughter and son of two influential Banarasi families, Kashyaps and Mishras, who are at brutal feud with each other. Vishwanarayan Kashyap has an 18-year-old, good-looking and innocent daughter Bachchi from his first wife, (Bachchi's role was played by Amyra Dastur, which, in fact, was her debut in this film), whereas Manohar Mishra's son Rahul (played by Prateik Babbar) is a handsome and pleasure-seeking teenager with expected interests for a boy of his underworld background. He is clearly focused on girls and guns. The

two youngsters meet and fall in love appropriately during the festival of Holi. It is the spring festival of love and colours, which signifies the victory of good over evil, the arrival of spring, end of winter, and for many a festive day to meet others, play and laugh, forget and forgive, and repair broken relationships. It lasts a night and a day, sometimes between the late February and mid-March; but it has also become popular with non-Hindus in many parts of South Asia, as well as people of other communities from India, which currently live outside Asia.

Despite the attempts of her villainous uncle Teeta Singh (played by Ravi Kishan) to prevent their love affair, even threatening to kill them; the young couple decide to marry. Having been strong-minded, Rahul kills the uncle, which triggers a bloody revenge from his family. In an effort to save his son, Rahul's father seeks help from local politician, and Bachchi's stepmother intervenes on her behalf with her powerful husband. In the end, she is saved but her Rahul dies, thus opening a new cycle of retaliation and revenge between the two families.

An influential Indian film critic, Raja Sen, wrote that the film lacked ambition, soul, and clarity, due to "a shoddily put-together collection of weakly written scenes that don't even attempt to flow from one scene to the other." (Raja Sen, 2013). He was particularly harsh on the presentation of two feuding gangster families, whose war was interrupted by the unlikely "strange *"Madras"* Naxalite who gets his men to wear his face on masks and sculpt likenesses of him in the sand. It is all most exasperatingly harebrained and amateurish." (Raja Sen, 2013). The performance of a newcomer Amyra Dastur was not reviewed as bad as the role of Prateik Babbar, whose role, according to Sen, lacked "both consistency and sincerity, is affected also by a simian gracelessness: his line-readings are atrocious, and every other dialogue is delivered in a different kind of pitch." (Raja Sen, 2013). What was praised by all the critics were the memorable songs and soundtrack, having been composed by the successful duo from Mumbai Sachin Sanghvi and Jigar Saraiya, who had made scores for many Bollywood and Gujarati movies.

### ***Ishaqzaade***

*Ishaqzaade* (directed by Habib Faisal, 2012) is yet another attempt to present a variation on Romeo & Juliet story in a rather specific Indian setting. However, this time the narrative was not confined to urban places, like most of recent Bollywood productions, since it takes place in Almor, a small town in central India, most likely in

the state of Uttar Pradesh or Bihar. It provides a suitable rural 'lawless' geographical landscape of old colleges, brothels, over-sized family mansions and depilated railway carriages. It is a rustic terrain that seems fitting for the ancient rivalry that exists between the two underworld and belligerent families, the Chauhans and the Qureshis. Similarly to the famous Indian filmmaker Vishal Bhardwaj's shift to troublesome political undertones, this film also exploits political scene in contemporary India, which sets off with great friction amid campaigning for the local MLA (Member of Legislative Assembly) election. It is the ultimate wish of stubborn and feisty Zoya Kureishi (played by Parineeti Chopra), a young Muslim girl, to follow the footsteps of her father and eventually takes his seat in the local legislature. When this highly ambitious and spirited female character, who seems forever trapped in an overly male dominated world, tells her brothers that she has dreams of becoming a politician like their respected father they laugh derisively, mocking her enthusiasm as foolishness. This is an important moment, since it reveals the erosion of the old values as embodied in the traditional patriarchy, where women had nothing to do with anything else but their subjugated role as mothers and keepers of home. In many ways, Zoya naively defies such a role. Although she owns a gun (which she buys by selling her *jhumkas* – golden earrings), and she gets to do things that perhaps other girls in the neighbourhood cannot and dare even not dream of doing, she does not understand that her family just sees her as a spoilt little girl who will be married off to a nice Muslim boy soon enough. Perhaps aware of such a prospect in her future, she does not see nor understand that most of her alleged freedom has been handed out to her without her demand or struggle. It relies on the mere fact that she is the youngest and the only girl in a moderately progressive, yet politically influential middle class family. It is the family in which everyone carries a gun in their hands and is not afraid to present a clear *dhamki* (menace, intimidation, threat) to those who happen to oppose them. That is why her inherited strength appears to those outside her home as an epitome of a strong young woman who makes her way, and is able to address a crowd like true blue small town sharp-tongued politician.

On the other hand, Parma (played by Arjun Kapur) is a Hindu youngster, the ill-mannered grandson of the Chauhan patriarch who cheerfully loots local vendors and sets fire to their shops when they beg for a little compassion. As a cliché in most love stories in Hindi films, the dramatic conflict arises when Parma storms into the



Qureshi estate wishing to take off with the local girl, who performs exotic and lascivious dance there. In the fight that breaks out, Parma pulls out his gun at an infuriated Zoya, who is determined to get revenge. The opportunity arises during the coming local elections. Since they try to win support for their respective family members, the two of them clash over politics, which results in Parma being slapped across the face by Zoya. Although clearly humiliated in public, Parma develops a keen interest in her, despite the fact that he cannot even pronounce her name correctly, calling her "Joya" instead of the proper "Zoya". He succumbs to her charms, and she also falls in love with him. After a number of incidents, they elope in order to get married. Quite unexpectedly, Parma decides to convert to Islam and changes his Hindu name to Pervez. It seems that nothing can stop their happiness now, since Zoya agrees to consummate the marriage by having sex in an empty train carriage. In a sudden twist, Parma reveals that the whole idea of love romance between them was a fake one. He wanted to take revenge against her clan, and repay the humiliation she caused him by slapping him earlier on. That is why he had tricked Zoya by having married and slept with her. Naturally, the girl felt devastated and heartbroken, let alone disgraced, while Parma joins his family in a celebration of "becoming a man".

Such a development addresses diverse and rather sensitive issues such as premarital sex, marriage outside an individual's religion, caste, or other community, as well as the very real issue of honour killing. It is obvious that the film makers somewhat criticize the hypocrisy of men who engage in premarital sex (they are celebrated and considered men in the eyes of the community), versus women who do the same (they are considered a disgrace and a source of shame). It also opens topics of other "downgraded" females, such as prostitutes and widows, whose struggle for a decent position in contemporary Indian society is treated with some sympathy.

The newly created situation intensifies the earlier feuds between the families, but the film aspires to offer different possible perspectives. When Zoya tries to regain her honour by shooting her "man" after storming his home where he celebrates her disgrace, it is his mother Parvati who comes to her side. Parvati tells Parma that he must honour his marriage vows and do right by Zoya. However, the rest of Parma's family learn of Zoya's presence in their home and in the heat of the moment, Grandfather Chauhan shoots Parma's mother when she tries to defend her son and daughter-in-law from the bloodthirsty gang. Parma realizes his mistake and protects

Zoya from being murdered by his family. From that moment on, they became fugitives, since both families want to avenge their own tarnished reputation. Interestingly, their only place for safety is the local brothel, since its Madam wants to help their love to survive and offer them a refuge there. A series of incidents that follow, including a continuation of mistaken intentions, during which Zoya and Parma regain their love for each other, create an appropriate backdrop for a tragic finale. When confronted with the possibility of murder by their own kin and blood, they decide to flee to the city of Jaipur; but, in a development somewhat similar to the motif of *Bonnie and Clyde* film, they are now jointly pursued by both families. Having been outnumbered, the lovers decide to shoot each other willingly and die in each other's arms, smiling. The gangsters check if they are dead and go inform the two families, who leave the blood scene satisfied. The film ends with the bodies of two lovers lying on the terrace, and with an on-screen message that explains how thousands of lovers like them are killed every year only because of falling in love outside their caste and/or religion.

Critics from India mostly praised the way the story had been conceived by its authors. Faisal's script did not simply follow the traditional narrative of Bollywood romances, but wanted to cut a bit deeper into the contemporary Indian reality. It is true that some critics found fault and cliché with the character of Baby Chanda, as the sacrificial hooker with a heart of gold, having pointed out that the only positive women worth loving are either prostitutes or mothers. The ever-present and dominant role of patriarchy was at least shaken if not even undermined by showing that, regardless of their differences in terms of religion, caste or social standing, the political position prevails. It uses violence and force, including murder, without any restrictions even to the closest members of the family who happen to disobey the atavistic order of things. Naturally, such a message can be conveyed more effectively within the framework of usual Bollywood devices, such as music, dance, and strong cinematography and, above all, pronounced "chemistry" between the main characters. The success of such productions in India depended on the performance by the leading actors, despite the facts that Chopra and Kapur made their effective debuts in the movie. They did their share with convincing performance, which, in the end, ensured the actual success of this version of *Romeo and Juliet* in Indian film.

### ***Goliyon Ki Raasleela Ram-Leela***

Such an attitude was not followed in the production of the film *Goliyon Ki Raasleela Ram-Leela* (English: *A Play of Bullets Ram-Leela*, or simply *Ram-Leela* - 2013). The true creator of this romantic crime drama version was one of the most critically acclaimed filmmakers in India Sanjay Leela Bhansali. Known in his native country not only as a film director, producer, screenwriter, but also as an editor and music director, Bhansali had collaborated in various capacities on a dozen of films before he decided to apply the strong dramatic content, the stimulating musical score, the violent streak in the narrative set in violent times for his own production. Naturally, he wanted the major film stars in India to play the lead roles, as customary for film hoping for a wide success. The names of Ranveer Singh and Deepika Padukone, together with the supporting roles played by an ensemble cast including Supriya Pathak Kapur, Richa Chadda, Sharad Kelkar, Gulshan Devaiah, Barkha Bisht Sengupta, and Abhimanyu Singh, were “a ticket to success.” The film earned 2.02 billion Indian rupees (US\$31 million) worldwide, won numerous awards, and became the fifth highest-grossing film of 2013 in India.

The film opens, like in *Issaq*, with the festival of Holi, which provides a usual merry Bollywood setting for numerous songs and colourful dances as a natural framework. However, the ancient hatred between two local families in Gujarat, Saneras and Rajadis, will put a local vagabond Ram as Romeo (Chiranjeevi Sarja) and a strong-minded Julia or Leela (Deepika Padukone) in quite unusual roles. Leela’s mother Dhankor Baa, the true leader of her family and clan, plans to marry her daughter to simple-minded man from diaspora, but despite all the efforts by Leela’s brother Kanji to stop her sister’s involvement with her unexpected love, the young lovers manage to elope and get married in secret. Their love is frustrated by many obstacles that clearly reflect the local understanding of atavistic code of honour, or loyalty to the larger family interests. The actions of diverse clan members fuel the real war between the two families, causing devastation of property and ruin of lives. At one moment, Ram and Leela must assume the leadership in this unhappy development of affairs frantically trying to stop the further deterioration of things that might end with far-reaching consequences for both sides. It is Leela who bitterly carries out a negotiation with Ram, equally dividing the travel routes and trades, with the condition that the Saneras and Rajadis will not interact with each other ever again. However, their efforts seem to be in vain, since it is her own mother who tricks her into signing a

document ordering the mass murder of Ram's clan members. Having realized that her hatred would create a confusion of major proportions, Dhankor Baa orders her relative Bhavani, who is mainly responsible for intrigues and bad blood, to be executed hoping to re-establish peace again. It is, unfortunately, too late, since not knowing about this change, Ram and Leela decide that they are each other's destiny and belong only to themselves. That is why, in the critical moment, they murder each other wholeheartedly by shooting one another and falling into a body of water. Their respective families can only come together to cremate the bodies of the lovers.

Even before the film was actually made, it had created a controversy in India due to its treatment of dramatic folk re-enactment of the life of highly-esteemed deity Rama according to the ancient Hindu epic *Ramayana*, which was known under the name of *Ramlila*. In India, the term "Ram Leela" is associated with the life story of Rama – the seventh avatar of Vishnu and among the most popular gods in Hinduism. The critics were concerned that the film, which has no connection to the divine figure, would confuse audience members who might be attracted to the title for religious reasons. Confusion over the title of a hotly anticipated Bollywood production almost resulted in it being banned by a Delhi district court. The film director Sanjay Leela Bhansali made a statement, which came just 48 hours ahead of the film's scheduled release date of November 15, 2013. He explained the reasons for the name change, to *Goliyon Ki Rasleela Ram-Leela*, clarifying the film's content:

"It appears that some misinformation is being carried out regarding [*Goliyon Ki Rasleela Ram-Leela*] which we would like to clarify and state that [it] is inspired and based on William Shakespeare's work *Romeo and Juliet*." The said film is neither related to 'Ramleela' folklore/traditional performance associated with Lord Ram nor related to 'Rasleela' associated with Lord Krishna. Ram, the character in the said film does not depict or resemble Lord Rama in any manner." (J. Quigley, 2013)

Many fans were disappointed that the film was dragged into a religious controversy in the first place, calling it a violation of free speech. However, the film was praised by both the world-wide audience and the majority of critics who subsequently reviewed it. Generally, the film was received as a mixture, a hybrid of Shakespeare's famous story and the elements of film noir in India's own

interpretation of how the contemporary underworld could affect the lives and destiny (i.e. deaths) of its protagonists. In addition to the usual Bollywood ingredients, strongly emphasised in scenes abundant with vibrant music, exotic dances, opulent settings with vintage palaces and daunting deserts, lush costumes, colour and sound, the roles of main actors were praised in particular.

The film critics were in agreement that a gorgeous cinematography having cast famous stars, such as Ranveer Singh and Deepika Padukone in the lead roles, and the supporting roles that had played by an ensemble cast including Supriya Pathak Kapur, Rich Chadda, Sharad Kelkar, Gulshan Devaiah, Barkha Bisht Sengupta, and Abhimanyu Singh, the director Bhansali applied the best formula even for some of his controversial film methods to succeed. In his own interpretation, he was clever enough to offer his own artistic hand in the crucial scenes of the film, such as remaining fairly close to Shakespeare in the first half of the film, and upgrading the dialogue with references to the original play, and even including some exchanges in rhymed verse. In the second half, he made the wise decision “to depart somewhat from the basic template, at the risk of a dip in pace, but which builds a considerable amount of suspense in the lead up the climax; even if you know “Romeo and Juliet” like the back of your hand, Bhansali’s shift into more of a traditional warring-clans *masala* story introduces no small degree of uncertainty about how it’s all going to end, which is quite the achievement with a text as familiar as “R&J.” (Roger Ebert, 2013). The same renowned critic from New York thought that “visual splendour and hot-blooded melodrama mostly win out over rickety pacing and scripting.” (Roger Ebert, 2013). He also praised the actors, having particularly given more credit to Padukone’s role, “who steals the show with pure, deliberate, ferocious star power. The striking thing about her performance as Leela is how tightly coiled and tense it seems; she’s ready at a moment’s notice to kiss or kill (or both), never passive, never merely a photographic subject.” (Roger Ebert, 2013). In all fairness, Ebert also noticed the cameo role of emerging star Priyanka Chopra, whose “every gesture is fascinating ...” and is a solid proof that she would soon become a movie star in her own right. As it was astutely reviewed by Rajeev Masand in his piece on CNN-IBN:

“Appreciating the chemistry between the lead pair, he writes "Deepika and Ranveer scorch up the screen in their romantic scenes, their intense passion a bold change from Bollywood's mostly tame embraces." Masand concludes the review by stating "He (Bhansali) brings great style and aesthetic to an unapologetically commercial film, which I'm happy to say is far more engaging than the lazy blockbusters we've seen lately." (Rajeev Masand, 2013).

Nevertheless, a more unfavourable review came from Raja Sen, at [Rediff.com](http://Rediff.com). He felt sorry for the recent slew of Shakespearean travesties in Bollywood, which he also recognised in the film *Ram-Leela*, and labelled it as "silly, wasteful, loud" in addition to being "an overplotted, bloody mess". (Raja Sen, 2017). While the others mainly praised the dialogues, especially those between Ram and Leela, Sen severely criticised Bhansali's attempt at depicting the violent world of Rana with dialogues which were "very poor indeed, awful rhymes alternated with soap-operatic exposition". (Raja Sen, 2017). For him, Ranveer Singh "plays Ram, and he does so head and shoulders more effeminately than you've seen any Hindi film hero" and "speaks like a character written for Satish Kaushik in a David Dhawan movie, all poor puns and weird vocal tics and very lame dialogue". (Raja Sen, 2017). As for the main actress, Deepika Padukone, she "looks absolutely luminous but can't quite handle the sheer, relentless raunch the part demands", while, "Performers like Supriya Pathak and Gulshan Devaiah are reduced to cardboard caricatures and hamming, and the ever-effective Richa Chaddha isn't given elbow." (Raja Sen, 2017).

## **Conclusion**

The overall popularity of Shakespeare and his diverse genre plays proved to be a enormous fertile ground for a number of film-makers in India, who in different periods of film industry in their country opted for the Bard's topics as the suitable backdrop for their own versions of rather inspiring stories in a specific "Indianised" context. At first, they had tried to remain within the two concurring dramatic traditions present on their soil. They relied primarily on the British imported interpretations of Shakespeare's plays as a combination of dominant colonial attitude towards theatre as superior to either indigenous varieties, such as Kathakali or Theatre of Shadows, or its adapted transposition in the form of Parsi theatre, but also included familiar narratives from their own culture in order to attract wider audiences. With the emergence and development of lavish Bollywood productions, which included ever-present songs and dances and the romance stories revolving around the love of a

young man and a woman as main ingredients of their films; screenplay authors and directors gradually started to make more daring and experimental movies.

They appropriated Shakespeare in their respective films through the method of intercultural revision of comedy, romance and tragedy. Despite their obvious conventional Bollywood elements of song, dance, costume and display of bright colours, which embedded them into the core of many problems India, or the whole region, for that matter, had been going through in the recent decades; their specific rough and rugged yet elegant poetics and superb performance displayed an exemplary cinema and a work of great artistic merit worthy of similar masterpieces all over the world. Although spoken in different tongues of India, these films could be viewed and enjoyed without translated subtitles, due to their power and poignancy of both visual and audio expression, as well sophisticated acting that fuses traditional aspects of performing arts in India with experimental attempts to create powerful films well-fitted into the masterful and exquisite directors' vision - true to the play's spirit rather than the original text. That is why these film-makers - Sharat Katariya in *10 ml Love* (2010), Mansoor Khan in *Qayamat Se Qayamat Tak* (1988), Manish Tiwary in *Issaq* (2013), Habib Faisal in *Ishaqzaade* (2012), Sanjay Leela Bhansali in *Goliyon Ki Raasleela Ram-Leela*, or *Ram-Leela* (2013), managed, each in his own right, to bravely change the original roles and stories and give them unique "Indianised" flavour and production. Having departed from both local and international conventions, they explored controversial topics of mistaken identities, strong emotions, guilt and its denial, passion and betrayal, ambition and revenge, tragic love romances and many other topics, in the powerful interplay of personal fates within the larger political context and issues while offering new and viable re-interpretations to Shakespeare's plays that the famous Indian film-maker Vishal Bhardwaj rightly labelled as "universal" and "applicable to any culture and society." On the other hand, they also tried to instil some new attitudes to well-known topics within the popular Bollywood tradition, which made their versions recognizable yet innovative, thus opening up other possibilities for similar productions in the future.

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## Privjesna pitanja u konverzacijskoj interakciji



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### Sažetak

Rad se bavi funkcijama privjesnih pitanja (engl. *tag questions*) u konverzacijskoj interakciji uzimajući u obzir njihovu pretpostavljenu središnju ulogu s obzirom na manju asertivnost u odnosu na jednostavna pitanja s „da – ne“ odgovorom i obične iskaze. Ovi pretpostavljeni sporedni konverzacijski elementi obično se koriste kako bi se sugovornika usmjerilo na potvrdu iskaza na čijem je kraju privjesno pitanje, a uobičajena poimanja da su govornici koji ih koriste slabijega autoriteta, nesigurni i da zauzimaju slabije mjesto u konverzacijskim parovima. Odatle se često dovode u vezu sa tzv. ženskim konverzacijskim stilom pa se zato uglavnom izvode zaključci da ova jezička sredstva žene više koriste negoli muškarci. Na tragu sličnih promišljanja o nemogućnosti jednoobraznog pojednostavnjivanja jezičnih sredstava na vrlo ograničen broj funkcija (ili čak na samo jednu), cilj rada je pokazati koje to funkcije privjesna pitanja mogu imati. To se analizira u odnosu na njihovo pretpostavljeno svojstvo odražavanja govorne nesigurnosti. Korpus istraživanja čine odabrani televizijski intervjui opisani u Aljukić (2015).

Ključne riječi: privjesna pitanja, konverzacijska interakcija, funkcija, TV intervjui.

### Summary

The paper deals with the tag question functions in a conversational interaction and their presumed main role regarding to their poor assertiveness compared to simple yes/no questions and other simple statements. These presumed secondary conversational elements are commonly used to encourage the interlocutor to confirm one's statement with tag question, and the usual perception that speakers who use tag questions are uncertain and take on a weaker position in conversational pairs. Hence, they are often connected with the so-called women's conversational style, it is often

concluded that tag questions are used more by women than men. In the pursuit of similar thinking about the impossibility of uniform simplification of language resources to a very limited number of functions (or even just one), the goal of the paper is to show which functions these questions may have. This is analyzed in relation to their presumed feature of reflecting speech uncertainty. The corpus consists of selected television interviews described in Aljukić (2015).

Key words: tag questions, conversational interaction, function, TV interviews.

### **Jezički resursi i njihova posljedičnost**

Prepoznajući svojstvo performativnosti govornih iskaza, Austin (1962) naglašava njihovu posljedičnost, odnosno pojavu da se upotrebom određenih iskaza ostvaruju konverzacijske radnje koje su, dakako, određene ispunjavanjem posebnih uslova. U tom je smislu odabir jezičkih sredstava strategijski postupak kojim se ostvaruju određeni komunikacijski ciljevi.

Pokazuje se, međutim, da se jezička sredstva i jezičke strategije ne raspodjeljuju podjednako u zajednici, odnosno da se upotreba tih sredstava ne promatra ravnopravnom za sve članove neke zajednice. U vezi s tim vrijedi se podsjetiti na to da su u savremenim sociolingvističkim istraživanjima u prvom planu *socijalne mreže*, odnosno *radne zajednice* koje čine svojevrsne pandane klasičnoj sociolingvističkoj *društvenoj klasi*, odnosno *govornoj zajednici*. O tome preciznije govori Weatherall (2002) koja zaključuje da se takvim pomacima u terminologiji i metodologiji najprije ublažava veza između identiteta i jezika, a obuhvata heterogenost i dinamičnost rodnog ili kakvog drugog identiteta u mreži s drugim identitetima. Takav pristup u obzir uzima postojanje varijacija i unutar samih zajednica i odmak je u odnosu na poimanje sociolingvističkih varijabli kao pasivnih označivača socioekonomskog položaja pojedinca u grupi (Weatherall 2002: 134–135).

Uzmemo li npr. u obzir upotrebu tzv. snažnih jezičkih sredstava kakve su nepristojne riječi ili komunikacijska direktnost, suočavamo se s različitim poimanjem prikladnosti s obzirom na to koji ih članovi određene zajednice koriste. Iako je otvoreno pitanje jasnog i preciznog definiranja neke grupe, odnosno kriterija njenoga članstva i, posebno, pretpostavljene homogenosti društvene grupe, ipak se često

potvrđuje i jasno vidi da se određene govorne prakse smatraju neprikladnim za neke članove zajednice, u ovom konkretnom slučaju za žene naspram muškarcima.

Tako npr. Mills (2003: 139–143) ističe da se govorna praksa ohrabrivanja neuljudnosti u vidu izricanja psovki vrlo često ohrabruje kod dječaka dok se zabranjuje djevojčicama. Slično o toj pojavi promišlja i Mizokami (2001: 145–146) koja prepoznaje da žene često primjenjuju određene govorne prakse kako bi izbjegle kritiku za odsustvo ženstvenosti. Uzmemo li u obzir odabir i primjenu takvih i sličnih jezičkih sredstava, uočiti možemo da se u čisto muškim *radnim zajednicama* uvrede i kršenje normi uljudnosti smatraju nekom vrstom vezivnoga sredstva kojim se osnažuju međusobne veze muškaraca. Analizirajući neuljudne iskaze, Mills (2003: 122–125) ih odvaja od uvredljivih, upravo s obzirom na njihovu socijalnu funkciju, najčešće izricanje pripadnosti grupi, npr. u tinejdžerskim grupama gdje se neuljudno komuniciranje smatra svojevrsnom vrlinom, tj. navedenim sredstvom povezivanja. Funkciju „zabavnog zadirkivanja“ na radnom mjestu analizirala je Yedes (1996) koja u toj konverzijskoj praksi vidi mogućnost ublažavanja potencijalnih ozbiljnijih nesuglasica, odnosno to je postupak kojim se, suprotno klasičnoj teoriji uljudnosti, učvršćuju međusobne veze, no takve su radnje prihvaćene samo ako se sudionici međusobno poznaju.

Analize funkcija takvih jezičkih sredstava kakvi su neuljudni iskazi, kako vidimo, pokazuju značajnu mogućnost izlaženja iz svojevrsnog kalupa u kojem bismo se uvijek susretali s prototipnom funkcijom takvih sredstava. Da je to tako vidimo i u sličnim jezičkim praksama. Tako su komplimenti govorni činovi kojima se (u skladu s odrednicama teorije uljudnosti) hvali sugovornikov *pozitivni obraz*. No, čak se i komplimenti mogu koristiti izvan uobičajene funkcije, npr. u mogućoj situaciji kada se hvali nešto što ne zasluhuje da bude predmetom hvaljenja. Tako Holmes (1995. u: Mills 2003: 219–221) ističe da komplimenti mogu funkcionirati vrlo različito te mogu biti upotrijebljeni ironično, sarkastično, laskavo i sl. što pokazuje da se komplimentima može skrivati neki potencijalni komunikacijski cilj koji se ne izriče direktno, čime se znatno otežava interpretacija komplimenta; recepcija komplimenata također nije jednoobrazna, posebno kada oni dolaze od nepoznatih osoba i u javnom području, npr. komplimenti koji se upućuju ženama na ulici mogu se razumjeti i kao potencijalno uznemiravanje.

## Funkcije privjesnih pitanja u konverzacijskoj interakciji

Sunderland (2006: 99) ističe da, promatraju li se prema jačini asertivnosti, pitanja s privjeskom zauzimaju središnji položaj, između čvrstih iskaza i zatvorenih pitanja (onih koja zahtijevaju „da/ne“ odgovor). Manje su asertivna od čvrstih iskaza, odnosno više asertivna od zatvorenih pitanja. Privjesna pitanja ubrajaju se u tzv. sporedne govorne elemente, pri čemu se njihovom upotrebom naglašava provjera istinitosti iskaza. Navedena provjera češće ide u potvrdnom smjeru, pri čemu se sugovornik ohrabruje da svoj stav uskladi s govornikovim.

Svojom su strukturom privjesna pitanja izjavni ili imperativni iskazi koji se u oblik pitanja pretvaraju dodatkom upitnoga fragmenta ili privjeska (engl. *tag*), npr.: Ti si Marko, **nisi li?**

Usporedimo li upotrebu privjesnih pitanja s nekoliko prethodno spomenutih jezičkih praksi kakvi su komplimenti i *snažni govor*, također uočavamo da se uz njihovu upotrebu vezuju određena ustaljena gledišta pa se tako najčešće razumijevaju kao odraz govorne nesigurnosti. U često isticanoj dihotomiji žene/muškarci toj se vrsti jezičkih sredstava skoro dosljedno pripisuju tzv. arhetipska obilježja govora žena. Promatrajući ih kao diskursne okvire, Robin Lakoff tako je uočila da su iskazi s privjesnim pitanjem manje asertivni od takvih iskaza bez privjeska: *Danas je lijep dan, nije li?* naspram primjeru: *Danas je lijep dan* a sličan stav ima i u vezi s upotrebom iskaza koji uza se vezuju kvalifikator te su zbog toga manje nasrtljivi od onih iskaza koji ga nemaju: *Stvarno to ne želim.* naspram primjeru: *Ne želim to.* Lakoff je, kako to prepoznaju Cameron et al. (1989) isticala da govornici koji se služe tim ublažavajućim konverzacijskim sredstvima djeluju slabo, nesigurno i bez autoriteta (Cameron et al. 1989: 74–93).

Robin Lakoff svojim je djelom *Language and Woman's Place* (1973) zasigurno postavila temelje savremenim gledištima na rodno označenu upotrebu jezika, pri čemu je poseban značaj u tome što je ukazala na niz jezičkih praksi koje se danas mogu različito interpretirati. U osvrtu na svoje navedeno djelo (Lakoff 2004: 69) autorica je i sama naglasila određene odmake od prvobitnih stavova. U njezinom radu, kada je o privjesnim pitanjima riječ, Weatherall (2002: 60) prepoznaje slično onome što i Cameron et al. (1989) – da su privjesna pitanja sredstva koja se koriste mahom u

vezi sa željom za potvrdom ili odobrenjem, čime se također označuje nesigurnost i nedostatak autoriteta žena koje ih koriste.

U strukturi privjesnih pitanja uočava se da je upadljivo da su različita s obzirom na polarizaciju potvrdno/odrično; ukoliko je iskaz koji nosi privjesno pitanje pozitivan, privjesak je negativan („Danas **je** lijep dan, **nije li**?“) i obrnuto („On to **nije** mogao uraditi, zar **jest**?“). Izuzeci od ovog pravila najčešće su obilježeni posebnom intonacijom. Intonacija ima posebnu ulogu i u primjerima kada mjesto upitnoga privjeska zauzimaju neke druge riječi koje se izgovaraju upitnom intonacijom: *Ti pišeš završno poglavlje, ok/uredu?*

Ipak, da nije tako jednostavno neku jezičku praksu pripisati određenoj društvenoj grupi, konkretno da se upotreba privjesnih pitanja ne može promatrati binarno u dihotomiji

žene/muškarci, pokazuju Dubois i Crouch (1975. u: Weatherall 2002: 60) u istraživanju

snimaka sa znanstvenih skupova gdje je uočeno da takva pitanja češće koriste muškarci.

Eckert i McConnell-Ginet (2003: 167–169) tvrde da rezultatsko „šarenilo“ koje se prepoznaje u drugim istraživanjima o istoj problematici pokazuje da je u prvim istraživanjima tog fenomena moglo biti ozbiljnijih metodoloških propusta. Autorice u proširenom gledištu ističu mogućnost više funkcija iskaza s privjesnim pitanjem. Osnovna je *epistemološko modalna funkcija* (*On je zaostajao tri poena, zar nije?*), ali mogu biti i u funkciji *pomoći*, *ublažavanja* i *poticaja*. Sugovorniku se takvim pitanjima može pomoći da ostvari konverzacijski doprinos (*Odličan je to nastup, zar ne?* / *Ona ne izgleda dovoljno staro da bi mu bila majka, zar ne?*). Pokazuje se da takva pitanja mogu ublažiti potencijalni negativan uticaj iskaza, npr. kritike (*Bio si pomalo bučan, nisi li?*). Funkcija poticaja (izazova/provokacije) ostvaruje se kada je potrebno prevladati tišinu ili nekoga navesti na priznanje, npr. kada advokat navodi ispitanika na odgovor (*Vaša prijateljica obećala je mome klijentu isplatiti mnogo novca, zar nije?*). Iako intonacija ima više funkcija, često se pokazuje da je ona uzlaznog tipa u epistemološkim modalnim privjesnim pitanjima, a silaznoga tipa kada se privjesna pitanja koriste radi ublažavanja asertivnosti iskaza.

Među više funkcija privjesnih pitanja, Sunderland (2006: 100) ističe da je najlegitimnija traženje pojašnjenja za nešto u što govornik nije siguran, a što je uvjetovano nekom objektivnom okolnošću, npr.: *Nisam imala naočale. On je bio treći, **nije li**?* Isticanje još jedne funkcije tih jezičkih sredstava – korištenja radi poticanja na neformalni razgovor, tzv. čavrljanje, zapravo stoji u suprotnosti s prethodnom funkcijom. U takvim se slučajevima privjesna pitanja koriste i razumijevaju drukčije od zahtjeva za pojašnjenje jer ne postoji neka nepoznata okolnost koju valja objasniti, odnosno iskaz uz koji se vezuje privjesno pitanje jasan je, istinit i očigledan: *Vruće je ovdje, **zar ne**?* Ista autorica upućuje i na nemogućnost korištenja takvih pitanja kada su iskazom obuhvaćena određena stanja ili mišljenja koja se tiču isključivo govornika. Stoga bi bilo čudno ako bi neko rekao: *\*Imam glavobolju, **nemam li**?* Dakako, traži li se sugovornikovo mišljenje ili njegovo potvrđivanje prije negoli njegova percepcija rečenog, privjesna pitanja mogu se relevantno koristiti: *Cijene vrtoglavo skaču, **zar ne**?*

Jedna od autorica koje su se bavile navedenom problematikom je i spomenuta Mizokami (2001: 152–154) koja također ističe da su uobičajeni nedostaci istraživanja o toj konverzacijskoj praksi u tome što se pretpostavlja da privjesna pitanja, kao i jezične strategije općenito, imaju samo jednu funkciju, što je daleko od istine. Ona također upozorava na *modalnu* i *afektivnu* funkciju tih pitanja, koje ovise o govornoj situaciji. Modalna se pokazuje kada je govornik zaista nesiguran u ono što govori: *Danas si bio odsutan, **nisi li**?* Afektivna se funkcija privjesnih pitanja ostvaruje kao:

a) ublažavanje potencijalne prijetnje obrazu sugovornika: *Zatvori prozor, **možeš li**?*

b) upotreba privjesaka za potporu u konverzaciji (najčešće kao poziv sugovorniku da se

uključi u konverzaciju): *To je lijep automobil, **nije li**?*

Mizokami (ibidem) ističe da se ni u jednom slučaju ne može isključiti kontekst, tim više što je funkcija privjesnih pitanja teže razumljiva u sustavu hijerarhijski asimetričnih konverzacijskih parova, odnosno posebnim vrstama diskursā.

Mogućnost više funkcija u jednom govornom iskazu ono je što neki analitičari nazivaju polisemijom. Cameron et al. (1989) došli su do rezultata da žene češće koriste privjesna pitanja u iskazima gdje dominira kolebljivost i ublažavanje iskaza,



dok muškarci češće koriste privjesna pitanja kojima traže potvrdu za ono o čemu govore.

U sistemu parova asimetričnih govornika: nastavnik/učenik, doktor/pacijent, roditelj/dijete, poslodavac/uposlenik i voditelj intervjua/gost od podređenih se članova u istraživanju koje su proveli očekivalo da će češće koristiti epistemološka modalna privjesna pitanja, a od nadređenih privjesna pitanja u funkciji ublažavanja ili olakšavanja, mada nije potpuno jasno zašto bi nadređene osobe to češće činile. Cameron (ibidem) uočava da podređeni koriste epistemološke modalne privjeske kao potvrdu za ono što govore, a nadređeni da sumiraju ono što je rečeno. Sve to povlači pitanje o relevantnosti tvrdnje da se ta pojava više vezuje uz žene, kao i pitanje je li susretljivost i empatija u komunikaciji slabost ili vrlina. Donositi sud o tome može se samo na osnovi jasnog konteksta te komunikacijskih ciljeva koje želimo ostvariti.

### ***Metodologija istraživanja i posebnosti korpusa***

Analiza učestalosti upotrebe i funkcije korištenih privjesnih pitanja izvršena je na korpusu televizijskih intervjua koji se sastojao od ukupno 16 transkripata, odnosno nešto više od 73.000 riječi. Riječ je o televizijskim emisijama *Centralni dnevnik sa Senadom Hadžifejzovićem* (FACETV), *Petkom s Nikolinom* (TV1), *Nedjeljom u 2* (HRT) i *Recite Al Jazeera* (Al Jazeera). Navedeni je korpus imao svoj središnji dio (korpusnu jezgru) koja se čini posebno zanimljivom jer obuhvata intervjue istog voditelja i voditeljice s istim gostima. Ta je jezgra zbog proporcionalnosti rodni uloga proširena dodatkom od triju intervjua i zaključci o upotrebi privjesnih pitanja izvedeni su na toj osnovi. Tako se dobio sistem konverzacijskih parova koji se mogao uspoređivati s obzirom i na nosioce intervjua i na goste, tj. u vezi s diskursnom i rodnom ulogom. Takav je pristup vrlo složen jer uzima u obzir konverzacijsku ulogu ponaosob za svakog učesnika intervjua i sve relevantne pomake u konverzacijskim strategijama. Rodna se uloga u takvom pristupu uzima u obzir kao *omnirelevantna* tj. ona koja je s etnometodološkoga aspekta očigledna i nadređena svim drugim ulogama pripadajućih učesnika konverzacije. Budući da je riječ o medijskom diskursu, predmetom su analize bili i međusobni hijerarhijski odnosi učesnika konverzacije te raspolaganje sredstvima koje diskursna uloga nosi (npr. očekuje se da gosti govore više od voditelja/voditeljice, da voditelj ili voditeljica postavljaju više pitanja, više

prekidaju sugovornike i sl.). Sam postupak analize izvršen je korištenjem računarskog programa Elan Linguistic Annotator.

Analizi korištenih pitanja u navedenom korpusu pristupilo se uzimajući u obzir fenomene konverzacijske direktnosti i uljudnosti. Upotreba pitanja u međusobnoj konverzacijskoj interakciji čest je analitički parametar u sličnim istraživanjima, prije svega kao dokaz orijentiranosti prema sugovorniku. Pučka poimanja rodni jezičkih razlika obično su prepoznatljiva u tvrdnjama da su žene, općenito, sklonije upotrebi pitanja više od muškaraca te da čak i deklarative, odnosno referencijske iskaze, koriste u funkciji pitanja, u čemu se obično prepoznaje pretpostavljena težnja za odobravanjem (Lakoff 2004: 78).

Upotreba pitanja kao jezičkoga sredstva kulturološki je i sociolingvistički specifična jer se podrazumijeva da se određena vrsta pitanja postavlja u posebnim okolnostima i u skladu s naravi društvene veze sudionika razgovora, a da se neka pitanja ne postavljaju sugovornicima s kojima nismo bliski (npr. pitanja o visini plaće, ličnim problemima, zdravstvenom stanju i sl.). Takva jezička upotreba odraz je komunikacijske kompetencije kakvom je vide Pearson i De Villiers (2006: 206–213).

Predmetom sličnih istraživanja često su i upitni pozdravni iskazi koji su pitanja samo oblikom jer se odgovor na njih ne očekuje i njihovom se upotrebom potvrđuje komunikacijska kompetencija govornika. Tako se na pitanja – *Kako si? Jeste li dobro? Šta ima?* i sl. odgovor u pravilu ne daje u prvom susjednom paru govornih priloga, odnosno taj je odgovor također ritualiziran i tek ako se to pitanje ponovi u nastavku konverzacije onda se to razumijeva kao stvarno pitanje koje zahtijeva odgovor.

Izdvajamo takav primjer iz korpusa:

Primjer označen brojem 15 iz intervjua Vm1/Mg2 pokazuje da je razumijevanje funkcije takvih jezičnih sredstava uvjetovano konverzacijskom strukturom; radi li se o inkoativnim iskazima, obično se ne očekuje iscrpan odgovor na njih. U sustavu susjednih parova na tom mjestu u konverzaciji takvi iskazi obično funkcioniraju kao pozdravi, no primjer koji je izdvojen pokazuje da se uistinu govori o zdravstvenom stanju sugovornika, ali je i tu prepoznatljivo da je odgovor na TCU 1 voditelja Vm1 najprije „dobar dan“, a tek nakon kraćeg razmaka (0.104 sekundi),

sugovornik, gost Mg2 najprije daje kraći nagovještaj onoga što bi bio potpuni odgovor na pitanje o zdravstvenom stanju.

15)

TCU 1: Vm1: dobar dan. dobro več. kako ste. jeste dobro.

TCU 1: (0.765) Mg2: dobar dan.  
(0.104)

TCU 2: Mg2: evo. hvala bogu. dobro je. kroz šta se sve prošlo.

*Korpus, intervju Vm1/Mg2, korpusna jezgra*

Neposredno se iza tih TCU ponavlja pitanje „kako ste“ (TCU 9), što je ovoga puta stvarno pitanje o zdravstvenom stanju. To se vidi po odgovoru koji daje Mg2 (TCU 8).

16)

TCU 9: Vm1: kako ste.

TCU 8: (0.170) Mg2: pa dobro. evo to su dvije operacije. desnog i lijevog plućnog krila. dosta su- tako eto bile- na određen način i složene. (...)

*Korpus, intervju Vm1/Mg2, korpusna jezgra*

U analizi javnih nastupa u kojima se rod uzima kao sociolingvistička varijabla Steinem (1991. u: Meunier 1996) ističe da žene iz publike obično postavljaju više pitanja o ličnoj tematici, odnosno porodičnom životu, za razliku od muškaraca koji više pitaju o praktičnim problemima. Navedena autorica (ibidem) osvrće se i na ustaljeno poimanje upotrebe privjesnih pitanja i ženskoga govora, pri čemu ističe da uopćavanja funkcije takvih sredstava nisu održiva jer žene često koriste ta sredstva u konfrontacijskim strategijama i time pokazuju da diskursna povijest upotrebe tih sredstava ne ograničava njihovu drukčiju upotrebu u sadašnjosti.

Taj zaokret uočljiv je u konverzacijskim parovima u kojima je žena nadređeni član takvoga para kakav je npr. razgovor šefice i zaposlenika i sl.

Upotreba direktnih i indirektnih pitanja predmetom je istraživanja i u okvirima poznate teorije uljudnosti koju postavljaju Zimmerman i West (1975). U tim je pristupima sastavni dio i kvantitativna analiza, pa tako Fishman (1978. u: Sunderland 2006: 112) uočava da žene općenito koriste više pitanja u konverzaciji.

U asimetričnim ulogama u konverzaciji moguće je da nositelj konverzacijskog para čak i indirektnim iskazom potvrdi svoju hijerarhiju. S obzirom na takve posebnosti u upotrebi i obliku pitanja u konverzacijskoj interakciji, sva su pitanja iz cjelokupnoga korpusa podijeljena u tri grupe: *direktna, indirektna i privjesna pitanja*.

Pitanja su posebno analizirana s obzirom na konverzacijski fenomen pseudointimnosti u medijskom diskursu, uz pretpostavku da će omjer postavljenih pitanja biti daleko veći u korist nositeljā intervjuā. Ujedno je načinjena i detaljnija podjela u okviru navedenih triju grupa pitanja, i to na: *obična direktna pitanja* (najčešće kraći upitni iskazi), *direktna pitanja s dodatkom* (riječ je o pitanjima čijem izricanju prethodi duža ili kraća elaboracija; moguće je prepoznati ih najčešće u obliku „postavljeno pitanje + elaboracija“ ili „elaboracija + postavljeno pitanje“), *privjesna pitanja* (primarno označena kao iskazi koji u svom toku imaju privjesak *je li, je li tako, nije li tako* i sl.; mogu se javiti i u skraćenim oblicima, kraćenjem upitne riječi *li*) te pitanja koja su to samo preferencijskom funkcijom ali ne i formom, odnosno riječ je o iskazima koji funkcioniraju kao poticaj sugovorniku na odgovor.

Fishman (1980. u: Meunier 1996) u upotrebi privjesnih pitanja, koja smatra znatno manje asertivnih od direktnih pitanja, vidi uspješnu strategiju kojom se održava konverzacijski tok. Ovdje funkciju privjesnih pitanja promatramo u vezi s njihovim položajem u TCU (engl. *turn construction unit* ili *konstrukcijska komunikacijska jedinica*), pri čemu se uočava da fatička uloga tih jezičkih sredstava nije isključivo ostvariva samo kada su ta pitanja na završetku TCU, već i na drugim dijelovima TCU. Također se pokazuje da je privjesak upotrebljiv i kada je blizak funkciji retoričkog pitanja, odnosno kada se u odgovoru na iskaz koji nosi privjesak ne vidi eksplicitna potvrdna ili odrična reakcija na pitanje, nego se konverzacijski tok nastavlja tako da se privjesak shvata kao poticaj konverzaciji. Ima, međutim, i takvih privjesnih pitanja koja dobivaju odgovor u sugovornikovoj reakciji na TCU koja ima privjesak.

Zbirni su rezultati korpusne jezgre i dodatka jezgri u sljedećoj tabeli:

Intervju	Nositelj konverzacijskog para	Gost/Gošća	PITANJA			
			DIREKTNA	PITANJA S DODATKOM		INDIREKTNA PITANJA (iskazi koje impliciraju davanje odgovora)
				DIREKTNA S DODATKOM (pitanja s tvrdnjom koja im prethodi ili ih slijedi)	PRIVJESNA	
1.	Vm1	Žg1	5 (Vm1) 2 (Žg1)	6 (Vm1)	5 (Vm1)	15 (Vm1)
2.	Vm1	Žg2	4 (Vm1)	4 (Vm1)	1 (Vm1) 1 (Žg2)	5 (Vm1)
3.	Vm1	Mg1	11 (Vm1)	6 (Vm1)	1 (Vm1) 7 (Mg1)	11 (Vm1)
4.	Vm1	Mg2	19 (Vm1)	6 (Vm1)	9 (Vm1) 1 (Mg2)	15 (Vm1)
5.	Vm1	Mg3	17 (Vm1) 1 (Mg1)	16 (Vm1)	1 (Vm1)	19 (Vm1) 1 (Mg3)
6.	Vž1	Žg1	3 (Vž1)	14 (Vž1)	4 (Vž1) 4 (Žg1)	4 (Vž1)
7.	Vž1	Žg2	6 (Vž1)	3 (Vž1)	15 (Žg2)	2 (Vž1)
8.	Vž1	Mg1	17 (Vž1)	16 (Vž1)	13 (Vž1) 18 (Mg1)	7 (Vž1)
9.	Vž1	Mg2	28 (Vž1)	11 (Vž1)	5 (Vž1) 1 (Mg2)	12 (Vž1)
10.	Vž1	Mg3	12 (Vž1)	10 (Vž1)	3 (Vž1) 1 (Mg3)	13 (Vž1)
11.	Vž2	Žg3	14 (Vž2) 1 (Žg3)	10 (Vž2)	<i>ništa</i>	8 (Vž2)
12.	Vm2	Žg3	6 (Vm2)	12 (Vm2)	<i>ništa</i>	2 (Vm2)
13.	Vm2	Mg4	14 (Vm2) 1 (Mg4)	13 (Vm2)	4 (Vm2) 1 (Mg4)	5 (Vm2)
UKUPNO POSTAVLJENIH PITANJA:			Vm1: 56 Vž1: 66	Vm1: 38 Vž1: 54	Vm1: 17 Vž1: 25	Vm1: 65 Vž1: 38

*Tabela 1: Vrste pitanja u korpusnoj jezgri i dodatku jezgri  
(V = voditelj/ica, m = muškarac, ž = žena, G = gost/gošća).*

Pogled na dobivene rezultate pokazuje da je zanemariv broj pitanja koja gosti i gošće upućuju voditelju i voditeljici. Time se potvrđuje njihova podređena uloga u konverzijskim parovima medijskoga diskursa.

Upadljivo je da voditelj dominira u upotrebi pitanja ostvarenih i obliku referencijskog iskaza, skoro dvostruko više od voditeljice. Takav se postupak može razumjeti s obzirom na težnju da se ostvari spomenuta medijska pseudointimnost, tj. da se razgovor u institucionalnom diskursu kakav je medijski predstavlja spontanim i prirodnim.

Vrijednosti u tabeli pokazuju da u analiziranom korpusu voditeljica postavlja više direktnih pitanja, više direktnih pitanja s dodatkom te više privjesnih pitanja.

Korpusni primjer 17 iz intervjua Vm1/Mg1 pokazuje najčešći oblik pitanja koja su u korpusu označena kao „direktna pitanja s dodatkom“. Dodatak je obično kraća ili duža elaboracija koja vodi do direktnoga pitanja. Uočava se da je više takvih pitanja u kojima je elaboracija na prvom mjestu te vodi do izricanja pitanja, negoli onih u kojima se najprije postavlja pitanje, pa se elaboriraju moguće okolnosti ili se, kao što neki primjeri pokazuju, uočava da struktura „pitanje + elaboracija“ često ima ulogu olakšavanja, odnosno nagovještavanja mogućeg odgovora.

17)

TCU 35: Vm1: to pitam analitičare. druge goste. pa nije fer da Vas ne pitam. Vi vodite državu. imate poluge vlasti. limitirane ustavom. je\*- jedan volan imate. a drugi volan je u rukama- uhh- kad je Vaša partija u pitanju. predsjednika te stranke. sulejmana tihića. Vaš otac je- uslovno rečeno. lakše mogao da vlada. jer je on imao ta oba volana. bio je predsjednik partije. i predsjednik države. da li bakir izetbegović treba. hoće. želi. namjerava. planira. da preuzme polugu es de a. odnosno volan es de a.

TCU 37: (0.351) Mg1: (...) ja Vam neću dati odgovor na to pitanje. razgovarat ćemo o tome iduće godine. ne. u ovome času es de a mora biti potpuno kompaktna. uopšte neću da razgovaram i da mislim o takvim stvarima.

*Korpus, intervju Vm1/Mg1, korpusna jezgra*

U primjeru 17 vidimo da voditelj nakon uvoda u pitanje sugovorniku prezentira nekoliko mogućih odgovora nudeći ključne riječi (*treba, hoće, želi, namjerava, planira*). Iako je riječ o direktnom pitanju, tim se postupkom otupljuje „oštrica“ direktnosti (npr. u usporedbi s kratkim „hoćete li preuzeti polugu es de a“). Odgovor sugovornika Mg1 također je obilježen umjerenom direktnošću na početku TCU, pri čemu ističe da „neće dati odgovor na pitanje“ umjesto „ne dam Vam

odgovor na to pitanje/ne želim odgovoriti na to pitanje“ i sl.). Izrazi su s kondicionalom prvim (npr. mogući odgovor „ne bih htio odgovoriti na to pitanje“) uljudniji jer se odabirom glagolskoga načina radnja i posljedice njezinoga (ne)vršenja pomiču iz preciznog vremenskoga okvira i izriču kao vlastiti stav, mada se kondicionalom prvim može izreći i habitualizirana radnja u prošlosti (Silić i Pranjković 2005: 195). Imperativ se, u odnosu na kondicional, prepoznaje po tome što se cijela komunikacijska perspektiva rečenice ili teksta usmjeruje na drugo lice, odnosno sugovornika (ibidem, 194) te je zato imperativ izravniji. Uočljiva je razlika u izravnosti imperativa koji se tvori od svršenih i onoga od nesvršenih glagola („dodi ovamo“ i „dolazi ovamo“) jer se iterativnim oblicima perlokucijska sila umnogostručuje zato što se implicira ponavljanje radnje.

U privjesnim pitanjima uobičajeno je da se upitni fragment (privjesak) nalazi na samom kraju iskaza, no on svoju fatičku funkciju uspješne strategije poticaja na komuniciranje, o kojoj govori Fishman (1980. u: Meunier 1996) ostvaruje i na drugim položajima. U obzir bi trebalo uzeti da je u radu primijenjena i konverzacijskoanalitička metodologija koja sa svim svojim posebnostima podrazumijeva razlikovanje rečenice i TCU te mogućnosti uvezivanja više TCU u govorni prilog (pitanje dovršenosti takvih govornih blokova smatra se otvorenim, no analize pokazuju da je intonacija jedan od važnih parametara). U ovome je radu postupak podjele na odsječke TCU jedinica izvršen tako što su TCU sama ili višestruka TCU označene brojem, a u njima samima primjenjuje se potpunija podjela na odsječke tako što se potpuna intonacijska i pragmatička cjelina označuje tačkom na njenom kraju a nepotpuna crticom.

18)

TCU 47: Vm1: (...) zato ponavljam to pitanje. da li je- koliko se vi- kako bih rekao. plašite hapšenja. um- stvarnog. sa argumentima. ne Vi. nego neko- °je li°. vaš. iz es de a. ili- pa hapšenja sa- je li. političkom pozadinom.

*Korpus, intervju Vm1/Mg2, korpusna jezgra*

19)

TCU 34: Vm1: na koje slučajeve mislite. da Vas ne navodim. je li reket. je li. navest ću Vas.

*Korpus, intervju Vm1/Mg2, korpusna jezgra*

Usporedba primjera 18 i 19 pokazuje nam da pitanja koja su oblikom ista kao privjesci (upitni fragmenti na samome kraju iskaza) mogu imati i fatičku ulogu, kao i funkciju pravoga pitanja te da njihov položaj u TCU može varirati. Primjer 19 donosi dvije upotrebe pitanja „je li“, pri čemu je prvi znatno tiši od drugog (označen manjim kružićima), a u usporedbi s TCU 34 (primjer 19) vidimo da oblik „je li“ funkcionira kao pravo pitanje, tim više što se njegovim ponavljanjem ostvaruje funkcija pojačivača; voditelj Vm1 upozorava na aferu „reket“ i najprije ističe da ne želi navoditi sugovornika na odgovor, a zatim, nakon dva pitanja, mijenja mišljenje.

Razlika između primjera 18 i 19 u tome je što je u primjeru 19 riječ o stvarnom pitanju „je li reket“, pri čemu je fragment „je li“ u idućem dijelu govornoga priloga zapravo skraćeni oblik pitanja koje mu neposredno prethodi. U primjeru 18 fragmenti „je li“ svoju fatičku funkciju ostvaruju na položaju između nedovršene TCU i njezinoga nastavka te ujedno služe kao spona između tih dijelova TCU.

Fatička funkcija privjesnih pitanja općenito stoji u suprotnosti s njihovom epistemološkom modalnošću koja se inherentno pripisuje ženama, a analizu tih jezičnih sredstava u stvarnoj konverzaciji dodatno usložnjava problem definiranja TCU jedinica; naime, klasična se privjesna pitanja postavljaju u strukturu dovršenog iskaza tako što zauzimaju jasan položaj na njegovu kraju, no u stvarnoj konverzaciji složenost definiranja dovršenosti TCU jedinica (intonacijska, pragmatička i sintaktička dovršenost) komplicira izdvajanje odsječaka koji se prepoznaju kao privjesni fragmenti, budući da je njihov položaj nestabilan, odnosno ti fragmenti mogu biti pomaknuti na drugo mjesto u strukturi TCU ili zauzimati položaj oko samoga kraja TCU.

Iz tog razloga uobičajeni privjesni fragment „je li“ može biti i samostalna TCU, što vidimo na primjeru 20 iz intervjua Vž1/Mg1, a da je riječ o fatičkoj funkciji održanja konverzijskog tijeka uočljivo je u tome što izostaje odgovor na njega, za razliku od primjera 21 gdje se dobiva odgovor na takav upitni oblik.

20)

TCU 39: (...) Mg1: i sabina- koju sad vidimo- ovaj- sa mnom kod  
ajfelove kule. je bila bolji šahista od mene.

TCU 55: (0.256) Vž1: je li.

TCU 40: (0.402) Mg1: a onda- a onda afiniteti. žene ne vole  
matematiku. šah. i takve stvari.

*Korpus, intervju Vž1/Mg1, korpusna jezgra*



21)

TCU 37: Vž1: osim- um- košarke- bavili ste se na neki način- ustvari svirate gitaru. **je li tako.**

TCU 26: =(0.543)= Mg1: da.

TCU 27: (0.162) Mg1: sviram je i danas. da. sviram je i danas.

*Korpus, intervju Vž1/Mg1, korpusna jezgra*

22)

TCU 36: Vm1: dobro. dobro. evo da malo- uslovno rečeno. branim es de pe. ako oni stoje politički iza svega ovoga. u čemu je smisao. nisu to baš politički levati. **je li tako.** (...)

*Korpus, intervju Vm1/Mg2, korpusna jezgra*

23)

TCU 33: Vž1: uhh- za koga danas navijate. kada je u pitanju košarka. ali i nogomet. (0.994)

Tcu 24: Mg1: u košarci sam za bosnu. **je li.**

TCU 34: (0.210) Vž1. mhm.

TCU 25: (0.121) Mg1: u fudbalu sam za sarajevo. (...) a bogami nije mi mrsko ni kad željo pobijedi. **je l'.** osim protiv sarajeva.

*Korpus, intervju Vž1/Mg1, korpusna jezgra*

Primjer 21 prototipni je iskaz u kojem se prepoznaje privjesno pitanje čija je funkcija provjere referencijskoga dijela iskaza koji mu prethodi. Takvo pitanje dobiva svoj odgovor u TCU 26, kao i prošireni odgovor u idućoj TCU 27.

Primjer 22 također je uobičajeni oblik iskaza u kojem upitni fragment ima funkciju traženja sugovornikove podrške, dok je primjer 23 (TCU 25) pokazatelj položaja upitnoga fragmenta koji ne ostvaruje funkciju pitanja nego čisto fatičku. Voditeljica u istom primjeru svojom TCU 34, tj. nastavljачem (engl. *continuers*) „mhm“ reagira na sugovornikovu TCU 24 te mu tako signalizira nastavak konverzacije.

Pored očigledne pojave u korpusu da gosti postavljaju manje pitanja, uočava se, na osnovi sistema izmjene govornika, da su referencijska pitanja dvostruko češća kod voditelja negoli kod voditeljice, čime se implicira da su njegovi intervjui bliži oponašanju neformalne, spontane konverzacije. Toj tvrdnji u prilog ide i upotreba pitanja koja nose dodatnu tvrdnju ili sadržaj koji se iskazuje uz direktno pitanje. Davanje objašnjenja, impliciranje mogućih odgovora pri postavljanju osjetljivijeg i direktnijeg pitanja, razumijevamo kao konverzacijsku strategiju „otupljivanja“ direktnosti. Skoro je dvostruko više takvih pitanja koja postavlja voditeljica negoli

voditelj. Slično je i s privjesnim pitanjima, koja se najčešće prepoznaju u fatičkoj funkciji, gdje se također uočava da ih voditeljica više koristi negoli voditelj.

## **Zaključak**

Za razliku od uobičajenoga poimanja da određene jezičke strategije i upotreba specifičnih jezičkih resursa imaju pretpostavljenu prototipnu funkciju, analize pokazuju da ne samo da se često može govoriti o više njihovih funkcija nego i o tome da se takva upotreba ne raspoređuje ravnopravno na sve članove zajednice. Uz isticanje posebnosti problematike definiranja društvene grupe, odnosno činjenice da takve grupe nemaju svojstvo homogenosti na čijoj se pretpostavljenoj osnovi često izvode pogrešne i ponekad štetne generalizacije o određenim govornim praksama, treba naglasiti da se u sličnim istraživanjima obično susrećemo s dihotomijom muškarci/žene. Upravo se ženama znatno češće pripisuje upotreba privjesnih pitanja, što se objašnjava posebnosću slabijega sociokulturnog statusa žena. U većini se analiza od 1970-ih godina ističe da žene koriste privjesna pitanja kao govornu strategiju dobivanja podrške od sugovornika ili kao prevladavanje svoga pretpostavljenoga slabijeg položaja. Nešto manje je studija koje pokazuju da muškarci češće koriste ta jezička sredstva.

Ipak, promatranje privjesnih pitanja samo kao odraza nesigurnosti govornika i manjka autoriteta nije potpuno održivo, podjednako kao što i za druge govorne prakse možemo vidjeti da se koriste u dihotomno drukčijim funkcijama, npr. snažni govor ili banalne uvrede za osnaživanje međusobnih veza, komplimenti u upotrebi koja nije isključivo vezana za hvaljenje sugovornikova pozitivnog obraza i sl.

Privjesna pitanja određena su recipročno u odnosu na sastavne dijelove iskaza koji ih nosi: potvrdni i odrični. Za razliku od pretpostavljene primarne funkcije – odražavanja arhetipskog položaja slabijega govornika u odnosu na jačega, rezultati studija koje su obuhvaćene u ovom radu prepoznaju da privjesna pitanja imaju primarnu epistemiološku modalnu funkciju, ali se ujedno koriste i kao pomoć sugovorniku, za ublažavanje posljedica negativnog iskaza te kao poticaj sugovornika na razgovor. Privjesna pitanja legitimno se koriste i kao zahtjev za pojašnjenje, a nemaju primjenu u slučajevima kada je predmetom radnje stanje koje se tiče samoga govornika kakvo je zdravstveno ili emocije.

Promatraju li se dodatne funkcije privjesnih pitanja u širem opsegu, izdvojiti se mogu modalna i afektivna funkcija. Modalna podrazumijeva stvarni zahtjev za pojašnjenje, dok se afektivna odnosi na ublažavanje prijetnje obrazu sugovornika i za podršku u konverzaciji. Te su dodatne funkcije, kako se vidi, jasno u suprotnosti s pretpostavljenom željom da se prevlada slabi položaj govornika (najčešće se ističe: žene) u odnosu na svoga sugovornika.

Analizirani korpus sastojao se od oko 73.000 riječi, odnosno 13 transkripata televizijskih intervjua. Budući da je riječ o medijskom diskursu, u obzir su uzete i hijerarhijski određene diskursne uloge, ali i rodne uloge – pri čemu se rod promatrao kao omnirelevantna kategorija. Kombinacija diskursne i konverzacijske analize postavila je i poseban zahtjev koji se temelji na odnosu stvarne gramatičke rečenice i govornih jedinica, odnosno TCU. To se prvenstveno vidi u rješenjima u transkripciji, posebno u određenju cjelovitosti TCU i položaja upitnoga fragmenta u njoj. Sva su pitanja promatrana s obzirom na načela (ograničenja) teorije uljudnosti i fenomena medijske pseudointimnosti. Podijeljena su na tri grupe: direktna, privjesna i referencijska (iskazi koji nemaju formu pitanja ali zahtijevaju odgovor). Direktna pitanja detaljnije su promatrana kao uobičajena zatvorena pitanja i ona koja imaju neku vrstu elaboracije, prije ili poslije izrečenoga pitanja.

Iako dobiveni statistički pokazatelji nisu presudni za izvođenje zaključaka širih opsega, ovaj se model može smatrati polazištem za šire analize. Upadljiva je diskursna i rodna razlika nositelja intervjua u upotrebi privjesnih i referencijskih pitanja.

Za razliku od prototipnog poimanja funkcije privjesnih pitanja, u korpusu uz primjere kada se koriste kao stvarni zahtjev za pojašnjenje posebno prepoznamo njihovu fatičku funkciju, odnosno poticaj sugovorniku da govori.

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**POLITICS AND MEDIA**

## Perceptions of Turkish Cultural Diplomacy in Bosnia-Herzegovina



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### Abstract

Because of globalization process politicians, diplomats, policy-makers, sociologists and economists began using increasingly the word cultural diplomacy. In the past decades, developed countries have been effectively using cultural diplomacy for the promotion of culture, values, education and liberal ideas. Their primarily interest is to create a positive image of their countries abroad. Similarly, Turkish new foreign policy emphasizes cultural diplomacy as a tool for socio-political, cultural, educational and economic promotion abroad. For the sake of determining more reliable and specific cultural diplomacy determinants, it is significant to examine the role of economics, good governance, diplomacy, politics, culture and education in shaping public perceptions of Turkish image in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Two hundred and thirty (N= 230) randomly selected students and lecturers at the International University of Sarajevo (IUS) participated in this study. We developed Perceptions of Turkish Cultural Diplomacy in Bosnia and Herzegovina Questionnaire to collect data. The results have indicated that the economics, good governance, diplomacy, politics, culture and education should be at the core of Turkish cultural diplomacy in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Keywords:** Turkish Cultural Diplomacy; Economics; Governance; Politics and Diplomacy; Culture; Bosnia-Herzegovina

### Introduction

Turkish cultural institutions play an important cultural diplomacy role in Bosnia-Herzegovina as the two countries share common history, heritage and culture. For instance, there are estimations that several million of Turkish citizens are originally from the Balkan's region, who from cultural point of view represent a bridge with this region. Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina have specific political and diplomatic relations, rooted in deep historical, cultural, religious, educational and economic ties. As early as during the late 1980s Prime Minister and later President Turgut Özal pursued a foreign policy of broadening the economic opportunities in the

Balkans. In 1988, former Yugoslavia organized the *Balkan Conference* with an aim to revive regional multilateral cooperation (Bishku, 2014, pp. 16-37). However, breakup of Yugoslavia in early 1990's caused instability, destructive wars and ethnic cleansing (Bobinac, 2014, pp. 1-19). Consequently, the relations between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Turkey were strengthened due to the suffering of Bosniaks, which evoked strong sympathies among the Turks and increased humanitarian assistance during the war. According to Petrovic and Reljic (2011)

During the 1990s, Turkey was a staunch supporter of the NATO intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina and has been a major contributor to international the military and policing operations in the country. In 2010, Turkey was the sixth largest contributor to the EUFOR-Althea mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and has personnel in the multinational battalion, the Integrated Police Unit (IPU), and the Liaison and Observation Teams, which are currently stationed in seven cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Turkey supports Bosnia and Herzegovina's NATO membership as a way to guarantee its territorial integrity and also represents the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) in the Peace Implementation Council (PIC), which is tasked with supervising the implementation of the Dayton Peace Accord (p. 161).

The Balkans signifies not only a geographic position of the given place and region, but also a cultural and geopolitical heritage. The Balkans, as a physical and cultural zone, possesses historical and geographical characteristics and continuity; crossroads between the East and the West, the North and the South. Such a geographic position gave the Balkans its transition function (Mulalic, 2013, p. 41). According to Todorova (1994), being at the crossroad Balkans is a transitory, incomplete and 'inbetweenness' region. Therefore, Balkan region has two options, to be a periphery, where great powers will be the one deciding about its destiny or to take a central role and become a strategic center of Afro-Euro-Asia (Davutoğlu, 2009). The Turkish turning to the Balkans, and eventually to Bosnia and Herzegovina, cannot be viewed only through the prism of economic relations it can be vied as regional "smart power" strategy that should ultimately lead to better strategic cooperation in geopolitical terms. Partnerships based on shared past, which will be accompanied with significant investments in the economy, culture and education; legitimize the spread of Turkish influence in the Balkans.



In the age of globalization cultural diplomacy has become a central to the foreign policy of the great powers. In today's world great powers interest is to develop positive perceptions and an environment so that their political, economic and cultural presence is well accepted in the countries of their diplomatic mission (Nye, 2004). In this regard, cultural diplomacy plays an important role for Turkey in the promotion of foreign policies, as it helps to communicate the nation's interests abroad. The sphere of diplomatic interest should be aimed at the Balkans countries because Turkey's activities on cultural diplomacy could provide subliminal optimization of country's image. This paper deals with socio-cultural presence of Turkey in Bosnia-Herzegovina with special emphasis of using economics, diplomacy, politics, culture and education in the process of fostering more effective cultural diplomacy.

### **Purpose and Significance of the Study**

Cultural diplomacy plays significant role in determining nation's image abroad, especially of a rising power like Turkey. During the past two decades Turkey is indeed becoming an emerging power with its ever increasing population, territory, resources, strong economy, political stability and military power. More importantly, the economic growth contributed towards rising of the Turkish global power. Also *Turkish Strategic Vision 2023* projects a country as a great power with a global character with more effective cultural diplomacy (Jeftić-Šarčević, 2010, pp. 691-714). In the past two decades Turkish foreign policy emphasizes cultural diplomacy and Turkish multiple identities. Thus, Davutoglu (2009) affirmed:

Turkey enjoys multiple regional identities and thus has the capability as well as the responsibility to follow an integrated and multidimensional foreign policy. The unique combination of our history and geography brings with it a sense of responsibility. To contribute actively towards conflict resolution and international peace and security in all these areas is a call of duty arising from the depths of a multidimensional history for Turkey (p. 12).

Cultural diplomacy is significant in the promotion of country's image abroad because its perception abroad affects and determines nation's position in the international arena (Mazarr, 1996, pp. 177-197). Actually, cultural diplomacy as a diplomatic tool is not novelty because all great powers use cultural diplomacy to foster their positive image and national character abroad (Hudson, 1997, pp. 1-27). In

particular the age of globalization strengthened the relationship between cultural diplomacy and politics. Cultural diplomacy as a term is considered as a public opinion-sensitive instrument to support traditional diplomacy in achieving foreign policy goals and objectives by informing and influencing foreign public (Cull, 2009). Cultural diplomacy is often used for different purposes such as “to support their soft power potential, generate goodwill, to frame international agenda in particular ways, to erect and re-enact boundaries and/or to create societal linkages across them” (Batora and Mokre, 2011, p. 1).

From a geopolitical point of view Turkey and Bosnia-Herzegovina are situated on civilization borders, which don't have to be necessarily 'fault lines' or 'battle lines' as Huntington argued but their geopolitical central positions could be used to foster greater bilateral relations (Ramizer, 2007, pp. 65-79; Aydin, 2003, pp. 163-184; Huntington, 1993, pp. 22-49). Indeed, two countries should aim at geopolitical, geo-cultural and geo-economic common interests as opposed to bilateral relations based on conflict and competition. In this regard, it is significant to analyze perceptions of cultural diplomacy in Bosnia and Herzegovina by identifying and measuring the following determinants: economics, good governance, diplomacy, politics, culture and education.

### **Statement of the Problem**

As part of the foreign policy, major world powers have their respective strategies of using cultural institutions in the engagement of the domestic public. For the sake of such cultural exchange and promotion some countries have agencies in Bosnia-Herzegovina such as the British Council, the Goethe Institute, Yunus Emre Institute and the Swedish Institute. Those agencies and cultural centers use culture as an instrument in promoting foreign policy interests in terms of promotion of culture of the member state and the creation of inter-societal linkages (Batora and Mokre, 2011, p. 3). Then, culture in foreign policy defines perceptions and attitudes that prevail in a particular country and, as a result, effect the creation of foreign policy interests.

Turkey is an important regional player and will increasingly play such role in the foreseeable future. Thus, Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the most important Turkish partners in the Balkans and it proved numerous times so far through the all

organizations (governmental or not), meetings, institutions, visits, promotions, investments, mediations, etc (Rasidagic, 2013, pp. 179-196). Karic (2013) argued that the political involvement of Turkey and using of cultural diplomacy as a tool ensures Bosnian security and stability (pp. 219-234). Considering all these dimensions of Turkish foreign policy it is significant to explore *the problem of the Turkish investments, tourism, governance, diplomatic image, leadership, culture and active foreign policy are perceived in Bosnia and Herzegovina*.

## **Methodology**

This quantitative research aims to identify and determine the public perceptions of Turkish cultural diplomacy? Within cultural diplomacy the research examines the following determinants: 1) Turkish investments, tourism and overall economic presence of Turkey in Bosnia and Herzegovina; 2) Turkish governance and global leadership role; 3) Turkish foreign policy and politics; 4) Turkish cultural and educational presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

The survey method is used and a set of questionnaires to obtain the data from the undergraduate students, graduate students and professors. Research sample is the 230 participants who volunteered to participate in this research. The set of questionnaire is developed by the researcher. Prior to the actual distribution of the questionnaire researcher did the pilot study in order to determine the reliability of the questions in the survey? The questionnaire, entitled *Perceptions of Turkish Cultural Diplomacy in Bosnia and Herzegovina Questionnaire*, was divided into two parts. The first part included demographic questions and the second part included 24 questions related to investment, export, business, tourism, governance politics and culture. The cronbach alfa for the questionnaire was above  $\alpha = 0.90$  in most cases on the individual questions. Respondents respond to the 24 items by choosing the number on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (strongly agree), 2 (agree), 3 (neither agree nor disagree), 4 (disagree) and 5 (strongly disagree).

## **Research Questions**

1. What are perceptions toward Turkish investments, tourism and overall economic presence of Turkey in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

2. What are perceptions toward Turkish governance and global leadership role?
3. What are perceptions of Turkish foreign policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina?
4. What are perceptions toward Turkish culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

The inferential statistics, Spearman's Correlation Coefficient was used to analyze the null hypotheses of the research.

### Data Presentation and Analysis

Descriptive/correlational method was used to answer research questions. Two hundred and thirty (N=230) undergraduate graduate students and professors from the International University of Sarajevo (IUS), participated in the study. The descriptive statistics was used in order to determine the participants.

<b>1. Gender</b>		
	Frequency	Percent
Male	113	49.1
Female	117	50.9
Total	230	100%
<b>2. Education</b>		
Undergraduate	182	79.1
Postgraduate	23	10.0
Professors	25	10.9
Total	230	100%
<b>3. Age</b>		
18-22	153	66.5
23-30	52	22.6
31-60	25	10.9
Total	230	100%

Table 1 Research demography

In the research there were (N= 128) undergraduate students who filled the questionnaire, (N= 23) postgraduate students and (N= 25) professors. Concerning the gender, 49.1% of male and 50.9% female participants participated in the study. The participants come from various age groups ranging from 18-22 for undergraduate students (66.5%), 23-30 for postgraduate students (22.6%) and from 31 to 60 for professors (10.9%).

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Culture	230	20,18	3,206	,211
Investment/export/business/tourism	230	21,82	3,150	,208
Governance	230	9,35	1,700	,112
Politics	230	18,38	2,513	,166

Table 2 Perceptions on Turkish culture, investment, governance and politics

Analyzed data clearly indicated that the perception of the participants towards investment, export, business and tourism has the highest mean (Mean 20, 18). According to these results it can be stated that the participants believed that Turkish government invest most in these kinds of activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Culture is the second influential aspect (Mean 20, 18) on the Turkish presence in Bosnia. The perception of the participants on the politics comes in the third place with (Mean 18, 38). The least presence according to the participants Turkish have on the question of leadership and governance (Mean 9, 35).

<b>Questions on investment/export/business/tourism</b>	Agree	Disagree
1) I'm satisfied with the quality of products and services offered by Turkish companies;	90.9%	9.01%
2) Turkey is an inviting place to do business;	88.2%	11.7%
3) Turkey has the scientific and technological strength to manufacture products of high quality;	88.7%	11.3%
4) Turkish investments among the public are perceived as very high in comparison to other great investing countries;	71.3%	28.7%
5) I personally approve greater Turkish economic presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina;	81.7%	18.3%
6) Turkey is safe and a beautiful place to visit;	80.9%	19.2%
7) I plan to visit Turkey;	88.7%	11.3%
<b>Questions on governance</b>		
8) Turkey is governed by a capable government;	87.8%	12.2%
9) The Turkish government supports good causes;	84.2%	15.6%
10) Turkey is a responsible member of the global community;	85.2%	14.8%
<b>Questions on politics</b>		
11) I think Turkish diplomatic initiatives in Bosnia and Herzegovina are sincere;	80%	20%
12) Turkish diplomatic activities are not covered enough in Bosnian media;	56.1%	43.9%
13) Turkish diplomats have presented their political interests in Bosnia and Herzegovina in sincere and transparent manner;	66.1%	33.9%

14) There are justified fears among the public from neo-ottoman political influences in Bosnia and Herzegovina;	51.8%	48.3%
15) Turkish foreign policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina has high religious and ideological foundations;	60.4%	39.5%
16) Turkey has hidden political agendas in Bosnia and Herzegovina;	42.6%	57.4%
17) I personally believe that Turkey and the EU are competing in holding diplomatic influence and the control over Bosnia and Herzegovina;	43%	56.9%
<b>Questions on culture</b>		
18) I'd like to make close friends with Turkish people;	83.9%	16%
19) The Turkish people are nice and friendly;	86.5%	13.5%
20) Turkish soap operas and series have created positive Turkish image in Bosnia and Herzegovina;	62.5%	37.4%
21) Turkey is a country with a rich history;	93.1%	7%
22) The Turkish culture is attractive to me;	83.5%	16.5%
23) The public in Bosnia and Herzegovina has high sense of prejudice towards Turkey;	47.6%	42.2%
24) I often watch Turkish soap operas in my free time.	30%	70%

Table 3 Distribution of main questions

On question 12 “Turkish diplomatic activities are not covered enough in Bosnian media” 56.1% of participants agreed and 43.9% disagreed; similarly on question 23 “The public in Bosnia and Herzegovina has high sense of prejudice towards Turkey” 47.6% agreed and 42.2% disagreed. Data obtained on these two question justified initiatives of Turkish government to show its presence through own media outlets. On question 14 “There are justified fears among the public from neo-ottoman political influences in Bosnia and Herzegovina” 51.8% agreed and 43.9% disagreed. Split of the public opinion on this question shows how historically created negative image of the Ottomans in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Balkans is difficult to change. On question 15 “Turkish foreign policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina has high religious and ideological foundations” 60.4% agreed and 39.5% disagreed. Obtained data shows how the public views Western great powers as liberal, secular and progressive while on the other hand Turkey is seen historically as oriental, traditional and religious. Partially, these are the reasons why participants were almost split on the questions 16 and 17. On question 16 “Turkey has hidden political agendas in Bosnia and Herzegovina” 42.6% agreed and 57.4% disagreed. On question 17 “I personally believe that Turkey and the EU are competing in holding diplomatic influence and the control over Bosnia and Herzegovina” 43% agreed and 56.9% disagreed.

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Culture	Between Groups	75,744	2	37,872	3,774	,024
	Within Groups	2277,947	227	10,035		
	Total	2353,691	229			
Investment/export/business/tourism	Between Groups	57,152	2	28,576	2,928	,056
	Within Groups	2215,178	227	9,758		
	Total	2272,330	229			
Governance	Between Groups	6,813	2	3,407	1,180	,309
	Within Groups	655,361	227	2,887		
	Total	662,174	229			
Politics	Between Groups	39,473	2	19,736	3,184	,043
	Within Groups	1406,858	227	6,198		
	Total	1446,330	229			

Table 4 Perceptions on Turkish culture, investment, governance and politics based on the education of respondents

From the table above it can be seen that there is statistically significant difference in perception of Turkish culture, investment, governance and politics of Turkey in Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding the educational level of the respondents. There is significant difference in perception on Turkish culture (,024) and politics (0,43) based on the education of respondents.

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Culture	Between Groups	39,438	2	19,719	1,934	,147
	Within Groups	2314,253	227	10,195		
	Total	2353,691	229			
Investment/export/business/tourism	Between Groups	45,578	2	22,789	2,323	,100
	Within Groups	2226,752	227	9,809		
	Total	2272,330	229			
Governance	Between Groups	2,620	2	1,310	,451	,638
	Within Groups	659,554	227	2,906		
	Total	662,174	229			
Politics	Between Groups	67,069	2	33,534	5,519	<b>,005</b>

	Groups			*
	Within Groups	1379,262	227	6,076
	Total	1446,330	229	

\* The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 5 Perception on Turkish culture, investment, governance and politics based on age of the respondents

The table above clearly indicated that there is significant difference in perception on Turkish culture, investment, governance and politics of Turkey in Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding age of the respondents. In order to determine where the difference lay *post-hoc Scheffé* was performed.

Multiple Comparisons							
Scheffe	(I) Age	(J) Age	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
Dependent Variable						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Culture	18-22	23-30	-,083	,513	,987	-1,35	1,18
		31-60	-1,347	,689	,150	-3,04	,35
	23-30	18-22	,083	,513	,987	-1,18	1,35
		31-60	-1,264	,777	,268	-3,18	,65
	31-60	18-22	1,347	,689	,150	-,35	3,04
		23-30	1,264	,777	,268	-,65	3,18
Investment/export/business/tourism	18-22	23-30	-,798	,503	,286	-2,04	,44
		31-60	-1,170	,676	,225	-2,83	,49
	23-30	18-22	,798	,503	,286	-,44	2,04
		31-60	-,372	,762	,888	-2,25	1,51
	31-60	18-22	1,170	,676	,225	-,49	2,83
		23-30	,372	,762	,888	-1,51	2,25
Governance	18-22	23-30	-,187	,274	,792	-,86	,49



		31-60	-,285	,368	,740	-1,19	,62
	23-30	18-22	,187	,274	,792	-,49	,86
		31-60	-,098	,415	,972	-1,12	,92
	31-60	18-22	,285	,368	,740	-,62	1,19
		23-30	,098	,415	,972	-,92	1,12
Politics	18-22	23-30	1,188*	,396	,012	,21	2,16
		31-60	1,045	,532	,148	-,27	2,35
	23-30	18-22	-1,188*	,396	,012	-2,16	-,21
		31-60	-,143	,600	,972	-1,62	1,34
	31-60	18-22	-1,045	,532	,148	-2,35	,27
		23-30	,143	,600	,972	-1,34	1,62
*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.							

From the above table it can be concluded that participants differ in their perception when it comes to politics.

	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Culture	Male	113	19,59	3,101	,292
	Female	117	20,74	3,217	,297
Investment/export/business/tourism	Male	113	21,52	3,137	,295
	Female	117	22,10	3,150	,291
Governance	Male	113	9,24	1,744	,164
	Female	117	9,45	1,658	,153
Politics	Male	113	18,07	2,631	,248
	Female	117	18,68	2,366	,219

Table 6 Perception on Turkish culture, investment, governance and politics based on the gender

The above table indicated that there is no significant difference in mean between male and female participants in the study.

## **Discussion and Conclusions**

Taking into account historical and cultural relations between Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina it is interesting to determine key trends in bilateral economic and trade cooperation and as well as foreign direct investment (FDI) from Turkey to Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 2003, The Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina ratified *The Free Trade Agreement* between Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since 2009, Turkey is gradually becoming an important economic and trade actor in the Balkans, including in Bosnia and Herzegovina that Turkish companies consider a desirable investment destination. In 2015, Bosnian and Herzegovina exported 181.32 million EURO worth products to Turkey, which positioned Turkey as the 9<sup>th</sup> top market of Bosnian products. In 2015, Bosnia and Herzegovina imported 329.57 EURO worth products from Turkey. Finally, in 2015 the trade volume between Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina stood at 999.24 BAM. Some of leading Turkish companies in Bosnia and Herzegovina include *Kastamonu Entegere* - Natron-Hayat (paper company), *Soda Sanayii* - Soda Lukavac (chemical enterprise), *Cengiz Insaat* (construction), *Sezer Group* (agriculture) and *T. C. Ziraat Bankasi* - Turkish Ziraat Bank Bosnia (Ganic and Brankovic, 2016, 50-65). For instance, Turkish government in cooperation with the Ziraat Bank and BBI bank in 2012 approved credit in the amount of 100 million Euros for the sustainable returning process of displaced people. In 2014, new credit line was introduced in the amount of 50 million Euros intended for credits for small and medium companies in sectors of tourism, agriculture and trade. Ziraat Bank offered loans to small and middle companies through which they will be able to realize new projects and investments and contribute to the decrease rate of unemployment. Besides, Turkey also made investments in culture, education and media. In this regard it is worth mentioning investments by Sarajevo Education Development Foundation (SEDEF), The Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) and Foundation for the Development of Relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina (BIGMEV). BIGMEV officially started with its work in 2010 and it started strengthening of the inter-state relations from interest to Bosnia and Herzegovina while mission is to increase number of Turkish investments in Bosnia, to strengthen trade from Bosnia to Turkey.

Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina have historical and diplomatic relations, rooted in deep historical and cultural ties. Such ties are institutionally maintained through the International University of Sarajevo, Yunus Emre Institute and The Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). According to Mulalic (2016)

the International University of Sarajevo (IUS) has invested a significant amount of money in building a modern campus. Besides, there is significant impact that students, staff and the University expenditures have on the local community. Students and staff make significant expenditures on housing, utilities, telephone, food, entertainment, services, clothing, purchasing of books, health, education and tuition. There are certainly financial contributions of the University on surrounding communities. Fresh capital investments by some private universities do not only influence the development of the economy but also increase state revenues (p. 188).

Yunus Emre Institute in its cultural centers in Sarajevo, Mostar and Fojnica has been fostering the cultural ties with Bosnia and Herzegovina mostly through language courses, seminars, conferences, concerts, art exhibitions, literature nights etc. As a result of such cooperation, famous Turkish singers, artists, writers and actors visited Bosnia and Herzegovina and participated in numerous projects and activities. Then, due to initiatives of Yunus Emre Institute children in elementary and primary schools in Zenica, Mostar, Sarajevo and Bihac are currently learning Turkish language as an elective course. Then, TIKA realized more than 700 projects in Bosnia and some of them include restauration of the “Ferhadija Mosque” in Banja Luka, “Mehmed Pasha Sokolovic Bridge” in Visegrad, “Emperor’s Mosque” in Sarajevo, “Old Bridge” in Mostar and “Blagaj Dervish House” in Blagaj-Mostar. In this regard, TIKA contributed not only towards cultural sustainability but also the tourism sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Nuroğlu, 2013, pp. 279-298). According to *BH Agency for Statistics* tourism sector between Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina is booming. Tourism sector was furthermore strengthened with frequent flights between Sarajevo and Istanbul by airlines Pegasus, Turkish Airlines and BH Airlines. For example in 2009, 13, 000 visitors from Turkey visited Bosnia while in 2017 53,295 visitors, which is more than four times increment. Turkey is the third country according to foreign visits, Croatia with 53.7%, Serbia 12.5% and Turkey 8.0% ([http://www.bhas.ba/saopstenja/2017/TUR\\_02\\_2017\\_07\\_0\\_EN.pdf](http://www.bhas.ba/saopstenja/2017/TUR_02_2017_07_0_EN.pdf)).

Since 1990s and the strong support of Turgut Ozal, President of Turkey, Turkey has been using its international authority and power to help the Bosnian cause. Turkish support during the war needs no mentioning however, after 1995 Turkey began playing an active role as PIC member. In 2009, Turkey initiated trilateral meeting between Turkey, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, with an aim to bring closer Sarajevo and Belgrade. Since then numerous meetings at the highest state level were held with focus on trilateral foreign minister's meetings, trilateral conferences of the heads of the state and trilateral gatherings of economy and trade ministers. In 2010, the first trilateral summit of heads of the state that included Turkish President Abdullah Gül, Serbian President Boris Tadic and President of Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Haris Silajdzic. As a result of these meetings Bosnian ambassador to Serbia was appointed, the Serbian National Assembly condemned the 'crimes' (not genocide) of Srebrenica and Turkish president visited Serbia after 23 years. In 2011, the second trilateral meeting was held in Serbia, which assembled five leaders: Abdullah Gul, Boris Tadic, Haris Silajdzic, Nebojsa Radmanovic and Zeljko Komsic. In 2013, the third trilateral meeting was held in Ankara, which led to the adoption of the *Declaration on economic and trade cooperation* and the *Protocol on the establishment of the Trilateral Trade Committee* (Pavlovic, 2015, p. 20-21; Türbedar, 2013, pp. 139-158). These initiatives contributed towards greater economic cooperation and trade exchange between Turkey, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbian-Turkish trade increased from \$338.9 million in 2009 to \$819.7 million in 2014. On the other hand, Turkish-Bosnian trade in the period 2009-2014 rose from \$278.7 to \$493.4 million. The trade between Serbia and Bosnia increased 30% from \$1.48 to \$1.85 billion (Pavlovic, 2015, p. 22).

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## **Geopolitics in Germany between Two World Wars**



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### **Abstract**

This article is dealing with the reasons for the usage and development of Geopolitics in Germany between the two World wars. Hitler's ideas for German expansion are viewed as influenced by German geopolitics main figures and their ideas. German geopolitics in this work is represented as an attempt of strategic, valid and consistent manner of assessing its major international geopolitical aspirations. For many of the greatest empires, geography is often the destiny, and Germany at this critical and turbulent period of time was not an exception.

Key words: Germany, geopolitics, world wars, political climate, discourse

### **Introduction**

It would be nice if Platon was between us and the State is really led by the scientists. Unfortunately reality is too cruel. Reactions of every post war society are similar. What better example could we find but glorious Germany? In Germany effects of the First World War were tremendous. War gets Germany to defeat – sudden and unexpected. The end of the War was marked with several revolutionary changes in Central and Eastern Europe. Habsburg, Hoencelor and Ottoman Empires were forgotten as well as the Roman. Political and social structure of almost half of the Europe depended on United States of America. It was the time of insecurity and fear in all Europe east of Rajna. In Germany, were people meet new victims that peace treaty and reparations asked for, this condition lasted for five long years. That was the time when Hitler for the first time gets his aura of politician. It was December of 1918 when he arrived at Munich. Political atmosphere was unstable and overreacted in one or other uttermost in the town that will soon become geopolitical Mecca. Of course it was the long journey for Hitler to even hear about this science.

Someone would say the destiny always find its strange way. This man could lose nothing if he tries to destroy the whole world in which he never managed to find his adequate place. But using exactly Geopolitics he could get everything. Important thing was to turn direction of the events in his own behalf. With his undoubted instinct he saw an opportunity that he could never find before. However, it must not be allowed to neglect an important fact: if Oprah was not Oprah, Hitler was not Hitler indeed. What were the factors that have been operative in producing train of events in Germany during the interwar years, including geopolitics, finally leading to another war?

### **Rise and Fall of “Democratic Experiment”**

Much has been written about political climate in Germany after 1918. No one can say it was not exciting. Revolution (1918/1919) was a consequence of spontaneous movements. That was the reason why Weimar republic was tried to be characterized as improvised democracy. The basic problem in coming two decades was that the main impression, not only in politics, but in opinion of common people was particularly related to previous German failure and all its depressing consequences. It was sort of “inner rejecting of the peace”. Finding possible solutions of the problems was searching the blame to ones who caused poverty and misery. Period of serial political murders and attempts followed. Versailles treaty was one of the greatest burdens of young republic, not only because of its particular stipulations but mainly because of moral blame on Germans (Reulecke 215). The real revolution in Germany was inflation; it destroyed not only money and property but also belief in property and significance of the money. Passion of Hitler attacks on corrupted “by Jewish imposed” system, rancor with which he assaulted Versailles entity and republican government started to found echo in misery and desperation of common people. “Hitler was certainly the greatest demagogue in a history” (Balor 59). Basis of his success lied in his personal energy. His genius understood of what could be done by using propaganda and finding the right way to do it. No matter his hard life path, he could never be able to do what he done alone. Who were those people whit whom Hitler started his odyssey in Munich? One of the most important was Ernest Rem. Man that in his own memoirs mentioned his only thought and desire: “To become a soldier”. It was not easy for him in Rajhsver. He had to quit in 1923. Still, he maintained his close relationships with military authorities and more than anyone

else meritorious for making S.A. squads. Beside him there were two more ex. officers (Balor 68). Rudolf Hes, son of German salesman, born in Alexandria. He was seven years younger than Hitler, with whom he served at the same regiment for a while, before he become pilot of military air forces. Hes considered politics very seriously; he lunched and deeply admired Hitler. As a student he was rewarded for his essay “What should be a mean to lead the Germany to his old Glory”. His professor’s name: Karl Haushofer. That was the way for Hitler to get known with geopolitical ideas and theory. Rudolf Hes was promoted to Hitler’s personal secretary and loyal follower. Real meet of Hitler and Haushofer happened in 1923. Rudolf Hes introduce them at Munich’s Landsberg prison after abortive putsch. Not only that Hitler read Geopolitics works but he also tried hard to present them as his own. Herman Gering was bearer of “Pour le Merrite”. He becomes commandant of S.A. squads. Gotfrid Feder was engineer with liberal ideas of economics and destroying “slavery to the interests”.



He influenced Hitler tremendously. It is been said for Hitler that he trimmed his unforgettable mustache using his pattern. Dietrich Ekart, journalist, poet and writer, eager nationalist with antidemocratic and anticlerical reasoning, racist and



thrilled adept of Nordic folklore and approved adversary of Jews. Alfred Rozenberg, German origin and refugee from Baltic city Reval. He was an architect by profession, and he enabled Hitler to come across with Russian refugees conceived antagonist bolshevism and Jews. What a great companionship they were. Unsexed attempt of the putsch in 1923 was not a failure for Hitler. He used negotiations for propaganda forum of his ideas and got minimal jail punishment. In Landsberg am Lech he dictated his first volume of *Main Kampf* to mentioned Rudolf Hes. Ghost of the inflation finally disappeared in 1924, but economic growth and relative inner peace were only illusion. German people were finally aware. They did not have czar, money, Alzas, fleet or colonies any more (Mann 121).

### **Geopolitics at the Main Scene**

*Who talks about victories? To survive, that is the main thing.*

(Rainer Maria Rilke)

On a cold London evening in January 1904, Sir Halford Mackinder, the director of the London School of Economics, "entranced" an audience at the Royal Geographical Society on Savile Row with a paper boldly titled "The Geographical Pivot of History." Twenty years later, in 1924 the term Geopolitics was used in Germany for the first time. It was the year when German geographer Karl Haushofer (1869-1946) founded an Institute for Geopolitics and established journal "Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik" in Munich – five years after the end of the First World War. That was the most important person for development of German Geopolitics. He had a goal: to orient strategy of widening "life space" towards East Europe. Geopolitics becomes scientific. At the time German Geopolitics represented "Wiissenschaft und Kunst" (science and art). It was seducing and promising . . . For German scientists it was not only the use of spatial and earth perspective but the synthesis of history, economy, politics and natural sciences (Civila 27). Haushofer made powerful propaganda together with geographers: O. Maul, H. Hesinger, E. Obst, H. Lautenzah, and other scientists, among them his son Albert, E. Balne, W. Siewert, C. Ross, J. Kuhn, R. Henning, K. Vowinckel ( Grčić 39; Civila 27). However ideas were not original and the science was not their invention. American middle century idea: "Manifest destiny"(1830 – 1860) represents the oldest and the main geopolitical idea. It was the program and desire of consequential peaceful spreading and conquering a whole north

– American continent. It was not founded on militarism. Not for pacifist reasons. America did not have strong opponents at great continental expanses. It also did not have powerful military forces. Manifest destiny presumed spreading that will gain to form a natural – geographic unit and be bordered by natural borders. In the other half of 19 century admiral Alfred T. Mahans ideas of overseas expansion were added to that far particularly continental orientation. Manifest destiny has supervened from the practice but has never accepted in the United States of America as official politics (Gašparović 115). Haushofers father Max taught economic geography at Munich Polytechnic, was a close friend with Friedrich Ratzel professor at the University of Leipzig (Haushofer V). Friedrich Ratzel (1844 – 1904) was the first to provide a political vocabulary that articulated and justified nationalist desire for space. Influenced by geographic determinism and social Darwinism, historians and war theoreticians in his “Antropogeographie” he changed Ritters “geological synthesis” with “biological synthesis”: *Blut and boden*. His most famous work was “Politische Geographie” (1897). For Ratzel space was not a common physical category but living space. “The State is a living organism, and therefore cannot be contained within rigid limits – being depended for its form and greatness of its inhabitants, in whose movements, outwardly exhibited especially in territorial growth or contraction, it participates” (quoted in Spykman 37). As well as the organism, every great state needs space in order to survive. Struggle for living space is nothing else but struggle for surviving. The need for ever increasing space of the state is what he called *lebensraum* – living space. Two factors are essential for constitution of the state: position (die Lage) and space (der Raum). Every politics even national one must be juxtaposed to spatial geographic politic if wants to succeed. Using his idea that state is above national organism (“super organism”) he wanted to overcome German fragmentation and political - territorial paltriness of Europe. State and soil makes together one unity “organiscchen zusammenhang”. *Grossraum* (large space) states were to become world powers. Progress and human history changes are the result of contest between different cultures. Germany territorial base was small comparing United States, Russia and China. The only possible way for Germany to achieve lebensraum was overseas territorial expansion. Although he neglected significance of linguistic, religious and cultural factors, Ratzel was the first who gave the scientific character to researches of existence and functioning of the states. However, Ratzel considered political geography as only one part of geographic disciplines.

(Gašparović 33; Kliot 39). These concepts were discussed and debated by Ratzel and Max Haushofer, while Karl accompanied them on walks, outings and social and economic affairs. That was the reason why Karl was immersed in these issues from an early age (Haushofer V). Using Ratzel analogies Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjelen (1846 – 1922) developed main postulates of geopolitics. He was the one who coined the neologism “Geopolitics” in 1899. Kjelen tried to establish systematic science about the state or politics. His ideas were also organic theory of the state and deterministic significance of the space. Geopolitics is actually politics that is been practiced by state organs and political institutions in certain geographic space. In his view, state is concentration of specific power that acts in international space. Still, for Kjelen geopolitics was only part of much wider Theory of the State. Haushofer entered the Bavarian Army in 1887. “After graduating from the Cadet School and War Academy he was commissioned and joined his field artillery regiment”. He was promoted to a general staff officer in 1896, three years after marrying his Jewish spouse Marta. They got two children: Albert (1903) and Heinz (1906). Meanwhile Sir Halford J. Mackinder in 1904 revolutionized geopolitics with the Heartland thesis. British geographer and cartographer Sir Halford Mackinder (1861- 1947) represents (with above mentioned Admiral Mahan) the school of thought in a period of global closure. He scripted “international politics” as a three-scene conflict: pre-Columbian, Columbian, and post-Columbian. He used series of maps to show production of global space. Mackinder final map was “The natural Seats of Power”, which is actually the most famous map in the whole geopolitical tradition.



Mackinder's Concept of the World Island, From The Geographical Journal (1904)

His geopolitics theatrical production of the illusion of order in an all-encompassing three-scene spatial spectacle was named “Geographical Pivot of History”. The main idea was his identification of *pivot – area* or territory of *heartland* which meant control of eastern – central Europe as possible world domination. After First World War he redefined his former vision, and in 1919 he formulates his three famous ideas:

- Who controls East Europe, controls Heartland
- Who controls Heartland, controls World island
- Who controls World island, controls the World

(Quoted in Ćurak 104)

However his perception was too imperialistic and perhaps too British, suppose that was the reason for him to miss an important thing - western civilization in general would be challenged in a coming century. Captain Haushofer was posted to Japan with the Bavarian Military Mission in 1908. He traveled through Mediterranean, Suez Canal, Ceylon, Singapore, was in Burma, Japan, China, Korea, Manchuria and Siberia. He admired Japanese culture und manage to understood Nippon’s imperial impulse for demographic driven Lebensraum. Haushofer saw similarities between Japan and Germany. In 1910 he was back in Bavaria. Thanks to his East Asian experiences He published four works:

- *Geographische Grundlagen der japanischen Wehrkraft (1919)*
- *Dai Nihon (1903)*
- *Der deutscher Anteil an der geographischen Erschliessung Japans (19014)*
- *Der politischen Parteien in Japan (1914)*

(Haushofer VIII).

Those prescribed him academic honors at University of Munich. In 1913 he completed his doctoral dissertation on Japan. When War erupted in August 1914, for most of the Germans it represented a sort of salvation and releasing of long termed insecurity. Haushofer was at the Western Front at the very beginning. However, no one could ever predict the outcomes of the war. The beginning of the end started with defeat of German alien Bulgaria. German empire and Austria - Hungarian send their offer for making truce to American president Wilson. On November 1918 weapons were silent. Karl Haushofer, Major at the time, was back to Bavaria with his tired troops. As situation stabilized he was back at University of Munich teaching geography and military history. It was 1921 when he attained a professorship. After 1933 some of the scientists disapproved and some of them even left Germany when “Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik” become propaganda of Nazi ideas. Geopolitics entered all pore of new society. Beside maps and propaganda paroles geopolitical education entered all classes of primary school. The goal was to make every citizen to think about society in national spirit. German geopolitics divided space on the one which is totally occupied by Germans, one in which other existing ethnical groups and one where Germans were minority but because of their racial and cultural superiority they have every right to dominate. Haushofer sonly becomes president of German Academy of Sciences. Activities of his Institute for Geopolitics were:

Reasoning of external German politics in direction of penetration at the east towards Russia (Teufelsgurtel – devil fascia), Ukraine (so called: German India) and Middle East (Drag and Osten); - Imposing of German hegemony in central (Mitteleuropa) and Eastern Europe consisted of parts of states (Klainsaattengerrumpel); - Reasoning of “fair” character of that doctrine, for establishing “eternal” world ranking with Germany ahead.

Space meanings were:

### 1. Autarky

If there are no conditions for developing economy in a certain place and the state has other potential for development than widening towards spaces with recourses is necessary. Hitler's famous "blitz kriegs" obviously relied on autarky.

### 2. Lebensraum

As explained before state has its needs. Lebensraum is one of the most important for its surviving. Perpetration plan towards East was contained of making state block. German Rajh would of course be situated in the middle, with Check, Moravska, Austria as inner parts. Round about that hearth there would be Baltic States, Poland, Hungarian, Croatia, Serbia, Romania, Ukraine, south Rour and Kavkaz States. That was imagined confederation of German Rajh. Important baseline was also widening of national culture.

### 3. Pan areas

They would prescribe making several great items in which great powers should have significance. Their directions are north – south, so that all climate zones can be included – recourses.

Using Mackinders patterns and above shoved map Haushofer made modifications:

- Pan America (USA ahead)
- Pan Asia (eastern Asian developing sphere with Japanese leadership)
- Euro Africa (Germany as pivot)
- Pan Russia (auxiliary pan area, until Germany master this region, with Russian and India domination)

Inner tendency was consequently conquering of the whole world.

### 4. Borders

Ingredient of Nazi ideology was overtaking Ratzel law of spatial growth of the state: "Border is periphery organ of the state, carrier of its growth". It is hard to determine when to stop the widening. Especially if take into consideration that pan areas contained idea of solicitude of the whole world it is obvious that States that are expanding would be hard to stop.

## 5. Proportion of shore and sea

Although German new order should recline on great shore mass, Mchinders *Rimland* idea – “the immense arc of sea and shore running from the Baltic, thru Eastern Europe, The Middle East, and India and to South China and Sea of Japan” was accepted with enthusiasm. Germany is situated in the Middle of Rimland exactly in the part that enables easy pass to the Heartland. Connection of Rimland and Heartland would made possible control of World Island. Beside the shore powerful state must be widening over sea. German Geopolitics considered see was not separating but connecting. Haushofer often quoted Ratzel: “Step over sea is the most significant event in history of any nation”. (Ćurak 108; Gašparović 122). Haushofer was pleader of German – Soviet pact (RibentropMolotov) 1939 and then suggested great continental Eurasian coalition. Future will show - it never happened.

### **Back to Reality**

This tremendous development of German Geopolitics could only led to the war, but let us back in the reality and try not to neglect domestic enthusiasm for German colonialism and German anti-Semitism in the preceding years. After Dawes plan foreign capital started to arrive in the country. Hasty modernization was accused for disappearance of traditional values. On international scene German minister of foreign affairs Gustav Stresemann manage to abrupt stanch position. Agreement with Soviet Union and allies and acceptance of Germany in League of Nations in 1926 settled founding for external reconciliation. French occupation of Rajna area was terminated in 1925. Hitler party NSADP was once again founded in that same year. An international success of young democracy was not enough to predispose significant number of followers. Since 1923, during ten years eleven different cabinets were changed, parliamentary powers were continually attenuating, and struggle of different political directions for leadership caused alienation of democratic state. It referred especially on German youth. 14 June of 1930 was the date when NASP gets most of the votes. Nationalist's circles seamed to start playing their role. But to talk about Nazi movement as a party means to come into danger and misunderstand it real character. It was not party in demographic sense but open conspiracy against the State. Weimar republic was characterized as “society of antediluvians”. Great deal of political radicalization conducted among young Germans. Contrarities even more deepened with beginning of world economy crises.

Confrontation that emerged from changes of insurance for unemployed in March of 1930 meant fall of great coalition and it actually terminated parliamentary system. Till the end of 1932 unemployment of youth were quarters of total six millions. On first December of 1936 Hitler's youth declared as State youth. National Socialism has done everything to rear perfect elite of the future. Economic ascent mainly happened not thanks to hard working Germans but due incitement of weapon industry. Industry and military forces (Wehrmacht) got an assignment - to make all necessary preparations for war. Steps that led to physical destroy of Jews were much more than traditional anti-Semitism required. It would probably never be possible to understand how coming events could ever happen in the middle of Europe and in the 20 century. According to all above German interwar society was not highly traditional and above all highly cultural environment. It was frightened and eager.



Сл. 2 - Немачка визија послераћне Европе

(Grčić 42)

## Conclusion

Discourses are important. They determine the choices countries make and follow through history. However they cannot explain the State behavior. Nothing completely is able to do such a thing. It is always result of a "million" different reasons. Nazis obviously took the most significant elements of Geopolitics and use them for achieving their goals. Geopolitical ideas become official political views. Teaching about space took its central place. What was the destiny of the most



important Geopolitics' German figure? Poor Haushofer, maybe he could predict consequences of his work were not possible to be artless, but he could not predict his own guilt. He becomes disfavor of national socialistic party in 1938. Do in vain was his statement at Nirnberg process that everything he wrote after 1933 he done under the pressing. It was too late. However, he was liberated due to three circumstances: his ages and weak wealth; lack of enough evidences that he was an actor of some violence or crime; consideration that ideas are not to be judged. He made a suicide in 1946 (Grčić 44). Numerous factors were necessary for the beginning of disaster in the previous century. Only some of them were: tremendous experience, work and efforts of great scientists, years and years of strategic planning, propaganda, ambition of inevitable fool, and last but not the least common people that became executors.

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## Perspectives of Creative Industries in Bosnia and Herzegovina



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### **Abstract**

The past few decades are characterized by the remarkable growth and development of the creative industries/sectors/economies. This is an economic phenomenon whose competitiveness is based solely on the creativity of human resources. Consequently, the creative industries represent an exceptional opportunity for the less developed and transition countries of the world. However, the trend in creative industries is not evenly distributed, meaning that there are significant gaps between certain countries when it comes to this sector. This is the result of lack of support for the development of this sector, as well as the basic legal and economic problems of certain countries. The aim of this paper is to present the situation and perspectives of creative industries development in Bosnia and Herzegovina. By applying the scientific methods of systematization and analysis, the paper presents the state and the challenges of domestic creative industries, pointing out the prospects of future development. Within the scope of the paper, the theoretical frame of the concept of the creative industry is also being considered. In addition to this, the paper offers a number of recommendations for future research, as well as an implementation of concrete policies in the function of developing creative industries in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Key words: creative industries, culture, Bosnia and Herzegovina

### **Introduction**

Creative industries are one of the most interesting areas for achieving economic growth. Because of the fact that they rely primarily on human capital (creativity), the creative industries give the opportunity for faster development of less developed countries of the world whose economies are usually labor-intensive. In addition, creative industries are relatively immune to automatization trends, which represents a great opportunity for long-term employment. Although there is no single definition of the concept of creative industries, it is possible to identify a few dozen of

activities that exclusively use creativity and innovation to produce a new market value. In addition to employing a large number of workers, most often through self-employment, the creative industries create positive externalities and synergy effects for other, conventional economic sectors. The creative industries also strengthen and develop social capital in one country, which means that these industries are useful not only for the economy but for the entire society as well. Because of all of this, for a small country with a high unemployment rate, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is of utmost importance to take advantages offered by creative industry. In the first part of the paper, the theoretical framework of the concept of the creative industry is presented, after which paper examines the state of creative industries in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with perspectives of its development.

### **Concept of creative industries**

In the last two decades, creative or cultural industries experienced remarkable growth within the world economy. One of the evidence of this is the sudden appearance of this term in the reports of World Bank, OECD, UNESCO, and other international institutions. Many authors believe that in a globalized world of change, only creativity and innovation can be the true drivers of the new economy (Van der Pol, 2008). Some even predict that the 21st century will depend entirely on increasing knowledge through creativity and innovation (Landry & Bianchini, 1995). However, trends are not evenly distributed across the globe, so UNESCO states that a review of the world map of creative industries shows a gap between the North and the South. The gap can be reduced by strengthening of local capacity and infrastructure for access to the global market, new partnerships, better know-how transfer, piracy control and increasing international solidarity in all fields (UNESCO, 2015).

The concept of a creative industry is very fluid and it is difficult to accept a definition that would best describe its essence. It should be noted that there are numerous definitions, but also different terms used to indicate the same. In addition to the term "creative industries", the same or similar terms are used, such as "creative sector" and "creative economy". There are numerous alternative terms, so in the United States the term "copyright industries" or "entertainment industries" is used, while in Europe, the terms "creative industries", the "cultural industry", the "leisure

industry", the "media industry" and the "content industry" are preferred. Different terminology can vary depending on the certain country, so the term "creative industry" is mostly used in the United Kingdom and Australia, while China prefers "cultural industry", Sweden "industry of experience" (Upplevelseindustrin), Denmark "culture and experiences" (Kultur-og Oplevelsesøkonomien), Norway "culture-based industry", Finland "creative economy", Iceland "creative industry" and the United States, as previously mentioned „entertainment industries“ (Creative Industries Education in the Nordic Countries, 2007). UNESCO, the EU and the OECD use the term "cultural industry" or "cultural sectors". In Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the countries of the Western Balkan region, the terms "creative industries", "creative sectors" and "creative economy" are mostly used. In use, the creative economy usually implies a broader concept from the concept of the creative industry or the creative sector. Namely, it is about the concept of creativity in the whole economy, not just in one sector. Within the framework of the paper, the term "creative industry" will be used.

Although the term "creative industry" first appeared in 1994 in the Australian Government's strategic document entitled „Creative Nation“, the definition itself appeared officially for the first time in 1998 in the British Government's document entitled „Creative Industries Mapping Document“. This definition states that creative industries are those activities that are inspired by individual creativity, skills, and talent, and which have the potential to create wealth and jobs through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property (Jovičić & Mikić, 2006). British Government's definition has three important elements: basic resources are people – their intellect, skills, and imagination; economic value comes from the inspiration of an individual and the reputation that an individual gains through his creative talent; the concept of intellectual property rights and the importance of protecting these rights is central for realizing economic value. Human creativity, in turn, represents the ultimate economic resource (Florida, 2002). Under the creative economy, we can imply processes of production, distribution, and consumption of (immaterial) creative, cultural and symbolic goods, including ideas, experiences, perceptions, images, software, media content, design, information and services (Primorac, 2012). Within this definition, the focus is on the creative activities, creative products, and the media. When it comes to added value, creativity is the main source of this, while the role of

the government as a regulator is reduced to ensuring the protection of intellectual property. In the widest sense, the creative industry refers to different economic activities related to the creation and use of knowledge and information. According to the definition of the "Kultur in Deutschland" commission, the creative industry is made up of all cultural and creative enterprises that mainly have a commercial focus and are focused on the creation, production, distribution and/or media dissemination of cultural/creative goods and services. This definition excludes non-governmental organizations as well as public institutions (Dapp & Ehmer, 2011), which appear in other definitions. Creative industries are based on creativity, skills and individual talent, and their potential for creating employment and wealth is based on intellectual property production and exploitation (Pixel.ba, 2013). EU uses NACE classification, which divides the creative industry into two subgroups: the cultural industry and the creative sector. The first group includes cultural activities in the narrower sense: publishing, film, art, media, trade with cultural goods, architecture and design, while the creative sector is classified as a software and games industry (Projektni zadatak za izradu studije: Kreativna industrija u Kantonu Sarajevo, 2014). Howkins (2001) writes that creative economy is made up of advertising, architecture, art, crafts, design, fashion, film, music, performing arts, publishing, research and development, applications, toys and games, TV, and radio as well as video games. Some authors add that education, whether public or private, is part of a creative economy (Creative Industries Education in the Nordic Countries, 2007, 8). The creative industry can be represented as an industrial, serial way of organizing the production of cultural goods and services, which can be classified into different groups (Dragičević Šešić & Stojković, 2003), depending on the type of product, production, and consumption: Serial multiplied works of art: books, panels, audio tapes, videotapes, films, as well as graphics and pre-production; Broadcast works of art, or cultural programs: radio and TV stations and studios; Musical instruments: as the means of which it is composed, composed by the music, but also by which it is performed - is interpreted in front of the public; Apparatus for the making and reproduction of works of art: cameras, tones, film projectors, radio, TV apparatus, gramophones, cassettes; Devices for amateur, everyday use; Professional devices; Consumables (paints, varnishes, developers, film and tonal strips) are essential in the process of artistic creation or in the production of serial compositions.

Creative industries can also be classified into three basic groups (Dapp & Ehmer, 2011): market-based; cultural, with the nature of public goods and unclassified, with the elements of the previous two groups. A common link between all these definitions is economic activities where creativity significantly contributes to the creation of new value. Based on the ideas and not the physical capital, the creative economy defines the economic, political, social, cultural and technological issues of today, and lies between art, business and technology. Its uniqueness is reflected in relying on an almost infinite global resource: human capital (Van der Pol, 2008). The creative industry is characterized by micro and small enterprises. As a result, insecurity and low income are a feature of this industry. Nevertheless, the macro potential is enormous, so in Germany there are over a million employees within the creative industries with annual value of products and services of about 60 billion euros (2009), which is far more than any other industry (Dapp & Ehmer, 2011). On the other hand, the total value of creative products and services for 2011 was \$640 billion (Iadb.org, 2014). The creative industry or its consumption is determined by the specifics of a particular country. However, there are some rules, so it is considered that if the country is richer, its population spends most of its income on culture and leisure (OECD, 2007). UNESCO states that the creative industry is significant for a particular holding due to (UNESCO, 2015): freedom of expression, cultural diversity and economic development. It is important to note that the creative industry plays a significant role in post-conflict societies. Therefore, the development and growth of these industries can be integrated as part of a broader post-conflict plan (Basaninyenzi, 2012). This is particularly important for Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is still to some extent going through a post-conflict period. The creative industries are also at the center of attention to the future activities of the European Union. Thus, the Europe 2020 strategy seeks to boost employment and create new industries through the maintenance and support of a strong, diverse and competitive industrial base in Europe. The focus of the strategy is on cultural and creative industries, which are very important drivers of economic and social innovation in other sectors (Pixel.ba, 2013).

### **Creative industries in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

In the academic practice of the Western Balkans, the exploration of creative industry phenomena was rare and there was not enough attention given to its

economic aspects (Kreativna Ekonomija, 2013). Accordingly, empirical research regarding creative industries in Bosnia and Herzegovina is extremely rare. When it comes to the state of the creative industries in Bosnia and Herzegovina, only in the past five years, more extensive research has been carried out, which was primarily focused on attempts to map the creative sector and analyze its needs. These researchers are mainly carried out as part of broader projects funded by international organizations, but in some cases also as commissioned studies by government representatives of certain levels of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Consequently, besides the research, these projects included conferences aimed at promoting and networking of creative industry representatives. The first domestic conference on creative industries was organized in 2013 (Vijesti.ba, 2013). Available research results for the region show that the average participation of creative industries in the creation of GDP for Western Balkans is about 9.4% (2013). Albania had least relative participation, of about 1.2%, while all other countries account for over-performance in comparison to the regional average. The average growth rate of creative industries was 5.5% at the Western Balkans level. Only Serbia (14.5%) and Montenegro (11.3%) were above the average of the region, while others were under average - Croatia (7%), Macedonia (7.8%) Albania (4.7%) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (4.4%). The comparison between countries shows that creative industries were more resistant to the crisis. It is also interesting to note that in countries with a small share of the creative industry in the national economy, the impact of the crisis on the growth dynamics of this sector (Albania, Bosnia, and Herzegovina) is less impactful compared to those countries where there is larger share of this sector in the national economy (Serbia, Macedonia, Croatia). Generally, the high turnover rates by years indicate that the creative industries are the upcoming sector in the whole region and that the process of their configuration and development takes place (Mikić, 2013c).

The creative industry in Bosnia and Herzegovina is made up of about 3.900 companies, of which about 24% from publishing and literary works, about 30% of architecture, about 15% of advertising and about 7% of the fashion industry. Key areas of high concentration of the creative industry are Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Tuzla, Mostar, and Bihać. Creative companies are mainly micro enterprises with 4-5 employees (Mikić, 2013c). From the total number of surveyed creative producers,

28% of them do not register a business, ie there is no legal form of doing business. The largest number of creative producers came from the field of fashion and jewelry (20.2%), followed by cultural activities (13.2%) and media (10.5%). The largest number of such businesses comes from Sarajevo Canton (49.1%), Tuzla Canton (10.5%) and Herzegovina-Neretva Canton (9.6%). As far as the creative products are concerned, there is mainly the production of so-called. „Unique products“ (52%). 65.79% of respondents stated that they offer authentic products within their offer, which is one of the characteristics of the creative industry. Creative industry attracts highly educated staff (45% from IT and multimedia, 42% from architecture and 25% from advertising) with the average productivity of 16.813 euros (Mikić, 2013a). Total of 62% of the respondents believes that the complicated procedures are biggest problems for doing creative business. What is interesting is that 50% of creative producers export their products and services to other countries' markets. Of these exporters, 43% said they were exporting to the countries of the region (CEFTA), 36% to the countries of the European Union and 21% of some other countries. The largest number of exporters, 54%, sells up to 20% of products and services out of Bosnia and Herzegovina. 90% of them have not received legal and administrative assistance in export. 62.7% of creators are not members of a cluster or network or a group of creatives. However, 65.8% plan to become a member of a cluster or network. 40% of respondents believe that the image of Bosnia and Herzegovina products for domestic consumers is good. Average GDP per creative company is 88.700 euros. The author's research on the state of the creative sector in Tuzla Canton shows the largest number of creative producers are coming from the field of non-profit organizations/associations of citizens, 54,17%. Next, to that, there is a range of media (television, radio, newspapers and Internet portals) with 16.67% of respondents, and independent artists/ entrepreneurs/freelancers with 8.33%. As far as work facilities, the largest number of surveyed creators stated that they own their own workspace (45.84%). The rest indicated that they are renting (29.16%), or using facilities free of charge (25% of respondents). The largest number of respondents stated that they operate in the regional market (37.5%). A smaller number of respondents reported foreign (25%) and national (20.83%) markets, while the lowest number of respondents indicated that they only operate on the local market (16.6%). When it comes to the current needs of creative business, most of the respondents were required financial resources (33.33%), and space/equipment for work (20.83%). Among other



things, there is the need for greater networking, strategies and support programs for the creative industry, as well as human and material resources (8.33%). Regarding the basic weaknesses of the creative sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina, The Report of the Center for Policy and Management about the Creative Sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2013) states these weaknesses: Extinct and fragmented creative industries; Some value chains are not well-formed; Low level of internationalization; Poor funding for creative industries; Bad product placement channels; The problem of protection of intellectual property.

The creative sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina has not joined the process of clustering and further networking, which is a natural growth line for this sector. This implies that value chains are not well formed and that there is a low level of internationalization. Because of this, there is no significant foreign trade exchange of cultural goods. In addition, there are no adequate funding tools for creators, which is certainly the problem of the entire economy in Bosnia and Herzegovina. One of the biggest problems associated with this sector is the issue of protecting intellectual property. Namely, this is of utmost importance to this sector whose value added is reflected, as has been mentioned above, precisely on creativity ie intellectual property. The International Private Property Index (2017) states that Bosnia and Herzegovina have major problems with the intellectual property protection. This is certainly a matter for the state regulator.

Regarding the support to the creative sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the last decade of the 20th century, the creative sector was marginalized, given that the socioeconomic circumstances required active measures and systemic approach in most socially urgent areas. The advocacy of systemic approach in cultural policy and the importance of its implementation started in 2002 with the Council of Europe project and the Evaluation report on cultural policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina by Charles Landry. Then, in June 2006, at the initiative of the domestic Council of Ministers' Commission, the cultural sector was first included in the revised Medium-term Development Strategy of Bosnia and Herzegovina 2004-2007. This has just created the possibility for cultural policy to be considered as one of the strategic policies of social development. After the period of preparation and analysis, the Bosnian Cultural Policy Strategy was adopted in 2008 and at the explicit level, the strategic goals, measures and conditions for the realization of strategic frameworks for

cultural sector development in Bosnia and Herzegovina were presented (Domljan, 2013).

### **Development perspective of creative industry in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

The perception of the importance of the creative industry as the driving force behind development in Bosnia and Herzegovina is at an early stage. Taking into account the potential of this sector as a source of growth, it should become a part of development policies at all levels of government and have institutional support. Investment in the creative industries can contribute to creating new jobs, reducing poverty, encouraging the development of new technologies and improving the overall quality of life. The importance of creative industries is based on three factors: an ability to make and circulate products that influence our knowledge, understanding, and experience (texts); role as the system for the management of creativity and knowledge; effects as agents of economic, social and cultural change (Hesmondhalgh, 2002). It is very important that public policies at all governing levels are aimed at stimulating the development of creative industries by establishing systems that will help create creative clusters (Projektni zadatak za izradu studije: Kreativna industrija u Kantonu Sarajevo, 2014). It is possible to use the support of the European Union, above all, the "Creative Europe" program, which is a framework program of the European Commission for Support and Promotion of Culture and the Media Sector. The proposed budget for the period from 2014 to 2020 is 1.8 billion euros, which is the world's largest support to the creative industries. From this amount, significant financial resources are now available for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The accession of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the "Creative Europe" program is a chance for many cultural creators, organizations that have previously counted on donations, co-productions and various funds. By joining the project "Creative Europe", Bosnia and Herzegovina has formally become part of the wider creative space of the European Union. Recommendations for the development of the creative industries can be also copied from the neighborhood, ie countries of the region that are sharing similar cultural patterns, but also same problems as the Bosnian-Herzegovinian creative sector. Some of the activities for creating a long-term sustainable model and strengthen the competitive edge of the creative industries implemented by neighboring Croatia include (Strateške smjernice za razvoj Kreativne i kulturne industrije, 2013): Strengthening institutional and infrastructural support for the

development of the industries; Providing stronger support to research and development activities, innovations, experiments and entrepreneurship in the creative industries; Human resources development; Improving access to finance; Accelerating the effects of „creative spilling“ into other industries and society as a whole.

These activities are crucial for Bosnia and Herzegovina because there is no strong infrastructure for the creative industry but also the necessary research and development activities or innovations. Particularly interesting is the activity of accelerating creative „spilling“ on the other industry, leading to long-term synergistic effects and economic growth. Concerning neighboring Serbia, Jovičić and Mikić (2006) cite the following recommendations for the creative sector development: Sector recognition; Research and Development; Development Strategy; Integrative Approach; Intersectoral Co-operation; Capacity Building; Infrastructure Development; Market Access; Finance and Economic Development; Sustainable local and regional markets. Similarly to Croatia, the focus is on strengthening the capacity and basic infrastructure of the creative sector, with increasing networking. It is also important to identify markets for creators, in this case, local and regional.

It is also important to mention the three main perspectives of the creative industry development that can go in the direction of commercialization, pluralism and equality, and economic development. The first implies exploitation of the creative industry products, while the second measures are oriented for the protection of the sector. Third measures assume regional cooperation with similar markets. Bosnia and Herzegovina as a country approaching the EU have the opportunity to use the first and third option of development, with the periodic application of the second one in the context of protection of certain cultural areas (old trades, geographically labeled products, patents and the like). There are many potentials and opportunities for developing the creative industries in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Mikić, 2013b): Potential of intellectual capital (40% in creative industries, average at the level of economy 8.3%); Informal networks; Regional placement; Opportunities for local development (creation of a cluster of creative industries); Rapidly growing industry.

In order to capitalize on intellectual capital, it is necessary to work on the protection of intellectual property. This is the primary responsibility of the legislator. The existence of informal networks of creative producers is an outstanding potential

for the development of a cluster of creative industries, which would enable creative product placement to regional markets that share the same or similar cultural patterns. Certainly, one of the greatest potentials is the possibility of rapid growth of this industry, which, as mentioned earlier in the paper, is resistant to crises. To use these potentials, it is necessary to work on:

- increasing the sources of financing for creative industry - need to develop specific programs of financial support for creative industry in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Most creative people considered that the financial support is the best form of government assistance. In doing so, it is possible to use direct grants as a means of encouragement, but also participate in the establishment of credit guarantee funds ie. the provision of credit lines for members of the creative industry. Moreover, there are potential foreign donors, but also the European Union in accordance with the "Creative Europe" programme.
- the development of networks within the creative industry and creating connections with other industries - it is necessary to work on stronger networking through the establishment of various forms of networks (associations, umbrella organizations, associations of associations, etc.). Authorities should promote networking among creative people, and encourage them to jointly apply to specific support programs or to participate in some other industries in order to create a synergy effect of spillovers (positive externalities from creative industries).
- strengthening the infrastructure capacity for creative industry - authorities and decision makers in Bosnia and Herzegovina should work on strengthening the capacities of basic infrastructure. It is possible to work on the opening of special facilities that will provide a given support (eg. business incubators/centers for creative people). Working space and equipment represent a significant need for this industry, so government should take advantage of unused public space for creative purposes. Scanning the infrastructure will help determine which supports, services, and resources might be present and their capacity to leverage creative sector development (Wyszomirski, 2004).
- facilitating access to markets – state, entity, cantonal and local authorities should, together with the creative industry, facilitate access to certain markets.

Creative people do not have enough knowledge in the field of law, especially regarding exports, so it is necessary to create free legal assistance for members of the creative industries, as well as other forms of support (market research, promotion, agreements with counterparts in other cities, regions, countries, etc.).

- promoting the creative sector as a model of (self)employment - in the country with about 40% of the unemployed, of which 57.9% unemployed young people, the creative industry makes one of the solutions to tackle unemployment. Together with the NGO sector and the media, it is necessary to work on promoting the creative industry potentials, highlighting its importance and opportunities, and creating employment patterns.
- improving the business environment and the legislation - one of the main problems identified by creative industry members relate to the poor business environment and legislation that does not follow the needs of this sector. It is therefore in the interest of all levels of government, to work to facilitate business conditions. These activities are already planned in the framework of the Reform Agenda 2015-2018. But it is necessary to make additional efforts in order to focus on creative industry.

Finally, in addition to financial support, UNESCO puts the focus on the protection of intellectual property as a basis for the development of creative industries. This is under the jurisdiction of state level of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Concerning these above-mentioned recommendations, there are three pillars of society and international organizations that help local development and play a role in this process (Vežić, 2013). These are governmental institutions (state, entity, cantonal and municipal level); The educational institutions that can integrate creativity into their plans and programs (teaching subjects, working with students and the like); Non-governmental organizations, as well as special development agencies that should help realize the financial goals of the creative sector support. Finally, Bosnia and Herzegovina should count on the help and support from the international institutions, especially the EU, which, as mentioned earlier in the paper, has special support programs for this area.

## Conclusion

The creative industry is a relatively new area of interest within the world economy. Yet, it is covering creative activities that have been around for thousands of years. They primarily rely on human intellect and creativity as the ultimate sources of new value for the market. That is precisely why the creative sector is an ideal opportunity for employment, but also "market leaps" for smaller, underdeveloped or transitional countries. With access to a particular technology, the minimal amount of financial resources, it is possible to create products/services that can fully compete in the world market. Because of this, the creative industries are mostly export-oriented and their full manifestation is gained in front of a global audience.

The high growth of the creative industries, even in times of crisis, and trends like changes in consumer preferences and further globalization, as well as EU integration, make the creative industry interesting for decision-makers in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The biggest problems of this sector include lack of financial support, lack of networking, and infrastructure needs. For this reason, the focus of economic policies should include mechanisms to overcome the financial difficulties of creative producers, increase networking in the creative sector, and create the effects to channel the positive externalities of the sector in other areas of the economy.

In the long run, the creative sector has a tremendous potential for both employment and export, and accordingly the economic growth for Bosnia and Herzegovina. For this to happen, it is necessary to identify the problems and needs of this sector and to adopt economic policies to support Bosnian-Herzegovinian creative industries. The main role of government is to create an environment that will be friendly to domestic creative industries, as well as to secure support for main challenges and needs of this industry.

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The Future of Humanities,  
Education and Creative Industries



**PSYCHOLOGY**

# **Individual Characteristics of Students which Influence Academic Achievement and Behavior/ Psychological Studies in Education**



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## **Abstract**

Empirical research shows (Kyriakides, 2005) that achieving cognitive goals, positively, correlated with well-being of students and increase their motivation. The cognitive components of personality, especially abstract intelligence/ creative, innate, fluid one, are included as a variable of the study relations with the academic success of students. In this descriptive-analytical research, we'll emphasise the emotional factors. From the affective components of personality, the most important one is emotional intelligence, as positive correlation with personal traits and academic achievement. From this condition, non-cognitive aspects of personality are necessary to evoke, particularly when we talking about positive basic and complex emotions. The terms which describe mentioned emotions are happiness, love, empathy, aesthetic emotion and motivation of young people. This leads to a cohesive socialization with peers of different mental capacity and personality structure, what is certainly directing to the correct priorities of the future of young people. All of these variables together are the key factors for the success of students, through education, also for complete construction of socially acceptable personality (with proper psychological orientation). By mentioned factors, largely depends the further way of student's approach according to a different life's challenges and tasks. The above mentioned, Individual characteristics are the optimal way of achieving self-actualizing and completing self-behaviour in adolescents, by which also reciprocally depends successful Education system.

Key words: individual characteristics, cognitive components, affective aspects, abstract intelligence, emotional intelligence

## **Personal development of adolescence**

The most common meaning of the word "personality" in everyday life is related to the way of individual's behavior. Accordingly, figure represents a label for consistent behavior and social image or part of an individual. There are many traditional, verbal-logical definitions of personality, that are not based on mathematical, i.e. quantitative methods as the factors theories of Eysenck and Cattell, who had certain personality traits defined by measuring instruments (tests,

questionnaires, operations measurement or mathematical expressions). (Fulgosi, A.) The theory of personality has two functions: An explanation of behavior and Behavior prediction. Theory of personality are analyzed by following components: 1. The structure of personality, 2. Dynamics of personality or motivation, 3. Development of personality, 4 Psychopathology.

Cognitive theory of personality is different from other theories/ approaches, are following:

- The cognitive focus- emphasizes the importance of cognitive processes;
- The interaction between the individuals and the environment- the environment not only affects people, people affect the environment;
- It relies on the theory of learning- new behaviors are adopted in the process of learning.

Trait theory of personality is one of the dominant theoretical approaches today in psychology. The basic premise of the theory is that people differ in their characteristics or personality traits or predispositions to react in a certain way or behave. A large number of individual personality traits can be reduced to a small number of broad personality traits or factors (hierarchy). Well- known models are those of Eysenck, Costa & McCrae, Allport and Cattell: - Eysenck three- factor model of personality, which is obtained by quantitative methods: 1. Introversion-extraversion (I- E factor), 2. Stability- Neuroticism (N- factor), 3. Psychoticism (Q- factor). - Five factor model of personality (Costa & McCrae, 1992): 1. Extraversion- sociable, cheerful, active, dominant, fond of excitement, 2. Neuroticism- tense, shy, often depressed, moody and anxious, low self- esteem, 3. Conscientiousness- efficient, organized, responsible, reliable, 4. Altruist- warm, decent, generous, ready to provide assistance.

Stanley Hall (Chubb, 1997) describes the period of adolescence in the framework of the "storm and stress". Later, Anna Freud (according A. Freud, 1958) states that the period of "storm and stress" is a normal stage in the life of every individual. Many psychological and sociological theories, as well as significant research, mostly on a number of factors that influence on the formation of personality traits, ie. their own identity in adolescents. Chubb (Chubb, 1997) states the effect of the following factors: a.) biological factors: intelligence, physical attractiveness, physical ability, onset of

puberty, temperament and resistance to various diseases; b.) psychological factors: many ways self, including the level of development of the ego, the level of moral development and cognitive development; c.) social factors: family, ethnic culture, socioeconomic status, friendship, education and gender (these factors are interacting).

Erikson describes adolescence as a period of identity crisis or as individual struggle for stability of their own personalities. He gave a fascinating analysis of the concept of youth problems relating to youthful delinquency (1957) and the disobedience and rebellion of modern Youth (1970). Erikson argues that adolescence is the time of conflict with the environment and society, because it is a time of violence by society over the individual. One form of this conflict is a generational conflict (between parents and children). Parents often see children as a juvenile, dependent and independent persons. They do not recognize their identity and their protective role, hampering the acquisition and formation of this identity.

### **Cognitive abilities/ Intelligence**

Mental ability (intelligence, thinking, memory, learning, perception, image, forgetting) identified as the perceptual capabilities and limitations, factor computation, abstract factor and reasoning. In the area of cognition included complex psychological cognitive processes (rational nature) which presented by perception, thinking, memory, intelligence, what is reflected with the way of learning. The above mentioned processes affect to the objective academic achievement and behaviour, the dependents variable in this study. School performance and behavior of adolescents, largely depend on the mental abilities and character traits of student's personality. (Cattell, Sealy, Sweny, 1966.; Salovey and Sluyter, 1999.; Roberts, Zeidner and Matthews, 2003).

Cognitive competences, according to Suzic (2000), are: 1) the selection of important from the unimportant one, skills of information's choosing, 2) asking questions about the subject as well as about individual cognition, 3) understanding of the matter or a problem, 4) memory, select the information that is necessary to remember, 5) handling with information- management in the use of information, quickly search and use of information as well as storage, 6) convergent and divergent production, fabrication of new ideas, solutions or products, 7) evaluation of the efficiency of learning and work, as well as the accomplished benefits. According to

the classification of Douglas Brown (2004) cognitive factors are divided into: learning strategies, cognitive styles, inductive and deductive reasoning- which are closely related to the students' age and cultural environment. The impact of these factors can be measured by using objective measurement instruments (intelligence, sociability) and some can not be accurately measured. Generally, the most objective definitions of cognitive factors are based on the fact that the cognitive factors include awareness, perception, thinking, memory and as the most important mental activity is intelligence. Awareness (knowledge) is the youngest (in phylogenetic sense), the most complex and uniquely human mental functions, which are defined differently. One of definition is: Consciousness includes everything that exists at a given moment, in the psyche of man, with the experience of self and the environment. We have the awareness and knowledge of the existence of its own consciousness (self). Others define consciousness as the generality of total psychic experience.

The observation (perception) as a systematic observation is the process, which people use in everyday, nonscientific knowledge and it has a great importance for the general knowledge and orientation. It is appropriate unsystematic submitted by subjective construction of the real and selective memory. Consequently, such as a perception is often invalid, unobjective, unreliable and imprecise, it does not comply with the principles of scientific knowledge. To observation as a process of collecting empirical facts of reality could meet scientific purpose, under condition to be planned, systematic and carried out behind controlled conditions, with carefully recording the results. According to the degree of structure components of basic theoretical model observations, we have: - Structured observation (observation units, events and their duration in particular provided conditions- quantitative approach); - Unstructured observation (with no predefined framework, completely natural-qualitative approach);

Opinion (Thinking) is a complex of mental collective processing of ideas, images, concepts and events. There are two basic characteristics of thinking: a.) Symbolic thinking- connotative and denotative meaning of the terms; b.) Thinking as hidden process- Introspection. Opinion or thinking is closely linked to speech, movement, imagination, perception and motivation. It is important a creative thinking, that is based on four phases: preparation, incubation, illumination and verification. Memory is a complex of mental cognitive process, which refers to the ability to retain

information acquired through experience or active learning (Petz, 1993), as well as the possibility of accepting, retention and use of informations (Zarevski, 1994). Maintaining is the duration of the awareness of what is gained by learning. Maintaining is always precedes before learning. "The word intelligence comes from the latin verb- „intellegere“, which means “to understand” (Wikipedia, Encyclopedia, 2009). "The term of intelligence means the ability to learn and think about the different phenomenas. The interest in new ideas and developments, understanding them through fast and clear thinking, especially in the field of art, literature and politics." (Oxford Dictionary, 1996) The last two major definitions of intelligence have been proposed in the US "Consensus"- Psychological Association and scientific research center. The report formed by the American Psychological Association (1995) where we have the following definition of intelligence: "Intelligence is an individual determinants of the ability to understand complex ideas, through an efficient adaptation in the environment, learning from experience, the involvement of various forms of reasoning and to overcome obstacles by using related thinking".

A second definition of intelligence comes from "Center of the science of intelligence", which was signed by 52 researchers of intelligence (1994). The definition reads: "Intelligence is a very general mental capability that, among other things, includes possibility of understanding, planning, problem solving, abstract thinking, understanding of complex ideas, quickly learning and learning from self and other' s experience. Cognitive factors, mental abilities of this study, were tested by intelligence tests, and refer to the following factors: a.) a general factor of intelligence (g)- Spearman factor "g" indicates the classification of the elements into categories, discovering the principle of numerical sequences, detection of foreign elements in the connected series, detection of analog connection, logical reasoning and conclusion, finding solutions, as well as the abstract factor; b.) the primary intellectual abilities- Thurston's multifactors (numerical, spatial, perceptual, reasoning, memory/ perceptual capabilities and restrictions- rapid and accurate identification forms ie. detect small differences in the shapes and factor accounting, abilities of fast and accurate execution of simple numerical operations (that do not require thinking), Cattell (inherited- fluid I. Q. and formed- crystallized I. Q.) and Bar- On's (interpersonal and intrapersonal ability with the above mentioned factors of Thurston).

### **Intelligence as a factor of school success and behaviour**

"With the research has reliably approved that between student's school achievement (marks) and intelligence tests, as an indicator of their general school success, there is a positive and significant correlation, with the degree of cohesion around 0, 50. Likewise, studies showed that the correlation between the results of students in tests intelligence and their success in acquired knowledge tests is around 0, 50" (Grgin, 1994). In addition to diagnostic, school grades also have prognostic function. It is reflected in the fact that the evaluation of teachers on students' knowledge, expressed by assessments, should also include knowledge of cognitive capacities- exp. intelligence of students, in order to predict their future success in learning, in the same or in the next level of schooling.

"Flynn effect can be best explained through the interaction of innate abilities and experiences. The innate abilities predispose a person to search for the appropriate environmental experiences, resulting in adequate knowledge of cognitive performance. The multiplier model is applicable and can explain competence development. Experience, ie. practice, leads to small improvements in performance- which leads to the selection of more demanding activities and choosing more stimulating environment" (Dickens and Flynn, 2001).

"The aim of educational intervention is such a manipulation of situational variables, that will lead to changes in the attitudes and behavior of students. Cognitive deficiency refers to the relative inability for receiving and processing information from the environment and most often manifests itself in impulsive reactions, that were not previously thought out. Cognitive distortions are primarily related to errors in the perception of social relations and social environment. The information is proceeding, but at the same time it come up with their distortions, leading to difficulties in communication with the environment" (Ceci at al., 1996). In other words, it can be said that the change undesirable behavior is closely associated with the change in cognitive functioning. In this study, analysed the overall "g"- factor of intelligence. It is about an abstract intelligence or fluid, innate, abstract cognitive factor.

### **Affective abilities/ Emotions**

Affective indicators related to the emotional component of personality. It manifest through emotional intelligence, personality traits and learning styles. They can be based on positive affective experiences (pleasant mood and emotions) and

negative affective experiences (unpleasant mood and emotions). Positive experiences make positive affects, such as life satisfaction and pleasant emotions (Diener 1984 to Shimack, Oishi, Furr and Funder, 2002). Affect, unlike passion and moods, explains those emotions with high intensity and short duration. However, under the name of "affective part of the personality" means inborn traits that are based on temperament of personality (eg. Hippocrates types: Sangvinik- joy; Melankolik- sadness; Flegmatik- indifference and Kolerik- aggressiveness).

Recent studies (Cattell, Erikson, Maslow, Bar- On, Gardner, Goleman, Matesic etc.) show that the affects interferated also by formed, character's traits- which are manifested towards to himself (as self- criticism and self- esteem), according to others (altruism, honesty) and to work (persistence, diligence and time management). Personality traits (Bar- On, 2006) that are tested by affective indicators tests, are as follows: 1. Adaptability- self motivation, 2. Assertiveness- Ability to express and understand emotions- Empathy, 3. Ability to self- perception of emotions, 4. Ability to improve and control emotions, 5. Ability to maintain interpersonal relationships. These lines are the causality of optimal level experience, the causality of satisfaction and creativity, which are expertly called "Flow", as the emotional intelligence of the highest order (Goleman, 2005). The basic structure of affective personality factors is Emotional and Social intelligence. It is detail reflected by the test of emotional intelligence. Indicators of personality and realistically estimated mental abilities (talents), often motivate person to a specific activity and have impact on her success in school. Emotional competencies are related to: 1) Emotional awareness- recognition of self and others' emotions, 2) Self- confidence- a clear sense of self power and power limits, 3) Self-control- control of disagreeing emotions and impulses, 4) Empathy and altruism, 5) Truthfulness- building standards honor and integrity, 6) Adaptability- flexibility in accepting changes, 7) Innovation- openness to new ideas, approaches and information (Suzić, 2005).

### **Emotional intelligence as a factor of school success and behaviour**

Within the model Mayer and Salovey (1990), we can learn to make that emotional intelligence may have positive effects on the efficient conduct of their own thoughts and their surroundings (eg. School performance). The logic, in the above mentioned assumptions, based mainly on the part of the model that develops the way



where emotions are opinion' s facilitators. Then we can say that emotions determine the opinion, so that they direct attention to the important information that emotions are sufficiently clear and accessible, in the way to help to judgment and memory about different situations that are associated with different emotions, also that different mood change the perspective of the individual and create different views of the same situation, that the emotional states facilitate access to the problems (eg. the joy facilitates inductive thinking and creativity).

Takšić (1998), in his study, came to the conclusion that the variables of emotional intelligence significantly further contribute to the explanation of academic achievement. The variables of emotional intelligence are increased by 13.5% percentage, in compared with variance of academic achievement, recently explained by the general/ cognitive intelligence (Takšić, 1998). Within the model Salovey and Sluyter (1997), it suggests that emotional intelligence involves four parts of capability. A more detailed description is as follows:

- a. The perception of emotion- ability to detect emotion at the faces, pictures, voices and cultural artifacts, including the ability to identify own emotions. Perseveration or repeating of emotions represents a basic aspect of emotional intelligence, also allows processing and all other emotional information. This represents the lowest level of the skills that person can exactly recognize an emotional form/ shape, so that the children already learn to identify personal and others' emotional states and to distinguish them. As the child grows, he imaginatively attributed feelings, as living as nonliving phenomena. This imaginative thinking can help a child to perform general conclusions, for himself and for others. A mature person knows how carefully should be considered own inner feelings;
- b. Appropriate using of emotions (Emotional facilitation of thought)- emotional ability to properly direct the variable cognitive activities, such as thinking and problem solving. Emotionally intelligent people can control their mood changes, for the purpose of better handling tasks. The second level includes the similarities in the emotions, which are used in ways that facilitate intellectual processes. Emotions include priorities in opinion, by directing attention to important information. They are sufficiently colorful and available and can be recalled if necessary, to help in understanding and remembering several situations. Different types of moods facilitate different

types of work and different forms of reasoning. In short, this component of emotional intelligence involves the assimilation of basic emotional experiences in mental life. Putting emotion into the objective function is necessary for selective attention, self- monitoring, self- motivation, and so on.

- c. Understanding of emotions- ability to understand the emotional language and the ability to assess the complicated relationships among emotions. For example, understanding emotions exceeds or going beyond the sensitivity for changes in emotion, as well as beyond identification and description of the occasional emotional excluding. The third level includes similarities to understand emotions and use emotional knowledge. A child begins to notice the similarities and differences between sympathy and love, animosity and anger and so on. Later it occurs and the ability to interpret the meanings that emotions transfer between each other, into relations between people for example (sadness that accompanies with the loss and ability to understand complex feelings). Child notes that, in some situations, can occur simultaneously and opposite emotions (eg, love and hate), and that the combination of different emotions get new quality (eg. the hope is a result by connection of faith and optimism). In mature individuals, appears the ability to recognize the transitions between emotions, such as the transition from anger to satisfaction or from anger to shame. In short, this component refers to the appearance of noticing the legality of specific emotions, but also the understanding of emotional problems, such as knowledge about what emotions are similar and in which relations they are.
- d. Management of emotions- ability to regulate emotions in intrapersonal way (within ourselves) and interpersonal (in contact with other people). Then emotionally intelligent person can manage strong emotions, even negative, and control them with results, which are determined by appropriate targets. The most complex level of emotional intelligence is aware of the regulation of emotion, that leads to emotional and intellectual progress. Basic ability at this level is open to feelings, whether they are positive or negative one. Only if the person is aware of their feelings and open to them, she can discuss about them and to learn. This aspect is improving social adaptation and problem solving, 'cause it includes knowledge of how to calm down

after a stressful feelings or how to regulate stressful emotions of other people. It could be called "metaevaluation". The most complex ability of the highest level of emotional intelligence, according to this model, is the ability to manage emotions at oneself and others.

Cattel, Sealy and Sweny (1966) were concerned with examining about the connection between school achievement with factors of personality and motivation, and found that the total variance of school achievement described by next factors: tests intelligence explain between 21- 23%, motivational characteristics of 23- 27%, and personality traits 27- 36%. In recent years, the idea occurred- that it would be at least a part of success in the field of academic and professional success could explain by emotional intelligence. Kahneman (1973) argued that the fact how much the person is able to keep under control the others, in the primary activity as irrelevant thoughts and moments, significantly influences to the success in realising basic activities.

Goleman (1995) also describes the importance of managing emotions, for success in school. The extent to which emotional excitation can affect to the mental life, for teachers are nothing new. Students who are anxious, angry or depressed do not learn; Persons who possessed these conditions do not receive information in an efficient manner or treat them worse. Strong negative emotions transfer attention to their own life preoccupations, interrupting their attempts to focus on something else (Goleman, 1995). Generally speaking so far, personality factor explains only a small part of the achievements of young people, so that the contribution of emotional intelligence by 10% should be considered very large, for the future (Salovey and Sluyter, 1997). In this study, scholastic achievement is measured by emotional intelligence as a affective factor (applied scale, shortened version of Emotional Intelligence Bar- On).

### **The relationship between emotions and intelligence**

From the title of the construct of emotional intelligence indicates that it should be a combination of intelligence and emotion. In purpose to understand, we need to explain these two terms. The basic question that sets up is how emotions affect to intelligence. According to the traditional understanding, emotions disorganize and disrupt a successful and rational mental activity (Strongman, 1987; Schwarz, 1990; from Takšić 1998). This is opposed to the modern theory, according to which

emotions can- if managed properly, run and improve the rational individual action, so as to increase the motivation to solve the problem, for which the rational reasoning is necessary (Salovey and Mayer, 1990).

In the period after 1990 to this year 2016., Psychology seeks to connect emotions with intelligence, but we get the concept of emotional intelligence is being studied separately from the general I. Q./ academic and abstract intelligence (Brody, 2000). Previous research authors Cattell, Sealy and Sweny (1966); Mayer, Salovey (1990); Goleman, (1995); Takšić (1998); Salovey and Sluyter (1999); Petridies and Furnham (2000); Reuven Bar- On, (2006), on the issue of the emotional aspect of personality, have shown that excellent students are not more emotionally intelligent than poor students, and that the new system of education points reflect to the fact that the system for evaluating academic achievement and education should respect also factor of Empathy. It is about assessment of affective states of other people and to react to them. Emotions introduce priorities in the opinion of the fact that direct attention to important information. They are sufficiently colorful and available and can be recalled, if necessary, to assist in understanding and remembering events. If we succeed to get into other's situation or feelings, whose story we follow, we will be able to more easily manage and decide (for more favorable outcome) in similar situations, in which we can find later in life (Takšić, 1998). The most complex level of emotional intelligence is Aware of the regulation of emotion that leads to emotional and intellectual progress. Basic ability at this level E. I. it's open to feelings, whether they positive or negative. Only if the person is aware of his feelings and open to them, can discuss about them and learn. As the child grows, it learns about socialization of emotions or selective expression of emotions, depending on the information and social norms. So, there is developing the ability of reflexive inclusion in emotion or exclusion out of them, depending on the assessment of their effectiveness. (Roberts, Zeidner and Matthew, 2003)

According to Reuven Bar- On (1997): Emotional intelligence is an area of non-cognitive capacities, competencies and skills that influence to success in coping with environmental demands and pressures. Inventory of emotional quotient (Bar- On, 1997) includes 133 particles divided items, separated into 15 sub- scales and five broad categories: 1. Intrapersonal skills, 2. Interpersonal skills, 3. Flexibility, 4. Stress Management, 5. The general mood. Bar- On defines the scale, according to five defined categories:

- Intrapersonal Scale- Intrapersonal capacity (the ability of awareness and understanding himself, his emotions and expressing his feelings and ideas). It talks about how people see themselves and how competent they are to identify different emotions at the same time. This category also measured self- esteem, self- awareness and independence.
- Interpersonal Scale- Interpersonal skills (the ability of awareness and understanding other people's feelings, as well as establish and maintain a mutual satisfactory and responsible relation with others). It refers to the relationship of a person with others, toward the two most important things: 1. Empatija- person's ability to sense the emotions of others; 2. Social responsibility- interpersonal relations measures a person's ability to create and maintain mutually satisfying relationships with other people, with a great deal of intimacy and honesty. There are appreciate attributes such as understanding other people's problems and situations.
- Flexibility and tolerance- The ability of checking your own feelings, on the basis of objective, external signs and accurate assessment of the immediate situation, the flexibility of adapting to the feelings and opinions, willingness to change the situation and solve personal and interpersonal problems. Flexibility refers to the new interpersonal situations and high tolerance for negative relations with other people.
- Scale management of stress- Ability to master stress and control strong emotions. It shows how a person is good in tolerating stress and controlling impulsive reactions.
- Scale of mood- The general mood and motivation (the ability to be optimistic, enjoying himselve and others and the ability of feeling and expression of positive emotions).

Emotionally intelligent people are happier and more optimistical views, as well they more successful cope with negative feelings. General Intelligence refers to the total capacity of the person to adjust the effective thinking and processing information. There are many approaches and models that attempt to describe the nature of intelligence and its functions. Some of them contain elements that are conceptually related to the elements of emotional intelligence. Emotional intelligence can be developed, we can promote its increase, regardless of age. Unlike academic

intelligence, emotional intelligence is more difficult to measure (Roberts, Zeidner and Matthews, 2003). Bar-On defines emotional intelligence in the sense of "concern" for effective understanding of self and others, in terms of beautiful speeches to people confronting and adapting to the immediate surroundings. Bar-On hypothesized that EI can be developed above average and that EI could be improved through training, study, programming and treatment. Bar-On's hypothesis is that people with above-average emotional intelligence are generally more successful, in comparison with facing pressures and demands of the environment. He also noted that the lack of emotional intelligence can mean a lack of success and the existence of emotional problems. Problems in dealing with its own environment, according to Bar-On's opinion, are factors in those individuals that result in below average, on Tests of emotional intelligence. There is implies a willingness to solve problems, stress tolerance and impulse control. In addition, Bar-On believes that emotional intelligence and cognitive intelligence in equal measure, contribute to "general" intelligence people and optimal development of their potential. Bar-On's Inventory emotional quotient represents a self-assessment questionnaire, as measured by the developed emotional intelligence, which measures emotionally and socially competent behavior, through the assessment of their emotional and social competence. The emotional quotient (EQ) is not a measure of personal characteristics or cognitive capacity, but rather a measure of their own ability to be successful in dealing with environmental demands and pressures. The main problem with this model and the test is that it expresses a measure of certain types of skills, exclusively through self-assessment questions, which points is the subjectivity, as a basic lack of introspective.

Comparing Bar-On's model with a model of Mayer, Caruso and Salovey, it is evident that both contain (though in somewhat different ways) perception, awareness and understanding of emotions, in ourselves and in others and the regulation of emotion. It is certain that, the Bar-On model expanded with inserting terms of personality traits, like Optimism. In addition, he added also problem solving skills, stress resistance and the like. The author explains the desire to make the items construction of emotions and its tests, which will more effective assess the life success of an individual. The criticism of this concept very often emphasizes that he does not differ, significantly, his own model from the model of personality traits, so

he asked to explain whether his autonoimical contribution to the human mental functioning is quite enough. Mayer and Saloveyev (1997) model of emotional intelligence was presented as the ability to perceive and express emotion, thought their assimilation, understanding and reasoning and regulation in yourself and others. Emotional intelligence is divided into:

The ability to observe precisely and express emotions; b.) The ability to become aware and generate emotions to facilitate thinking; c.) The ability to understand emotions and emotional knowledge; d.) The ability to regulate emotions, in order to promote emotional and intellectual growth (Mayer & Salovey, 1997). Mayer and Saloveyev concept of emotional intelligence is based on standard criteria for a new intelligence. After several years of research and theoretical development of the original model of emotional intelligence, the same authors published the second version of the construct, in which they have brought some changes and suggested this changed definition, according to which "emotional intelligence includes similarities of quick observations, assessment and expressing of emotions; ability to identificate and generate feelings that facilitate thinking; capabilities to understand emotions and knowledge about emotions; ability to regulate emotions, in order to promote emotional and intellectual growth" (Mayer and Salovey, 1996)

## **Conclusion**

There are a lot of arguments about the definition of Emotional intelligence (EI) and its apllying in Educational psychology. By arguments that regard both terminology and operationalizations, the first published attempt toward a definition was made by Salovey and Mayer (1990), who defined EI as "the ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them and to use this information to guide one's thinking and actions". Through researched work, V. Takšić (2001) indicates mentioned concept of emotional intelligence, assessment of students through academic achievement, assessment of professors by students, „empathy- term“ involvement in the emotions of another person and so on.

Professor Nenad Suzić, in his book "Pedagogy for the XXI Century" (2005) empirically displayed and analyzed BEL- index (test orientation competence XXI century), which is associated with the variables of the current research or with indicators affective/ emotional component of personality traits, as expressed

emotional and social intelligence. Papic M. (2003) in his master thesis demonstrates the importance of emotional intelligence in the school context, how to read the themes of school work. Brody (2004) claimed that tests of cognitive ability unlike the MSCEIT test of emotions, there are different. It is tests about knowledge of emotions, but not necessarily the ability to perform tasks that are related to the knowledge that is assessed. The main argument is that even though someone knows how he should behave in an emotionally laden situation, it doesn't necessarily follow that he could actually carry out the reported behavior. The ability based model, by Mayer and Salovey (1990), views emotions as useful sources of information, that help one to make sense and navigate of the social environment. The model proposes that individuals vary in their abilities, from the process information of an emotional nature to their ability to relate emotional processing to a wider cognition. This ability is seen to manifest itself in certain adaptive behaviors. Abstract intelligence is quite in common with emotional intelligence and personal characteristics, in compare with school achievement and behavior.

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## Anti-vaccination Information's (not-) Trustworthiness: Selected Personality Traits and Emotional Context



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### Abstract

The anti-vaccine movement which leads to significant decrease in population immunization gives rise to the research focused on assessment of the information questioning the vaccination safety. The aim of the current research is to verify the predictive importance of selected personality traits (Leary Interpersonal Checklist, 1976) and locus of control (Levenson's IPC, 1981) for the trustworthiness of the presented information. Participants expressed a degree of belief/mistrust of the information presented in the form of introducing the risks of compulsory vaccination for the development of autism. Subsequently, experienced basic emotions (according to Ekman, 1992) of the participants ( $N=125$ ,  $M=27.47$  y.;  $SD=9.124$ ) were detected in the situation of confrontation with the information. The results indicate the predictive importance of competitive and aggressive personality, as well as the localization of control towards trustworthiness of the presented information. Mentioned emotions confirm the specific nuances of experiencing emotions in the situation of evaluation information as true vs. untrue.

Key words: anti-vaccination information, personality traits, locus of control, emotions

### Introduction

Despite an enormous success of vaccination paediatricians are meeting increasing numbers of parents who refuse to vaccinate their children (Trebichavský, 2016), usually due to given half-truth or even manipulative information provided by unreliable sources and spreading e.g. via the internet (Eysenbach, Powell, Kuss, & Sa, 2002). Historically, one of the reasons for the decline of confidence in vaccination was the publication of the Wakefield article in *The Lancet* in 1988 (Jolley & Douglas 2014) which suggested that the measles, mumps, and rubella (MMR) vaccine may predispose to behavioural regression and pervasive developmental disorder in children. Despite the small sample size ( $n=12$ ), the uncontrolled design, and the speculative nature of the conclusions, the paper received wide publicity, and MMR

vaccination rates began to drop because parents were concerned about the risk of autism after vaccination (DeStefano & Chen, 1999). Even though epidemiological studies were conducted and published (e.g. Taylor et al., 1999), refuting the posited link between MMR vaccination and autism, similar statements are still being used to induce and substantiate concerns about the safety of vaccination. The impact of exposure to such information is striking; for example, viewing a website containing anti-vaccination information for 10 minutes or less increased perceived risk of vaccination, and decreased the perceived risk of vaccine refusal (Sak, Diviani, Allam, & Schulz, 2016).

Currently it appears, a double standard in considering this issue is applied. People tend to reject the message of the importance of vaccination, which is mediated by a formal authority (Masaryk & Čunderlíková, 2016) and they use anecdotal information or personal accounts rather than population-based data or large clinical studies (Salmon et al., 2005; Freed et al., 2011). Further, as Salmon et al. (2005) stated, the most common reason for refusing vaccination is concern that it might cause harm. Indeed, parents of exempt children in mentioned research were significantly more likely than parents of vaccinated children to report low perceived vaccine safety and efficacy, a low level of trust in the government, and low perceived susceptibility to and severity of vaccine-preventable diseases. Parents of exempt children were significantly less likely to report confidence in medical, public health, and government sources for vaccine information and were more likely to report confidence in alternative medicine professionals than parents of vaccinated children. Thus, vaccination issues become one of the areas in which the competitive or even extreme contradictory claims are formulated. The unequivocal refusal to vaccinate may, in some cases, be the result of a coherent concept of thought which takes up the character of conspiracy, that is, ideas which as a cause of different events and phenomena denote the conduct of powerful people, groups or organizations, while their actions are perceived as being secret and planned, using manipulation of the public, achieving a certain, mostly sinister, goal (Abalakina-Paap et al., 1999; Wood, Douglas & Sutton, 2012). Jolley & Douglas (2014), have found the link between the drop in vaccination and the anti-vaccination theories which consist of the belief that vaccine efficacy research is manipulated because of the profits of pharmaceutical companies. Further, research has shown that belief in the anti-vaccination theories is

linked to an increased sense of helplessness and disillusionment, as well as to reduced confidence in the formal institutions.

Important question for discussion being lead successfully is: which are the mechanisms supporting a particular person to believe or mistrust information questioning the safety of vaccination? A tendency to rely on information could be radically affected by personality traits of the individual, as in the media landscape people, not having enough capacity for a variety of information, are using cognitive heuristics (Metzger, Flanagin & Medders, 2010; Metzger & Flanagin, 2013) as substitution of the knowledge. As the assessment of health information can have a significant impact on the acceptance of information and the degree to which it is trusted and on which it is acted, it seems to be crucial to devote research attention to the predictive components leading to the outcomes of above mentioned process.

The research field devoted to the assessing of the credibility of information based on its source is covered by many studies (e.g. Avery, 2010; Eysenbach, 2008; Kim, Lee & Prideaux, 2013; Marshall & WoonBong, 2003; Metzger & Flanagin, 2013; Morin, Ivory & Tubbs, 2012). However, the personal characteristics of the recipient in relation to the level of credibility attributed to the information are not well investigated yet. Moreover, taking into account the importance of person as an individual, and his/her individuality in assessing the credibility of the information presented, appears to be inadequate. The recipient of the information is a particular human being with its own unique characteristics. For that reason it seems to be important to focus the research on the area emphasising psychological perspectives.

Gilles et al. (2011) proposed a sex/gender as being an important predictor of perceived vaccination efficacy. Men rated vaccination as more effective than women. On the contrary, Freed et al. (2011) claim that level of trust in specific sources of vaccine-safety information varied significantly by gender as well, but women trusted vaccine-safety information more than men.

The educational level of individuals is related to their confidence in information having a non-traditional nature, Goertzel (1994) has found a negative correlation between trust in conspiracy theories and education. At the same time, the relationship between higher education levels of parents and children's vaccinations

was confirmed by cross-cultural research across countries where vaccination is not mandatory (Rammohan, Awofeso, & Fernandez, 2012).

The research focused on the traits of individuals who prefer alternative explanations of reality (Darwin, Neave, & Holmes, 2011) have confirmed that these people have simultaneously manifested greater level of mistrust, hostility, pessimism, and magical thinking. Their sense of social exclusion leads to general mistrust of other people, primarily of people representing formal authority, and these persons believe that the authorities do not give true information in order to achieve their own intentions (Kremer, 1994; Swami, Chamorro-Premuzic, & Furnham, 2010). The questioning of authority raises belief in conspiracy theory which results in further strengthening of distrust in authority. This process creates so-called cynicism cycle (Einstein & Glick, 2013). Further, belief in the alternative explanations of reality could be increased by social anomie, feeling of helplessness, low self-esteem, authoritarian tendencies, (Abalakina-Paap et al., 1999) and hostility (Grzesiak-Feldman, 2013, Swami, Chamorro-Premuzic, & Furnham, 2010). Mistrust, suspiciousness, and hostility as personality traits may be perceived as tendencies to interpersonal responses and reflect two basic dimensions of personality typology according to Leary, Laforge & Suczek (1976) underlying the progression of patterns, a dominance-submission axis and a love-hate (or affiliation-aggression) axis. Interpersonal behaviour, considered as one of the most important aspects of personality, is usually defined as behaviour that is observable, consciously or symbolically in relation to another, real or imagined, individual. The personality is defined as a multiplicity of observable, conscious or hidden interpersonal expressions of the individual that are aimed at anxiety reduction. All interpersonal activities are understood as attempts to avoid anxiety or to create and maintain an optimal sense of self-esteem.

Research reveals a significant relationship between the locus of control and belief in alternative facts and explanations of reality. Abalakina-Paap et al. (1999) claim that in general, external locus of control predicts acceptance of the above-mentioned explanations, what is compliant to how the locus of control is defined in terms of perceived self-efficacy and beliefs about the ability to manage and change aspects of one's own life. The locus of control, therefore, expresses the belief that the events that happen in our lives are controlled or not. People with an internal locus of

control are convinced that their successes or failures are primarily the results of their own capabilities and efforts. By contrast, people with external locus of control feel that most of their own efforts will not yield any positive benefits because they are victims of forces beyond their control (Rotter, 1966). With a higher trust in alternative explanations of reality corresponds also a lack of self-confidence, dissatisfaction with one's own life, and anxiety (Grzesiak-Feldman, 2013; Swami, Chamorro-Premuzic, & Furnham, 2010). For the people who feel helpless, alternative explanations of reality may help to understand and accept their own obstacles in life (Barker, 1966). Those who feel that they are controlled by some external force perceive conspiracy theories as convincing as they are in the line with their own perception of external control.

Last but not least, the role of emotion in decisions about preventive health behaviour should not have been overlooked as they play a central role. Indeed, it has been a topic of scientific interest in last decades. E.g., the common sense model postulates that decision makers seek to regulate the health threat and also their own emotional response (Leventhal, Diefenbach, & Leventhal, 1992) and the cognitive–social health information processing model studies the conditions under which affective states decrease or increase preventive health behaviours (Miller, Shoda, & Hurley, 1996). In the decision-making process regarding vaccination safety, particular attitudes of an individual, especially their affective components, are crucial (Václavíková, Selecká, & Fábry, 2016) as affectivity is often much more important than objective knowledge (Ruisel, 2004).

Based on the above-mentioned context, we have formulated research goals, which are: 1. to identify possible differences in the perceived trustworthiness of the information about potential relationship between vaccination and autism based on sex/gender and education level; 2. to examine the predictive value of personality traits in terms of the interpersonal model of personality by Leary, Laforge & Suczek (1976) and the concept of locus of control (Levenson, 1981) for trust in the present information; and 3., due to a more precise examination of the emotional context accompanying the process of information evaluation, to identify the emotions experienced during the reading of information about potential harm caused by vaccine.

## **Method**

### **Research sample**

Research sample consists of 125 people with mean age of 27.46 years (SD=9.124). There were 45 men and 80 women. Research sample included participants with secondary education (N=56) and higher education (N=69). Participants have enrolled the research on a voluntary basis. Before the data collection, they were informed on the area of research and continued after their oral consent. After data completion, participants have been debriefed.

### **Methods**

Trustworthiness of the information introducing the risks of vaccination for the development of autism

The stimulus material submitted to the participant consists of a fabricated statements pointing out the risks of vaccination and the potential association of MMR vaccine with the development of autism. The material for creating the short article was obtained through the content of anti-vaccination web pages. Participants rated trustworthiness of the information at a 4-point Likert-type scale.

The stimulus material also included a range of basic emotions according to Ekman (1992): disgust, sadness, happiness, fear, anger, and surprise. For each of these emotions, participants expressed the intensity of the experience after reading the stimulus information.

The Interpersonal Checklist (Leary, Laforge, Suczek, 1976)

ICL is a 128 item self-rating adjective checklist devised to measure eight interpersonal characteristics (i.e., controlling, assertive, angry, self-critical, submissive, passive, cooperative, and supportive). These eight traits are considered to be present in each person to some extent; however, extreme amounts, either too little or too much, of any of the traits are considered to be undesirable. The ICL utilized sixteen descriptive phrases within each trait category which are weighted 1 through 4 depending on intensity. Endorsement and/or more intense phrases leads to a higher score on that personality characteristic.

## Multidimensional Levenson Scale of the locus of control (Levenson, 1981)

The internality, powerful others and chance (IPC) scales (Levenson, 1981) consist of 24 items with three subscales corresponding to three dimensions of locus of control. The internality (I) scale measures the extent to which one believes that he/she has control over one's life. The items seem to describe the concept of self-determination (e.g. "My life is determined by my own actions."). The powerful others (P) scale concerns the belief that other person/s control the events in one's life (e.g., "Getting what I want requires pleasing those people above me."). The chance (C) scale measures the degree to which one believes that fate or luck affects one's experiences and outcomes (e.g., "To a great extent my life is controlled by accidental happenings.").

## Results

With regard to the values of skewness and kurtosis, indicating that the level of trust in present information is not normally-distributed neither in men ( $S=-0.046$ ,  $SE=0.354$ ;  $K=-1.101$ ,  $SE=0.695$ ) nor in women ( $S=-0.293$ ,  $SE=0.271$ ;  $K=-1.117$ ,  $SE=0.535$ ), we decided to compute results using nonparametric procedure. Mann-Whitney's U test does not confirm significant difference between men and women in the level of confidence in the presented information ( $U=1616.00$ ;  $p=0.381$ ).

Sex	N	MR	U	Sig.
Men	45	58.91	1616.0	0.381
Women	80	64.54		

Table 1: Differences between men and women in confidence in presented information on the relationship between vaccination and the development of autism

We were interested in the potential difference in trust toward information with regard to the educational level of the participants (tab. 2). In the first step, we identified the values of skewness and kurtosis. Considering the values in the group of participants with secondary education ( $S=-0.029$ ,  $SE=0.319$ ;  $K=-0.950$ ,  $SE=0.628$ ) and higher education ( $S=-0.396$ ,  $SE=0.289$ ;  $K=-1.132$ ,  $SE=0.570$ ), we decided to compute results using nonparametric test as well. Mann-Whitney U test confirms significant difference in the level of confidence in presented information ( $U=1486.00$ ;



$p=0.021$ ); participants with secondary education are more likely to believe that the vaccination could lead to the development of autism.

Education	N	MR	U	Sig.
Secondary	56	55.04	1486.0	0.021
Higher	69	69.46		

Table 2: Difference in trust toward information with regard to the educational level

Logistic regression analysis was used to analyse the potential predictive importance of personality traits and components of locus of control for belief versus mistrust in stimulus information about autism induced by vaccination (tab. 3). The model appears to be appropriate ( $\chi^2 = 38.232$ ;  $df = 19$ ;  $p = 0.006$ ) and it explains from 26.5 to 35.7% of variance.

Predictors	B	S.E.	Wald	Df	p	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Competitive Personality	-0.532	0.179	8.802	1	0.003	0.587	0.413	0.835
Aggressive Personality	0.372	0.159	5.498	1	0.019	1.451	1.063	1.981
Internality	-0.357	0.164	4.736	1	0.030	0.700	0.507	0.965

Table 3: Predictive importance of personality traits and locus of control for confidence in information

Personality types that manifest themselves as being significant in relation to belief/mistrust in the presented information are competitive-narcissistic personality ( $B = -0.532$ ;  $\text{sig} = 0.003$ ) and aggressive-sadistic personality ( $B = 0.372$ ;  $\text{sig} = 0.019$ ). The accentuation of self-centred personality reduces the likelihood that the person will trust the presented information. On the other hand, aggressive personality type increases the likelihood of information being trusted. Higher level of internal locus of control, the internality ( $B = -0.357$ ;  $\text{sig} = 0.030$ ), decreases the likelihood to assess the information as being trustworthy.

The investigation of emotions experienced while reading the stimulus material using chi square test of independence showed non-significant results ( $\chi^2=7.812$ ;  $df=5$ ;  $sig=0.167$ ). However, as there is a presumption that emotions may influence the decision to belief/mistrust in the information presented, we have considered the belief/mistrust as a dependent variable in order to identify to what extent the multiplicity of emotion categories can predict the inclination towards belief or disbelief in information. Goodman & Kruskal's asymmetric lambda showed non-significant result as well ( $\lambda = 0.149$ ; approx. sig. = 0.085). It is noteworthy that the level of significance has greatly decreased towards a level below 0.05, so we can consider this approach as being reasonable. Despite the non-significant results, the frequency of emotions reported by the participants after confronting with information about the potential harmfulness of the vaccination illustrates their subjective experience (tab. 4). In particular, people who are not convinced that vaccination can lead to the development of autism, experience most often disgust (N=25; 43.9%) and surprise (N=16; 28.1%) while reading the information. Similarly, in people who trust the information presented, we most commonly identify emotions of surprise (N=14; 29.8%) and disgust (N=12; 25.5%), but with a significantly different proportional representation in the case of disgust (see table 4). Also, fear (N = 10; 21.3%) can be identified more frequently in participants who believe the information.

	Anger	Fear	Disgust	Happiness	Sadness	Surprise	Total
Mistrust	7	5	25	0	4	16	57
Frequency %	12.3%	8.8%	43.9%	0.0%	7.0%	28.1%	
Trust	5	10	12	2	4	14	47
Frequency %	10.6%	21.3%	25.5%	4.3%	8.5%	29.8%	

Table 4: Emotion expressed with regard to belief/mistrust in stimulus information

## Discussion

As Salmon et al. (2005) has reported, a significant number of parents feel that physicians do not provide enough information and that public health officials are not

trustworthy. Thus, many people search rather online for health information, and the information found impacts their decision-making; even though it is often inaccurate or incomplete (Eysenbach, Powell, Kuss, & Sa, 2002). Especially certain websites contain particularly low quality information and by reading them, one might be persuaded to think that vaccines are actually ineffective, useless, or even dangerous. In the current research, we focused especially on personality factors which may possibly lead to the expression of belief or mistrust toward anti-vaccination information among participants; young men and women.

There is not a significant difference between men and women in the level of confidence in the presented information in our research sample. This result is contradictory to findings presented by Gilles et al. (2011) or Freed et al. (2011), who reported a sex/gender as being an important predictor of perceived vaccination efficacy. Because our research sample is rather unbalanced (where women highly predominate) and less numerous as well, we would not question conclusion of above-mentioned studies.

A significant difference in trust toward information with regard to the educational level of the participants has been found; participants with secondary education are, compared with higher educated participants, more likely to believe that the vaccination could lead to the development of autism. We could consider different amount and type of information available to participants with regard to their educational level or different processes of information and its source assessment used by more educated people. Further, as states Greig (2006), conspiracy theories often present a simplified explanation of more complex events that could draw attention of people with lower cognitive abilities. Since the anti-vaccination theory is described as having the features of the conspiracy, our results are consistent with Goertzel (1994), who has found a negative correlation between trust in conspiracy theories and education.

Personality types identified as being significant in relation to belief/mistrust in the presented information are competitive-narcissistic personality and aggressive-sadistic personality. Being competitive or even narcissistic relates to the trust in the presented information negatively - participants with higher score in narcissism have a tendency to report lower confidence in anti-vaccination theory. This personality type is described as self-centred, he/she focuses primarily on his/her own person and

his/her own goals (Leary, Laforge & Suczek, 1976). For this reason, he/she could be less interested in the external world and does not need to register conspiracy theories that do not directly concern his person. Further, this personality type typically expresses self-respect, independence, self-confidence, even sense of superiority. We could assume that the mistrust is the prevalent way used by these personalities to reduce anxiety caused by the information.

On the other hand, aggressive personality type (with a tendency to behave aggressively and to be critical of others) increases the likelihood of information being trusted. This type of interpersonal behaviour has a cradle in inner anxiety and a sense of being threatened by other people (Leary, Laforge & Suczek, 1976). Thus, the goal of such interpersonal behaviour is to induce others to feel that this person is dangerous and to ensure his or her emotional stability. As some authors (e.g. Grzesiak-Feldman, 2013; Swami, Chamorro-Premuzic, & Furnham, 2010) claim, belief in conspiracy theories is connected to hostility. Information postulating potential harm of vaccination may in this case fulfil the function of a particular enemy, on which the aggressive personality could target his/her negative or hateful behaviour (Goertzel, 1994). In addition, finding the “external enemy” could help some people to eliminate self-blaming for their own problems (Greig, 2006).

Higher level of internal locus of control, the internality, decreases the likelihood to assess the information as being trustworthy. This fact corresponds with the results of previous research, which supported the predictive importance of external locus of control for acceptance of conspiracy theories (Abalakina-Paap et al., 1999). People scoring high at the internality scale express stronger sense of self-efficacy and beliefs about the ability to manage and change aspects of their life, they are convinced that their successes or failures are primarily the results of their own capabilities and efforts (Rotter, 1966). Further, as we found out in earlier research (Václavíková, Selecká, & Fábry, 2016), among Slovak inhabitants, negative attitude towards vaccination is associated with higher levels of neuroticism, respectively with emotional instability. One of the factors supporting confidence in alternative or conspiratorial explanations is uncertainty (Goertzel, 1994), typically experienced by more neurotic individuals. It seems reasonable to assume that the conspiracy-based belief provides people who feel lack of control with a sense of order and clarifies certain events. Then, through knowing the facts, it creates a sense of power while

offering a particular object that can be accused; it works as a defensive mechanism in fighting fear and insecurity (Lewandowsky, Oberauer, & Gignac, 2013).

It has been observed that vaccine hesitancy is heavily impacted by lack of confidence in the vaccine's safety and efficacy as well as fears regarding the reliability and competence of health system (Kumar et al., 2016). Further, as Salmon et al. (2005) stated, the most common reason for refusing vaccination is concern that it might cause harm. People tend to believe and spread conspiracy theories also because of the experiencing strong emotions, such as anger or fear. In the presence of strong emotions, which conspiratorial theories undoubtedly provoke, the perception of reality is distorted. In such cases, people do not analyse the situation rationally and from a scientific point of view, but in an emotional way (Ruisel, 2004). When confronted with the information indicating risk of vaccination, participants mostly expressed surprise and disgust, regardless of whether the information was believed or not. We could assume different backgrounds of experiencing these emotions in both situation, but the truth is, an interview with participants should be conducted in order to identify the nuances of their emotional response to the stimulus material.

Although most people still place a lot of trust in formal authorities (Salmon et al., 2005; Freed et al., 2011), patients' confidence in non-health professional sources for such information should not be discounted, especially because suspicion and mistrust of the vaccination safety further underestimate the scientific evidence that has led to the conclusion that vaccines are safe, effective and necessary (Jolley & Douglas 2014). It is really important, as states Trebichavský (2016), to convince (not only) parents in a sensible way and without confrontation - leading experts have to discuss with anti-vaccine activists and use hard facts. Similarly, Faasse, Chatman, & Martin (2016) emphasize education targeted toward enhancing understanding of science and the scientific method. Accurate messaging around health and biological mechanisms of vaccination, may be effective in shifting views of the vaccine-hesitant with a focus on the importance of immunization for protecting vulnerable members of society.

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## Role of Education in Prevention of Radicalization into Violence



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### **Abstract**

This paper will provide insight in how educational efforts can be specifically tailored to address a growing problem of youth radicalization into violence. It is clear that sheer education is not enough to „protect“ an individual from being indoctrinated and recruited into radicalized groups of different kind. It is both the content and the style of education, as well as the perception of curricular goals by policy makers, that contribute to shaping young people`s minds to be independent and open, thus making them less susceptible to radicalization. It is of great importance to recognize ever growing relevance of competences educators are aiming at developing in youth, one of them being advancement of critical and complex thinking, making it a priority over teaching facts and information. In practice it is often the case that acquiring life skills is considered to be secondary to this, when, in fact, in order to tackle constant and challenging changes of young people`s reality today educational efforts should focus more on developing interpersonal and communication skills and decision making competences. Inclusive approach in schools along with promotion of democratic attitudes and experiential learning about The Other is a promising ground for building minds open to discuss and question any ideology, including those potentially violent. Nourishing identity and sense of belonging primarily to humankind, and providing opportunities for positive community-based involvement can protect adolescents faced with normal developmental tasks against recruitment into groups.

Key words: adolescents, radicalization into violence, prevention

Growing problem of youth radicalization into violence brings about the issue of societal efforts to prevent this phenomenon, especially since adolescence as a transitional stage of life brings *per se* special challenges. As complex and far reaching as it may be, prevention through educational system has more chances to succeed, compared to other possible spheres of action. Young people spend most of their time in schools, where they are exposed to various ideas of peers, teachers and society in

general. It is, or should be, a place of self-affirmation and growth, belonging and identity, which all serve as possible buffers against susceptibility to radicalization into violence i.e. recruitment into radical groups. Keeping this in mind, a question arises: How well schools nowadays meet up these important roles? This paper will try to summarize possible paths of preventive influence of education, based on theoretical assumptions, since empirically rooted researches are still lacking. We will discuss some some general educational efforts as well as those specifically tailored to address the issue of radicalization into violence.

It is clear that sheer education is not enough to „protect“ an individual from being indoctrinated and recruited into radicalized groups of different kind, which is evident from case studies of people who actually joined terrorist groups (Mohdin, 2016). It is both the content and the style of education, as well as the perception of curricular goals by policy makers, that contribute to shaping young people`s minds to be independent and open, thus making them less susceptible to radicalization. Educational system that teaches final truths, blind obedience, and intellectual conformism goes in favor of indoctrination, not vice versa. A famous philosopher once said that the safest way to spoil young people is to teach them to appreciate more opinions that match theirs, than those that do not. There are still systems like this that label themselves as educational, although they narrow young people`s minds and indoctrinate them. The others that do not, have their own flaws. For example, focusing primarily on knowledge and technical skills, while neglecting their *nurturing* role. School is not supposed to only educate young people, but offer them meaning, and realistic view of the world with all its complexities, along with self-awareness. Case studies of young people recruited into violent groups show they had their share of education, and that is a fact that relates both to radicalized immigrants, converts, or far-right activists. Something went wrong. Increase in popularity of extremist and far-right in Europe also shows that many educational systems nowadays are not suppressing ideologies we thought were a matter of past. Therefore, if we want to engage schools into prevention of violent extremism, then they have to reclaim their nurturing role, and not only be places that convey dry as dust knowledge and professional skills.

Helping young people shape their identities in positive way is crucial. Schools need to help youths identify primarily with their local community and feel the sense

of belonging, offer ways to engage in pro social action on issues young people feel passionate about. This not only creates a sense of making a difference in an important way, but it also enables them to reflect on who they are, what they actually want to do, what are their goals, etc. Schools should aim at creating space for self-actualization through good, and feeling successful and creative through the mainstream value system, thus preventing adolescents from seeking attention and fulfillment through socially deviant behavior. While acknowledging and cherishing various identities an individual may have, schools should primarily and systematically promote mankind identity and teach universal humanistic values of tolerance, inclusiveness, empathy, and respect, not necessarily through separate subjects, but through all of them. It is a matter of approach. A vital outcome of teaching regardless of the subject should be the development of interpersonal skills (communication, assertiveness, conflict management, etc) that form the base of social resilience. Peer pressure has been recognized as an important factor of youth preferences (Malone, Dyer, Norton, 2009). Socially resilient adolescents do not have trouble resisting peer pressure, their self-esteem enables them to stand for themselves while accepting differences in opinions and lifestyles, and not regarding them as a threat to their personality, thus making them less susceptible to indoctrination, based on which radicalization usually happens. Focusing on emotional competence of adolescents is necessary in order for them to be able to recognize their own emotions, express them in constructive ways, and manage their stress reactions. On the other hand, experiential learning provides firsthand experience with *The other* of any kind, offering them an opportunity to test their emotional competences and teaching them to be open for discussion as a basis for holding democratic attitude and pro social thinking. All of this contributes to increased life relevant competences and skills as opposed to sterile knowledge that is so often the hotspot of our curricular goals.

Focusing on Bosnian-Herzegovinian context it is noteworthy to recognize specific perils stemming from our socialistic one-party system past, on which education was based. Half a century of a system that stigmatized all of those who deviated from mainstream socialistic thought is still deeply rooted in attitudes of many individuals. Ideological eligibility was promoted as a virtue and an ultimate educational goal. After falling apart of Yugoslavia, these models were not deserted, but merely put into function of nationalistic elite's goals. This is why *pluralisation of*

*thought* should be made a primary educational outcome. Keeping in mind that adolescents' autonomous thinking is still developing, they should be trained to recognize warning signs when ideals and values are used in order to manipulate masses. Teaching young people values should go hand in hand with teaching them that these values can be dangerously abused; love for their nation can easily turn into nationalism, and faith into fanatic behavior. Same is true for other values, even love and compassion. Adolescents should develop understanding that love in a relationship can become a frame for justification of abuse and violence. Historical experience teaches us that this kind of critical thinking has to become our goal, as educators, not a sign of weakness or betrayal of ideals. Building safety mechanisms that warn young people about the misuse of ideals and values is crucial. Teaching style that reinforces what is known as "authoritarian personality" goes in favour of radicalization into violence. Students blindly obedient to their overpowering teachers will continue to search for leaders, depend on them and obey their commands without questioning<sup>1</sup>. Educators should, on the contrary, model self-criticism and respect for individuality, in order to show that knowledge is not an attained goal, but an ongoing process.

Critical thinking in general has indeed been proven to be key principle in prevention of radicalization (Malone, 2015). Professor Sara Savage and her colleagues from University of Cambridge have developed a model called Integrative Complexity that teaches young people complex thinking (Savage, 2015). *ICthinking* is an empirically validated intervention method that reduces extremism, and increases the complexity with which people view the social world. It has been shown that black-and-white view of the world that is very simple and appealing to (young) people increases susceptibility to endorsing views that lead to (justification of) violence. This intervention/preventive programme engages participants with real-life topics teaching them to recognize and validate a range of viewpoints and values in themselves and others.

Along with having these major educational outcomes directly focused and incorporated in teaching of all subjects, one of possible ways to decrease susceptibility to radicalization into violence, is to intensify educational programmes for parents, tackling both general mental health issues as well as specific

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<sup>1</sup>For a review on teaching styles and radicalization, see Pels & Ruyter (2012)

radicalization topics. Fortunately, schools still seem to be continuous channels of influence that offer society an opportunity to systematically teach values relevant to its benefit. Parents should be also guided and assisted in their parenting behavior, styles of communication, understanding adolescence as a critical period in life, and other relevant topic. Quality time spent with their children seems to be the hallmark of preventive strategies, as simple as it sounds.

This short paper summarized some key points in our efforts to prevent radicalization into violence through educational system, that should, as shown, be approached on several levels, some of which involve root changes of curricular goals, while the others refer to intensifying what is already considered to be a good teaching practice.

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