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IN HONOR OF PROFESSOR ĐORĐE TASIĆ:
LIFE, WORKS AND ECHOES

СРПСКО СОЦИОЛОШКО ДРУШТВО

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Belgrade, 2023

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IN HONOR OF PROFESSOR ĐORĐE TASIĆ: LIFE, WORKS AND ECHOES

Editors
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Ana Vuković, PhD, Research Associate, Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade (Serbia)

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Serbian Sociological Association, Belgrade

For Publisher
Zsolt Lazar, PhD, Full Professor, University of Novi Sad - Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Sociology, Novi Sad (Serbia), The President of Serbian Sociological Association

Editor-in-chief of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*
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Translation & Proofreading
Olivera Nićiforović Babac
Eva Koprivica

Prepress
Jasmina Živković

Illustrations
Tomislav R. Simonović
Boris Popović

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Boris Popović

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FOREWORD
IN HONOR OF PROFESSOR ĐORĐE TASIĆ: LIFE, WORKS AND ECHOES

The aim of this book is to preserve the memory of prof. dr. Đorđe Tasić, who, even today, has an immeasurably great importance and influence on the development of our social and scientific thought. With over six hundred published bibliographic units, prof. Tasić undoubtedly represents one of the leading Serbian intellectuals in the period between the two world wars.

During the 2022/23 is 130 years since his birth and eighty years since his tragic death. He was born on October 7, 1892 in Vranje and was killed by the fascist occupiers, most likely on August 26, 1943 in one of the occupation camps in Belgrade. There aren't many reliable clues about his fate, which is somewhat strange considering the meticulousness with which the German occupation authorities kept records of their crimes. There are several guesses as to when this happened, we will leave it to historians to determine the details.

Đorđe Tasić was an educated lawyer, full professor at Law Faculty on Belgrade University and one of its deans. During his lifetime, he was considered one of the leading Serbian intellectuals of his time. He was a man of wide range of interests and left a significant mark on our science and culture. His bibliography has over six hundred titles. In his rich opus, he did not only explore legal topics, but also topics related to the political system, history, philosophy of law, economics and, of course, sociological topics.

For us, as editors of this monograph, Đorđe Tasić is significant as one of the founders of sociology in Serbia and Yugoslavia. He was not only the author of notable sociological studies, but also the founder of the *Society for Sociology and Social Sciences* (1938-1941) and the initiator and editor of the collection *Sociološki pregled* (1938), which in the post-war years became a prestigious scientific journal and which, even today after eight decades, is still published regularly in Serbian and English and successfully represents our contemporary sociological thought in our country and abroad. For this reason, we cannot but agree that the appearance of this collection is the peak of the development of domestic sociology between the two world wars and the foundation on which it was built in the post-war period (Antonić, 2018, p. 15). In addition, we note that few countries, with a serious tradition of developing sociology, can boast of having a sociological journal that has been actively existing for eight and a half decades.

The sociological ideas presented in Tasić's collection were ahead of their time, and they have preserved their relevance even today, eighty-five years later. Sociology already then paved the way towards interdisciplinary study of society and establishing connections with other, not only social, sciences. Today, the question whether we can deal with any social science and remain exclusively in its field is already being asked. Of course, the answer would hardly be positive. Every science has its own angle of observation and it is insufficient to develop an insight into the whole of a phenomenon.

The first thematic unit of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* was entitled "Sociology and social sciences" and dealt with the question of the relationship of sociology to philosophy, history, ethnology, economy in general and political economy, law, but also sciences that come out of a purely social-scientific framework, such as psychology, biology, statistics, ecology. This brought sociology into the context of social sciences as a general and synthetic science. It was seen as a unique but still fragmented science. The only problem in internal classification was that it was not always possible, due to its complexity, to draw a clear line between general and special sociology. The very fact that special sociologies were discussed indicates that, at that time, sociology, although a relatively young science, already had a significant tradition in the Yugoslav and Serbian areas.

Prof. Đorđe Tasić was a close associate and close friend of many great men of his time. This becomes obvious, at least when it comes to his contribution to the foundation and development of sociology, by simply looking at the contents of the first volume of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*, i.e. the list of authors who published their works in the first volume of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*. The really eminent names of the time are there. It is enough to mention only Slobodan Jovanović, Jovan Đorđević and Branislav Nedeljković to understand the intellectual and scientific format of the gathered authors. Tasić himself had five articles in the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*:

- Philosophy and sociology;

- Sociology and action;

- General overview of our sociology and our social sciences;

- About Belgian sociology and the publications of the Soloway Institute of Sociology

and

- About the sociological congresses during 1937 in Paris.

This list shows the broadness of Tasić's sociological interests and the extent of his contribution to preserve the beginnings of sociology as a science in our region.

Đorđe Tasić was an assistant to one of the greatest Serbian intellectuals, the famous professor Slobodan Jovanović. Tasić's assistant, direct successor in the professorial position at the Faculty of Law, was Radomir Lukić, who today can be considered one of the most significant founders of sociology as a scientific discipline and subject at Yugoslav and Serbian universities after the Second World War.

Given that contemporary sociology in Serbia, to a significant extent, represents the heritage of Prof. Đorđe Tasić, the *Serbian Sociological Society* launched an initiative to remind the scientific, professional and cultural public of the life and work of this great intellectual and professor, erudite and encyclopedic scientist and, what is particularly important for us, the institutional founder of sociology as a science. The *Society for Sociology and Social Sciences* and the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* are still present in the intellectual and cultural space of Serbia. Society under the name *Serbian Sociological Association* and is active in publishing the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*, whose inspiration was precisely prof. Tasić, a journal that has been raised to the level of an international journal, but is also active in organizing scientific meetings, publishing scientific monographs and thematic collections, and conducting sociological research. It is a regular member of the *European Sociological Association* (ESA) and the *International Sociological Association* (ISA), so it is an equal part of the world sociological community.

Editors

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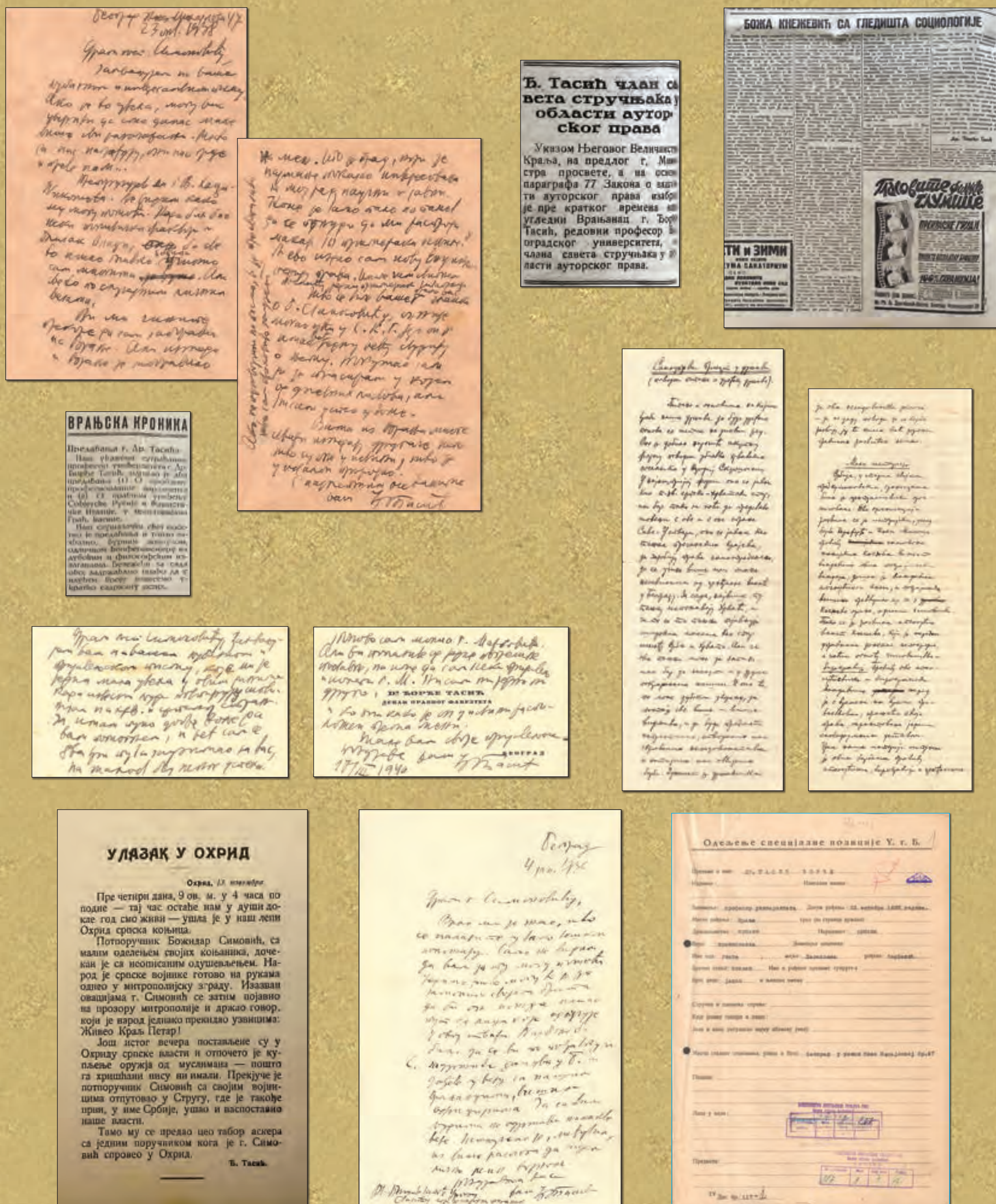

Part One

Professor Đorđe Tasić – Life and Works

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Slobodan Č. Antonić[1]
University of Belgrade,
Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Sociology
Belgrade (Serbia)

ĐORĐE TASIĆ AND PLURAL VOTING[2]

Abstract: The basis of the first part of the paper is the article by Đorđe Tasić "On the proposal for the family vote (the right to vote) in France" (1925). In it, Tasić examines the reasons for and against an additional vote in elections for parents, based on the book André Enfière, *Le vote familial: La réforme electorale* (1923). In the second part of the paper, a modern argumentation is presented in support of representative voting of parents on behalf of children. Previously, the emphasis was on the greater influence of families with children on politicians, in order to ensure a more active demographic policy, and today the emphasis is on the right of all community members to be politically represented. In the conclusion, it is pointed out the fact that in Serbian social science there are few discussions about social design, including the debate about parental proxy voting.

Keywords: parental vote, family vote, demographic policy, the right of minors to vote, proxy voting.

TASIĆ'S DISCUSSION OF THE MULTIPLE VOTE

Is it right for society, in case of inappropriate birth rates, to give people with children an extra vote? Đorđe Tasić (1892–1943) discusses this in the article: "On the proposal for a family vote (the right to vote) in France" (Tasić, 1925).

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[1] santonic@f.bg.ac.rs

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Before that, Tasić published a study in which he strongly argued for women's right to vote:

> "I really cannot understand (...) why a woman with a college or high school education cannot have the right to vote, when a peasant, an artisan, a merchant has it." The only reason would be that she is a woman. Of course, if those women are given (the right to vote - S.A.), then why not give it to all (women - S.A.) who work economically like a man (man - S.A.). And if these are given, why not mothers who run the house and raise children. Therefore, it should be given to everyone!" (Tasić, 1921: 95).

Tasić also translated part of Barthélemy's book *Women's Suffrage* (Barthélemy, 1920), publishing it as a brochure (Barthélemy, 1921), and he also wrote about the idea of plural voting in the League of Nations - the proposal that larger countries have multiple votes in one from the key bodies of this institution (Tasić, 1922). He also dealt with other proposals related to the "reform of democracy" (Tasić, 1923), which were given by Barthélemy (Barthélemy, 1918) and Chardon (Chardon, 1921) - since he himself noticed that democracy has "the flaw that in it the participation of expert elements is not sufficiently guaranteed" (Tasić, 1923: 455).

When it comes to the parental vote, one of the most serious difficulties of contemporary France, writes Tasić (1925), is the insufficient growth and even the decline of the population. As a means against this evil, a family multiple vote (vota ponderantur) is proposed, "giving parents more than one vote, according to the number of children" (Tasić, 1925: 212). This point of view is also advocated by André Enfière, with the book *Family Vote: Electoral Reform* (*Le vote familial: La réforme electorale*, Marcel Giard, Paris, 1923). In it, the author strongly advocates that parents get as many additional votes as they have children, and Đorđe Tasić discusses that book.

The plural vote, at the beginning of the 7th century, was nothing unusual. In Belgium, multiple voting was practiced in the elections of 1894–1919. All males over the age of 25 had one vote, and additional votes were given based on property and education, with the highest total number of votes per voter being three (Vauthier, 1894: 722). Out of 1.3 million voters, the number of additional votes was 0.8 million (Vauthier, 1894: 722), 20 percent of voters had two votes, and 15 percent three (Briey, Héraut, Ottaviani, 2009: 144). Voting was mandatory.

A kind of plural vote in the sense of *multiple voting* also existed in Austria (1861–1907), Belgium (1893–1919), France (1820–1830), Ireland (1815–1914 and 1918–1922/1936), Sweden (until 1866) and Britain (1866–1914 and 1918–1948; Bartolini, 2000: 353). In Britain, until 1918, university professors, in addition to their home constituency, could also vote in the university constituency, and property owners could also vote wherever their property was. A university professor with property in three places, he could vote five times. For eight million voters (1911), there were half a million duplicate votes (Lane, 1992: 457). Even today, in municipal elections in Tasmania, the possession of substantial property brings another vote (Goss, 2017: 1008), and in five of the six Australian states local government suffrage includes property qualifications, votes for corporations and various forms of plural voting (see Goss, 2017: 1016–1029).

The multiple vote, however, had a bad reputation, especially on the left, as a covert means of maintaining privileges - and rightly so (see Jovanović, 1990: 304-306). The project of the Hungarian Minister of the Interior, Gyula Andrássy, from 1908 envisaged, following the Belgian model, an additional two votes based on property and education. However, the meaning of that project was to maintain the dominance of ethnic Hungarians among Hungarian voters: of the voters with three votes, Hungarians would make up 71.7%, with two votes 63.3%, and with one vote 58.6% (Balázs, 2016 : 34).

In France, however, there was a longer tradition of the idea of an additional vote based on the number of children. Back in 1850, Lamartine suggested that the father, as the head of the family, "has as many votes in elections as there are old men, women and children at home." Because in a valid society it is not the individual that is permanent, but the family" (Lamartine, 1850: 249; Gesley, 2018). Jouvenel submitted such a bill in 1871 (Jouvenel, 1871: 2811), as did de Guedon (Louis Henri de Gueydon; Laut, 1903). The idea was renewed in 1873 by Lasserre (Lasserre, 1873), and it was also supported by Tarde (Tarde, 1892: 440–442). Tarde says that there are one-sixteenth of unmarried men, but they make up a quarter of the electorate, and it is unfair that the vote of a father who embodies 3, 4, 5, or 10 different heads in a family has the same value as the vote of a 21-year-old bachelor (446–447). In October 1910, the representative of Rilot-Dugage (Henri Roulleaux-Dugage) repeated the initiative to adopt a law based on Jouvenel and Guedon (Van Parijs, 1998: 310), and it was finally seriously discussed by the French Assembly in 1923.

The Roulleaux-Dugage renewal proposal of 1923 was cleverly crafted to reconcile the left's demand that women also get the right to vote, and the right's fear that it would strengthen the left. Article 2 of the Roulleaux-Dugage proposal gave the right to vote to women, and Article 3 allowed the father to "exercise the right to vote for himself, for his legitimate, natural or acknowledged children, male or female" (Roulleaux-Dugage, 1923: 3957; Toulemon 1933: 125; Briey, Héraut, Ottaviani, 2009: 144). The Assembly accepted this draft by a large majority (440 for, 135 against), instructing the government to put the bill on the agenda of some of the next sessions. However, Poincaré's government was not overly warm to this idea and delayed it. Finally, new elections in 1924 erased this proposal from the agenda (Toulemon, 1933: 108–9, 111–113, 115–139, 200–201, 217; Briey, Héraut, Ottaviani, 2009: 144). However, the family vote was still applied in the French protectorates of Tunisia and Morocco. There, between the two world wars, the father of four or more children received another vote (Toulemon, 1933: 121–122; Van Parijs, 1998: 309).

Having such a tradition behind him, Enfière in his book, which is discussed by Đorđe Tasić, does not start by explaining the reasons in favor of the introduction of the family vote. He focuses on systematically searching and refuting the reasons against it.

The first reason that is usually given against the family vote is that there are fewer children due to a changed mentality, as well as due to economic scarcity or other social reasons. No one will run to have more children because of an additional vote in the elections. Enfière answers that the family vote would encourage politicians to take more care of children and large families. This would push them to adopt appropriate social and economic measures that would protect families with children and thus, in the long run, the birth rate would increase (Tasić, 1925: 212). One of the possible measures would be, for example, a pro-natal tax policy - tax relief for parents with children (213).

Another reason against the family vote is that the children might have different political views than the parent, requiring him not to give “their” vote to the party he himself votes for. It would increase the quarrels in the house. Enfière answers that it is the same with the use of property. Until reaching the age of majority, the parent makes business decisions so, based on the same right, the parent can also make political ones on behalf of the child. However, possible quarrels over business decisions are not a reason for a parent to be the child’s legal representative (213). Tasić, for his part, adds to this that a quarrel in the house is a weak counter-argument, because it could be used to challenge women’s right to vote. The fact that a woman could have a different party affiliation compared to her husband, so there could be an argument, does not mean that she should not be given the right to vote. Education for political tolerance and coexistence of different viewpoints is an important part of civic culture (214).

The third reason against the family vote is that large families are often the result of recklessness and irresponsibility of parents, who are unable to match the number of children with their economic capabilities. They are also often an indicator of dysfunctionality - the father, for example, is a drunkard who abuses his wife and neglects his children. The family vote would only reward such parental recklessness and irresponsibility. Enfière answers that every right is tailored according to the majority, and that a number of cases of social pathology cannot be an excuse to deny all others their rights or social support (213).

The fourth reason concerns precisely the deviation from legal equality. If, according to one criterion, a certain group of people is given more rights, then the space opens up to give more rights to another group according to another criterion, to a third group according to a third criterion, also to grant special rights, and so on indefinitely. Anfier answers that what is just is equal with the equal, and unequal with the unequal. An example of the latter is proportional and even progressive taxation. If society treats people differently according to the size of their property, then it has the right to treat people differently according to the size of their family (213). In fact, says Enfière, the family vote increases equality, because it allows an entire category of the population that was not politically represented - children - to have at least indirect political representativeness (214).

For his part, Tasić adds to this the opinion that an additional vote in the name of children is not a violation of equality in the same sense as an additional vote in the name of property, or a vote in the name of education - which, as we have seen, was the practice in previous electoral systems. A plural vote based on property or education, Tasić says, is additional class privileging (since education is often associated with wealth). On the contrary, the aim of democracy is to balance in the sphere of politics the disharmony between social groups resulting from the economic privilege of the possessing classes. An additional vote on behalf of children is a non-class category and does not politically further privilege any particular class. Secondly, the family vote is not obtained on the basis of a private property, but as an authorization on behalf of another (215).

The fifth counterargument is that property can be bought and sold, but the vote cannot. Therefore, the vote cannot be transferred to another, as can the disposal of property. Enfière answers that if voting is a personal and non-transferable authority to make political decisions that the state gives to every adult citizen for the sake of the general social interest, then that authority can be extended precisely in accordance with the recognized social interest. It is not the children who authorize their parents to vote on their behalf, but the state, and it has the right to do so (214).

Sixth, the question of dividing the child's vote between father and mother arises. In France, at that time, universal suffrage, as in most other countries, applied to men. But what will happen when women also get the right to vote? How to determine who will vote on behalf of the child - father or mother? Enfière answers that it is not an insurmountable obstacle either. In the case of an even number of children, the votes are divided in two between the father and the mother. In addition, with an odd number of children, the father votes for boys and the mother for girls (214). In multi-generational families that were created by the father having children until he had a son, the man would have two votes and the woman four, five or six...

Having presented Enfière's point of view, Đorđe Tasić subjects him to a careful search. He, firstly, thinks that Enfière expects too much from this measure. Without a whole package of other measures, the question is how much the family vote can improve demographic conditions in society (214). Second, the concept that parents politically represent children until they reach adulthood is not a good one. "Children do not have the right to vote and therefore no one can represent them" (215). The family vote, in principle, can be obtained by voters as parents due to the general interest of social reproduction. That is exactly the main problem, according to Tasić - it contradicts "the spirit of equality, as it is understood by people" (ibid.). While in terms of property and income inequality is allowed in the broadest public opinion, "in political matters an absolute and undifferentiated equality is strictly enforced" (ibid.). Because, as Tasić writes elsewhere:

> "plural vote has proven to be an institution that modern democracy cannot bear. And where it was misled, it was abolished. It is not that you cannot find an objective criterion - it cannot be found in general when it comes to social values - but equality of social functions is in the spirit of democracy. All ranks, from the lowest to the highest, are equally valuable in a democratic society. Such a system normally meets with the distrust and protest of the masses: it offends the developed sense of equality, which

ultimately has its basis in the sense of equality of functions. And isn't it aristocracy when someone is given more rights than others? The criterion that would be taken would always be a criterion in favour of the powerful in society" (Tasić, 1922: 196-197; original emphasis).

Once the principle of equality is violated, there will be no end to the demands for privilege. Why is it that prominent scientists should not have an additional vote - if the general social interest is the development of science? Or, why should war heroes not have an additional vote - if the general social interest is the successful defense of the country? (Tasić, 1925: 216). The problem with this differentiation is that it necessarily makes a difference between voters: socially better - socially worse. "And once this system is presented in this way, then it is easily placed among all those systems in which individuals are given a greater number of votes for their own sake, i.e. the better" (216–217).

The urgent problem of society, and then of democracy, continues Tasić, is the concentration of capital and social power in a few hands, rather than fewer children than is necessary for the reproduction of society. "Economic contrasts are related to the concentration of capital and the creation of large and powerful economic organizations of capital", writes Tasić, so the burning "question of democracy appears as a question of (...) socialization of certain economic branches" (217). Moreover, when the state takes over the management of a part of the economy, a problem arises - can a parliament elected on a party basis successfully lead a socialized economy.

> "Political elements are not competent for all issues and always (...). It is recognized and requested that expert elements ensure permanence and independence, and, in accordance with this, it is even requested that the composition and organization of the parliament be radically reorganized (permanently in the sense of democracy)" (217).

In his earlier work on the reform of democracy, Tasić already opened "the question of how to balance the political elements with the professional elements" (Tasić, 1923: 456), "in the sense of the emancipation of the professional elements from the political elements" (Tasić, 1923: 536), and here he already leaves the impression that he is no stranger to the idea of industrial democracy (social self-management). Nevertheless, the article ends with a pessimistic assessment that it is still far from that:

> "In such a system (socialized economy - S.A.) it may be possible or even necessary to make distinctions between people according to their social value or function - in a democratic goal and sense, and, among other things, also according to family and number children. But it is difficult, very difficult today" (ibid.).

TODAY'S MODELS OF MULTIPLE PARENTAL VOTE

The debate about the parental representative vote for children is still very active today, both among social scientists and among politicians in more developed countries. Usually, two types of reasons are given in support of this solution, of which - conditionally speaking - the first is closer to the right, and the second to the left.

The demographic reason is renewed by Demeny, at the end of his article dedicated to low population growth in more developed countries, where he advises: "Strengthen the influence of families with children in the political system." Let the parents (custodial parents) exercise the voting rights of the children until they come of age" (Demeny, 1986: 354). According to him, Sanderson and Scherbov will call parental voting Demeny voting (Sanderson and Scherbov, 2007: 548), supporting his idea. In general, the demographic argument points out that increasing the political influence of parents with children would balance the intergenerational imbalance that exists among voters. In Japan, according to the census (2005), 24% of voters are parents with children, while 43% of voters are over 55 years old (pre-retirement and retired), which is why politicians pay more attention to the bloc of older voters (Aoki and Vaithianathan 2009: 12). The introduction of the demeny system, however , would automatically increase the voting power of parents to 37%, and reduce the share of power of the elderly to 35%, which would encourage politicians to focus more on family policy (Aoki and Vaithianathan 2009: 13).

In Germany, only 27% of the electorate are raising minor children, while 36% of voters are 55 years and older (Hinrichs, 2002: 42). Politicians pay more attention to the elderly than to the younger, so in a quarter of a century the share of those receiving social assistance among the elderly decreased from 2.8% to 1.3%, and the share of children and youth (up to 18 years old) increased from 1.9% to 6.8% (Hinrichs, 2002: 36). If minors were added as a vote to parents, the parental share in the electorate would increase from 27% to 41%, while the share of those over 55 would decrease from 36% to 29% (Hinrichs, 2002: 42). Then the politicians would also change their behavior.

In Britain half a century ago, 60% of the population was under the age of 20, but by 2020 that percentage will drop below 25% (Thomas and Hocking, 2003: 79), and in many EU countries after 2050, a third of voters will be over 65. (Bovenberg, 2007: 17). It is known that older voters block necessary long-term reforms (21), so the solution is "to give parents with children an additional right to vote for each child" (Bovenberg, 2007: 23).

Moreover, in the US, childless adults make up 34% of the population, but control 46% of the vote. Voters from households without children as a group have been calculated to have 140% of the voting power in Congress relative to households with children (Rutherford, 1998: 1512). Where is the political equality of people, equality of vote and the rule of one man - one vote (one person, one vote)? "Parental voting provides a remedy: the balance of power shifts to equalize per capita votes" (Rutherford, 1998: 1512). In addition to the reason of fairness (equality), politicians in the USA are less concerned about children, due to the lower voter representation of children or their parents. As a result, for every dollar given to children, the federal government spends another $7 on the elderly (Hinze, 2020: 154). That is why, in the last five decades, poverty among the elderly has decreased from 70% to 9%, while poverty among children has increased to 18% – the highest rate among all age groups (Hinze, 2020: 154–155; cf. Peterson, 1992; Pantell & Shannon, 2009 : 139). In addition, politicians in the USA do not take enough care of the interests of the poor, because they know that they vote much less often than the better-off anyway. Parental voting would also help here: a single mother with two children would have three votes - she, armed like that, would go to the polls sooner, and politicians would automatically start to take this into account (Rutherford, 1998: 1522). In general, the demeny system would increase the power of women, who, as a rule, are left with children after divorce, or raise children alone (the same).

It is argued that it is also a matter of social justice. The payment of pensions always depends on the next generation, so even when the pension is pure rent from dividends, the next generation has to do something so that the dividends can be paid at all. Parents who have children spent a large part of their time raising them, so they had less time to earn and set aside for a pension fund. Nevertheless, it is precisely because of this additional parental work that future pensions will exist at all. The injustice that family work, although substantial for society, is not valued enough, is corrected by an additional family vote (Aoki and Vaithianathan, 2009). In this sense, there was also a proposal that a parent with children would have one more vote for life, even when his children become voters themselves.

Along with the advocacy for the introduction of family or parental vote - for demographic reasons, or for reasons of social justice and balance - an argument in favour of the direct vote of minors and even children has also developed (for example: Brando 2022; Wall, 2022; Weinstock, 2021; Umbers , 2020; Lau, 2012, etc.). If minors pay taxes and are not politically represented, this violates the principle of “no taxation without representation”. Moreover, in the USA, the number of deputies in the House of Representatives is determined not according to the number of voters, but in proportion to the total population - therefore, children are also counted, although they are not politically represented (Bennett, 2000). The formal age threshold for voting was created based on the principle of (in)competence, but that principle must be symmetrical, for all age groups, otherwise it is unfair and discriminatory (Brando 2022: 18–19; Wall, 2022: 178).

This point of view requires not only to lower the age threshold for voting, but also to enable all minors to vote directly, if possible through their parents (when it comes to younger ages). In this second case, *the parental vote* (*family vote*; French *vote familial*, *suffrage familial*; German. *Familienwahlrechts*) would actually be *a proxy vote on behalf of children* (*surrogate voting*; Bennett, 2000; *Kinderwahlrecht–vikarisch ausgeübt*; Grözinger, 1993: 1261). The parent would be obliged to talk to the child about his preferences (Grözinger, 1993: 1264; DBD, 2003: 4; Schickhardt, 2015: 223), and a minor over the age of 14 would, according to some proposals, even have the right of veto if would judge that the parent represents him politically inappropriately (Schickhardt, 2015: 223). Parental proxy voting, since it is a public authority (not a right), would be mandatory: the parent as a voter would not have to vote, but for the child he would have to (Semashko and Devit, 2004: 19; Schickhardt, 2015: 222) – otherwise they will be fined, in favour of the child protection organization (Schickhardt, 2015: 239). Therefore, a parent with five children would not have six votes (as follows from the perspective of plural voting), but five minor citizens, who are an integral part of the political demos, would be given the opportunity to vote by proxy (proxy-claim voting; Wall, 2022: 169) and thus realize their legitimate political right (Schickhardt, 2015: 227) - thereby ensuring true equality (Wall, 2022: 184).

Various solutions are proposed, which, when added to the classic parental vote, look like this:

1. a child acquires the nominal right to vote from birth, but must go through a strictly formal procedure of registration as a voter when he feels capable of doing so (Kiesewetter, 2009; Cook, 2013; Tremmel, 2014; Tremmel and Wilhelm 2015: 138–140; Hinze, 2020: 151; Wall, 2022: 175; 186);
2. a minor acquires the right to vote before coming of age, but his vote is weighted according to age (fractional vote): 12 years 1/7 vote, 13 – 2/7, 14 – 3/7, 15 – 4/7, 16 – 5/7, 17 – 6/7 votes (Rehfeld, 2011: 158); or 14 and 15 – ¼, 16 and 17 – ½ vote (cf. Rehfeld, 2011: 163–164);
3. the child and parents share the child's vote in proportion to the age of the minor: up to 14 years old parents 100% - child 0%, from 14 years old parents 80% - child 20%, from 15 years old 60%-40%, from 16 years old 40% –60%, at 17 years 20%–80%, and at 18 years 0%–100% (Dukach, 2012);
4. the parent, for a time, helps the child to vote at the polling station (Olsson, 2008: 70–71) or directly votes for the child, until he passes the minimum political knowledge test (Grözinger, 1993; Semashko and Devit, 2004: 17), or does not go through the formal election registration procedure (Wall, 2014: 109; for representatives in Germany, see Schickhardt, 2015: 215), or simply does not give a formal statement that from now on it votes (Wall, 2022: 175; 186);
5. the parent votes as the child's representative until the legal deadline when the child acquires the right to vote (Rosmini, 1848: Art. 59; Lamartine, 1850: 249; Jouvenel, 1871: 2811; Lasserre, 1873; Tarde, 1892: 442–446; Laut , 1903; Roulleaux–Dugage, 1923: 3957; Sauvy, 1945: 213–14; Landry, 1949: 634; Löw, 1974; Carballo, 1981; Demeny, 1986: 354; Bayer, 1997; Rutherford 1998; Van Parijs, 1998 ; Hewlett and West 1998: 240–41; Annemans, et al., 1998: 9; Bennett, 2000; Semashko, 2000: 45; Bovenberg, 2007: 23; Sanderson and Scherbov, 2007: 548; Olsson, 2008; Aber, 2008: 202; Pantell and Shannon 2009; Antonić, 2014: 38; Wolf, Goldschmidt, and Petersen, 2015; Ringressi and Bernabei, 2018; Douthat, 2018; Modi, 2018; 2020);

6. the same as under 5, but in order to ensure that the parent votes strictly in the interest of the child, the parental vote is partly public: the vote is taken in a separate booth, so that the way the parent voted can be recorded by an independent agency, and the entire submit the records to the child when he reaches the age of majority (Schickhardt, 2015: 232).

When it comes to how to distribute votes for children between parents, there are the following proxy voting models.

1. all children's votes go to the father (Lamartine, 1850: 249; Jouvenel, 1871: 2811; Lasserre, 1873; Tarde, 1892: 442–446; Laut, 1903; Roulleaux–Dugage, 1923: 3957);
2. all children's votes go to the mother (Ringen, 1997a: 14; Ringen, 1997b; 53; Campiglio, 2009: 244; Fidesz 2011; Corak, 2012);
3. the mother votes for each child in the first half of the time until obtaining the right to vote, the father in the second half; for example, if the right to vote is acquired at the age of 18, the mother votes until the age of 9, the father from the age of 9 to the age of 18 (Sauvy, 1945; Ringressi and Bernabei, 2018);
4. fathers vote for sons, and mothers for daughters (Michel Debré, 1978 - cited according to Kandell, 1978; Grözinger, 1993: 1264–1265; Demeny, 2012: 700);
5. half the vote goes to each parent (Hattenhauer, 1996: 16; Rutherford, 1998: 1506; Bennett, 2000: III, G; Pantell and Shannon 2009: 142; Dukach, 2012; Sacconi and Fuksia 2014: 3; Antonić, 2014: 36; Schickhardt, 2015: 223; Wolf, Goldschmidt, and Petersen, 2015);
6. with an even number of children, the votes are shared between the father and the mother, and with an odd number, the father votes for the boys, and the mother for the girls (Enfière, 1923);
7. one vote for the father for each odd child in order of birth, and one vote for the mother for each even child (Toulemon, 1933);
8. one vote for the mother for each odd child, one vote for the father for each even child; at the time of the promulgation of the law, since some children are already of legal age, it is counted as the odd first next minor child (Van Parijs, 1998: 312);
9. father and mother vote alternately for each child, with a random selection of the beginning that can be made, for example, based on the (odd) parity of the child and the (odd) date of birth of the parents (Eufemi et al. 2004: 3);
10. mother and father mutually decide who will vote for the child (Thomas and Hocking, 2003: 14; 80–81; Semashko and Devit, 2004: 18–19); in case the parents cannot agree, the law determines a simple way for both parents to get equal rights to the child's vote (DBD, 2003: 2; DBD, 2008: 4).

WHAT WOULD ĐORĐE TASIĆ SAY TODAY?

We have seen that Tasić's consideration of the parental vote is still very relevant today, at least when it comes to European thought and political practice. What about Serbia?

Unfortunately, there is almost no discussion of plural voting in Serbian social science today. When it comes to electoral reform, among our experts the most thought is the electoral system (majority-proportional) and the number of constituencies, while feminists are, of course, only interested in increasing women's quotas. Politicians are equally interested almost exclusively in the method of determining the order of deputies on the list (see Vučićević and Jovanović, 2020: 829–835), as well as in reducing the electoral censure (Marković, 2020: 132–137; Škundrić, 2020: 275– 281), while female politicians are, of course, only interested in female quotas (Marković, 2020: 140–141; Škundrić, 2020: 285–286).

In contemporary Serbian sociology, there is still no talk of considering the concrete improvement of social design. In that respect, it seems that there are only two engaged topics: 1. criticism of (Serbian) nationalism and 2. feminist criticism of patriarchy. The questions that are more general are soon abandoned and forgotten by our sociologists, immediately after receiving their doctorate (when general topics are usually examined for the last time). They deal with the production of knowledge about ever smaller topics, which have less and less connection with *the world of life* (Lebenswelt), i.e. with truth-and-meaning, so our scientific journals often look like collections of insignificant and impersonal *ramblings* (Antonić, 2012: 39-68; 2022: 8). Points are collected on the basis of published works in foreign and domestic scientific journals, all in the function of personal academic career, while responsibility towards society is evaded by ritualistic, but politically correct, cursing of Serbian nationalism and patriarchy – all of which, in fact, only lends legitimacy to the global system of domination. There is an implicit *sociological ideology* – according to which we just need to consistently imitate what "Europe" is doing, so that Serbia will one day become a developed and rich West ("modernization theory").

We see, however, that even a hundred years ago, Đorđe Tasić was, even for the current state of the debate in Europe, far more "modern" and "progressive" than we are today. Because, as he beautifully explained it:

"We should never stop talking about the need for experimentation in politics and social life. Perhaps social sciences will never be able to tell us definitively about the results of an institution and it will be necessary to take risks. When this is always the case, when there is a question of removing evil, one should be progressive and conduct an experiment - of course, as a precaution and with the possibility of going back in time - one should really conduct experiments in social matters" (Tasić, 1921: 94).

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Ivan M. Baščarević[1]
University of Priština, in Kosovska Mitrovica
Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Sociology
Kosovska Mitrovica (Serbia)

A CONTRIBUTION TO HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY IN THE WORK OF ĐORĐE TASIĆ

Abstract: The paper will present a part of Đorđe Tasić's creative opus published in 1938, in the first issue of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*, the journal of the Society for Sociology and Social Sciences. In this issue alone, Đorđe Tasić published five papers and a large number of critical reviews. Their thematic character is very diverse and directed towards his understanding of sociology, its position in the system of social sciences and its relationship with other social sciences. A detailed description is given of its development and the current situation in Serbia until the end of the 1930s, including consideration of the contribution to sociology by social theorists in the period preceding the period in which Tasić and his contemporaries worked. Moreover, there is a review of the state of sociology in other European countries of the time. For that reason, we believe that the works of Đorđe Tasić have multiple significance for historical sociology. First, they provide us with an insight into the interest in sociology in Serbia until, and especially in the late 1930s; second, in this way, directly, through the prism of the author himself, we learn about his attitudes towards the contribution to the development of sociology of earlier writers, but also those who were interested in this science trying to improve it in a period close to Đorđe Tasić. Third, we gain insight into the state of sociology throughout Europe during the 1930s, about which the author also directly informs us as a contemporary, with his good knowledge of sociological literature and critical reviews dedicated to this topic, but also through his personal participation at international congresses dedicated to the sociological problems of the time.

Keywords: sociology, historical sociology, Đorđe Tasić, Serbia, Europe.

[1] ivanbascarevic80@gmail.com

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

A jurist by vocation and a true erudite in his commitment and vivid interest in social sciences in general, Đorđe Tasić, a tragic figure and victim of the Second World War, as corroborated by his biography, has left a considerable mark in Serbian sociological science. From his rich opus, limited by his short life as a result of tragic suffering, for the purpose of this paper we have selected the texts and critical reviews published by this author in the first issue of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* (1938), the journal of the Society for Sociology and Social Sciences, the forerunner of the Serbian Sociological Society. For the historical-sociological analysis we intend to perform in this paper, the journal itself, as well as Đorđe Tasić's articles and critical reviews, have multiple significance. This also applies to its contents, more precisely the papers and reviews published in it, with a special emphasis on those written by Đorđe Tasić. For this reason, the entire analysis presented in this paper will be based on our understanding of historical sociology as a scientific discipline,

"*which bases its scientific explanation on the 'natural' synthesis of historical and sociological theories and methods, using relevant historical sources. That is, qualitative and quantitative analysis of historical material, using hermeneutics, comparative method, content analysis, and historical method that unifies: statistical methods, case method, biographical method, survey research, etc., with the aim of determining causal links between two or more different social phenomena*" (Baščarević, 2021: 59).

In that respect, in accordance with the subject of the research itself, by a detailed insight into the content of the *Sociological Review* from 1938, we have established the following: out of the total of 28 scientific and professional papers published in this journal, 5 represent the authorship of Đorđe Tasić, which makes 17.56%. Furthermore, out of a total of 131 critical reviews, Đorđe Tasić wrote 54, or 41.2%. All published scientific and professional papers and critical reviews by Đorđe Tasić represent a unit of the content analysis in our research.

2. HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY IN THE WORK OF ĐORĐE TASIĆ

2. 1. Đ. Tasić's understanding of sociology

According to Đorđe Tasić,

"sociology studies social life but, in doing so, it assumes a certain biological and psychological basis or substratum in man. These bases actually form moments, and therefore sociology must not lose sight of them for a single moment, including the natural, external conditions in which people live [...][2] (Tasić, 1938a: 27).

[2] "No one could, taken literally, deny the existence and importance of biological and psychological factors, since man is a biological and psychological being. It would have been too naive

From the aforementioned definition of sociology, we realize the author's contemporaneous attitude, very close to today's understanding of sociological science, which is further confirmed in his view that

"today science must refrain from giving a precise definition. Examination of the connections among the elements becomes more concrete and profound; all the sciences and methods together are applied to help in breaking down the elements and determining their interdependence relationships in the best possible manner [...] What determines sociology are these social conditions in which human opinion and knowledge are developed and, specifically, in which rational thinking emerges [...]" (Ibid: 28).

With this, the author accurately and clearly points to the fact that social reality is extremely complex and that as such, it places a challenge to the science of society with the aim of its scientific explanation and understandings. In this regard, the subsequent differentiation of sociology into numerous scientific disciplines depending on the subject of interest, that is, social phenomena as parts of the overall social reality, seems quite justified and understandable. Nevertheless, given the complexity of each social phenomenon individually, the author does not remain in the domain of defining sociological science, but recognizes the necessity of interdisciplinary cooperation of general sociology and its scientific disciplines with other sciences on nature and society, and that only in this way can relevant scientific explanations and understanding of natural and social reality be obtained[3]. As put eloquently by Đorđe Tasić himself,

"we do not in any way deny the importance of biological and psychological. But we believe that all these theories forget in one way or another the tremendous importance of social life and historical development [...] Social life is [...] a world for itself, built from the interrelationships of people, created under given conditions [...]" (Ibid: 30-31).

Nevertheless, the contemporaneous understanding of the practical importance of sociology, which the author writes about in the age strongly influenced by neopositivism,

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and unscientific [...] When sociology managed to emancipate itself from philosophy, biology, psychology, anthropogeography, in one period of its development, which came as a reaction to the previous one, it tried to provide an explanation about things, for which it is not competent. It set out to explain the laws of our opinion and knowledge and to resolve the issue of morality and religion. Social life would be the explanation for all these questions in their entirety. In this regard, it took the paths of empiricism: psychology or biology; but it, in turn, pointed out as an essential and decisive factor social life as an absolute and only source of knowledge [...]" (Ibid: 27).

[3] "The question is what is primary: spiritual or social. If the spiritual is primary, then it is associated with man and humanity, or more precisely, with man as a member of humanity. If the need for social inclusion is recognized, in the form of specific communities, it will be subordinated to a system of objective values valid for people in general, in other words the system of natural law. If, on the contrary, the social is primary, then the spiritual will subdue to the historically concrete, usually a nation and state, as usually done by the Germans; but in that case it will decide about the concrete form, i.e., nation or state, is more valuable, and about the ratio of forces (practically, therefore, war). Namely, putting some objective value system above them means returning to the individual and to humanity [...]" (Tasić, 1938a: 30-31).

leaves a very vivid picture of its possible application in practice, admitting in the end that this does not have to be its purpose in itself. This can be seen in Tasić's view that

"sociology has shown ambitions to serve practical life since the first moment of its emergence into the world. Sociology believed that it would serve people as they serve the natural sciences, and that there could be no science that could not be used in practice. One can even speak, conversely, about the impact of practical interests and practical conceptions of people on social science and sociology. Originally bold positivism became much more modest with Durkheim in this regard [...]" (1938b: 166), therefore

"sociology, shattering the illusions that by the power of will everything can be done, opens simultaneously wide horizons to people of action, because it takes care of the collective phenomena and objective conditions of individual phenomena, which should be influenced. The question of the possibility of our activities is to be solved on the basis of the given concrete facts, within the limits of the general knowledge of social legality, in which this one is known to us" [4] (Ibid.).

However, distancing himself for a moment from neopositivism, Đorđe Tasić cannot reject his democratic principles that take him back to the domain of science and practice. Thus, considering the theory of racism, which was at that time very widespread and would, among other things, serve as a theoretical basis for emerging fascism, first in Germany and then in Italy, the author points out that

"[...] it is true that objective scientific knowledge bears a single truth useful and practical. If science proves, for example, that the theory of racism is wrong - and science has proved it - it therefore provides one proper orientation for practice and those who do not obey it will encounter today or tomorrow difficulties that come from it"[5] (Ibid: 171).

[4] "…if we look at things dynamically, it does not follow that what they develop will be better just because it is new. Knowledge of evolution will show us what is possible to achieve and what means will be the most convenient and successful in achieving one goal and performing one function. But there is a need [...], to adapt to the new conditions that are emerging. Evolution should be understood in the constant efforts of the being to adjust and achieve certain of his goals and to meet certain of his needs [...] This is where we start from man as an active being who has aspirations to adapt to the conditions and, what is more, to implement one logic in his life; but also, from man who can and wants to take advantage of objective knowledge of things" (Ibid: 169). "The analysis of his formulas reveals to us even that he had a priori presumptions. Such is his presumption that man wants to live in society ... it comes out in the same way as the preferences of the aprioristic philosopher. Namely, if people want to live in a society, it does not come out at all that they want to live exactly in the group in which they will find themselves, and not in another one" (Ibid: 170).

[5] "This was always about the immediate impact of sociology on moral concepts. Realizing morality as conditioned by the social state, we can influence on it by changing this last one" (Ibid: 171). "But at such a moment when we will feel the masters who will create society and people, what kind of society will we choose and what kind of man will we choose as an ideal? Disproportionately seems his dependence on his moral views at the moment, on his enormous power to create a new society and a new man. Will the way out not be in this power being in truth and not as we

2 2. The state of sociology in Serbia and the region until the end of the 1930s

Đorđe Tasić informs us very exhaustively about the state of sociology in Serbia and the region until the end of the 1930s, thereby providing us with a historical insight into the era in which he writes, leaving a valuable testimony useful to historical sociology. Looking at the "pre-sociological" time in Serbia, he points out that

"sociology has barely existed in our country to this day, and it is only being created now. At the University of Belgrade, it was given plenty of attention by Slobodan Jovanović (while Živojin Perić was more inclined towards ethics). Of the younger ones, it is worth mentioning Mirko Kosić in the first place [...] then Živko Jovanović, who was quite promising in this area. From the older ones outside the University, we should mention Mihailo Avramović and Kosta Stojanović. The latter advocated mechanistic sociology. In the younger generation, there was also M. Stojanović, who published a book in French about optimism and pessimism in sociology, and N. Vukićević, who wrote a doctoral thesis on nationality" (Tasić, 1938c: 239).

Moreover, it is from Đorđe Tasić that we learn about the moment when sociology as an academic discipline was introduced at certain faculties in Serbia, as well as about the establishment of the Society for Sociology and Social Sciences. The author accurately testifies to this by pointing out that

"2 to 3 years ago (1935/1936, added by I. B.), we had the Department of Sociology introduced at the Faculty of Law and the Economic and Commercial College. Together with and under the leadership of Slobodan Jovanović, there was another lecturer, Jovan Đorđević, PhD, whose interest was primarily general and political sociology. At the Economic and Commercial College, Dragoslav. Todorović, PhD, taught both General Sociology and Economic Sociology. Interest in sociology at the University is very active, and in ten years we will have a generation fully trained for sociological discussions and studies and with evident scientific results [...]" (Ibid: 239).

As the author himself points out,

"however, it is characteristic among the Serbs that there have been several attempts to synthesize our history and our problems". Previously, Svetozar Marković gave a synthetic view of the history of Serbia in the 19th century, and Slobodan Jovanović does the same in his papers on our political history of the 19th century. Stanoje Stanojević looks at the creation and development of the Serbian people. Mirko Kosić publishes a discussion in German (in *Kölner Vierteljahrshefte für Soziologie*) about our social structure and our problems. Many years ago, Dragoljub Jovanović, PhD, wrote in a similar manner in the

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expected and because social legality has limits in the spontaneous expressed in man's psychological and moral aspirations?" (Ibid: 172).

Serbian Literary Gazette. Komadinić makes a general overview of our economic and social development in some of his writings"[6] (Ibid: 239-240).

Also, according to Đorđe Tasić,

"a number of surveys of people's life need to be recorded. First of all, there is literature about our family cooperatives, where the name of the talented Valtazar Bogišić stands out. Independently of cooperatives, in general, besides Cvijić and his school, and T. Đorđević, there are others worth mentioning, most of whom worked outside the University: M. Avramovic, M. Vlajinac. D. Lapčević, S. Popović, S. Vukosavljević, A. Pribićević, A. Petrović (physician) and S. Vidaković, to name but a few. With their observations, these people contributed to our sociology on a larger or smaller scale. But it is not only material and facts, but also their explanations and interpretations, which can also be of interest and useful to sociology [...]" (Ibid: 240).

On the basis of the above, the author himself considers that

"all this shows too clearly that sociological studies are necessary for practical reasons. This is confirmed once again by the fact that we have several centres where, if there is no true sociology, there is plenty of interest in it. These are ideological and practical movements, such as cooperative or workers' movements. These movements generate literature on social and economic issues. It is not scientific sociology because things tend to be seen from one particular point of view, but it has an interest in sociology by facts and by explanation. From a practical point of view, especially the educational one, it is very important" (Ibid: 240).

All these facts listed by the author lead to the conclusion that

"sociological studies deserve much more attention from our society and the state, our universities and other scientific institutions, and that sociological studies should be carried out on as broad a scale as possible. In fact, we will give it the place it has had in the world for a long time, and even in smaller countries (e.g., Belgium or Romania)" (Ibid: 241).

Nevertheless, Đorđe Tasić also points out certain shortcomings of previous research on social phenomena, considering that

"methodological issues have been insufficiently dealt with, as well as the problem of relationships between certain social sciences. It also seems to us that the collection of materials or the study of special issues lags in proportion to the attempts at synthesis,

[6] There are also such works about Montenegro (e.g., Đonović) or Vojvodina. And we have even had something similar (although with different goals) about Bulgaria (V. Savić) and other countries. These works will undoubtedly be of use; and some even precious; but they are mostly historical; sometimes they are influenced by certain political or social concepts. Regardless of this, a more comprehensive and detailed investigation will certainly be needed to obtain a reliable synthetic picture, at least as far as the current situation is concerned" (Ibid., p. 240).

which, however, is needed not only to review the path travelled but also to correctly determine the problems and the goals of the investigation. To this day, it could be understood, and perhaps even justified, but we do not believe that it can be done in the future. We are afraid that the absence of feeling the need for synthesis will not play a role here. The absence of this feeling would, among other things, explain the slight interest in sociology to this day, because every effort towards synthesis will lead to sociology, which provides the most complete synthesis. In return, the treatment of sociology will help to deepen special sciences and help them to reach their syntheses"[7] (Ibid: 241).

2. 3. The state of sociology in Europe until the end of the 1930s

While visiting the Universities and Institutes of Western Europe, especially Belgium and France, either as a participant at various international congresses or as a guest lecturer, Đorđe Tasić, in his later reflections, informs us exhaustively and in detail about what he saw as a participant or an observer, without failing to compare his experiences with the situation in Serbia at the end of the 1930s. All this represents a first-class source for historical sociology. Thus, the author informs us that he had the opportunity to review many publications of the Solvey Institute in Brussels, thereby gaining an insight into the sociology and social sciences there, pointing out that they are very intensely elaborated and published there[8]. Not hiding his enthusiasm for the Belgian approach to sociology as a science, the author points out that

"[...] it is a country where sociology and sociological education occupy a prominent place in all matters. It is also a country where sociological orientation has gained visible expression in certain social sciences. This is especially the case in legal science, which I had the opportunity of getting to know quite well. A positivist spirit permeates

[7] "We hope that our special sciences will go that way and that, being free from unnecessary and senseless competition or ambition in terms of rank, they will help each other, even with full understanding, and make a common effort to arrive at a synthesis of social phenomena and especially our society. It would have first-class cultural significance and thus great practical significance" (Ibid: 241).

[8] "Their concepts may not have much momentum, but they make plenty of common sense. Since its beginning as a state, Belgium has had an outstanding national problem - because Belgium is established, as it is known, depending on the interests of large neighbouring states. It is composed of the Walloons and the Flemings - it is this problem that has interested their social sciences, and especially their history. Some well-known historians have developed a theory about Belgians as one nation, which was opposed by the theory that the Walloons and the Flemings are two nations, especially since the Flemish movement after the war took on a wide scale and became a serious state problem. But Belgium also lived under such social conditions, that its citizens built clear views: liberal, Catholic and socialist (Marxist), which assumed the characteristics of certain theoretical positions of principle, philosophical and sociological" (Tasić, 1938d: 303). "It is characteristic for the publications of the Institute, as, apparently, and for the Belgians in general, that there are many papers speaking about practical and concrete issues, and those that concern Belgium" (Ibid: 305).

the sociological orientation. And against this spirit, there has been a reaction from Catholicism, which will not deny the value of sociology, social sciences, as well as social issues, but will very energetically put limits on sociology's claims, particularly regarding moral and religious problems. In Belgium, you will be able to read one of the most serious criticisms of Durkheim's sociology and the views of the philosophy of Saint Thomas Aquinas. That criticism could exaggerate, be thrown and transferred, that is for me not only probable but certain. It shows how deep and big problems and moral contradictions fill the life of Belgians. Despite this, this cultured nation exists and will continue to develop" (Tasić, 1938d: 304).

Furthermore, the author speaks about his participation at international congresses as follows: "What we observed at some legal congresses, could be observed at many others as well. But here is the congress, which they showed us in all its grandeur, as imposingness by the very number of participants, discussions and, unfortunately, conflicts. There were two sociological ones: one called the *Conference internationale des Sciences sociales*[9] and the other congress of the International Institute of Sociology (*Institut international de Sociologie*)" (Tasić, 1938e: 314).

What the author observes, and we also consider important for understanding the contemporary state of sociology, is the fact

"that he will speak about social sciences, not just sociology. It is a valid expression of interest and ways of working in France, and to some extent in the world; it is also an expression of the understanding of the cooperation and mutual assistance of all social sciences, as well as their connection to sociology, which, having fertilized them with its synthetic view of the whole, seeks support in them"[10] (Ibid: 315). Đorđe Tasić informs us that he submitted two reports at the first congress. In one report, he proved

[9] "…the congress was mainly organized by Professor Bugle, who presided over it. Professor Bugle chose three topics that are very relevant today: (1) the relationship of special social sciences with one another and with sociology, (2) The state of social sciences in certain countries, (3) The importance of social sciences for education" (Ibid: 314-315).

[10] "In addition to methodological problems in sociology and certain sciences (there were three reports on the relationship between legal science and sociology), there were reports on the teaching of sociology and social sciences." But there were reports that examined the social spirit of today's school teaching, and that even, relying on sociology or pedagogy, propagated a certain point of view, a certain spirit, especially in favour of internationalism. There were reports discussing very special issues, issues that will concern one country. Often, the papers discussed a narrower issue, or were content to underline the importance of one element. But there were some that presented blueprints of entire systems. A considerable number of papers were devoted to the review of social sciences in certain countries; unfortunately, it was not enough to have a general overview all over the world. Such a broad-minded congress could not carry out strictly one plan and proportions [...] Most of all, the discussion between historians and sociologists, and between economists and sociologists was conducted, and the same dialogues of 10 and 20 years ago were repeated once again, those that we had been able to read about previously. It is interesting that there were also representatives of the anti-sociological method. This is how a Viennese professor defended the famous Austrian school of economics [...]" (Ibid: 315-316).

the indispensable need for the philosophy of law to be based on sociology, criticizing *a priori* constructions often encountered today, and he also formulated his views on some basic issues of the relationship between sociology and philosophy. In the second, he presented a brief overview of the state of social sciences in Serbia, emphasizing how they are also studied in our country, citing as an attempt at synthesis, scientists who are of particular importance for Serbian sociology, namely V. Bogišić, J. Cvijić and S. Jovanovic. He also noted that official scientific institutions such as the Academy of Sciences, did not show enough interest in social sciences, such as sociology, economics, law, etc. (cf. Tasić, 1938e: 315-316). At another congress, organized by the International Institute of Sociology based in Geneva, the

"question of balance in society [...] was discussed and many papers were submitted on different issues, from the most diverse areas of social sciences, wherever the idea of balance can be applicable [...] the topic is not happily chosen. In it, as it is, he can put whatever he wants. But that was visible immediately from the main papers[11] [...] At the same congress, our Belgrade Society for Sociology became a member of the International Federation of Sociological Societies" (Ibid: 318-319). Đorđe Tasić speaks very vividly about the state of sociology in France at the end of the 1930s. According to him,

"in France, which is to some extent the cradle of modern social science, sociology overcomes great difficulties in order to take its rightful place in school curricula[12]. At the French *Institute of Sociology*, discussions were organized on the subject of teaching sociology in general, so their conclusions were largely related to teacher training schools. At the same time, numerous surveys were conducted that confirmed the need to introduce sociology into their curricula. This action finally succeeded and sociology has been a compulsory subject in teachers' schools for 20 years now. Sociological teaching in secondary schools (*lyceums*) has its own problem. It will be taught as an optional subject to graduation candidates by teachers and philosophers who usually have almost no basic concepts about the subject they have to teach, and sociology is far from being satisfied

[11] "The report by Professor Dupra aimed to pose the problem and determine the framework within which he would discuss it. Giving it a fundamental theoretical importance (because balance is an essential moment in social life), he gave it a practical one at the same time. But it will be seen immediately that he could do it at the cost of falling into an understanding close to organic and, especially, psychological, and, ultimately, that he could do it on the basis of a political and social idea. Another report was presented (or co-authored) by Professor Sorokin, the president of the Institute, who rejected the notion of balance in general and found it not only unnecessary but also harmful to science [...]" (Ibid: 318-319).

[12] "Paul Lapie, one of the contributors to the first volumes of the French Sociological Year and the director of elementary education, led the movement to introduce sociology into teachers' schools a number of years ago. Future teachers would thus bring with them an awareness of the reality and complexity of human society, which would somewhat correct the unilaterality of their education. In this way, not only would the teaching have direct benefits, but it would also form an entire cadre of French teachers more intellectually. The project, which met with great approval among the students themselves, had to pass through the fire of conservative criticism, which came substantially from Catholic circles" (Tasić, 1938f: 320).

with its place in the curriculum of secondary schools in France. Higher sociological teaching is also facing the problem of its radical reform. There are separate sociology departments only in Paris, Bordeaux and Strasbourg today. Otherwise, sociology in teaching goes along with ethics at the faculties of philosophy. Taught by philosophers insufficiently interested and knowledgeable in the problems of social reality, sociology often suffers from their individual viewpoints and determinations" (Ibid: 320-321).

All of this leads the author to the conclusion that

"under such circumstances, for the time being, there can be no question of serious and thorough sociology taught at French universities as a whole. Curricula, on the other hand, give priority to certain philosophical and methodological problems of sociology, keeping mostly to the classic writers, while the social reality itself remains as inaccessible to students as before. Universities as such (with two or three exceptions) today do not provide sufficient opportunities for extensive sociological research. More serious students are mainly focused on themselves and on non-university opportunities, and even doctoral theses in sociology, which are often significant scientific studies, bear the hallmarks of independent persistent work rather than being indirectly the product of university teaching" (Ibid: 320-321).

2. 4. Perspectives and the future of sociology according to Đorđe Tasić

Đorđe Tasić's views on the perspective and prediction of the subsequent development of sociological science in Serbia, and in general, are perhaps best presented through his prism of criticism of monographs and other editions published up to that time. In his critical reviews of the books, the author undoubtedly presents his understanding of social science, his inclination towards multidisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity in the research of social phenomena, personal observations about the reach of individual authors, but also his own political orientation, democratic orientation and opposition to the fascist and racist ideology of that era. Thus, in a critical presentation of the book *Le Probleme Iogique de la socićte* (Malgaud), contrasting his own understanding of sociology with the author whose work he is analyzing, Đorđe Tasić points out the following:

"Malgaud wants to explain society through logical development. There is no doubt that there are necessities and correlations in society, and there are certain essential elements. However, all that, in its concreteness, cannot be deduced by logical means. This way of explaining society approaches Malgaud's point of view to formal sociology. But it has already been proven that forms cannot be separated from content [...] After all, why take action as a starting point and not some other psychological or biological factor? In truth, there are several elements, not one, and external factors also play a role here" (Tasić, 1938g: 334).

On the other hand, Đorđe Tasić does not hide his partiality towards domestic authors whose works, although multidisciplinary in their character, he categorizes as sociological in order to affirm sociological science itself in Serbia, which he considers, as it has already been said, an underrepresented academic community. In this way, Tasić encourages domestic authors to deal as much as possible with domestic sociological problems, which, in his opinion, are almost marginalized, unknown and therefore invisible. He speaks very favourably about the works of Veselin Čajkanović (*Studies from religion and folklore*, *Life and Folk Customs*, *Several General Phenomena in the Old Serbian Religion*, S*everal Observations with Serbian Christmas Day and Christmas*, pointing out that

"[...] Čajkanović [...] approaches his topics with very much erudition, and he gives, perhaps more than any other scientist of ours, who will deal with these issues, scientific arguments[13] [...] We are not competent to evaluate the accuracy of these results. We just want to make two notes from a methodological point of view. Čajkanović is exploring the origin of customs; however, it is also necessary to research their evolution and adaptation, because they will, in the course of history, be able to change and mix and even merge. It is equally important to show how the custom was transmitted, and what maintained it. Finally, if the custom is religious in essence, is it both in details and, more importantly for sociology, what it is in society that supports the religion in question" (Ibid: 342). And he concludes that "from these incidental remarks, it can be seen how sociology looks at problems more broadly, but also how it fully encompasses the problems and provides the most reliable evidence, serving, without a doubt, the results of many special social sciences" (Ibid: 342).

In a similar way, Đorđe Tasić gives a critical analysis of the papers by Dušan Popović (*About the Outlaws*, *Belgrade 200 years ago* and *About the Aromanians*)[14]

[13] "However, he approaches it as a historian, who is interested in the origin of customs." On a comparative-historical basis, he finds a religious origin in many of our customs, and in this he shows plenty of subtlety: from one detail, he can reveal the traces and origin of an institution" (Ibid: 342). "Studying the character of a nation and its psychological traits encounters many difficulties. Hardly accessible, directly exposed, when they observe through action, to different interpretations, and especially exposed to the dangers of subjectivism in various forms. It is characteristic that characterology, and perhaps social psychology in general, will be pleased to use the intuitive method, if not exclusively, certainly to a large extent. On the other hand, they put a lot of emphasis on the psychological moment and consider it easily the most important of all, finding that basic of cultural orientations. Thus, they fall into one-sided idealism. But not only that, they easily arbitrarily extend the borders to one group of peoples (Latin, Slavic, German)" (Tasić, 1938p: 349). "Characteristic and social-psychological studies will usually connect the problem of our cultural orientation, a problem that certainly makes sense. Nevertheless, this problem will have to be related to social and even political conditions, since cultural life is also dependent on them. Cultural emancipation or independence is undoubtedly a matter of consciousness, and therefore has its psychological as well as its moral side; but it also has a social and historical one" (Ibid: 350).

[14] "In the book *About the Outlaws*, D. Popović chose a phenomenon that played an important role in the history of our nation and certainly left a visible mark in its psychology and mentality [...] this phenomenon is of particular interest for sociology, because, although abnormal, it is not criminal in in the eyes of the people. Hence customs, morals, mentality as well as, on the other

"we are also grateful to D. Popović for these works, which will be very useful for sociological studies. But they will have their full value when they perform an analysis in order to establish causal relationships, and place things in a comparative-historical and directly sociological wider framework, which, it seems, their author himself sees" (Tasić, 1938i: 343).

It is interesting to see Đ. Tasić's understanding of Marxism, presented in a critical review of *Dialectic Materialism and Mutual Effect* by Georges Friedmann, where he says that "this small brochure is characteristic and representative; it reveals to us the need for Marxism, that, inside the ranks of Marxists themselves, to liberate itself from "simplicism". But striving to find a more correct and profound formula, the question is how far it can go and still remain Marxism. In this way, it is possible, following internal necessity and the law of logical evolution, to overcome itself"[15] (Tasić, 1938j: 354). Đorđe Tasić best explains his democratic principles and intolerance towards fascism and racism through critical reviews of the books *International Plebiscites* (Vidan O. Blagojević), *Ideological Conflict of Democracy and Fascism* (Dušan Nedeljković), *Italian Nationalism I*, *One Will*, and *Articles about Italy* (Miodrag Ristić), as well as *Yugoslavia and the Jewish problem* (E. V. Gajić). The problem of international plebiscites after the Great War, discussed in Vidan Blagojević's book, is observed by Đorđe Tasić in a completely different way, pointing out that

"generally speaking, international plebiscites did not produce even close to the results that were rightly expected from them. They did not serve as a correction of injustice, but rather they enabled, despite the clearly expressed will of the people to the contrary, many non-German minorities to remain under the rule of the previous masters, precisely because the situation established by the official statistics of the German and Austrian authorities from before the war was not taken as a benchmark, but the

hand, relations they will create, towards the people and towards the enemy, acquire a special form and can cause a very lively sociological interest. There is plenty of sociological material and indications, but, being historical, the discussion does not contain any sociological analyses. He is particularly interested in the legacy of these outlaws, but it also seems that we should look more critically in connection with other issues, i.e., phenomena of the social life of our people, and especially with the outlaws that will be reported later. The second book is even more historical, containing a description of Belgrade 200 years ago: attitudes, social, economic and especially religious life, public, private and social organizations etc. [...] In his third and most famous book, Popović talks about the Aromanians, emphasizing that *they* (italics by I. B.) were one of the most important creators of common Balkan culture. The culture which they brought to a society that was still rural, peasant and patriarchal could be marked as bourgeois and rationalist, and that is why it gets the marks of (at least to a certain extent) Western European, whose certain institutions they actually transmitted [...]" (Ibid: 343).

[15] "This may also be the case with Georges Friedman's formula, which underlines that the dependence of all factors on the economic structure should be understood in such a way that these factors also exert their influence on this side, and turn the formula into a formula of mutual dependence, which will be subsequently freed by Marxism of the realization of strict temporal determination, because e.g., there may be 'delays'" (Tasić, 1938j: 354).

people's consciousness was called for where it was not sufficiently expressed and where it could not express itself freely, since the opponents were not equal" (Tasić, 1938k: 384).

Furthermore, Đorđe Tasić largely agrees with the views of Dušan Nedeljković, considering that in his work

"Nedeljković very decisively but also very shrewdly points out the contradictions and insincerity in the fascist ideology, especially when they want to present fascism to us as a ("concentrated") democracy. He understands democracy itself as a dynamic process, in stages of development, and what he will call a crisis is, according to him, actually a climb to a higher level towards social and cultural democracy, while fascism is a 'downward' tendency" (Tasić, 1938l: 385-386). He also praises the work of Miodrag Ristić, whom he considers one of the

"few Serbs who follow and know Italian life and civilization[16]. The development of the national movement sheds light on the understanding of Italy in the World War and the peace treaties, but also on the appearance of the fascist movement [...] Written in a literary and vivid manner, sometimes with partiality towards the Italians, but also with a critical or reserved attitude towards fascism (even at its outset), these two books represent not only a very useful, but also a very pleasant reading" (Tasić, 1938lj: 393). Finally, referring to the work of E. V. Gajić, Đorđe Tasić points out that "the writer proves the unscientific nature of racial theory, and that the Jewish question does not exist in Yugoslavia either in the number of Jews neither in terms of their role, and especially not in terms of their attitude, because Jews are good patriots" (Tasić, 1938m: 401). Đorđe Tasić looks at the future perspectives of sociological research into less elaborated social phenomena that mostly concern economic underdevelopment, labour rights and the role of trade union organizations, as well as poverty. Critically analyzing the works of Nikola Konstandinović (*Economic role of workers unions*), Mijo Mirković (*Development of economic thought in the 19th century*), Sekula Zečević (*Poverty of Yugoslavia*) and Rudolf Bičanić (*How the people live*), Đorđe Tasić shows his full understanding of the position of the working class, its poverty and the role of trade unions in the defence of workers' rights, as well as the consequences of the economic underdevelopment of Serbia at that time. In this respect, Đorđe Tasić states that

"in this work [...], Mirković is able to grasp the matter in a sufficiently concrete way and to reveal the general attitudes of people in the issues, and even the practical

[16] "In the first book, which makes a whole, Ristić presents the origin and development of the Italian nation as a separate political movement or party. Just as the youth before 1910 had been socialist-oriented for some time (and there is probably no significant figure in Italy who, more or less, went through this school), from 1910 onwards it became national. Such nationalism carries, in addition to the general features it has in other countries, a belief in the mission of the Italian people, or the idea of Roman greatness and the glorification of war (anti-pacifism) [...] In the second book, there is a collection of articles from which you can get information about many and many issues and phenomena, both historical considerations and often statistical data. But that will refer to the time when fascism had just appeared and to the first years of its government. That is why, without a doubt, Ristić refrained from trying to connect these articles into one whole" (Ibid: 393).

aspirations that the theoreticians will lead. And if he presents the doctrines separately and by their representatives, he explains their appearance by the economic evolution of one society and one nation. And he clearly has an economic and social point of view, not to say a sociological one, on the method of study, which he will see especially in his criticism of the psychological and mathematical school. We will fully agree with that" (Tasić, 1938n: 412). In the same way, speaking positively about the work of Nikola Konstandinović, he indicates that this author

"in his book (doctoral thesis) follows the trade unions from their appearance until today, observing them placed in the framework of capitalism, which he describes to us before the appearance of the trade unions and after their appearance". He explains to us the forms in which the unions appear, the struggle they have and the forms of that struggle to protect the interests of workers. He takes a positive attitude towards unions, showing plenty of understanding for the rights and interests of workers. But he also proves that trade unions, by their direct effect and influence on the economy itself, by their effect and influence on legislation, were beneficial not only to the working class, improving its position, but also to the national economy and the state" (Tasić, 1938nj: 412). Finally, considering the monographic editions of Sekula Zečević and Rudolf Bičanić[17], Đorđe Tasić concludes that "with their works, these two authors have done us a great favour. There is no question more important than that of the economic situation of our peasants. By informing us about it, these authors will raise awareness of the need for action today or tomorrow. On the basis of such works, the problem can be determined correctly from a practical point of view, and necessary measures, if appropriate, will be found to improve or alleviate the situation. But for this, we must add, it is also necessary to know the entire social situation, because measures and their success also depend on other moments that are not purely economic" (Tasić, 1938o: 416).

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

Based on the historical approach used in the research, where we looked at the first issue of the journal *Sociological Review* from the time distance of 84 years, and considered it as a historical-sociological document, which also applies to its content, more precisely the works and critical reviews by Đorđe Tasić, we have established the following. Out of the total of 28 scientific and professional papers published in this journal, 5 of them represent the authorship of Đorđe Tasić, which makes 17.56%. Furthermore, of a total

[17] "These two books speak about the economic condition of our people [...] and the need for urgent organized work". Zečević wants to dispel the widespread misconception about the wealth of our people: on the contrary, it is poor. In his work, he reviewed various branches of our economy and our economic policy. Bičanić presents the situation in our passive regions, western Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Dalmatia, where he personally conducted research in the autumn of 1935. His considerations and observations go beyond the purely economic framework and enter the realm of customs and culture. The findings he made are very unfavorable" (Tasić, 1938o: 416-417).

of 131 critical reviews, Đorđe Tasić wrote 54, or 41.2%. All published scientific and professional works and critical reviews by Đorđe Tasić represented the unit of the content analysis in our research. Through their interpretation, we learn that Đorđe Tasić's understanding of sociology is very close to today's modern interpretation of social science, if we exclude the influence of neo-positivism at the time, which the author was unable to resist, recognizing, however, due to the complexity of social reality, the necessity of both the interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary nature of sociological science itself, as well as cooperation and mutual assistance of sociology and other social sciences, and that only in this way can relevant scientific explanations and understanding of natural and social reality be reached. Furthermore, Đorđe Tasić informs us very exhaustively about the state of sociology in Serbia and the region until the end of the 1930s, thus providing us with a historical insight into the period in which he wrote, leaving a valuable testimony useful to historical sociology. While visiting the universities and institutes of Western Europe, especially Belgium and France, either as a participant at various international congresses or as a guest lecturer, Đorđe Tasić, in his later reflections on the occasion, informs us exhaustively and in detail about what he saw as a participant or an observer, without failing to compare his experiences with the situation in Serbia at the end of the 1930s. Đorđe Tasić's attitude about the perspective and prediction of the future development of sociological science in Serbia and in general have been presented through his prism of criticism of monographs and other works published up to that time. In his critical book reviews, the author clearly presents his understanding of social science, his inclination towards multidisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity in the research of social phenomena, personal observations about the accomplishments of individual authors, but also his own political orientation, democratic orientation and opposition to the fascist and racist ideology of that era. Đorđe Tasić does not hide his partiality towards local authors whose works, although multidisciplinary in nature, he classifies as sociological, thereby wanting to affirm the very science of sociology in Serbia, which he considers insufficiently represented in the academic community. In this way, Tasić encourages domestic authors to deal as much as possible with domestic sociological problems, which in his opinion are almost marginalized, unknown and therefore invisible[18].

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Ljubiša R. Mitrović.[1]
University of Niš,
Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Sociology
Niš (Serbia)

Dunja Z. Veličković[2]
University of Niš,
Innovation Centre
Niš (Serbia)

ĐORĐE TASIĆ ON SOCIOLOGY AS A SCIENCE AND THE MISSION OF THE JOURNAL *SOCIOLOŠKI PREGLED* / *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* IN THE PERIOD 1938-2020

Abstract: The paper first points out the importance of studying scientific heritage in sociology in our country. The focus of the author's considerations is the pioneering contribution of Đorđe Tasić to the foundation of the Serbian Sociological Society, the initiation and editing of the journal *Sociološki pregled* / *Sociological Review*, as well as the elaboration of the basic questions from General Systematic Sociology. The central place in the analysis is the research of the mission of the journal *Sociološki pregled* / *Sociological Review* in the context of the social and time manner in the period 1938-2020. An attempt was made to detect the informative, cognitive, pedagogical, cultural and social role of the journal both in the sociological academic community and in society.

Keywords: Đorđe Tasić, sociology in Serbia, *Sociološki pregled* / *Sociological Review*, journal's mission statement.

[1] ljubisa.mitrovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs
[2] velickovicdunja@gmail.com

For us, sociology is our awareness of ourselves, the most complete, the most comprehensive, the truest and the richest. It also becomes our conscience for us.

(Đorđe Tasić *et al*. (1938: 4)[3]

The Sociological Society, the Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review and the Institute for Sociology, which are all Đorđe Tasić's creations, represent the pinnacle of the pre-war development of sociology not only in Serbia but also in entire former Yugoslavia.

(Antonić, 2018: 13)

INTRODUCTION: ON THE IMPORTANCE OF STUDYING SCIENTIFIC HERITAGE IN SOCIOLOGY IN OUR COUNTRY

The legend says that the butterfly knows no time, lives for one day and has no memory of its yesterday, i.e., its past. Therefore, the butterfly lives from the beauty of the moment, in the twinkle of the present. Unlike it, man, as a species of *Homo sapiens*, has a multidimensional identity whose essential element is contained in the culture of memory, in the collective memory of people and humanity. That is why man is torn between different times: past, present and future. Hence, if individuals or groups do not learn from the past, they will be punished by the future (Zarathustra). Contemporary futurologist John Naisbitt, on the other hand, conveys the message to the new generation not to live in the shadow of the past but to learn from the challenges of the megatrends of the future. The question is how to navigate between these different instructions and messages.

Despite the philosophy of presentism and postmodern relativity in modern times, we must not forget the historical dimension of the social phenomena, be it about the life and role of an individual/personality, group or institution. All traces of their work and life span, ups and downs should be researched, valorized through the "sieve of time" and then one should find the living seed to cultivate the field of the present and the future. In that line, serious discussions and studies have been written in philosophy and sociological science about the relationship between philosophy and history, history and sociology. This is so because man and society are participants and actors in both fields and they significantly shape social phenomena and processes, the fate of social groups and individuals. Historical and social determinism are intertwined. Despite the Promethean power of man to turn fate into freedom and history, often the "cunning of the historical mind", according to Hegel, plays cruelly with nations and people, pushing them into tragic conflicts; so much so that their history sometimes appears in the form of tragedy and sometimes in the form of farce. That is why wise Hegel warns: "All that is mental is not real and all that is real is not mental; Minerva's owl takes off late, Truth is at

[3] In the Editorial of the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*, which functions as a program manifesto.

the end of the road". Great philosopher and poet Njegoš says that only "on the historical grid of time one can perceive what things belong to whom"; that is how the essence of the process, the scope and character of the effects are understood (of both individuals and groups, collectivities and institutions) in historical practice.

Sociology was born out of enthusiasm of the emancipatory spirit, but also out of the crisis of civil society, in search of an answer where and how to proceed. Saint Simon, delighted with his results in the elaboration of the science of society - sociology as a herald of the future, will exaltedly declare: "What a wonderful calling: working for the good of humanity". His follower and secretary, Auguste Comte, will also seek in her not only the new queen of sciences, but a saving cognitive force in the search to resolve the crisis of the emerging civil society and its exit from the social turmoil in which, due to increasing contradictions, bourgeois society found itself in the 1850s. Karl Marx, with fewer Enlightenment illusions, obeying the law of class struggle and social revolution, offered his formula for the way out of the situations capitalism and humanity found themselves in.

Ever since then, sociology has developed all over the globe, passing through numerous stages: from the pioneering heroic age, through academic institutionalization and internationalization, differentiation into empirical and theoretical, experiencing its theoretical and methodological pluralization and affirmation as a science, vocation and profession. Today, 170 years since its establishment, sociology is a renowned science whose knowledge is important for the development of modern society.

In our region (Serbia and former Yugoslavia), sociology has a shorter history. Not underestimating the individual research contributions to this field of knowledge (at the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century: Vuk Karadžić, Svetozar Marković, Jovan Cvijić, Slobodan Jovanović, Tihomir Đorđević, Dragoljub Jovanović, Sreten Vukosavljević, Mirko Kosić and Đorđe Tasić), sociology was developed at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade in the 20th century. First, as a separate department and the first formed sociological scientific society, with its theoretical bulletin *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* (1938), whose first editor was Đorđe Tasić, Professor at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade. After the Second World War, in 1959, the study group for sociology was established at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, followed by those at the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš (1971) and Priština (after 2001: in Kosovska Mitrovica) and Novi Sad.

It could be pointed out that sociology in Serbia today has a significant tradition, scientific and educational academic heritage to be studied. Unfortunately, the course *History of Sociology in Serbia* has not yet been institutionalized in our sociology study groups. Apart from the few individuals who deal with this issue (Slobodan Antonić, Milovan Mitrović, Jovica Trkulja), there are still no comprehensive monographic studies (see Lj. Mitrović, 2011; Lj. Mitrović, 2022).

The subject of our paper is Đorđe Tasić's contribution to sociology as a science and the mission of the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* in the period

1938-2020. The topic defined in this way requires the use of the content analysis as well as comparative-historical methods: in order to comprehend the role of this author as well as of the journal (founded by him) in the context of his work and understanding the complex relationships of creating and interweaving of the spirit of the society and the prevailing time. This is particularly important when considering the journal's mission as the mirror and the key of the encounter of history and creativity of different generations and editorial boards in the 82-year-long period.

I am convinced that the evaluation/overevaluation of the results of the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* can be valuable not only for the history of the development of sociology in our country, but also for the further improvement of the policy and practice of editing the journal and its mission in meeting the new sociological generations whose time is coming. Therefore, we will finish our contribution with an overview: "*Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* with new tasks in store - a look into the future".

ĐORĐE TASIĆ AND SOCIOLOGY IN SERBIA − A BRIEF REVIEW OF HIS WORK AND ACTIVITY

Đorđe Tasić is the doyen and precursor of our sociology, which he founded under the influence of Durkheim's sociology in France and wanted to form sociology of law following in the footsteps of Leon Duguit. Arriving at the Belgrade Faculty of Law (with a letter of recommendation from Slobodan Jovanović, who himself highly valued the role of sociological science (and made a significant contribution to political sociology and sociology of history in our country), Đorđe Tasić managed to initiate and realize several important projects: 1: the establishment of the Sociological Society; 2: the launching of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* in 1938, of which he was the first editor; 3: the establishment of the Institute of Sociology.

As concluded by colleague Antonić in the jubilee issues of *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*, these three results represent the peak of the development of sociology, not only in Serbia but also in the entire Yugoslav territory (Antonić, 2018: 13). I would like to add that, even if he had not done anything else, our sociological academic community should owe its gratitude for this to Tasić. It should be noted, however, that this hard-working scientist engaged in the affirmation of the theoretical academic as well as empirical sociology because he knew how important its development was for our society. About this role of sociology, as an editor, he writes among other things: *"Sociology for us is our awareness of ourselves, the most complete, the most comprehensive, the truest and the richest. For us, it also becomes our conscience"* (Tasić et al, 1938: 4).

Within the framework of the newly formed Society of Sociology and Social Sciences and the Institute, Tasić initiated the research into the pressing problems of the Serbian village, for which he had the selfless support of Sreten Vukosavljević and Radomir Lukić, who would become his closest collaborators. Under his influence Lukić would develop his interests in sociology of law, general sociology and rural sociology.

The newly formed Society of Sociology and Social Sciences will be completely committed to the popularization of sociology as a new academic discipline at the university: through the organization of public lectures but also regulation, i.e., introducing a new discipline into the curriculum. Of course, the centre/focal point of this influence was the Faculty of Law, where the first Department of Sociology and Statistics was established. It should be noted here that our most influential scientists - sociologists who were partly formed in France (Đorđe Tasić, Dragoljub Jovanović, Jovan Đorđević, Radomir Lukić) were employed at the Faculty of Law. Academician Slobodan Jovanović lent great understanding and support to the institutionalization of sociology in the study system, and was followed by Đorđe Tasić as well, who became the dean of this faculty.

Unfortunately, the whirlwind of war brought new tragic trials for the country, the people and the university. In the occupied country, under the pressure and influence of the Quisling government, the University of Belgrade was affected too. The Faculty of Law, headed by Dean Đorđe Tasić, refused to cooperate with the occupier just as legendary Hellenist Miloš Đurić refused to sign a petition in support of the occupation authorities: "I don't play the flute, I teach ethics; by protecting my honour, I protect the autonomy of the university and defend my own and my students' patriotic commitment". Precisely because of this refusal to cooperate with the occupation authorities, Tasić will find himself in prison, where he was executed by shooting in 1943. He left behind a comprehensive body of work: a sociology textbook for students had already been written, preparations for the new issue of the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* had been completed, and the pioneering empirical research on the problems of our village had been initiated.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE JOURNAL *SOCIOLOŠKI PREGLED / SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, BOOK 1/1938 AS A NOTABLE EXAMPLE OF HOW PERIODICALS SHOULD BE EDITED

The first issue of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* on 436 pages is structured in the following way: a supplement to the Introduction as a program manifesto (written by Tasić on behalf of the Editorial Board), four thematic units: I Sociology and social crisis; II Development and contemporary state of sociology; III Means and teaching; IV Critical review of books and contributor summaries in French. Within the first thematic cycle, 17 articles were written by local authors, including Slobodan Jovanović, Siniša Stanković, Nikola Vučo, Dušan Popović, Jovan Đorđević, Božidar Marković and Đorđe Tasić. Within the second block, there were 8 contributions, 7 domestic and 1 foreign, while within the third cycle there were 7 contributions by domestic authors. As part of the critical review of books an extensive annotation of the foreign and domestic literature from sociology and other social sciences was given - a critical review of 129 books.

The first issue of the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* deals with the place of sociology in the system of social sciences (the relationship between sociology and philosophy, history and sociology, biology and sociology, sociology and psychology, sociology and statistics, ethnology and sociology, sociology and economics, sociology and law, sociology and actions etc.). In the second block. the journal brings contributions about the contemporary course of sociology (in the USA, in France, in Russia, among Croats), a general overview of the development of our sociology, Slobodan Jovanović and sociology, Tihomir Đorđević from the point of view of sociology, Valtazar Bogišić's ideas about national and land law. The third part encompasses an overview of the sociological congresses in Paris in 1937, the development of Belgian sociology and the Solvay Institute of Sociology, social sciences at American universities, sociology teaching in France and sociology textbooks).

Đorđe Tasić published a total of 7 articles in the journal, all of them from sociology, and 39 reports, 11 of which are from sociology, and the rest from other social sciences. Tasić's contributions include the following fields: Philosophy and Sociology, Sociology and Action, General Conditions of Our Sociology and Our Social Sciences, On Belgian Sociology and the Publications of the Solvay Institute of Sociology, On Sociological Congresses in 1937 in Paris, About sociology teaching in France and about sociology textbooks. The first three contributions seem particularly significant to us because Tasić deals with determining the relationship between philosophy and sociology; then the importance of sociology for social action, as well as a presentation of the development of our sociology and other social sciences (through the analysis of the works of Vuk Karadžić, Svetozar Marković, Božidar Knežević, Jovan Cvijić, Slobodan Jovanović and Tihomir Đorđević – from the point of view of sociology). The author also emphasizes the contribution of his contemporaries in the development of sociology in our country: Mirko Kosić, Dragoljub Jovanović, Jovan Đorđević, Mihailo Avramović and Sreten Vukosavljević. Tasić defines sociology as a synthetic and empirical science which studies social life in its entirety (structure and dynamics of society). It is not the same as philosophy, which has a broader character. "Sociology as a science is called to pave the way both from hypocrisy and from resistance to conservatives and an authoritarian spirit, which does not tolerate any changes or criticism" (Tasić, 1938a: 170). The task of sociology, according to Tasić, is to investigate and find out natural social laws (that is, necessity) and enable predictions for the action of people/social groups in creating new society and new man (*Ibid*.: 172). All this shows that Tasić understood sociology as a theoretical-empirical science of society, which has a critical relationship with social reality, and the calling of a sociologist, as an engaged professional who participates in social changes with his knowledge.

It is interesting to see how the first issue of the journal was edited – with the active participation of all members of the Editorial Board and other collaborators from the country and abroad. Along with informing the general readership of what was happening in sociology in the world, there was also a practice of writing critical reviews, led particularly by the editor of the journal. In our country today, it is an underestimated practice for which assistants are hired, although it is a very responsible job since the valorization of scientific papers often affects their reception by new generations.

Đorđe Tasić was not only a good organizer and editor of the newly launched journal, but also an author in the field of sociology, basing his orientation on Durkheim and his school of Durkheimian followers, as well as in philosophy and sociology of the state and law under the influence of Leon Duguit and Hans Kelsen. It could be said that this pioneer is also the founder of sociology of law in our country. He was a participant in many international scientific meetings and published his papers in foreign languages, especially in French. He always treated legal issues in the broader framework of history and sociology and even philosophy, thus showing, as Radomir Lukić emphasizes, that law cannot be studied in depth without considering a broad background (Lukić, 1992: 8). Lukić, undoubtedly most familiar with Tasić's creativity, writes, among other things: "We certainly had better stylists and indisputably better systematists in legal science (Slobodan Jovanović and Toma Živanović), but we did not have such a versatile, analytical, rich thinker as Đorđe Tasić". It is a tremendous loss for our science that at the age of 51 he gave his life for truth and freedom, at the time when he had reached full maturity and would undoubtedly have produced an abundant and significant range of works of a synthetic character" (*Ibidem*).

As far as I know, Tasić's work has been the main topic of several defended master's and doctoral dissertations, numerus articles and books in which his contribution to legal and sociological science is valued. It is the right decision of the management of the Serbian Sociological Society and the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* to convene this scientific gathering and pay a tribute to this pioneer of sociology in our country and a true patriot.

ABOUT THE BALANCE OF ACTIVITIES OF THE JOURNAL *SOCIOLOŠKI PREGLED / SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*

In this chapter, I will deal with the analysis of the content of the articles published in the journal, based on the published bibliography "*Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* 1938-2020", referring to them in the context of turning points in social changes in our country and worldwide - i.e., "social time" (as Gurvitch would define it) and "the spirit of the time" (E. Morin). In addition to considering the primary material in the analysis, I also used the results of other researchers in our country published in the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* no. 1/2018, which is dedicated to the 80th anniversary of the establishment of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*, with more than twenty author contributions,[4] as well as the paper authored by Vladimir Vuletić and Dragan Stanojević. (2013). A comparative analysis was also included of the articles published in Serbia and Croatia, in the journals *Sociology*, *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*

[4] See the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* 1/2018. Available at https://scindeks.ceon.rs/issue.aspx?issue=13777 and http://www.socioloskipregled.org.rs/2018/06/04/socioloski-pregled-vol-lii-2018-no-1/.

and *Review of Sociology*. It is understood that this analysis remains unfinished and open to modifications with an insight into new results and contributions.

First of all, my elaboration shows that although in science there is no automatism and symmetry between the rhythm of changes in the social ontology of the epoch and changes in spiritual creation (cosmology), i.e. sociological reflection on the critical challenges of the so-called social time (about which Karl Mannheim, Georges Gurvitch, Edgar Morin, Pierre Bourdieu, John Naisbitt, or our authors Vojin Milić, Đuro Šušnjić and Todor Kuljić wrote in their studies in sociology of knowledge), these research studies mostly confirm the hypothesis about the social influence of the ruling tendencies (megatrends) in the social history of the epoch we live in, and sociological reflections on the problems of certain topics. Exactly these topics are dealt with by the majority of the authors in their published papers.

If we accept Gurvitch's *scheme of typology of social time* (published in the study "Contemporary Role of Sociology" in 1965), in which he presents his view on deep sociology and on the sociology as a science of total phenomena/facts, emphasizing that the key social phenomena are simultaneously the producer and the product of social time, then a certain type of freedom is possible only in a certain type of time behind which they hide. His typology can be succinctly presented through *the times of long duration and slow flow* (in which the past rules over the present) and finally *explosive time* (in which radical, discontinuous processes prevail), in which "the time goes ahead of itself" and in which the future that has begun becomes actual. A rough, simplified classification of social time into periods of *evolution, crisis and revolution, into periods of continuity, antagonism and discontinuity* or, according to *Kuhn's paradigm* of the scientific revolution (on the movement from Paradigm 1 through the period of normal science, crisis, to Paradigm 2) points to the reflex logic of megatrends in social time in ontology to the spiritual-cognitive rhythm. This by no means does not imply that the human spirit and Promethean societies cannot make a leap, or show a discontinuity in their development.

The researchers who have processed and quantified the contributions published in the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* from its renewed appearance in 1961 until today note that in the period 1961-1981 topics related to self-management and changes in the social structure prevail; the period 1981-1990 dwells on the crisis in Yugoslav society; the period 1991-2000 deals with disintegration and conflicts; the period since 2001 to date tackles transition, globalization and the European integration. A closer analysis of the articles published in the journal and sociological valorizations would also reveal the presence of different theoretical orientations and methodological approaches in the author's analysis, ranging from Marxism and functionalism, Structuralism (1961-1990), through conflict theory and geopolitics (1991-2000), all the way to the neoliberal discourse on transition, theories of the world system, dependent modernization and culturalism and postmodern constructivism (2000-2020) (see Antonić, 2021; Trkulja, 2021).

If we make a short, rough review while analyzing contributions and referenced works, we will notice that in the first published issue of the journal *Sociološki pregled /*

Sociological Review (1938) the authors are concerned with the place of sociology as a new science in the system of social sciences; they show us the status of this science in the world, as well as the founders of this science in our country, but they also refer to the abundant literature containing studies on the emergence of fascism in Europe and the world. In other words, one can also observe the first signals of the coming black wave of the future world calamity!

In the period from 1961 to 1970, the contributions are, first of all, dominated by the optimistic spirit of faith in workers' self-management and its emancipatory possibilities, de-Stalinization and liberation of labour/creativity of workers and citizens; from 1970 to 1980, the spirit of normativism prevails in the legal and political sciences, but also criticism of the system (in the spirit of 1968, critical theories), which under the guise of "federating the federation" is deformed into a system of polycentric statism, the formalization of self-governance and its suppression behind pompous rhetoric of the ruling party elite. In the period from 1980 until 1990, a growing crisis, economic, social and political is felt against the background of the rise of the forces of rampant polycentric statism towards the confederation of the country. In this context, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) turned from a hegemon and a factor of systemic political integration into an actor of disintegration.

The 1990s were marked by blocked transition, crisis and war conflicts which were induced by separatism from within and geostrategic games of the Western powers from outside. The culmination of these processes was the intervention of NATO forces in the FRY in 1999 and the changes of 5 October 2000.

The period 2000-2010 is at the heart of the euphoria of the neoliberal ideology of the transition of society, economy and numerous institutions of the welfare state. There was insufficient concern for state sovereignty and insufficient involvement in the so-called Kosovo issue which escalated with secessionism in the conditions when the province was under the patronage of the United Nations (UN). *It was as if multi-party interests in fighting at the top of the political elite came before the preservation of the sovereignty of the Serbian state.*

The period 2012-2022 is marked by the continuation of neoliberalism in the economy and attempts at neo-statistical intervention to get out of the crisis, the rise of the Serbian Progressive Party as a massive mastodon party that swallows up and subjugates all others in a coalition. All this has numerous repercussions on development and blocks the processes of the current democratization of the country.

In this context, one can note that higher education has also been destroyed by the Bologna reform. Under the guise of globalization and European reform, we have ended up with the fragmentation of education and scientific systems. We are faced with the marginalization of social sciences and humanities and the devaluation of their role in society.

The analysis of the bibliographic units and thematic blocks which were published in the monograph *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review 1938–2020: Bibliography* in

Belgrade in 2021, as well as of the papers published in the journal "*Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*" no. 1/2018, points to the fruitful balance of creativity of our sociologists but also to the skilful editorial policy, openness to theoretical pluralism and departure from dominant dogmatic tendencies and attempts of imposing censorship on this journal in the conditions of one-party socialism.

In the period 1938-2020, as many as 86 thematic blocks and 27 thematic issues of the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* were published, encompassing a wide range of topics that cover numerous disciplines and problem areas from the history of sociology and contemporary sociology. While the first issue of the journal launched in 1938 deals with the relationship between sociology and social sciences, from 1961, the renewed journal will launch the topic of the real essence of Marx's scheme of the social base and superstructure, the social laws in 1961, the problems of sociology of religion, industrial sociology and social conflicts in 1971. Furthermore, by researching the problems of social structure development in 1981, the topics of the crisis of Yugoslav society and labour strikes in 1986 and 1987 were covered. The early 1990s also covered the breakup and disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1994; the transition of Yugoslav society in 1996, 2004; then the history of the development of sociology in Serbia (there were three anthologies edited by S. Antonić (2012), One hundred years since the birth of Yugoslavia, edited by S. Miladinović (2018), Transition: thirty years later, Thematic block on demography, edited by M. Rašević (2019), Society in COVID-19, edited by Vladimir M. Vuletić, Society and Media, edited by Z. B. Jevtović (2020).

SOCIOLOŠKI PREGLED / SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW WITH NEW TASKS IN STORE – A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE

An overview of the historical odyssey of the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* indicates that it has experienced a successful flight. Regardless of a certain interruption in its presentation, the journal underwent renewal, thematically expanding to new problem areas of sociological disciplines, as well as personnel renewal, expanding the circle of its collaborators from new generations of sociologists. For such reach, we should thank both the editors and the members of the editorial staff of this journal, as well as the collaborators who donated their contributions to this journal for the benefit of the academic community of sociologists in our country.

Bearing in mind the turbulent times or challenging processes that new generations of sociologists will face, it is necessary to make a possible prediction in the form of a view of the future of this journal and its further active role in contemporary sociology. In this line, the following is to be expected:

- greater focus of the journal on problems and challenges, contradictions of transitional practice in our country and in the world; that is, the scope and balance of the transition of dependent modernization in post-socialist societies;

– critical review of the concepts and practice of the strategy of development and management in our country;

– consideration of the comparative experiences of other Balkan countries in transition;

– presentation of new theoretical and methodological orientations and achievements in contemporary sociology;

– publication of critical reviews of the best papers from domestic and international sociological literature;

– opening to the creativity of the new sociological generation in our country, critical evaluation and critical valorization of its contribution;

– monitoring the creativity of the new Serbian intellectual diaspora and preserving its cultural identity, encouraging its return mobility as well as their inclusion in the partnership for the development of Serbia;

– affirmation of the importance of regional and international connection and cooperation of sociologists in the Balkans, Europe and the world. Special monitoring of the work of associations, journals, international academic cooperation in education and scientific research activity of sociologists as part of the community of Homo academicus;

– sociological valorization and affirmation of the engaged role of the calling of sociology and sociologists in the world and in our country as well.

Bearing in mind all the above-mentioned factors and other academic and social topics, sociology and sociologists should cultivate critical distance, especially towards current processes in current politics, taking into account the warnings of wise philosophers and sociologists: "All knowledge is worthless if it does not make a person better" (Socrates); "Everything that is real is not mental, everything that is mental is not real" (Hegel); "Sociology is a martial discipline and cannot be indifferent and neutral towards the problems concerning man and the possibilities of humanity" (Bourdieu); "In sociology, the search for truth must never be separated from the search for the paths of Goodness, Freedom and Justice" (Wallerstein).

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The journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* has survived numerous ups and downs, "children's diseases" in its development and has stayed on its feet. We wish it a successful further flight and a dignified stance in the years to come, in meeting new challenges and generations whose time is approaching.

We congratulate the editors and the editorial staff who, with their responsible work, helped the journal to persevere and affirm the calling of sociology and sociologists in our country, as an academic, scientific, moral and martial discipline "in Bourdieuan sense":

that one cannot be neutral in the issues and struggles that are of decisive importance for the development of our society and the future of humanity.

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Aleksandra Lj. Mitrović[1]
University of Priština, in Kosovska Mitrovica,
Faculty of Law
Kosovska Mitrovica (Serbia)

SOCIOLOGICAL METHOD IN THE FACE OF THE CHALLENGES OF LEGAL PRACTICE

Abstract: This scientific paper aims to emphasize the theoretical and practical importance of the sociological method before the social challenges of legal practice and thus confirm greater social responsibility in the process of legal interpretation. As the law is an objective spiritual and normatively shaped social phenomenon that has a temporal and spatial framework, it is also a subject of sociology, and all research techniques and theoretical principles are based on cause-and-effect analysis of social interactions of social actors in social cohesion. Therefore, it is not possible to ignore the social nature of law present through the constant influence of society on law and vice versa.

The study of law with respect for social reality was the starting point of Đorđe Tasić's scientific research, which resulted in his great interest in sociology. As one of the most deserving of the popularization of the sociological method in our legal science, Tasić always brought the state and law in connection with society as a whole or individual social phenomenon, and he created works that exude respect for social reality. The sociological method in this context enables a better, more concise, more efficient legal interpretation, taking into account the complete social situation that the law regulates and examines the dominant social interests conducting the law.

Finally, the sociological method as the basis of the theoretical-methodological platform in this paper enables a more concise interpretation of the law as a normatively sublimated social reality, and its application gives a more reliable answer to new social challenges in legal practice. Laws of law, a phenomenon that acts, but also functional phenomena.

Keywords: sociological method, law, society, legal practice.

[1] aleksandra.mitrovic@pr.ac.rs

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECT OF LAW ANALYSIS TASIĆ'S SOCIOLOGICAL POSITIVISM

As a specific social phenomenon, the law requires an integral approach, which implies studying law as a social reality in two ways: from the inside – essentially (the content of law); externally – structurally (constitutive elements of the legal norm). As the value aspect of the law is reserved for the philosophy of law, the law as a normative order subjected to the state has a monopoly of coercion, creating an additional opportunity for the sociological method to analyze the normative nature of law, and law will be analyzed as a spiritual, normatively framed phenomenon, being a form of social control by the state. Thus, the sociological analysis looks at law as the relationship between the state and law, where the law is partly related to the state and its mechanisms of coercion through legal norms. The analysis of law in this way, in a narrower sense, determines legal norms as a means of forced settlement of conflicts in pre-normative legal relations to achieve the essential interests and goals of ruling groups. Values and goals highlighted in legal norms are protected by coercion, as legal actions that are favorable to the ruling group are marked as obligations and powers, and those that are not favorable, as misdemeanors, or sanctions in case of non-fulfillment of obligations (Visković, 1981: 162-163). In this context, some of the foundations of the theoretical –methodological platform of Đorđe Tasić, when he talks about legal phenomena and on that occasion emphasizes the importance of social factors in their creation and application. Namely, Tasić, to shed light on the social side of the law, looked critically at the sociological positivism of Léon Duguit and thereby paved the way for the revelation of truth in legal theory. Sociological positivism in this sense leads to a reaction that results in idealism, which could only deepen positivism, which was otherwise a continuation of rationalism, and that means making it more elastic and moderate than rationalism, but not changing its foundations, object, and methods of analyzing society and law.

The focus is on a man seen as a social being, that is a member of a social community –society. In this sense, state bodies are not there to operate according to their will, but to achieve certain social goals, obeying social law, and the expression of the Constitution (Tasić, 1928: 433). Nevertheless, Tasić takes a more careful view of Duguit's position, in the sense that any man, as a citizen, could refuse to obey the law passed by the state if he did not want to, referring to social law.

However, according to Duguit, every person is aware of the relationship between the values of the hierarchy in society and there is an imperative need for the work of public services in the society-state. Therefore, Duguit only theoretically allows the right of citizens to resist the state government. As social life does not allow anarchy, resistance is allowed only to the extent where social peace is undisturbed. Based on all of the above, Tasić concludes that Duguit's notion of social law, as well as normative consciousness, is imbued with the idea of order. However, the order cannot be maintained only via consciousness and moral factors, so it recognizes force as a necessary element for enforcing rights and establishing social peace.

"Law cannot be explained in any way if a man is not understood as a being who has social consciousness and as such subject to social discipline. Only a socially aware being can distinguish law from the force, as well as from other social norms and regulations, such as moral ones" (*Ibid*. p. 435). The state is therefore designated as the creator of law (positive law), while state bodies are there to carry out social tasks. However, state (positive) law is not the best law, being determined as logical legality only by the current interests of the ruling group. As Duguit points out, the state has only one goal, and that is the rule of law. This kind of law ignores natural law, which must not be absent in the process of creating law, because only if natural law is present in positive law, one can speak of human law, that is, the law that serves not only the state but all people. The sociological analysis, therefore, points out that the creation of positive law requires the participation of the norms of natural law, because only such law will be based on a rational conception of the authority of the mind, and not the authority of force (sanctions). Combining all three elements of law requires an integrated approach because we see the law as "a system of state and social norms with which the most important and conflicting interpersonal relations are forcibly directed to achieve peace, security, justice, and other dominant values" (Visković, 2001: 117).

"As for sociologists, supporters of collective consciousness, they would like to give precedence to the idea of peace, because to preserve the dominance of solidarity, which they regard above all else, in the society of the idea of differentiation and growing social entanglements, it is necessary to give special importance to the will for peace, agreement, compromise, and mutual concessions" (Tasić, 2002: 80). Therefore, it is not possible to leave out social factors from the law, because "giving importance to social factors is necessary precisely because the law is created to achieve appropriate effects through its application, to regulate and stabilize social relations appropriately" (Stanković, 1998: 3).

If a clear distinction were made between law in the narrower and broader sense, the conclusion would be that state law is strictly formalized and precisely determined, while social law is based on the idea of social solidarity, and integration, but also social conflict, i.e. on a non-unified interpretation. In this context, in the opinion of Tasić, when analyzing Durkheim's idea, society is defined as a "hearthstone of ideals that guarantees spiritual life, because society is not a body organized according to the model of an organism and its vital functions, as he says: In that body lives one soul; it is a set of collective ideals" (Tasić, (1927/1928: 144).

Tasić finally concludes that ideals do not escape natural explanation, but are viewed like all social phenomena because ideals also originated in nature and from nature. Society in this sense, as Durkheim states, should be understood as a sui generis concept because it has the power to produce ideals for individuals, imposes its coercion, and puts itself in the role of a legislator who demands respect and obedience, and as a such society can also be understood as a lofty moral personality and collective will. Analyzing this point of view of Durkheim, Tasić says that Durkheim "postulates human society, just as Kant postulates God" (*Ibid*: 145.) Finally, Tasić believes that Duguit is more consistent with positivism than Durkheim, and in this context, Tasić believes that collective consciousness, a social reality that acquires the contours of a supreme moral personality and collective consciousness as such, does not exist. Duguit sees it more objectively and figures with public services, which is a far more positivist position than the one that advocates the notion of a sovereign collective personality of social reality.

COMPLEMENTARITY OF THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL AND NORMATIVE METHODS IN THE PROCEDURE OF LEGAL INTERPRETATION

With the increasingly frequent application, the sociological method overcame the dominant normative (legal) method. In this sense, the normative method did not cease to exist, but the sociological method managed to point out the shortcomings of the normative method and thus confirmed its superiority. As pointed out by Prof. Tasić,

> "thanks to the influence of sociology, the law is seen as a social fact, and the state as a special form of society, which led to a more accurate and deeper examination of the relationship between the state and society, the source of law, as well as the interpretation of laws" (Tasić, 1937: 9).

Therefore, the interpretation insists on the mandatory application of the sociological method, but with joint complementary action with the normative method. Although present in various areas of legal interpretation, the application of the sociological method differs in the area of knowledge of the law and the area of legal technique. The scope of knowledge of law requires a two-sided role of the sociological method, for the knowledge of a certain social side of the law is applied independently, while in legal technique it is used as an auxiliary method in addition to normative or other methods in the process of creating and applying the law when it has a complementary effect combined with other methods.

Procedures for the creation and application of law are matters of judicial practice which can be studied from different aspects, for example when we investigate the influence of various social factors on the decision-making of judges when we ask how sociological expertise (the knowledge that sociology gives us about society) affects on the application of the law when we investigate the place of the judiciary within the system of separation of powers when we investigate the social characteristics of the judiciary and their influence on adjudication, when, from a more subjective, and socio-psychological point of view, we direct our attention to the other participants in the court proceedings (litigants, victims of a criminal offense, perpetrator, jurors, prosecutor, defense counsel), etc. (Bovan, 2014b: 117). It is necessary that the judicial procedure, as well as the sociology of law, apply the knowledge obtained by applying the sociological method, enabling the discovery of social, psychological, cultural, and natural factors that influence the process of creating and applying the law. In this sense, it can be said that *sociology of law is a special sociology that investigates the relationship between society and law*.

> "The sociology of law is rather abstract and vague, and ultimately imprecise. In the literature, we find it in various variants, so, for example, it is said that the sociology of law studies the social side of the law, the law as a social phenomenon, the social basis of law, and the influence of society on law, and the like" (Bovan, 2014: 131).

The process of creating a legal norm, i.e. the creation of positive law, implies the application of tradition and natural law because natural law is universal. Natural law knows no classes because it is supranational, suppositive, original, and serves justice and man, not injustice and arbitrariness. So it is important to emphasize that positive law ideologically always relies on natural law to be able to speak of it as good law for one state or society at a time. In this regard, Tasić points out:

> "As for positive law, no matter what it is, it cannot be imagined without social discipline and will, as complex and changing phenomena. There is a special form of discipline or peaceful will, knowing how to make compromises at the expense of one's interests and convenience, or knowing how to be tolerant of the opinions of others, in the general interest and the interest of the new legal order. This way of acting must not be branded as a betrayal of ideals(...) This is true idealism." (Tasić, 2002: 81).

Furthermore, Tasić states: "Compromise understood in such way bears the characteristic features of solidarity which, having released the strictness of the demands, finally paves the way for a stronger solidarity" (*Ibidem*).

Law is the dynamics of social cohesion, that is, the frequency of changes in society reflecting the content of legal norms during their creation. Dynamism and social variability must be taken into account during the legal norming process, so legal norms will change per social change. In addition, the necessity of the existence of reasons (rules –legal norms) should be emphasized, because otherwise, social life would be defective (Coleman, Himma, Shapiro, 2004: 15-39). In this context, legal norms must be harmonized with social changes, whether they are the result of evolution or revolution. In addition to legal norms, moral norms are also subject to a certain degree of transformation because moral norms essentially follow the variability of social cohesion determined by time and space.

After all, "time and space are among the most obvious phenomena, so they do not come into question" (Lukić, 1992: 54). As Kant points out, space (place) and time are *a priori* phenomena, without which it is not possible to think about the world in general, because time is a measure of duration, the existence of things, phenomena, and the world. The best example of law as a social phenomenon is a positive law as a purely social creation since it is valid among people (society), exists in people's consciousness, and regulates their behavior. The law cannot be viewed exclusively as a normative or ideal phenomenon by itself and self-sufficient, because a law exists among people, in people's consciousness, and for people. In the example of the creation of a legal norm, the creator of a legal norm must take into account that he is part of society, part of a certain social culture, and part of valid law, so the law is attached to the creator in a positive or negative sense in the process of creation, you can see how much and how the law reflects society. This is precisely the reason why the study of law requires the participation of not only the normative but also the sociological method.

The sociological method in law was created based on two completely different points of view about society. On the one hand, it is a matter of consensual sociological theories –society is based and maintained based on organic solidarity or interest – value agreement (consensus) between people, while on the other hand, it is a question of conflicting sociological theories, proving that society is based and maintained by forced regulation of interest-value conflicts among members of the unequal ruling and non-ruling social classes and strata (Jogan, 1978). As the subject of research always determines the methods of research (Visković, 1980: 3), the study of law includes all theoretical assumptions and technical procedures that enable the knowledge, but also the practical processing of the specific and necessary subject of a lawyer's experience (*Ibid.*).

The sociological method can, therefore, for law research find its application in legal theory –science and in legal practice – the work of the judiciary. In both cases, investigates the sociological context of law, with the fact that the first case use an abstract approach, and in the second case a concrete, empirical approach. The term *sociological method* is only a group name for a large number of very different theoretical assumptions about the composition and dynamics of social phenomena that serve as hypotheses for further understanding and practical processing of social phenomena in general and special legal phenomena, where there is also a difference between sociological procedures and research technique. (Gilli, 1974).

That is why the sociological method is included in the group of causal-explanatory methods that empirically study law by establishing causal and non-causal laws (functional, developmental, etc.) of law as effective and acting phenomena (Lukić, 1965: 35). "Given that the goal of scientific activity is the acquisition of knowledge, the scientific method is an element of the internal structure of science that shows us how science achieves knowledge, i.e. how scientific activities are carried out" (Bovan, 2014: 18).

> "The structure of the scientific method consists of three elements: theoretical, technical, and logical. In the literature, the method is often equated with some of the mentioned elements. Most often, the method is equated with its technical element when the method means only different techniques of data collection and processing (these techniques are most often called the scientific method in a narrower sense)" (*Ibidem*).

These are the means to perceive the object, i.e. those concretized specific procedures, as well as material means, enabling the discovery of the properties of objects whose comprehension is the goal of scientific research (Lukić, 1975: 47-48). The role of the normative method is revealing the content through interpretation, i.e. the true and exact meaning of a legal norm, (Mitrović, Bovan, 2012: 333), revealing the logical nature of a legal norm, identifying the elements, searching for connection or a pattern of creating a norm, and finally, investigates the relationships between norms (legal force and hierarchy between norms) and how norms are linked in the legal order (*Ibid*.).

The normative method fails to fully scientifically explain the law, the essence is reached only with the complementary action of the sociological method, because it is necessary to discover the social causes of the origin of law, and then to determine the role that law has in society and vice versa. In continuation, the sociological method will also find its application when a law is viewed in a narrower sense (a set of legal norms). Strive to establish law as a normative phenomenon arising under the influence of numerous social phenomena. Also, it will explain how the law works, as well as the efficiency factors, the goals, and the effect that the law leaves on society. The sociological method also analyzes the effect of legal norms on society and the causes of the partial or complete non-realization of the effect of legal norms in society, also dealing with issues related to social forces that influence the creation of certain legal norms and their interpretations as normatively regulated interests represented by dominant social groups.

As the normative method fails to provide answers to questions concerning the social causes leading to its creation, interpretation, and application of legal norms as a formally shaped social will, the complementary and combined action of the sociological method in the process of legal interpretation is necessary. Nevertheless, in Tasić's opinion, in the area where the normative method should be distinguished from the sociological one, that difference should not exist. Tasić believes that it must not exist because the similarities between the results of positivism and criticism do not appear either in law or in any other field. This is most evident when talking about the convergence of these philosophies when it comes to the theory of the state and law in general. Since both are empirical, what stands out is that positivism rises to normativity, which Kelsen speaks of as a supporter of criticism (Tasić, 1926/1927: 84). For Tasić, law, as well as for Duguit, is nothing but social reality shaped and manifested into normative consciousness.

SOCIOLOGICAL METHOD IN THE PROCEDURE OF CREATION, INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION OF LEGAL NORMATIVE

It can be said that one of the many roles of the sociological method is to discover how normative law is social, that is, to which extent are legal norms present in society. It is a method that deals with the observation and research of real phenomena, which is certainly human behavior and its related actions among people, i.e. the relationship of human reactions to the presented model of behavior in the legal norm. If we compare what is stated as a model (rule) of behavior in the legal norm, and the legal awareness of the person about that stated rule, we come to a very common situation, which is the existence of inconsistencies between what should be (rights and obligations in legal norm) and what is (legal consciousness of a person, i.e. how a person reasons and accepts what is presented to him as a model or rule of conduct).

When looking for differences between social reality and written law, the task of the sociological method is not particularly difficult because it is easy to see the difference between written law and the law that manifests itself in social reality. It is much more difficult to see the differences between unwritten law and the law that exists in human consciousness, i.e. customary law. In that case, there is an established right that everyone knows and possesses in their consciousness, but still, people behave contrary to what they know and carry in their consciousness as an unwritten norm. The sociological method sees the difference between the law that exists as valid (written) and the one that is valid, that is, the one that is applied. The procedures followed by the sociological method in legal research do not differ significantly from the general procedures of sociological research - they are simply the application of general procedures to law (Šušnjić, 1973: 307-319). If the sociological method were to be excluded from the procedure of interpreting the law, the law would be viewed as an ideal phenomenon that exists as a non-spatial and timeless, independent creation and has no beginning and end, no cause of origin, no purpose of existence, and in that sense, it would have no significance. However, the sociological method cannot answer all questions, such as the content of the legal norm and the normative elements of which the norm consists, so the sociological method more precisely defines its domain of study.

When the legal method finds out the content of the legal norm, the sociological method investigates why the content of the legal norm is the way it is, that is, how it reflects on social cohesion. A legal norm has its characteristic social function, in the realization of a certain social goal, and this speaks of the social influence on the content of the norm, but also of the norm on society. This relationship is investigated by the sociological method, as well as social factors shaping the content of the legal norm, but also how the norm affects society, taking into account the complete social situation regulated by law, and then examining the dominant social interests guiding the law, thus reaching the correct interpretation of the legal norm. In this sense, the law is "a system of state and social norms with which the most important and conflicting interpersonal relations are forcibly directed to achieve peace, security, justice, and other socially dominant values" (Visković, 2001: 117)

Therefore, the structure of a legal norm will not be defined by a logical idea, but by the needs, the relationship of forces (power), and the goals (interests) of society. A normatively shaped social relationship becomes, therefore, a positive law including all the mentioned substrates of social cohesion.

A right that has an *a priori* character, to gain positive legal affirmation, must pass through the a posteriori filter of justice and thus obtain its positive legal materialization. Thus, the law becomes matter and ceases to be a theory because it replaces abstraction with concretization, imagination with realization, precisely through judicial practice, allowing the law to prove and show its a posteriori nature with the help of empirical ascertainment of judicial practice. The process of discovering the true meaning of a legal norm is a process where even the interpreter cannot be completely free in making the final decision because if we take the example of judicial regulation, the judge will essentially not differ much from any individual, but behind his process will be a de facto monopoly coercion, i.e., the state.

> As Tasić points out "the state is an institution where all elements intertwine and are in reciprocal dependence" (Tasić, 1995: 293).

In this sense, a judge, like every citizen has his view of things when it comes to the interests that the law should protect. Nevertheless, the procedure of interpretation and application of the law by legal practitioners (judges) begins with the process of collecting and processing facts, and then with their classification and determination to make a final decision. Having processed the facts, carried out through the court expert procedure, follows the process of connecting the facts, which is carried out based on the assessment of the significance of the facts for the given case. Connecting and evaluating, as well as interpreting the facts, can only be carried out with the method of sociological reasoning used by the judge when making a decision. Every judge, however, knows or feels to what extent appropriate experience records are important for making a court decision (Rüthers, 1999: 377) to end a given court proceeding. As the criterion of interpretation is in the head of the interpreter, as Hasemer believed (Rüthers, 2009: 253-83) even when it comes to routine cases, the judge must be careful in making a decision and aware that he is deciding on human destinies. The judicial decision must therefore not be free, but it is necessary to methodize this freedom to avoid arbitrariness. Therefore, the judge, as an interpreter, is obliged to take into account all the circumstances of the social atmosphere and to adhere to the opinion that the creator of the legal norm had when he created the norm because as A. Beck points out, it is necessary to constantly evaluate the author's words (Boeckh, 1977: 11). The true meaning of the legal norm must, therefore, be limited by the given linguistic-logical interpretation, so that the judge acts within certain limits before making a final decision. If he considers that the law does not protect fundamental interests, the judge is obliged not to exceed the limits set with his arbitrary opinion. Only in the case when the court decision was made with a justified reason and a sufficiently purposeful goal, one can speak of justice per the current value system of a society.

In this context, we should conclude what Professor Tasić apostrophized when talking about justice, which is that justice in itself is the *fundamentum regnorum*, or as the Serbian language explains, "justice holds villages and cities".

> "There is no formula of justice so rational and so thin that it could determine, in a precise way, what each of us gives to society and to what extent, because our contribution, at least the one among us, cannot be a principle of justice, because by giving ourselves to society, we ensure the general conditions of life, and hence our own" (Knežević, 1995: 290-291). In all cases, justice cannot be opposed to the common welfare as a contradictory principle. The best we can accept is to put justice on a higher level. Love and justice originate from the same source (*Ibid.*, p. 291).

CONCLUSION

The specific connection between law and society can best be seen if we look at law from a sociological aspect, as a form of social existence. Law is a solid, coherent, and hierarchical system whose structure is largely influenced by the needs, the balance of power, and the goals of a society, that is, a state. In this sense, the complete social situation regulated by law is taken into account, and then the dominant social interests that guide the state are examined, not as sovereign moral persons and collective consciousness, as Durkheim pointed out, but as a system of public services as in Duguit, which is far more positivist, as Tasić pointed out.

Therefore, importance is rightly attributed to the sociological method, because by applying it uniquely and systematically, the functional rules of law are empirically investigated as active and effective phenomena. Applying the sociological method in the process of legal interpretation enables a better, more precise, clearer, and more fundamental understanding of social interactions as the causes and consequences of the complex relationship between law and society; the sociological method is irreplaceable and necessary both in the domain of legal science and legal practice.

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Biljana Č. Milošević Šošo[1]
University of East Sarajevo,
Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Sociology
Pale (Republic of Srpska – Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Nemanja S. Đukić[2]
University of Banja Luka,
Faculty of Political Science,
Department of Sociology
Banja Luka (Republic of Srpska – Bosnia and Herzegovina)

DICHOTOMY OF NORMAL / CRIMINAL IN ĐORĐE TASIĆ'S INTERPRETATION

Abstract: This paper is aimed at pointing to the significant scientific contribution of Professor Tasić, the affirmation of sociology and some of its disciplines because, although a jurist by vocation, he was a true admirer and acclaimed founder of sociology as a social science. His scientific orientation was directed, among other things, towards common law, which he perceived not only through legal science, but also through ethnology and sociology. Analytically approaching the works of Vuk Karadžić, Jovan Cvijić and Tihomir Đorđević regarding the topic of the quality of interpersonal relations, he strived to determine the degree of impact on them through practising the existing common norms. At the time when sociology was still in the process of constitution as a separate scientific discipline, he made an (un)conscious pioneering step towards the foundation of social pathology as one of its disciplines. In fact, he pointed to the normal or criminal, or unacceptable, in marital and family unions. Why are some patterns of behaviour practised in everyday life, specifically, are there any customs behind bigamy as a pathological phenomenon, different statuses of marital partners in the union, and how strong are those patterns in everyday life? He believed that sociology was supposed to deal with giving an answer to these and similar questions,

[1] milošević_biljana@yahoo.com
[2] nemanja.djukic@fpn.unibl.org

while in the remainder of the paper we will try to present some of the answers to the posed questions from the aspect of the modern society.

Keywords: Đorđe Tasić, sociology, customs, normal, criminal.

INTRODUCTION

Analyzing the available scientific material of Professor Đorđe Tasić, and particularly the part of the material dedicated to him and his scientific work by other authors, we must admit that the authors of this paper, in their very choice of the topic, encountered a specific challenge in scholarly terms, in their attempts to answer to the perception of the normal and the criminal in Tasić's work. His primary education as a jurist and action mostly in the sphere of jurisdiction, as well as his position of the university professor, were not a limiting factor and did not reduce his interest in related scientific disciplines. Apart from contributing to the development of the legal theory and legal philosophy, Tasić had a scientific appetite and desire that led him to the trails of sociology, ethnology and linguistics. For the purpose of this paper, we will focus on his scientific contribution to the development of sociology and his encouragement in the development of some of its disciplines. He is one of those scholars whoa, by his analytical procedures, laid the foundations of the Serbian sociology of the village, as well as of sociology of law. Đorđe Tasić deserves the credit for sociology by establishing the Society for Sociology in 1935, by launching the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* in 1938 and by bringing sociology as a science closer to the part of the society of the time interested in social phenomena, their causes and effects. With his work, he gave special dignity to the sociological thought, introducing the concept of the sociological method in legal science. It was a kind of encouragement to all those who had not previously dared to present some of the interpretations, observations or explanations by consulting sociological findings and by applying sociological methods in their research ventures and work. In this paper, we will also attempt to present Tasić's (un)conscious steps through his scientific and research work towards the foundation of yet another sociological discipline – social pathology, which will be developed and established many years after his era. We are certain that his accomplishments in the field of this sociological discipline would also have been significant if he had not been prevented by his tragic life circumstances.

THE BACKBONE OF TASIĆ'S SOCIOLOGICAL ACTION

Speaking of Professor Đorđe Tasić's contribution to sociology entails emphasizing and explaining certain pints of his sociological action in the sphere of legal sciences. Guided by such structure of our work, we will admit having a problem with pointing out the key sociological theses in his scientific opus solely because of the constant existence and expression of concern for the status of an individual, for the quality and meaningfulness of the moral principles of the time in the context of the state and law. His social awareness and need to consider certain legal problems from the aspect of sociology, a pioneering science at the time, cause regret for his short but fruitful life path. From today's time distance, it is completely justifiable to regret for such a theoretician having in mind that the quality of his understanding the importance of sociological aspects in the society for that era, which is often overlooked by the modern society. Tasić's scientific work hardly covers three decades, but it contains over several hundred scientific texts about the theory and philosophy of law, sociology of law, constitutional and international law and general sociology (Vasić, 2013, p. 112). It is a fact that the period of Tasić's scientific action overlaps with different social turning points occurring on the political scene in Europe, which was an introduction into something described by sociology as disorganization, anomie and conflict and which served as an inexhaustible source of his ideas for work. However, regardless of the (unfavourable) circumstances in the Serbian society at that time, Tasić's main guiding ideas were *social life* and *social idea*. In the period before the Second World War, sociology was expected to neutralize undesirable effects of the political propaganda, so as to constitute itself as a Weberian value-neutral science, in the territory of Yugoslavia of the time and to take a critical attitude towards politics and ideology (Mitrović, 1988).

> "Just as inside, in the state, law has its legal and, at the same time, social foundations, the same refers to the outside. Inside, in the state, it becomes factual only at the first moment and subsequently towards an established form and towards legal principles, but then it also has its social root: through the legal prism, life is expressed to a larger or smaller extent, since the very form is the condensation of social relations. Therefore, it is only one social factor whose nature is such that it enables only a certain group to find its expression in legal norms. From the outside, in international relations, there is always one legal form through which social life passes" (Tasić, 1920: 84).

His aspirations and attitudes were recognized after many years, and he has been described as a scientist "striving towards progress and perfection and constantly acting towards that goal", because life is understood as a task with the meaning in the global system, and primarily in the human society, since man never exists by himself or for himself (Lukić, 1959: 1). Convincing people that they should exercise their rights in a manner that does not harm others, in the spirit of peace and agreement, and not attempting to abuse law, Tasić also insists on and emphasizes the importance of the social idea (Tasić, 1920). In Tasić's work, sociologization of law was evident when he discussed law and morals, the abuse of law, the problems of the natural state, which is one of the first links for his perception of the normal and the criminogenic in society. Choosing between the legal concepts of the time about the importance and role of law in the state or society, Tasić opts for and promotes the one recommending the adaptation of law to the changes in society. Analyzing the category of norms, both the formalized (legal) norms and non-formalized ones (customs), Tasić makes broader findings about customary law, as well as about the category of solidarity.

As emphasized by Marjanović, customary law is understood both in broader and in narrower terms, whereas it should be noted that the broader aspect of customary law includes all legal forms apart from the laws, while its narrower aspect refers to the judge being bound by the objective belief in the same manner of his/her being bound by the law. Customary law is characterized by the amassing of certain human actions over a long period of time and the awareness of being obligated. It is interesting to see Tasić's explanation of the weight of customary law versus the law, where he emphasizes the autonomy of customary law as long as it is not subject to sanctions. The practice of the time somewhat sporadically approved of the law's reticence regarding certain customary norms that appear outside the law, as a spontaneous social form (Marjanović, 2010).

From the sphere of the prevailing Serbian ethnological thought at the time, Tasić is interested in the strength of folk customs, from which customary law derives as well, with the intention to point to the normal and the criminogenic in interpersonal relations from the sociological aspect. The issue of bigamy in T. Đorđević's work was particularly emphasized and determined as criminogenic, with special interest in what was directly behind certain models of behaviour. He wondered whether those were customs or some other rules. These considerations lead us to the conclusion about the importance of studying socio-pathological phenomena at the time when this discipline had not been constituted yet, but its significance was indirectly recognized. Today we may definitely speak of its foundation and competence for the modern research into deviance. Studying deviance as the main focus of social pathology, its research and analysis of its goals, to a certain extent constitutes the concept for understanding the mechanisms necessary for the function of societies (Milošević Šošo, 2019: 209). In his work *Philosophy and Sociology*, Tasić says that sociological interpretation should not be excluded when it comes to morality, which is made of the "moral concepts that guide people in their lives, that become customs and that are applied by the institutions within which people actually live" (Tasić, 1938a: 29). From the viewpoint of modern understanding of criminogenic behaviour, usually with the customary norms of patriarchal society in the background, there are examples of social violence founded on the aggressive urges of male population as proof of their superiority; physical conflicts are often part of "proving masculinity" and the militarist orientation caused by patriarchal attitudes, particularly in the post-war environment (Jugović, 2014: 26). Islamic tradition is full of customs that refer particularly to female population in terms of punishment in case of deviating from customary norms. An example illustrating this is Pakistan, where murder from honour has never been adequately processed from the aspect of jurisdiction. The custom of blood feuding in Montenegrin, but also in Albanian society is a typical example of the criminogenic nature of certain customary models of behaviour. The essence of customary law is that it is founded on and acts at the level of collective consciousness, which is Tasić's yet another contact point with sociology or, more precisely, with socio-pathological considerations. First to be seen is his agreement with Durkheim's interpretation of social relations based on law and customs. In that respect, regarding modern societies, we may say that "every form of pointing to the presence of deviant phenomena in society [...] is already a form of struggle against them" (Milošević Šošo, 2018: 95.)

> "Durkheim observes that social relations may be established without assuming a legal form. They do not remain vague because of it, but are regulated by customs. It often happens that customs are not in line with law". Durkheim thinks that these contradictions occur only in exceptional cases, but that customs are generally not opposed to law, but constitute its foundation" (Durkheim, 1972: 106-107).

Namely, through his explanation of social division, Durkheim categorized societies by the degree of their solidarity into mechanical solidarity societies and organic solidarity societies. Mechanical solidarity is associated with poorly developed, primitive societies, while organic solidarity is characteristic of more developed societies. Durkheim's solidarity is something that keeps the members of a society together and, from the aspect of social division of labour, those are different jobs. In the societies with organic solidarity, the work sphere abounds in various activities and types of jobs, for the purpose to fulfilment of human needs and the functioning of the society. Organic solidarity is quite often a source of moral crises, accompanied by anomic situations in society due to the increased dynamic density of population in a certain territory (Durkheim, 1972). It inevitably leads to its transformation into mechanical solidarity under the influence of collective consciousness, which is made of collective beliefs, sentiments, customs typical of the members of a society.

> "Dissatisfaction coming from unfulfilled aspirations is not sufficient to turn against the social order as its cause even those who suffer because of it, because they care for that order, not due to finding in it the field for developing their professional activity, but due to the fact that in their eyes it contains a multitude of beliefs and habits they live from" (Durkheim, 1972: 367).

In his process of the sociologization of law, Tasić opposes Durkheim in the category of collective consciousness, negating its very name, where the notion of collective consciousness is replaced by the notion of social consciousness, founded on the basics of interpersonal dependence. Believing that sociology should deal with social solidarity, while law confirms its main forms, on the trail of discovering transformed societies from organic into mechanical solidarity, Durkheim consulted law and changes within the legal system. He emphasized that societies with mechanical solidarity are characterized by criminal law intended for perpetrators, which proves that criminal law is applied and whose existence indicates the material reflection of the presence of strong collective consciousness and the society bound by mechanical solidarity. The weakening of collective consciousness leads to the emergence of organic solidarity and the emergence of restitutive law, which implies adherence to the law by each individual and bearing adequate consequences for offences.

> "As for the question in the essence of this work, it is the question of the relations between an individual person and social solidarity. How does an individual, despite becoming more and more independent, happens to be increasingly dependent on society? How can an individual be more personal and more solidary, i.e., mutually dependent, at the same time? It is indisputable that these two trends, no matter how contradictory they may seem, occur at the same time. It seems to us that what resolves that apparent contradiction is a certain transformation of social solidarity, which is caused by the ever more important development of labour division" (Durkheim, 1972: 82).

For Durkheim, social solidarity is a moral phenomenon, while law is the visible part of solidarity. This is exactly stated by Tasić in his following thesis:

> "Law is a social factor, and wherever there is a society, there is law. The basic social fact is solidarity in terms of mutual dependence. Law is the expression of that fact. Law is the best measure for the nature and degree of solidarity. With the change in solidarity, the change in law also ensues. Law is not manifested directly through solidarity, but through man's consciousness" (Tasić, 1920: 59).

As Lukić observes, for Tasić, "law is the crystallization of unique social consciousness, as opposed to morality that is not necessarily unique" (Lukić, 1959: 5).

Relying on Durkheim's understanding of the normal, Tasić clarifies his attempts to categorize normal and unacceptable forms of action, i.e., human action. Certain that Durkheim's confused the normal with the normative in an attempt to explain the normal in a society, Tasić interprets it as Durkheim's failed attempt to categorize normal and unacceptable actions.

> "That is the notion of the normal, defined as something most common. As such, the normal is not only what a social science may find important for social phenomena, but it is also something that is important and simultaneously useful, but not necessary. The very fact that a form is widespread proves that it is useful. To tell the truth, Durkheim does not equate these two concepts because, if the normal is useful, the useful is not normal […]. Even worse, it cannot be claimed that all widespread things are good and useful because bad and harmful things can also be widespread […]. But what does the normal exactly mean? The normal is something widespread to a larger of smaller extent; it depends on the social group and conditions, and in line with the nature of the facts" (Tasić, 1938b: 168).

In that respect, today we also think that greater interest is needed in socio-pathological problems, particularly in transition societies, where forms of behaviour are more frequently opposed to the current social norms and rules, because those societies are transformed in the course of new social changes, which consequently changes their systems of social norms and values as well. For that reason, social pathology is the most competent for understanding, analyzing and projecting further consequences of such behaviour, with mutual consultation with other sociological disciplines (Milošević Šošo, 2019: 212).

Furthermore, in his interpretation of Durkheim's understanding of the notion of crime, Tasić emphasizes that crime is a product of the social structure itself, deriving from various opposed viewpoints about different matters and, as such, being desirable because they point to the unobstructed course of evolution. The emergence of the unacceptable, criminogenic or criminal in society is explained by widespread as one of two faces of normality. However, according to Tasić, "crime is not normal because it is an exception; a society with more crimes than legal elements could not exist whatsoever" (Tasić, 1938b: 170). Despite their opposing attitudes regarding the category of the normal in societies, Tasić agrees with Durkheim when it comes to the derivation of the notion of the norm from the category of normality, which is to become the foundation and measure of human action. Taking into account Tasić's good sociological knowledge and familiarity with the scientific circumstances in this field, he sees sociology as an opportunity for determining morality notions, while morality is determined bs the social conditions that are of changeable nature and that can be influenced. That is where he shows his proper understanding and acceptance of the sociological method. The application of the sociological method in the analysis of the normal and the pathological takes Tasić towards the criticism of Durkheim's concepts of the normal and pathological (Tasić, 1938b: 167-172). In Tasić's opinion, the manner of action of man, as well as society, largely depends on the adopted moral norms beside the existence of the law. The choice and acceptance of moral norms lead to the creation of certain values and desirability, as well as to the formation of a perception of ideal society and individual at a certain point of the evolutive road. In his analysis of Tasić's work, Simić says: "moral values derive from man's nature and adjust to the requirements of life, needs and aspirations of the man living in society, because social life loses its value if it does not suit certain conditions" (Simić, 1997: 159). Thanks to the now developed sociological discipline, i.e., social pathology, we believe that it is the most competent for considering all and similar social changes, because with its methodology and scientific postulates it can discover what is detrimental both for society and individuals; in fact, it can use its analyses and interpretations for the purpose of giving adequate recommendations for suppressing "unhealthy conditions" (Milošević Šošo, 2019: 213).

CONCLUSION

What makes Tasić a contemporary sociologist comes not so much from the character of the issues he dealt with as from the modern approach he applied. From his doctoral dissertation (1920), through other texts (1938), Tasić systematically develops and applies the sociological method in the analysis of the state and law, the normal and the pathological, customs, morality etc. The modern studies of sociology in our region offer learning about Tasić's scientific work primarily in the field of sociology of the village, in which he became interested by following Cvijić's work and by conducting research in Serbian villages (Antonić, 2018: 11).

The nature and specific features of the sociological method are affected by its interdisciplinary character. The sociological method is founded on the use of the findings of all sciences, in particular biology and psychology, with which sociology makes the "methodological triangle" (Tasić, 1938b: 28). In that respect, Tasić's contribution is wholesome: apart from the methodological establishment of sociology through the development of the sociological method (analogous to Durkheim and Weber), Tasić also applied this method in the analysis of a large number of social phenomena, thus fully completing his theoretical contribution to the development of sociology in our country. He has remained renowned for his synthetic approach to science, covering the apostrophizing of moral factors, the action of the free and conscious man and society, the importance of solidarity and the implied progress (Lukić, 1959: 10). We – primarily the contemporary sociological profession – owe gratitude to Professor Tasić as a visionary due to his thoughtfulness, objectivity and enterprise in recognizing sociology as a science of crucial importance in relation to social circumstances and conditions. In other words, as stated by Tasić himself, "for us, sociology is the consciousness about ourselves, the most complete, the most comprehensive, the most truthful and the richest; for us, it also becomes our conscience" (Tasić, 1938c: 4).

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Biljana T. Prodović Milojković[1]
Metropolitan University,
Faculty of Applied Ecology – Futura
Belgrade (Serbia)

CONTENT ANALYSIS: ĐORĐE TASIĆ IN THE PREVIOUS ISSUES OF THE *SOCIOLOŠKI PREGLED / SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*

Abstract: This year is the 130th birth anniversary of Đorđe Tasić, PhD, Professor of the Faculty of Law in Belgrade. In that context, the author would like to point out the importance of Đorđe Tasić's pioneering contribution to the founding of the Serbian Sociological Society, with a special emphasis on launching and editing the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* in 1938, which is considered the pinnacle of Serbian sociology and, at the same time, the foundation of the successful development of sociology in Serbia after the Second World War.

The paper discusses the ideas of Đorđe Tasić, one of our most famous theorists between the two world wars, published in the mentioned journal. In addition to bibliographic significance, the author will point out general indication, but also the structure of the author's texts by sections and topics. Thus, through the content analysis, the author intends to discover and consolidate the extent to which Tasić's scientific contributions are mentioned in the works of various authors published in the previous issues of the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* - in the period from 1938 to 2022.

The precious intellectual trace that Tasić left in our science will serve as a model and signpost for new generations of various scientific profiles, including sociologists, that only with competitiveness and professionalism they can raise the reputation/affirmation of their vocation and profession in society.

Keywords: Đorđe Tasić, *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*, sociology, content analysis.

[1] biljanaprodovic@gmail.com

INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSION - ĐORĐE TASIĆ'S PERSONALITY THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE CONTENT ANALYSIS

The fact that the content analysis is hardly used in research in our sociology is proved by many authors. The small number of references in the Serbian language about this method, and an even smaller number of research studies are at the same time an indicator and one of the causes of this method being neglected (Stojšin, 2014: 193). There are quite many ambiguities in the way of its application, which is a consequence of the few and already outdated references. The content analysis is usually viewed as an exclusively quantitative method, while almost any discussion is avoided about its qualitative aspect (Stojšin, 2014: 193-194). The development of this method began in the 17th century, in the research into the content of human communication. A more modern form was applied at the beginning of the 20th century in the research into the content of public information media, and it experienced a significant boom in the research into political propaganda during the Second World War, after which its application began in other areas of research: linguistics, history, art, psychology, media research, in the field of sociology, political science, in marketing, as well as in other areas of social communication[2].

According to Vojin Milić, this method was created "as a result of practical and theoretical needs to obtain more objective and complete data on certain forms of social communication" (Milić, 1996: 571). Its basic characteristic, according to Steve Stemler, is reflected precisely in the fact that it allows us to discover and describe what individual, group, institutional and social communication in general focuses on (Stemler, 2001: 4).

As the quantitative analysis is used much more often than the qualitative one, the very problem of "choosing" one or the other arises for many authors. However, Strauss and Corbin state that the question is not whether to use one or the other procedure, but how to combine them, in order to better explain the phenomenon (Strauss, Corbin, 1998: 28). For this reason, opinions are mostly interwoven throughout the literature stating that there are two types of content analysis, in which they do not deal much with pointing out their advantages and disadvantages in application (Stojšin, 2014: 202). Đuro Šušnjić also supports their combination, in the context when he says that the "content analysis (is) quantitative and qualitative. The former relates to the distribution, and the latter to the content of attitudes" (Šušnjić, 1973: 256). Weber also points to the confirmation of such an opinion when he says that the best studies are those in which both procedures were used (Weber, 1990). Based on existing insights, the authors increasingly opt for a variant of these two types, all for the sake of obtaining as detailed an analysis of the collected material as possible (Stojšin, 2014: 204)[3].

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[2] For a more detailed analysis of the development and application of this method, see: Manić, 2017; Stojšin, 2013; Milić, 1996.

[3] For more information on this and other methodological analyses, see: Branković, 2009; Kaljević, 1972: 215-229; Stojak, 1990; Bešić, 2019; Branković, 2014: 1-407; Đorić, Popović, 2000.

Qualitative research is becoming more and more important and present in the field of social sciences. The *content analysis* is one of the techniques within qualitative research and a flexible method for analyzing different contents, but it is primarily used for text analysis (Cavanagh, 1997). This procedure allows us to find out in which direction a certain area is going and what the topics that dominate it are. Scientific journals are the first and most important source of information for experts in various scientific disciplines. The *analysis of the content* of social (as well as other) journals is an important step in finding research trends in social areas, therefore also in (in)familiarity with the life and work of certain personalities. The content analysis of the published articles points to growth in the researched scientific discipline and area, and determines the interests and beliefs of scientists, editors, scientific discipline, and perhaps readers and practitioners. Moreover, such analysis enables gaining an insight into neglected areas of research, which has the sole purpose of indirectly warning about the need to increase the scope of research in them, and also a better insight into the most important areas of the social science discipline. Namely, precisely by emphasizing and highlighting authors with a greater number of publications and institutions with which they are connected, a contribution is made to the professional development of the profession itself[4]. That was the guiding theme of the research in the rest of the text.

Đorđe Tasić (1892-1943) was a doctor of legal sciences and professor, theoretician and philosopher of law and sociology. He was born in Vranje on 25 October 1892 to father Rista (municipal clerk) and mother Paraskeva (housewife). He completed elementary school and six grades of secondary school in Vranje, and the seventh and eighth grades in the Third Belgrade Grammar School. After graduation and doctorate at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, he obtained all other titles at the same university until the outbreak of the war, which found him in the position of the dean of this Faculty. After being arrested and tortured by the occupiers at Sajmište in 1943, Tasić ended his short but very fruitful life with a martyr's death (Vasić, 1999). It is inevitable to point out his great activity, which stems from his trust in man and willingness to make sacrifices of all kinds in order to contribute to the progress of humanity. In this context, he said that "in reality man is in a state of continuous activity, striving for the ideal of moral perfection and truth, since nothing perfect and complete is given, but everything must be won. Life is something given as a gift and a task at the same time" (Lukić, 1959). The whole moral and social attitude of Đorđe Tasić is summed up in these words, because, in the final analysis, according to him, man never exists alone or for himself.

In fact, his working life will be reduced to around twenty years – from 1920, when he received his doctorate, to 1941, when the collapse of the old Yugoslavia occurred

[4] Here we point out that just researching the number of visits and downloading articles from a scientific journal represents help to the editors themselves in obtaining important information about the characteristics, strengths and weaknesses of their journals; which, among other things, allows them to improve their daily work and quality, and change the policy of accepting articles for publication. This condition is among the basic ones when it comes to the observed journal.

(Lukić, 1959). There was no problem in our social and legal existence that Tasić did not write about. Between the two wars, there was hardly a significant journal or anthology without one of his scientific contributions or studies. He wrote in our language and several world languages. He left behind over six hundred published works, so he was one of the most valuable and prolific writers. He was infinitely devoted to the interests of our people and our science. From 1939 to 1941. Tasić was the editor of the *Archive for Legal and Social Sciences*, the journal in which, his texts will also fill a large number of pages (Simonović, 1999). It should be mentioned that Tasić was a member of the editorial board of our first sociological journal, *Social Life*, whose founder and editor was Mirko M. Kosić (1892-1956) (more in: Vojnović, Bogdanović, 2013: 476)[5].

He worked in a small environment, but thanks to his talent, versatility, education and incredibly extensive production, he gained lasting fame in our country and reputation in the world. Many have written about him. Among other things, Professor Đorđe Tasić was seen as "a prime mover of sociological thought in our country and a man who wanted and knew how to engage in science without any dogmatism and to bring together for that purpose, without any sectarianism, representatives of different and even opposite philosophical and ideological attitudes" (Bakić, Miljković, Janićijević, 1978: 9). For Radomir Lukić, "Tasić was one of the smartest minds we have had in the field of social sciences and a theorist of a really wide range" (Antonić, 2018). Đorđe Tasić is of monumental importance for the origin and development of Yugoslav sociology in general, considering that he was the founder of the first professional association of sociologists and the publisher of a sociological scientific journal (Dimitrijević, 2000: 259–268), which is still published by the Serbian Sociological Association.

The efforts and preparations for the foundation of *the Sociological Society* during 1920-1921 failed. However, as the then main initiator and motivator in the creation and development of sociology in Serbia, Tasić succeeded in founding the Society for Legal Philosophy and Sociology in 1935, which was renamed into the Society for Sociology and Social Sciences in 1938 (Bakić, Miljković, Janićijević, 1978: 11). In 1938, he immediately initiated the publication of the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*, under the influence of Durkheim's school in particular[6] (Trkulja, 2018: 29). The *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* as the first sociological journal in Serbia, dates back to 1938. Until

[5] After six published issues, the journal *Social Life*, which was the first and only sociological journal to fill a noticeable gap in our expert literature at the time and gathered our best and most famous social and cultural workers, was closed (Trkulja, 2013: 47). The intention of Tasić, Kosić and Nikić at the time was to celebrate the founding of the Sociological Society with the release of the first issue of this journal. It was also among the first attempts to establish it, which unfortunately did not succeed (Nikić, 1981: 157).

[6] This was understandable, given that the authors who published articles in the journal had been educated in France and were connected to French science and culture (Trkulja, 2018: 31). Until then, Tasić saw himself primarily as a legal philosopher, and only secondarily as a sociologist. However, his study stay in France and Belgium will be of crucial importance for his strong turn towards sociology (Antonić, 2018: 10).

then, works from sociology had been published in both literary and legal journals, such as: *Annals of Matica srpska, Brankovo kolo, Serbian Literary Journal, Delo, Savremenik, Archives for Legal and Social Sciences, Branič, Legal Thought* (Trkulja, 2018: 25)[7]. In that period, Đorđe Tasić, together with Mirko M. Kosić and Mihailo Ilić, with the support of Slobodan Jovanović, Živojin Perić, Toma Živanović and other younger colleagues, paved the way towards the institutionalization of sociology and its disciplines (by founding the first sociological journals, special editions and newspapers in which sociological works and topics were published, from general sociology, sociology of law, sociology of village to political sociology and other sociological disciplines).

In the literature about this first issue of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*, serious objections can be made, claiming that there is more "enthusiasm and bold effort to meet the new and unknown than competence and professional foundation" (Trkulja, 2018:30). Nevertheless, despite these weaknesses, this very first issue of the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* represented "a solid platform for future sociological research and the establishment of sociology as a scientific and university discipline in Serbia" ... the intention of the editors at the time was to ... "open a whole panorama of topics and problems about sociology and its individual disciplines, and that to process those matters gradually, systematically and completely in subsequent, separate issues" (Trkulja, 2018: 31).

The publication of the already prepared second issue of the journal was definitely prevented by new unfavourable circumstances and the entry of the country into the war. The situation after the Second World War, where the authoritarian political system dominated by one party and its rigid ideology was established in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (including Serbia), particularly affected sociology (and, within it, sociology of law), which has remained marginalized and underdeveloped to this day. On the other hand, Professor Radomir Lukić, formerly Đorđe Tasić's student, bravely and resolutely persevered on that path: by founding and chairing the *Serbian Sociological Society* (1954-1956), publishing the first sociology textbook (1957), ensuring that sociology was introduced as a compulsory subject (1958); initiating the establishment of the Sociological Institute and the Sociology Group at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Belgrade. In this way, among other things, he contributed to: "(1) liberation from ideological dogmas and rigid canons, (2) opening to the scope of civic sociology, and (3) establishing bridges with our sociological heritage founded by Valtazar Bogišić, Vladimir Karić, Milan Đ. Milićević, Jovan Cvijić, Slobodan Jovanović, Đorđe Tasić, Mirko Kosić, Dragoljub Jovanović, Sreten Vukosavljević and others" (Trkulja, 2018: 35-36).

[7] Some of the aforementioned journals had special sections for social sciences, in which sociological topics and the development of sociology as a scientific discipline were monitored and published. In addition, these journals paved the way for new scientific and university disciplines in Serbia, which were in full swing in France, Germany, Great Britain and the USA at that time (Trkulja, 2018: 25).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The paper used the bibliographic method of content analysis of all issues of the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* (here in after: SP) in the period from 1938 to June 2022. All the researched articles and information were taken from the journal's official website[8]. All issues of the journal and the contributions in them were examined *de visu*[9].

The method used in the work is the content analysis. The work is based on a qualitative-hermeneutic scientific approach; however, scientific content analysis with a share of quantitative analysis prevails. It determined the scope of Đorđe Tasić's representation within the journal itself, while the content analysis identified and described the subject areas in which he is mentioned and recognized within the interpreted texts of the journal. For the unit of analysis, a single text within the issues of the journal was used, and the text was coded according to the set research tasks. At this point, we find it necessary to explain the way of quoting and paraphrasing the used excerpts and parts of the texts found within the researched journal issues that are considered relevant for confirming the conclusions reached during the research process. Since it is a single journal, it is not necessary to state the name of the journal, but when using parts of the text, we will refer to the initials of the journal, the year and number of the journal, and the page number[10].

According to the used research method [study design], descriptive-analytical design prevails, and in relation to sampling methods, simple random selection. Although there are different ways of analyzing the content, such as content analysis of keywords, abstracts, article titles, in this paper we opted for the content analysis of the full text. The author's secondary goal was to determine the subject areas of the published articles, as well as the dynamics and frequency of mentioning and quoting Đorđe Tasić in the previously published issues of the journal, in the spirit of the observed time. Using the method of the text content analysis for the period of 84 years, a total of 218 issues of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* were published, in 163 books, of which 117 were single issues, 41 two-issue, 1 three-issue, and 4 four-issue on as many as 32,062 pages. Over 1,630 articles comprehensively published in these issues were included in the analysis. A total of 1,438 articles were written by only one author; 229 articles were written by two or more authors, two articles have up to six authors, while only one article was written by more than six authors. They are categorized into: original, review and expert scientific papers, announcements, reports and reviews, and other contributions.

[8] See: https://www.socioloskipregled.org.rs/. Last visit: 22 June 2022. The Bibliography of the Sociological Review in the period from 1938 to 2020, published by the Serbian Sociological Association in Belgrade, co-financed by the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia, served as an aid in the aforementioned analysis (more in : Vukotić, Aranitović, 2021).
[9] Please note that the published contributions are categorized in accordance with the relevant international standards.
[10] Example: SP, I, 1938: 5.

From the set goal of the work, the task that is pursued through the content analysis emerges - a description of the educational and informative role of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*, based on the reconstruction of valuable content in Đorđe Tasić's messages. In accordance with the goal, the following research tasks were set:

- using the content analysis to determine the appearance and frequency of Đorđe Tasić within the journal;
- through the analysis, to recognize the promoted values within the area in which they were mentioned, and within the content of the journal itself.

The results are presented in the text with the addition of tabular generalization. The following is a presentation of the results of the analysis of the issues published so far.

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis shows that the largest number of articles in which Đorđe Tasić is mentioned in the examined and analyzed issues of this journal were published by researchers who are connected to the University of Belgrade, namely from the Faculty of Philosophy (8), Law (7); Geography (1) and Faculty of Teacher Education (1). There is a smaller number of researchers from the University of Novi Sad, namely the Faculty of Philosophy (2) and the Faculty of Law (1), followed by the University of Niš – the Faculty of Economics (1) and the Faculty of Philosophy (1); and from the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Priština with a temporary seat in Kosovska Mitrovica (2) and the University of East Sarajevo - Pale (1). We must also mention a number of researchers from other institutions - the Institute for Social Sciences (5), and one researcher respectively from the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade, the Faculty of Applied Ecology Futura, the Higher School for Social Workers, the National Library of Serbia, the National Library of Šabac, Grammar School in Obrenovac, including one translator. Profile-wise, among them is one academician, as many as 26 PhDs of different profiles (starting with lawyers, sociologists, psychologists, philosophers, historians, geographers and communication specialists); researchers (5), but also librarians (2) and social workers (2). The percentage of the authors who come from various civil society organizations is of extreme importance, given that it broadens the range of topics and shows the diversity of experiences of the helping professions.

International cooperation is a basic condition for reaching a satisfactory number of citations and recognition of the journal. There is quite a large number of foreign authors who have published works in the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* (as many as 164)[11], which contributed to the insight of our academic community into international sociological currents (Vukotić, Aranitović, 2021: 6). The above figures also clearly indicate the openness

[11] Most of the authors are from Croatia, the USA, Slovenia, Russia, Bulgaria, Germany and Great Britain.

of the journal to external contributors. Before the mandatory bilingual form of papers (in Serbian and in English) was introduced in 2018, only about 80 papers were published in English and one in Slovenian, of which about 30 papers were from the special issue dedicated to the 9th Congress of Sociologists. Unfortunately, there are no published articles in the language of the world academic community [English] that quote Đorđe Tasić and, in that context, international cooperation is not satisfactory, so we need to work on it.

Sociological topics predominate in the journal, although those topics and approaches bordering between sociology and philosophy, political economy, law, political science, medicine or natural sciences were not avoided either. This diversity of topics ensured interesting texts and the current character of the treated matters, broad research topics, but also pluralism of theoretical approaches. The importance of sociology and social sciences is the most common field associated with Đorđe Tasić, followed by the topics related to his efforts in *affirming sociology as a teaching and scientific-research discipline, the relationship between sociology and history, and the most cited works*. The following are the texts in which his *importance was given in the publication of the first sociological publication - the Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review, the relationship between sociology and law and the importance of the sociology of village (rural sociology) and the peasantry in Yugoslavia*. The lowest frequency was recorded in *research into the relationship between sociology and philosophy; his personality traits; critical approaches to his creativity and medical sociology*. The basic method used here was the content analysis as one of the bibliometric methods that tried to describe the subject of research both quantitatively and qualitatively. Perhaps the most reliable and realistic picture of the frequency of application of Đorđe Tasić's achievements will be provided by the number of articles published during certain years, as shown in the tables below (see Table 1 and Table 2).

Table 1: Number of articles in the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* (1938–2022)

Year of publication	Number of citations	Percent %
1938	5	7.7
1974	5	7.7
1976	2	3.1
1977	3	4.6
1978	7	10.8
1984	3	4.6
1987	1	1.5
1988	11	16.9
1989	2	3.1
1993	1	1.5
1994	1	1.5
1999	1	1.5
2012	15	23.2
2018	8	12.3
In total	65	100%

Table 2. Total number of articles in the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* (1938–2022) according to thematic areas by chronological periods

Year	Number of contributions	Percent %
1938-1950	5	7.6
1951-1980	17	26.2
1981-1990	17	26.2
1991-2010	3	4.6
2011-2022	23	35.4
In total	65	100%

Looking at the covered period, we notice that the last decade is considered the most fruitful period in the journal's history, and it is related to the frequency of references to comprehensive contributions and creations left behind by Đorđe Tasić. The reasons for this can be found in the fact that the period after 2006 was somewhat more stable in political and economic terms than the one during the 1990s, and after that period the number of researchers increased considerably and was even doubled. Here, we certainly do not take into account the year of the journal's formation (1938), when Tasić himself contributed to its importance with his articles by covering various topics, starting with the relationship between sociology and other social sciences, primarily philosophy; then about sociology textbooks and sociological congresses, to the reviews of published books until that time. In the 1990s, the number of contributions was generally significantly lower, especially from 1989 until 1999. In fact, we see that over the years the name of this great man is mentioned almost only at the time of celebrating the anniversary of the foundation of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* itself, or in the context of some sociological manifestations.

Through the content analysis in this paper, the categorizations of all most frequently cited topics in the journal were accompanied by a presentation of their share in the total number (see Table 3).

Table 3: Categorization of all contributions published in SP in the period 1938-2022

Type of contribution	Number of units	%
Citations of Tasić's professional articles	20	30.7
Reviews of Tasić's books	5	7.7
About Đorđe Tasić himself	31	47.7
Tasić as the editor of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*	5	7.7
Other (lectures, research...)	4	6.2
In total	65	100%

The deeper analysis showed us that the citations of Tasić's professional articles, together with data about himself, represented more than 80% of the total number of contributions in the analyzed period. Namely, in the analyzed period, much less was written about his editorship of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* and published books. Most of the reviews in the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* were informative, that is, critical and affirmative. Nevertheless, we must conclude that the number of published versions of his books, considering the growing world production, as well as domestic production, is quite unsatisfactory and that numerous important titles for the history of Serbia and Yugoslavia, as well as the development of sociology in general, have gone unrepresented. Of course, the responsibility for such a situation is assumed by the researchers themselves. According to the data, we actually note that the largest number of citations was published in the 2012 special issue of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*, dedicated to the centennial of sociology in Serbia, which is an understandable confirmation of the observed statistics. Below is the content of the quoted topics.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ĐORĐE TASIĆ FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND OTHER SOCIAL SCIENCES

Before listing the theorists and their works emphasizing the importance of Đorđe Tasić for the development of sociology and other social sciences, we will mention those contributions that were mostly preoccupied with the personality of Đorđe Tasić.

Thus, Tasić is mentioned by ***Dragoslav Janković*** as someone who, together with Slobodan Jovanović and Mihailo Ilić, supported Professor Jovan Đorđević (in the appointment for Assistant Professor) despite the difficulties he found himself in (SP, III, 1978: 14). According to Janković, it was Tasić himself who gave him the articles that he published at the time - in fact, it was a review of several current books. This is what Janković says: "Late Đorđe Tasić was an extraordinary, wonderful man. I went to his house several times during the occupation, usually in the evening, before curfew, to take him out for a walk in the fresh air… Đorđe Tasić was extremely honest in political matters, as in everything else, but I would say, in a certain sense, also - naive. Perhaps it was his naivete that cost him life. He trusted everyone, because he himself was open. He believed that a man should only be honest and then no one would want anything from him. He was such a man. Really wonderful. After the war he would certainly be with us - the communists. I am firmly convinced of that" (SP, III, 1978: 16). ***Božidar S. Marković*** also wrote about Tasić as someone who had a broad and lively interest in everything new, and turning more and more to sociology itself (SP, III, 1978: 16). In some later years, he wrote about Tasić's tragic fate (alongside Mihailo Ilić) (SP, III-IV, 1984: 292-293).

Aleksandar Miljković especially speaks about Tasić's personality and ability to gather young people who would continue his work. According to him, during the 1930s, this personality was not only the pivot around which young forces gathered, but he also organized work on sociology in the broadest and noblest sense (SP, III, 1988: 194). He is "... without a doubt a special chapter in the history of our sociology. In general, he was an exceptional phenomenon in our science and culture. Not everything that should and could be said about him has been said about him... Thanks to his works, he was in the spotlight of modern times - which was not the case with many of his colleagues from law faculties. This brought him a great reputation among younger scientists and public workers, but also challenges. Regardless of everything, Đ. Tasić will remain recorded as one of the greatest names of our sociology between the two world wars" (SP, III, 1988: 196).

This approach is followed by those who attributed importance to this great thinker in terms of the development of sociology and other social sciences. ***Aleksandar Miljković*** writes about Tasić's importance at the very beginning of his work "Božidar Knežević from the perspective of sociology". He recalls the article by Đorđe Tasić "General overview of our sociology and our social sciences", published in the pre-war *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* (1938), in which he presented the understandings and the ideas of some of our most outstanding minds he considered valuable for our sociology and our social sciences (SP, II-III, 1977: 165). Miljković says that he does not blame Tasić for failing to systematically cover and fully exhaust the subject he had undertaken to process. According to him, Tasić himself was aware of this when he hinted that "in the following volumes, he will continue his presentations in this sense and speak about the work of our other scientists as well". Unfortunately, Tasić never continued his work. Nevertheless, according to Miljković, this work by Tasić deserves attention as a valuable contribution; considering that it represents the first attempt to give a more systematic overview of the historical development of our sociology and social sciences in our country and, as such, it remains the only work of its kind in our sociological literature (SP, II-III, 1977: 166). That Tasić does not give an overview, but rather an essay about the forerunners of our sociology is indicated by the fact that in the same contribution he does not refer to any of our older writers as sociologist "because they really were not" sociologists. So, for example, he refers to Tihomir Đorđević, whose science he calls "ethnology", as an "ethnologist"; while saying that Božidar Knežević is not a sociologist, but a philosopher" (SP, II-III, 1977: 166). In his own words, Tasić objects to Knežević because "from the point of view of sociology..., he did not build his philosophy on sufficient empirical foundations". With this, Miljković concludes that Đorđe Tasić no longer finds anything that brings Božidar Knežević's philosophy closer to sociology (SP, II-III, 1977: 166-167).

Mihailo Konstantinović compares Tasić to a guiding presenter – that is, a scientist and writer who was not committed only to one narrow field, but had broad interests. In this way, Konstantinović reminded of Tasić's importance in the review of the history of Serbian sociology (SP, III, 1978: 9). The importance of Đorđe Tasić for the development of sociology itself and its research is confirmed by ***Nikola Vučo*** in his recollection of Tasić's invitation to join the Society as a young researcher and lover of sociology and field research (SP, III, 1978: 12). In his text *Publishing Cooperative "Politika i društvo"*, ***Božidar Marković*** speaks about the eponymous edition initiated in Belgrade in January 1937 with the aim of publishing small and inexpensive monthly volumes with short discussions from the political, social, economic and cultural fields. This Publishing

Cooperative with its members constituted the elite of pre-war Belgrade intellectuals, including Đorđe Tasić, and played a significant role with their journalistic and socio-political activity, if not in the events themselves, but certainly by contributing to the creation of a democratic socio-political awareness of our environment at that time (SP, III-IV, 1984: 286). The extent to which Tasić himself emphasized the importance of sociological research is indicated in his contribution "*Cvijić's socio-geographic study of towns*" and ***Sreten Vujović***, who in a footnote recommends the work entitled "Jovan Cvijić from the point of view of sociology" (SP, 1938: 255-261) by Đ. Tasić as someone who interpreted Cvijić's theoretical views, as well as his autobiographical accounts (SP, I-II, 1988: 100).

At the jubilee meeting of sociologists celebrating the 50th anniversary of the *Serbian Sociological Society* and the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* (held in Belgrade on 11-12 November 1988), in his presentation "*Social conditions of the origin and development of Yugoslav sociology in the pre-war period*" ***Milovan Mitrović***, remembers those who affirmed sociology with their efforts, including Đorđe Tasić, the jurist (SP, III, 1988: 167). He sees him as one of the most deserving intellectuals for the affirmation of sociology between the two world wars in Yugoslavia, especially at the University of Belgrade and the Faculty of Law. He especially points to his work *General review of our sociology and our social sciences* (SP, 1938: 240-241) and speaks about "theoretical activity around significant "ideological and practical movements", which was helped by... the creation of scientific sociological literature" (SP, III, 1988: 170).

Of particular interest for our sociology are Tasić's reflections on Tihomir Đorđević and his study of our people's customs "from the point of view of sociology" (SP, III, 1988: 188). During 1920-1921. In the journal *Social Life*, Đorđe Tasić publishes articles that may not be entirely sociological, but they discuss social issues, such as the contribution "On trade unionism and the clerks' strike", as well as his critical account of Lenin's State and revolutions translated by Filip Filipović (SP, III, 1988: 193-194).

Radomir Lukić is right to believe that Tasić is "above all, a pioneer in our sociology". Moreover, he considers him "the founder of a sociological school", "which, unfortunately, could not develop further from the very beginning" (SP, III, 1988: 196). According to him, Tasić wrote many works, around 200 (in addition to several books), including a large number of sociological ones, "many of which are actually small monographs". That is why, according to him, Tasić belongs to those spirits for whom broad tolerance is the most important characteristic. "If someone should be said to have been a pluralist in science, it was Đorđe Tasić" (SP, III, 1988: 197).

In terms of the importance of the development of sociological science itself, in his contribution written in memory of Branislav M. Nedeljković (the youngest of all the below-listed), ***Aleksandar Miljković*** also remembers Đorđe Tasić and his associates Slobodan Jovanović, Dušan and Slobodan Popović, Slobodan Drašković, Božidar S. Marković, Jovan Đorđević, Mihailo Konstantinović, Nikola Vučo and Dragoslav B. Todorović (SP, III-IV, 1989: 114). We see the confirmation in ***Toma Milenković***'s work *On the Society for Social Education*, which, in addition to Mihailo Avramović, Živko Jovanović and Mirko Kosić, also mentions Tasić as someone who, along with other intellectuals, attended and spoke at the meetings of the *Society for Social Education*. His lectures are also mentioned: *Theory and practice, Democracy in morality; Social idealism, nationalism and internationalism, social necessity and creative activity of man* (SP, III-IV, 1989: 123-129).

About twenty years later, Đorđe Tasić is mentioned by ***Milojica Šutović*** in his contribution *"Radical Sociology" and "Sociological Imagination" by Svetozar Marković*, when speaking about Tasić's observation in the *General Review of Our Sociology and Our Social Sciences*, which in the very first sentence indicates that "sociology in our country was barely existent and it is currently being created". Šutović finds Tasić's historical review of Serbian sociology (SP, PB-1, 2012: 113-114) particularly outstanding. In the same period, ***Ivan Jovanović*** wrote *Slobodan Jovanović as a sociologist,* in which he recalled the personality of Đorđe Tasić and his importance in the development of the sociological discipline in us, introducing us once again to Tasić's famous sentence quoted above (SP, PB-1, 2012: 217). This is also done by ***Slavoljub Mišić*** in his work *The foundation of historical sociology in the works of Slobodan Jovanović* when he, together with Mirko Kosić, Dušan Popović, Kosta Stojanović, Sreten Vukosavljević, Slobodan Jovanović, Jovan Đorđević and Radomir Lukić, also mentions Đorđe Tasić as one of the pioneers of Serbian sociology (SP, PB-1, 2012: 269).

In *Mirko Kosić - a forgotten sociology* by ***Dejan Petrović*** and ***Milena Stanojević*** (SP, PB-1, 2012: 341) and *Genesis of sociological periodicals in Serbia* by ***Jovica Trkulja*** (SP, I, 2018: 26-32), Tasić is mentioned as someone who, together with Fedor Nikić, founded the journal *Social Life* within broader efforts aimed at founding the *Sociological Society*.

In his paper *"On the need to re-examine our sociological heritage"*, ***Milovan Mitrović*** says that Tasić spoke about theoretical activity around significant "ideological and practical movements": "Whoever wants to paralyze certain unwanted effects of this kind of literature can do it best by creating scientific sociological literature" (SP, II-III, 1974: 355). He continues by saying that "abstract formalism retained the mask of strict science, but it played very well the role of paralyzing unwanted effects of the so-called "non-scientific literature" of progressive movements" (SP. II-III, 1974: 356). In this context, when speaking about sociological heritage, Mitrović singles out Đorđe Tasić, the liberal who differs from conservative Slobodan Jovanović (with the thesis on the "rule of law" as an apology for the government) (SP. II-III, 1974: 356).

In the context of the relationship between philosophy and sociology, Đorđe Tasić is mentioned by ***Milovan Mitrović*** who emphasizes his importance for the establishment of the *Society for Legal Philosophy and Sociology* in our country in May 1935 and was its first and only president until the war (SP. II-III, 1974: 358).

In his attempt to describe the relationship between sociology and history, ***Milisav Janićijević*** mentions Tasić in his paper "Old and new prejudices about the relationship between sociology and history": "Almost four decades ago, one could read that one of the peculiarities of our national historiography consists in the fact that preoccupied with personalities and individual events, and almost completely neglects the examination of social moments of real socio-historical events" (SP, I-III, 1976: 71). The importance of this area is also indicated in ***Aleksandar Miljković's*** paper "*Dušan J. Popović Study of Aromanians*", when he singles out Đorđe Tasić as one of the first to stress the importance of Popović's study of Aromanians for our sociology. In his contribution to the first book of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* collection (1938) entitled *"General overview of our sociology and our social sciences"*, Tasić wrote that "the works of Dušan Popović on Aromanians and outlaws belong to cultural history, but they contain many moments of a social nature and will be very useful to sociologists". In that context, his debates to a certain extent belong more to the field, if not of sociology, certainly of social and cultural anthropology, in addition to the fact that they "contain many moments of a social nature" (SP, I, 1977: 118). The same paper applies a critical approach – when, in the case of Aromanians, the anthropological approach to the study of a certain population is mentioned, of which neither Dušan Popović nor Đorđe Tasić was aware (SP, I, 1977: 119).

In order to present the historical development of Serbian sociology, it is necessary, first of all, to determine which writers and which papers will be considered as marking the beginning of our sociology or, at least, significant for the sociological study of Serbian society. In his paper *"Pluralism in Serbian Sociology until 1941"*, ***Aleksandar Miljković*** mentions Đorđe Tasić in the context of the importance of Vuk Karadžić, alongside Cvetko Kostić and Radomir Lukić (SP, III, 1988: 173). At this point, he does not forget to recall Tasić's contribution *"General review of our sociology and our social sciences"* (SP, III, 1988: 180).

One must certainly mention the importance of Đorđe Tasić for the development of sociology of village (rural sociology) and the peasantry in Yugoslavia. In the interview on the occasion of the 40th anniversary, ***Jovan Đorđević*** mentions Tasić when speaking about the first serious research works in the field of sociology, which primarily related to rural sociology, that is, to the examination of the sociology of villages and peasantry in Yugoslavia. The initiator of this research was Professor Tasić in cooperation with Sreten Vukosavljević (SP, III, 1978: 8). Some 30 years later, ***Aleksandar Gordić*** mentions Đorđe Tasić in his contribution "*Metaphysics of rural life in the work of Sreten Vukosavljević*" and his lectures (by invitation) on rural sociology at the Department of Sociology of the Faculty of Law in Belgrade (1938-1941), the first in this part of Europe (SP, PB-1, 2012: 315). In addition, Slobodan Antonić, in his article *Foundation of the Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review in 1938*, recalls Đorđe Tasić as the initiator of experiential sociological research in rural Serbia with the aid of a "general questionnaire", following the example of Cvijić (SP, I, 2018: 11).

Tasić is mentioned in terms of the relationship between sociology and law when his work *Introduction to Legal Sciences* (1933) is cited. It is emphasized that he is a professional in whom a historian, psychologist, lawyer, ethnologist and, above all, a sociologist and a philosopher are combined. In that manner he unites all sciences and all methods (SP, 1938: 374-375). This theme is continued in Tasić's review and critique an important paper by Gurvitch (*L'idée du droit social. A propos de l'oeuvre de Georges*

Gurvitch: L'idée du droit social, 1932), in which Tasić cites *social law* evidently forgotten by Gurvitch (SP, 1938: 356). Another book by Tasić is mentioned (*Contemporary systems and understandings of the state*, 1936), in which he, with explicit explanations, reviews the concepts of social democracy and their criticisms, calling for social rights, all this on the basis of historical-sociological knowledge and philosophy (SP, 1938: 379). Citations on this topic continue in Tasić's book (*L'Histoire constatutionnelle de la Serbia - Revue de l'histoire politique et constitutionnelle*, 1938) in which he discusses the legality of Serbian constitutions and their binding force, the democratization of Serbia, the principle of national sovereignty, radical movement; and all this again with the help of sociology, ethics and comparative law (SP, 1938: 388-389).

In his introductory presentation, when writing about Slobodan Bakić, a sociologist and colleague, ***Trivo Inđić*** mentions Đorđe Tasić as someone who, among others, gave a significant foothold to legal science at that time. Thus, sociology itself was largely constituted by jurists in the period between the two world wars (SP, IV, 1987: 274). ***Miloš Marjanović***, in the text *Bogišić's contribution to the constitution of the empirical sociology of law*, explains that in his analysis he mainly relied on the article by Đorđe Tasić - *How Valtazar Bogišić understood customary law*, published in Belgrade's newspaper *Pravda (Justice)*, on the occasion of Bogišić's 100th birth anniversary, on 29 December 1934 (SP, PB-1, 2012: 74-75). In his text *Sociological theory of law by Živan Spasojević*, ***Saša Bovan*** compared the quantity of Spasojević's texts with the works of his contemporaries who were his friends and also shared their views on sociological theory of law (such as Ž. Perić and Đ. Tasić) (SP, PB- 1, 2012: 282). In addition, Saša Bovan mentions Tasić, as one of the founders of our sociology of law, when he tries to define the science of law –where in his attempt to define this science he fails to establish it paradigmatically, but only phenomenologically and relationally, when he says that "the sociology of law has as its subject the examination of law according to its origin and functioning, observing it in its relations with other social factors" (SP, PB-1, 2012: 284).

At this point, we will very briefly point out the importance of Đorđe Tasić in the development of medical sociology. Namely, in his article *Topics from Medical Sociology on the pages of the Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* ***Uroš Šuvaković*** indicates that one of the first texts in which the subject of medical sociology is treated was actually published in the very first issue of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*. He emphasizes that it was Professor Đorđe Tasić who published a short review, more like a note, about several studies by Slobodan Vidaković, including the one entitled "Tuberculosis and Syphilis". It was the first text that, albeit in a very short, informative way, connected this special branch of sociology and the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* (SP, I, 2018: 304-305).

AFFIRMATION OF SOCIOLOGY AS A TEACHING AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH DISCIPLINE

In addition to Mirko Kosić, ***Aleksandar Miljković*** also singles out Đorđe Tasić as someone who "consciously established continuity between the pre-sociological tradition in the social and historical sciences in our country from the time before 1914 and the sociological directions and tendencies between the two world wars". According to him, both Kosić and Tasić confirmed with their articles, although it was not their intention, "theoretical and research pluralism in our sociology and our social sciences" (SP, III, 1988: 186). In the field of this task, Tasić is also mentioned regarding the fact that some teachers from Serbia taught at other university centres as well. Thus, according to Miljković's sources, Tasić was a professor at the Faculty of Law in Ljubljana from 1923 untill 1930, when he started working at the University of Belgrade (SP, III, 1988: 187). Tasić's various collegiate activities are mentioned in the affirmation of sociology as a teaching discipline. In ***Aleksandar Miljković's*** paper *Reflections on* "*Letters from the Village*" *by Sreten Vukosavljević*, Đorđe Tasić is mentioned as someone who, together with Slobodan Jovanović and Mihailo Konstantinović, was responsible for Vukosavljević's appointment at the session of the Council of the Faculty of Law in Belgrade on 22 April 1939 (SP, I-IV, 1993: 271).

The significance of the affirmation of the scientific discipline is also indicated by ***Milovan Mitrović*** in the paper *Radomir D. Lukić – continuation of the old and founder of the new Serbian sociology* (1914-1999), where Đorđe Tasić is mentioned as the founder of the first department of sociology (SP, III-IV, 1999: 339). About ten years later, in his article *A Century of Serbian Sociology* the same author recalls Tasić again as one of the founders of Serbian academic sociology, with an illustration of his photograph. On one of the following pages, Mitrović speaks in further detail about his role in establishing sociology as a separate science in our academic environment, the already mentioned Society for Legal Philosophy and Sociology, later renamed into the Society for Sociology and Social Sciences; as well as in editing the first Serbian sociological collection of papers (SP, PB-1, 2012: 10-12). In the same year, ***Srđan Šljukić***, in the contribution *Slobodan Jovanović and the Serbian peasantry*, indicates that, in addition to the fact that in his works on Serbian history of the 19th century Jovanović fostered, among others, a sociological approach, he, together with Đorđe Tasić, influenced sociology to become part of the curriculum of the Faculty of Law in Belgrade (SP, PB-1, 2012: 239). ***Slobodan Antonić*** states the same recognition in his contribution to the *Foundation of the Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review in 1938* by mentioning Tasić as the one who initiated lectures in sociology for doctoral studies at the Faculty of Law for years in the subjects of Sociology and Philosophy of Law (SP, I, 2018: 7 -8). In a similar context, in the text *Teaching-scientific and public activity of Miroslav Pečujlić*, when the biographical data of this great man are discussed, it is mentioned that Pečujlić began his studies at the Faculty of Law of the University of Belgrade in 1952. The author of the thesis, ***Jovica Trkulja***, says that at that time the lecturers were professors who were formed during the golden age of the Faculty between the two world wars, under the influence of the luminaries of Serbian legal thought – Slobodan Jovanović, Živojin Perić, Toma Živanović, Đorđe Tasić and others (SP, PB-2, 2012: 446).

That Đorđe Tasić also ascribed importance to scientific and research activity is stated by the authors of the contribution *Sociology and geography in the works of Jovan Cvijić*, ***Ljubica Rajković*** and ***Vesna Miletić-Stepanović***, who mention Tasić in connection with Cvijić's research of common social conditions, relations, common social atmosphere, encounters, interrelations, marriage relationships, economic and political conditions exactly as it should be done by sociology. According to Tasić, such "... questions are very subtle and very uncertain. He discusses them with extraordinary talent". That is why he "gave many important things to sociology" (SP, PB-1, 2012: 160).

In *Sociological section on Mihailo Đurić's path of thought*, ***Danilo Basta*** speaks about the Faculty of Law in Belgrade as a true nursery of sociology in our academic environment, where he mentions, among others, the personality of Đorđe Tasić. He says that attention must be paid to his organizational activism, participation in the creation of suitable institutional forms for serious scientific research work in sociology, and in encouraging younger forces to devote themselves to such work (SP, PB-2, 2012: 417-418). ***Jovica Trkulja*** builds on this in his work *The emergence of sociological periodicals in Serbia* when he says that in a concrete-historical and ideological-theoretical context, a group of teachers from the Faculty of Law in Belgrade and the Faculty of Law in Subotica paved the way for the institutionalization of sociology and its disciplines. According to him, Tasić ranks first among them (SP, I, 2018: 25)[12].

That Đorđe Tasić's name is inextricably connected with the foundation of the first sociological publication (*Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*) is also shown by the following data. Namely, ***Milovan Mitrović*** cites the importance of Tasić's founding of the *Society for Sociology and Social* Sciences, within which the publishing of the first sociological publication in our country began (SP. II-III, 1974: 358). A few years later, in the introductory text "*Memories of the first contributors to the Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*", the Editorial Board recalled Đorđe Tasić as the initiator of the launch of this journal (SP, III, 1978: 7). Again, ***Milosav Janićijević*** in his short presentation "*Đorđe Tasić, the first editor of the "Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*" gave Tasić's short biography with an emphasis on everything that was undertaken in Serbia from 1935 to 1941 with the aim of affirming sociology as a teaching and scientific-research discipline, as something which is mostly associated with Tasić's name. It should also be mentioned that a photo of Tasić (1892-1943) accompanied the text written in his memory (SP, III, 1978: 19-20). He is also mentioned as the first editor-in-chief by ***Dobrilo Aranitović*** in his short "*Bibliography of the Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review 1938-1987*" (SP, IV, 1988: 100). ***Bojan Vukotić*** also gives Tasić recognition for his editorship in the work *Bibliography of Yugoslav serial publications in the field of sociology (1920-1994)* (SP, III,

[12] As an example of someone who, through his work, continued to affirm sociology as a teaching and scientific-research discipline, we will mention Ljubiša Mitrović (for more about his work. see: Prodović, Milojković, 2015: 455-468).

1994: 419); almost 25 years later, ***Slobodan Antonić*** mentions Tasić's editorship in the contribution *The foundation of the Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review in 1938* (SP, I, 2018: 7-8).

THE MOST QUOTED WORKS OF ĐORĐE TASIĆ

There must be a chapter that takes into account the most cited works left by Tasić. In the observed period, among Tasić's cited books, the following stand out: a) *The Problem of State Justification* (1920); b) *Rights and duties of a citizen* (1925); c) *Contemporary political systems and understanding of the state*, (1936) and d) *Social ideology and nationalism of Antun Radić* (1939) (SP. II-III, 1974: 360-361).

Among the cited articles, the most frequently mentioned is "*A general review of our sociology and our social sciences*", published in SP in 1938 (SP, I-III, 1976: 77). This work is cited by ***Milovan Mitrović*** (SP, PB-1, 2012: 28) and ***Milojica Šutović*** (SP, PB-1, 2012: 136) in the list of references. A few years later, ***Zoran Jevtović*** and ***Tatjana Vulić*** quote him in *Public Opinion and the Features of Media Discourse in the Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*, which states the understanding of the importance of public opinion[13]. In it, describing the state of this science, Đorđe Tasić highlights the work of Slobodan Jovanović and his interpretation of "the state as a neutral institution and representative of the general interest". Tasić especially points to the understanding that in a modern state one cannot rule by physical force (SP, I, 2018: 102). This most cited work by Tasić is also of interest to ***Biserka Košarac*** and ***Bojan Ćorluka***, who in their co-authored paper *Representation of topics from the sociology of the family in the Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review (1938–2017)* introduce us to the research of family cooperative, kinship and way of life in the works of Vuk Karadžić and Jovan Cvijić, with Tihomir Đorđević's outstanding research on marriage, kinship, the problem of the position of women and the method of his research seen from Đorđe Tasić's point of view (SP, I, 2018: 253). From a slightly different perspective, this particular paper by Tasić is again taken into consideration by ***Petar Anđelković*** in his contribution *The Religious Phenomenon in the Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*. Anđelković says that in the first issue, book 1, there are no texts on religion, i.e., there is no work on the relationship between sociology and the sociology of religion. It is only in this work that Tasić speaks about the development of sociological thought in our country, mentioning the importance of Veselin Čajkanović and his contribution to the explanation of religious customs of Serbian folk religion and mythology. Tasić also speaks about Tihomir Đorđević as an ethnologist who studied the customs of our people (SP, I, 2018: 275).

In addition to this legacy, Tasić is also cited for other works. For example, ***Božidar Marković*** mentions Tasić's *Social Ideology and Nationalism of Antun Radić (1939)* (SP,

[13] For more information on the influence of the media and public opinion on human attitudes and behavior, see: Prodović, 2012: 380-390; Prodović Milojković, Miladinović, 2015: 213-227.

III-IV, 1984: 288) when he lists the brochures published by the "Politics and Society" edition. ***Bojana Vukotić's*** and ***Dobrilo Aranitović's*** monograph *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review 1938–2020: Bibliography1938–2020* (2021) certainly deserves attention because the opus of Đorđe Tasić is cited in it. In the list of used references, Đorđe Tasić is also mentioned by ***Miloš Marjanović*** in "*How Valtazar Bogišić understood customary law*" (SP, PB-1, 2012: 89) and by ***Saša Bovan*** in *Introduction to legal sciences* from 1933 and *Discourses from philosophy and theories of law* from 1992 (SP, PB-1, 2012: 296).

It is interesting to note that Đ. Tasić is mentioned in terms of criticism as well. Namely, the celebration of the centennial of sociological science in Serbia is a good occasion to save Ž. Spasojević's academic opus from oblivion. Although his doctoral dissertation was published in Serbian (1996), and his theoretical attitudes even before that (1989), this author is still unknown to our professional public. So, for example, in a preface to a book by Đ. Tasić published in 1992 (Đ. Tasić, *Discourses from the philosophy and theory of law*), R. Lukić, a contemporary of Ž. Spasojević, in his review of our pre-war sociology of law, does not mention this author at all (SP, PB-1, 2012: 282).

FINAL POINTS

We have already seen that scientific journals are the first and most important source of information for experts in various scientific disciplines. In addition to their usefulness to readers, scientific papers in local journals also promote their authors, placing them on the map of experts in a certain discipline. In this way, the journal itself gathers collaborators not only from the domestic scientific community, but also scientists from the region and the world. Great significance of most journals today, including the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*, is reflected in the fact that all analyzed articles in the journal are simultaneously published in printed and electronic editions - which allows it to be used equally by those who find it easier to use a printed book, as well as by the children of the digital age with the future ahead of them. This enables a far greater reception of the journal in the future because, just by looking at the articles, both of the above group will easily become familiar with the work and creativity, not only of Đorđe Tasić, but also of all other notable personalities, in our as well as in the broader scientific discipline. In this manner, great names will be prevented from falling into oblivion.

In the context of our research subject, we must not forget but keep in mind the size of the "legacy left us by Kosić, Tasić, Ilić and their collaborators (such as: two expertly profiled sociological journals, two reputable editions of papers and one progressive newspaper) in the 1960s. This is precisely what served their successors at the University of Belgrade as a solid foundation for the constitution of sociology as a scientific and university discipline in Serbia" (Trkulja, 2018: 24). That Đorđe Tasić, Professor of Legal Theory, played a decisive role in the foundation of the Sociological Society and the journal is also proved by the fact that "everything that was undertaken in Serbia from 1935 to 1941 with the aim of affirming sociology as a teaching and scientific research discipline is mostly linked to his name. As his close collaborators point out [...], Đorđe Tasić showed a versatile interest in all issues of the further development of sociology in our community" (Janićijević, 1978: 20). Radomir Lukić, Aleksandar Miljković, Milovan Mitrović and Slobodan Antonić also agree with this. Tasić's main contributions to our science are reflected in the fact that he managed to raise our philosophy, sociology and the theory of the state and law to a modern European level, the results of which are also noticeable in Europe. He also managed to finally introduce the sociological method in our legal science in general. With his selfless aspirations in the field of legal interpretation, Tasić is one of the most prominent representatives of the view that a jurist is not an expert in narrow terms, but, above all, a social worker. He is the founder of our modern sociological school and the initiator of concrete empirical sociological research, in addition to his great merit as a publicist and public and social worker, of which we have been assured from the content analysis of all the articles.

What we can finally point out in our analysis, in line with the postulates of other authors, is that in the future we need more works in which priority will be given to the importance and creativity of Đorđe Tasić. One of the ways in which the editors of the journal can call for works on the mentioned topic is through special/thematic issues of the journal with Đorđe Tasić's personality and work as the main topic. It is necessary to announce and organize more international scientific gatherings and round tables that would give priority to everything that Đorđe Tasić was and still represents. That is why the initiative of the Serbian Sociological Association (Belgrade), the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Priština with a temporary seat in Kosovska Mitrovica and the Faculty of Pedagogy in Vranje, the University of Niš, regarding the organization of an international scientific conference about Đorđe Tasić's legacy is especially praised here. We can and must expect such a trend in the upcoming years, so that younger generations can increasingly turn to Đorđe Tasić's era.

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Mijodrag D. Radojević[1]
Institute for Political Studies
Belgrade (Serbia)

CONSTITUTIONAL TOPICS IN ĐORĐE TASIĆ'S JURISPRUDENCE

Abstract: Đorđe Tasić is one of the most important Serbian legal theoreticians in the field of public law in the period between the two world wars. He deserves credit mainly for the foundation of new scientific disciplines, such as legal sociology, theory of law and philosophy of law, while equally successfully he dealt with the problems related to administrative law. However, in the research of Tasić's work to date, his contribution has been omitted in examining constitutional institutions and concepts. In his voluminous oeuvre, key theoretical dilemmas can be identified – about legal connection (or the lack of connection) of constitutional power, the role and place of the constitution in the legal order, court jurisdiction in assessing constitutionality and legality, the function of power division in establishing constitutional equilibrium, the nature of the parliamentary system etc. In his numerous works, Tasić covered a wide range of constitutional topics, from constitutional principles to certain institutions, such as human rights protection, change of the constitution, autonomy of judiciary power, disbanding of the assembly, general and equal voting right. In line with political and social circumstances, Tasić delved into the analysis of the positive legal regulations of the time, dedicating his attention to constitutional history, as well as comparative constitutional law. For example, he explored the constitutional-legal development of the Balkan states, but also the legal nature of complex states, such as regionalism and federal states.

In the research of constitutional topics, all characteristics are recognized of Tasić's theoretical approach: good knowledge of domestic and foreign law, excellent familiarity with the methodological procedure in which he crossed the exegetical method with the historical, sociological and comparative methods, analyticity, systematicity and originality.

According to the subject of his research, he covered almost all fields of classical constitutional law, constitutional statics and dynamics, often pointing to the discord between nominal (normative) and semantic constitutions. Nevertheless, just as with administrative

[1] miodrag.radojevic@gmail.com.

law, the entire works were not published in the form of a textbook or a scientific monograph about constitutional law, which, according to Tasić's claims, represents a pure legal science or a general theory of the state.

Keywords: constitution, constitution maker, constitutionality, judiciary autonomy, rights and obligations of citizens, parliamentarism, democracy, constitutional order, national sovereignty, complex state.

ĐORĐE TASIĆ – A FAMOUS LEGAL WRITER

> [...] the people do not have to govern themselves, but to manage wisely and sensibly [...]
>
> (Tasić, 1926b: 41)

Between the two world wars, the Faculty of Law of the University of Belgrade lived its "golden age". The former department of the Lyceum grew into a faculty in 1863, and half a century later, it acquired the epithet of a modern European law school. The Faculty of Law earned this status thanks to the international reputation of its prominent professors. Most outstanding were Slobodan Jovanović, Živojin Perić and Toma Živanović. Slobodan Jovanović is responsible for founding several scientific disciplines in Serbia, such as political science and legal sociology. His magnificent scholarly opus consists of works on the theory of constitutional law and volumes of Serbian constitutional and political history. Živojin Perić is a rare example of a well-educated lawyer. Besides his career in law teaching, he published scientific works in the field of public law on legal, philosophical, constitutional, political and international relations matters in foreign journals.[2] Toma Živanović is recognized worldwide for his theory of causation and tripartite system. Like Jovanović and Perić, Živanović believed that scientific disciplines were connected and that a scientist must not, despite his specialization, confine himself to his home scientific field, which he demonstrated in his work *System of Synthetic Philosophy of Law*.

In 1920, Đorđe Tasić defended his doctoral dissertation (*Problem of Justification of the State*)[3] before the aforementioned dignitaries of the Faculty of Law, which foreshadowed his brilliant scientific career. The members of the doctoral defence committee will influence his creativity and scientific engagement. Following the example of Toma

[2] Živojin Perić was a supporter of uniting European states into a complex alliance, but he changed his beliefs, as Olga Popović Obradović writes (Popović, 2001: 336-337), after the "Great War". Foreshadowing the later "clash of civilizations", Perić believed that Western individualism would succumb to the East, in which Christian values would be preserved.

[3] In the same year, the first edition of the shortened version of his doctoral dissertation, the subject of which was the legitimacy of the state, was printed. Tasić concluded that the state had several functions, and that its "permanent function... is legal", which is why the state is "one form in which law appears" (Tasić, 1920a: 6, 10).

Živanović, Tasić was a supporter of the synthetic method in legal sciences (Vasić, 2001: 1993), which he confirmed by combining the Theory of Social Solidarity and Social Rules of Leon Duguit and the Theory of Positivism of Hans Kelsen (Kelsen, 2001: 104). Like Živojin Perić, he adopted a versatile approach to legal problems, published articles in foreign magazines and, as a public activist, participated in debates on constitutional and political changes in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. With Perić, he shared a cautious belief that the Kingdom of Yugoslavia could be transformed into a federation, but not a conservative understanding of society. His relationship with Slobodan Jovanović can be described as a complex and peculiar one.

According to his current political proliferation, Tasić classified himself as a liberal democrat (Milosavljević, 2013: 59) with sympathies towards the leftist movement and the ideas of social democracy.[4] Certain starting points of Slobodan Jovanović were acceptable to him, but he did not agree with others.[5] Both of them will devote their careers to the study of the state and law,[6] starting from a methodological approach to the study of legal and political institutions that involved the application of sociological and normative methods. However, according to the normative method and theory, Tasić takes a more critical position (Tasić, 1931: 113-114; Lukić, 1977: 1).[7] Slobodan Jovanović is considered responsible for the development of sociology as a science in these regions, but Tasić's contribution is more significant because he is more consistent in the application and development of sociological research, and he is known as the real founder or founder of the sociological school in Serbia.[8] Although they share the idea that the state participates in the creation of law, Tasić views law, above all, as a product of society and social relations. Although both of them taught constitutional law (Tasić admittedly occasionally), only one left a systematic work in this area. The latter presented its starting points in a series

[4] In his youth, Tasić expressed interest in the ideas of socialism and Bolshevism. Later, in his scientific works, he is inclined to the concept of social democracy, which he will show, for example, in his views on the function and nature of private property and criticism of fascism and National Socialism. In the mid-summer of 1940, he was also one of the initiators of the founding of the Society of Friends of the Soviet Union, but this is simply not proof that he was a Marxist or an orthodox leftist.

[5] For example, Tasić had different views within the proposal for the reform of the political and constitutional system of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and later Yugoslavia, especially towards coalition governments, the electoral system, federal organization, etc. Their divergence is also present in other theoretical questions, such as whether the state is a sovereign legal entity (Tasić, 2009).

[6] Stevan Vračar noted "the invaluable merit of S. Jovanovic for Serbian sociology in all its ramifications, from the most general to the most specific", and that was continued by Đ. Tasić (Vračar, 1998: 73).

[7] Tasić claims that when interpreting the law, the legislator should not only adhere to what is written in the constitution, but also take into account the social context, certain standards and "logical requirements" because the law is a social phenomenon (Tasić, 1926c: 187-188). Criticism of the normative theory is also a plea for his interpretations of the constitutional discontinuity of the state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the dictatorship of King Aleksandar Karađorđević.

[8] On Tasić's contribution to the development of sociology in Serbia, see: Lukić, 1959: 9–12.

of articles, shorter studies and discussions. We find the reason in the fact that Tasić's basic scientific preoccupation is the philosophy of law. Slobodan Jovanović's scientific creativity was formed within a span of more than half a century, while Tasić's career was interrupted at a mature age. In a period of only two decades, he left a significant body of work and started writing new works that remained unfinished. Out of that reason, we assume that Serbian legal science was deprived of many gifts by his violent death, because Tasić was also active as an editor of scientific journals, initiator of associations, an exceptional lecturer and transferor of knowledge to younger generations.[9]

Tasić's scientific career and academic occupation in constitutional law were made official at the newly founded Faculty of Law in Subotica, from his election as Assistant Professor, continuing in Ljubljana, and ending in Belgrade. At the Faculty of Law in Ljubljana, he was appointed Associate Professor of philosophy of law and constitutional law (1922), and three years later, Full Professor of public law. He was appointed Full Professor of encyclopaedia of law at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade in 1930,[10] and Dean on the eve of World War II. In the report on Đorđe Tasić's appointment to the position of Full Professor, Slobodan Jovanović gave a flattering assessment, classifying him as "the most outstanding philosopher of law, who raised our legal philosophy to the level of a European discipline and gained European reputation" (Kandić, 1998: 36).

Đorđe Tasić is one of the extremely prolific legal authors of the period between the two world wars, whose scientific work includes hundreds of sources (Vasić, 1995: 9), among which are numerous works in French, German and Italian. Academician Radomir Lukić showed special respect for Tasić, and edited two collections of his works (*Đ. Tasić*, 1984; *Đ. Tasić*, 1992) emphasizing his immeasurable influence on the development of legal science. According to Lukić, Tasić traced the paths of its methodological development, freeing it from dogmatism, hinting at the application of the synthetic method and the sociological method (Lukić, 1984, p. 13), demonstrating an original approach and belonging to the "most prominent scientists in the world in their field" (Lukić, 1959, p. 2). That is why, in his opinion, Tasić is, along with Toma Živanović, one of "smartest minds" in the social sciences in Serbia and Yugoslavia between two world wars. (Lukić, *Ibid.*). His methodological pluralism or multidisciplinary approach was also reflected in the study of several legal areas, primarily the philosophy of law, but also constitutional law (Vasić, 1995: 10).

[9] Before his tragic end, Tasić was simultaneously preparing several books - on the interpretation of laws, on the state and an introduction to sociology.

[10] Đorđe Tasić wrote a textbook for this subject called "Introduction to Legal Sciences - Encyclopedia of Law". In the textbook, he noted that "the task of this science [...] is to determine what law is (its concept), its value, goal and meaning (idea of law), as well as its social function, and to determine basic legal concepts" (Đorđe Tasić, 1995: 135). In accordance with Tasić's title, this course was later named – Introduction to Law. For Tasić, Introduction to Law is a science of an integral character because in the study of the state and law it includes the viewpoints of other sciences about the state, such as constitutional law, philosophy of the state, politics and sociology (Tasić, 1995: 409).

In evaluating Tasić's concept of constitutional law and constitutional institutions, we encounter several obstacles. First, constitutional law is not his main theoretical preoccupation. Although he also taught constitutional law, considerations about constitutional institutions and concepts stemmed from his legal hermeneutics – the theory of the state and law. In this regard, trying to classify Tasić into one of the theoretical doctrines is not an easy task, because his work contains an admixture of eclecticism, but also original thoughts, efforts to integrate the ideas of French solidarism and English pluralism into the classical liberal doctrine. Second, Tasić's work on constitutional law is contained in several sources, so an attempt to determine the key trends of his thought in this scientific field implies the use and selection of numerous sources from his voluminous scientific oeuvre and connecting meanings about political and legal institutions. Ultimately, the problem is that his work in constitutional law gives the impression of incompleteness, sometimes remaining on the surface of basic theses and partial explanations, revealing the essence of the problem, but not going into the elaboration in detail. On the other hand, in dealing with constitutional law, Tasić showed all the qualities of his scientific engagement and approach.

THE CONSTITUTION AND CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN THE WORK OF ĐORĐE TASIĆ

In order to evaluate Tasić's scientific orientation and work, we have to take into consideration the environment and time in which he worked. Constitutional law science developed rapidly between the two world wars. Violent social changes and the crisis of liberal constitutionalism gave rise to new models of constitutions - Soviet (socialist) and authoritarian. In countries with liberal democratic constitutionalism, classical parliamentarism is "rationalized" – in Austria, Hans Kelsen's concept of putting the control of constitutionality and legality in the hands of a special state body was realized, and in Spain, the normative basis of the regional state was prescribed as a form of state organization. The states created in the territory of the collapsed European empires adopted their own constitutions, and in other countries, the constitutional legal systems were revised. Numerous constitutional institutes were modified. Between the two world wars, there was also a tide of delegated legislation, a form of government called the semi-presidential system was taking shape, and the category of social and economic rights was becoming increasingly important.

Dynamic political changes and the strong momentum of constitutional law also affected the country where Đorđe Tasić spent the last two decades. In the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and later in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, two constitutions were adopted (the Vidovdan Constitution from 1921 and the September Constitution from 1931), and constitutional issues attracted the attention of legal experts and public opinion, especially discussions on territorial decentralization, forms of state organization and state power and reform of parliamentarism. It is also a period of maturation of the science of constitutional law, and its accelerated emancipation from other legal disciplines maturation with specific goals, methods and research subjects. Đorđe Tasić also wrote about the mentioned topics in foreign and domestic constitutional law. The independent starting point meant that he thought about most institutes of constitutional law not only theoretically, explaining opposing doctrinal positions, but also from a practical point of view, citing examples from comparative legal systems and finding solutions to dilemmas that concerned domestic law. At the same time, his approach is not rigid, because he did not serve any ideology or scientific school of thought, but it is also unsystematic because his thought is found in a series of articles, essays, book reviews, published lectures, sporadically in books. In addition, he developed it over time, expanding it, but also correcting it, in which occasional (in)coherence and (in)consistency can be noticed.

For Tasić, the subject of constitutional law or the general theory of the state is the constitution and constitutional order, that is, the law and the state, the way the state is legally organized. Constitutional law is the science of the constitution and constitutional order, a legal discipline that "studies the state as a whole and its bodies in their mutual relationship" (Tasić, 1995, p. 408), for which other names are also used, such as the science of state law.[11] As a representative of the modern understanding of constitutional law, he did not focus on the study of the constitutional text, as was the rule in the classical understanding of constitutional law, but also on emphasizing the importance of constitutional tradition,[12] constitutional conventions and customs, and political and social relations. For him, constitutional law is inseparable from administrative law because its task is to study the "political structure and physiognomy of the state", which also means administrative power, which is still an accepted concept in the United States of America and the countries of Anglo-Saxon law (Constitutional and Administrative Law). In his writings, we also come across discussion on the problems of executive (administrative) law, such as the organization and status of the administrative authority and the discretionary authority of the executive (administrative) authority. On the other hand, Tasić rejects a static approach to constitutional law, considering that in accordance with his methodological position on the dynamic development of law, constitutional institutions evolve into a positive direction or "break down".

Previous studies of Tasić's scientific creativity did not observe that the subject of his interest were comparative constitutional and political systems. Tasić started researching the constitutions of other countries in the surrounding region and in the countries of Western Europe from the second half of the 1930s.[13] In his study entitled *Contemporary Political Systems and Concepts of the State*, a number of problems are presented very

[11] On the development of this science by Tasić (1936a: 43).

[12] Tasić, unlike Slobodan Jovanović, has no published works on Serbian constitutional and legal history, nor did he show a penchant for legal history.

[13] Tasić seems to have had the ambition to prepare a brief study on the constitutional and legal development of the Balkan states, but that remained his unfulfilled intention. We assume that the reason for it, as he stated himself, were difficulties in finding appropriate sources and literature (Tasić, 1936: 391).

succinctly.[14] In the first part of the monograph, Tasić defines the modern concept of democracy as the rule of the majority in which the constitutional rights of citizens are respected. Explaining its shortcomings, he claims that it is necessary to transform the liberal model in the direction of social democracy, which will ensure more complete equality and equality of citizens ("equal opportunities") and a greater degree of solidarity and integration of social groups. In this respect, as an example of the inclusion of these ideas into the constitutional systems, he cites the solutions of the Weimar Constitution on social rights and the participation of workers in the management of enterprises.

In the above-mentioned book, we also come across theoretical dilemmas about whether democracy has the right to defend itself by non-democratic means if its survival is threatened (Tasić, 1936a, p. 7). Tasić anticipates the problems of contemporary jurisprudence, which is also a feature of his scientific work. His study appeared a year before the famous text of Karl Loewenstein, a German constitutionalist and political scientist, on militant democracy (1937),[15] which offered a doctrinal basis for banning and restricting political parties and the right to freedom of association.[16]

The second part of this study presents his view of the "new" political systems - fascism, that is, National Socialism and the Soviet system. Compared to democracies, there is no opposition in them, one party rules and there is no division of power. Tasić comments on the legal nature of these systems, exposing their political background. In these countries, human rights are not protected, and even the Soviet regime, although with certain democratic features, is not a legal state because it does not guarantee "subjective public rights of citizens".[17] Just as non-democratic and democratic political systems are distinguished according to the criteria of respect for human rights, formal and material concepts of the rule of law also differ. In the first case, the state is legal or legal, but not legal in the material sense (Tasić, 1925: 8-10; Vasić, 2001: 435).

In the third part, entitled "Contemporary understandings of the state", Tasić looks at the then German, English and French understanding of constitutional institutions. Noting the variations among these legal systems, he says that constitutions and

[14] This book was written as a result of his lectures. This also speaks of how much energy Tasić devoted to pedagogical work, considering that, in accordance with the idea of liberals, it is necessary to educate citizens in the direction of adopting democratic values and principles.

[15] Lowenstein's doctrine is "summarized in the following message - it is unacceptable for anti-democratic elements to use tools of democracy for the destruction of democracy itself. In democracies, there is no place for parties who seek to fight against its values and (or) fight for abolishing those values" (Radojević, 2023: 208).

[16] Tasić is quite cautious and even ambiguous in his opinions, thus stating that, although democracy is a political system with flaws, it is allowed to defend itself against its enemies, but also that no one has the right to violently oppose the will of the people, which does not exclude the possibility of being replaced by some other political form of government.

[17] That Tasić often deviates from his basic ideas can also be seen in the fact that, in another place, he classifies the Soviet system in Russia as a form of "workers' democracy", that is, a type of "social democracy" (Tasić, 1984: 156-157).

constitutional institutions are the expressions of the political state and morals of society. In the example of the development of the English constitution, he singles out four forms, layers or parts of the constitution. The first is symbolic; the second is the legal or written constitution, which consists of constitutional acts that do not have greater legal force, nor are they different from ordinary laws; the third is the "conventional constitution" and the fourth is the real constitution, which exists in all countries. In English constitutional law, the interweaving of the principles of conservatism and democracy produced good results because, along with respect for traditions and customs, the idea of democratization of society took hold. Under the influence of English pluralists, he advocates for a wider participation of citizens in the exercise of power (Tasić, 1936a: 70-72),[18] which to some extent influenced his proposal for a second house in the Yugoslav parliament as a representation of various social groups.

The mentioned study ends with a description of the proposal for the constitutional reform in France. The contemporary importance of Tasić's thoughts can be found in his discussions of parliamentarism, the institution of the president, the assembly and the referendum.[19] Consistency with the distinction between quasi-parliamentary ("false") and real parliamentarism is manifested in the definition of parliamentarism as an order in which authorities are mutually limited and dependent on voters (Tasić, 1936a: 75). Tasić once again uses the opportunity to point out that law is an emanation of society and to warn that the constitutional reform is doomed to failure if it is not an expression of social consensus and does not serve to reorganize the life of political parties and develop the feelings of social responsibility and duty (cf. Tasić, 1936a: 80).

In the same year when the study on contemporary political systems was published, Tasić wrote about the constitutional development of Albania and Greece. The title of the text indicates his intention to expand the research to other Balkan and European

[18] Given that Tasić stayed in the United States for professional training, it would be very interesting to investigate the influence of the theory of legal realism, American and British pluralists and American constitutionalists on his starting points about the state, the role of social groups, the idea of normative consensus and distrust in representative democracy.

[19] For more details about the French constitutional order, see his article entitled "Constitutional Order" (Tasić, 1938: 17-24). Although he is an advocate of democracy and believes that democratic institutions are the best cure for its ills, Tasić criticizes the referendum as a mechanism of supplementing correct representative democracy, because he believes that the electorate can be manipulated more easily than the people's deputies. Therefore, when judging institutions, the constitutional maker must be guided by "common sense". "Leaders of the people, from Napoleon and Napoleon III to Mussolini, used the deception that they only wanted to hear the so-called 'voice of the people', but it was only the sweet sound of Pan's flute. For populists, a referendum in the form of to a plebiscite has special importance, because it allows them to increase their power, amnesty themselves from possible guilt for risky decisions and convince the people that they really exercise power as such. That is why, in autocracies, it becomes an ideal means of conquering power and dismantling democracy and civil society. Due to these threats, in theory and political practice, mistrust and reservations are also expressed towards other forms of direct democracy. The referendum is being carefully approached in modern democracies, and not frequently used" (Radojević, 2022b: 188).

countries, but unfortunately, that did not happen. The lack of empirical material is the reason to suggest the scientific cooperation of the Balkan countries and the creation of a library fund for the study of comparative legal systems. Based on this research, Tasić transfers the field of his analysis to the extra-legal field and concludes that political and social factors influence the formation of constitutional systems (Tasić, 1936b). Here we see that he partially adopts the sociological premise of the dichotomy between the real and factual constitution (Ferdinand Lassalle), and states that "the same text can acquire different content and meaning according to political circumstances" (Tasić, 1936a: 67) Nevertheless, Tasić is not consistent in accepting Ferdinand Lassalle's starting point because, for example, he does not consider those written constitutions as legal expressions of class relations, but he accepts that constitutional issues are the consequence of real power relations (Lassalle, 1942: 30-31).

The modern understanding of constitutional law is also expressed in Tasić's definition of the constitution. The term is not unambiguous since it has a normative, political and sociological character (Tasić, 1995, p. 239).[20] The constitution is the will of the state and the act of the constitution maker.[21] In political terms, the constitution is identified with the system of government organization in which power is exercised by political bodies. From a formal point of view, it is a legal act with the highest legal force, which is passed in a different way from ordinary laws (Tasić, 1995: 244-245). Such a meaning takes shape in the modern (civil) state. The term "modern state" in Tasić's jurisprudence is important because the criterion for evaluating political systems is inseparable from the principle of democracy or popular sovereignty, the hierarchy of bodies and the division of state functions based on the principle of separation of powers. In the rule of law,[22] citizens are guaranteed rights protected by an independent judiciary, and the branches of government perform separate functions.[23]

At the beginning of his scientific career, Tasić declares about the properties and role of the constitution as "the basic law of a state". In his opinion, "the wisdom of law makers is reflected mostly in the wisdom of creating a constitution" (Tasić, 1921c: 72), so a constitution should respond to social relations and shape social reality legally (the so-called constitutional balance). On the contrary, constitutions as abstract and programmatic declarative acts are not a good solution, because they contribute, as in France, to frequent changes and social instability (Tasić, 1921c: 73). Tasić, however, corrected some of his views over time, e.g., in relation to his ideas about the procedure for changing the constitution. He summarized his understanding of the solidity of the constitution in the thesis of its elasticity, with the fact that he accepted that the citizens also directly

[20] Cf. Marković, 2013: 36-38.

[21] The constitutional authority, as a state function, is part of the legislative function.

[22] For Tasić's understanding of the rule of law, see Vukadinović, 1993; Vasić, 1993; Vasić, 2001.

[23] In his article "An attempt to divide state functions in a formal and material sense" (Tasić, 1984: 23-93), Tasić presented the criteria for distinguishing state functions, stating the differences between judicial and administrative acts, again making it a new and original way, as stated by his contemporary Laza Kostić (Kostić, 2000: 663).

participate in the process of the constitution because he found in it the realization of the principle of national sovereignty. In order to change the constitution, it is important that it is done in a legal way, which means that the constitutional revision procedure is respected. The content of the constitutional change is of less importance (Tasić, 1930: 115). In this way, he adhered to the opinion that the constitution maker is relatively bound by the previous constitution because in the case of revolutions and other major changes, he is completely free to create a new constitutional order. Here, his approach is realistic, certainly different from Kelsen's understanding and normativism, but also from the German legal school (Karl Schmidt). Tasić's constitution maker or "ultimate power" is the people (Tasić, 1921a: 25).

Among other things, the fact that he discussed the control of constitutionality in several of his theoretical works testifies to Tasić's fondness of constitutional law topics. Explaining the arguments *pro et contra*, he concludes that the courts should be entrusted with the competence to decide on the control of constitutionality. In support of judicial control of constitutionality, he cites legal and political reasons, and takes the side of the then ruling French theory which claims that the task of the court is to protect legality, and thus the balance of power, but also Kelsen's argument about constitutional judicial control, which respects the hierarchy of the legal order and sanctions violations the constitution as the highest law (Tasić, 1925: 412). Judicial review of constitutionality is a barrier against the omnipotence of the parliament. Unlike the "neutral" court, the parliament as a political body is unsuitable for performing this function (Tasić, 1927a: 376). We emphasize Tasić's perspicacity on this occasion as well, because he hints at the expansion of constitutional control and the Austrian model after the Second World War.

In Tasić's scientific opus, special attention is focused on parliamentarism and parliamentary institutions.[24] Parliamentarianism denotes a system of cooperation between the executive and legislative authorities, which in practice manifests itself in its various types.[25] According to the model of the English cabinet government, he expresses respect because in it there is no "tyranny of one party over another" (Tasić, 1926: 267). In the "cradle of parliamentarism", despite the shortcomings concerning the class character of society and the right to vote, a culture of solidarity and tolerance among political dissenters was developed. Apart from "real" parliamentarism, there is also "false" parliamentarism, synonymous with authoritarian systems and dictatorships. At the core of a true parliamentary system, the government is formed and depends on the trust of the parliamentary majority, which is its key principle (Tasić, 1926: 270; Tasić, 1928: 428).

The rules of the parliamentary system are partly contained in legal regulations, norms and customs. If these rules are not harmonized, it will affect the functioning of

[24] For Tasić's understanding of parliamentarism and parliamentary institutes, see the text by M. Stefanovski (1993).

[25] At the same time, Tasić combines different understandings, adhering to the opinions of French constitutionalists about parliamentarism as a form of government in which there is a government of ministers responsible to the parliament.

constitutional institutions. Tasić also mentions the institutes of rationalized parliamentarism, which he sees as an attempt to adapt parliamentarism to changes in the new era (the entry of the masses into politics) and the crisis of the traditional model (Tasić, 1928: 436). In another place, he concludes that the constitutional proclamation of parliamentarism is not a declarative norm, but is useful for the interpretation of other legal institutes in the absence of norms that directly regulate these issues (Stefanovski, 1993: 640).

Within parliamentarism, as one of his favourite topics, Tasić discusses the position and role of the head of state, other institutions such as coalition and expert governments, i.e., the non-parliamentary composition of governments, the influence of the electoral system etc. Free elections are the *conditio sine qua non* of democracy (sic!) because they allow the will of the people to be reflected in the parliament. If a voter sells his vote, either because he is unenlightened or blackmailed, democracy and parliamentarism are in danger (Tasić, 1992a: 154), which is a clear allusion to and criticism of the electoral practice in the former Yugoslavia. Tasić is a supporter of the expansion of voting rights (Tasić, 1921b) and a proportional electoral system. The proportional electoral system promotes compromise between political parties and solidarity among political groups, which ultimately contributes to the stability of political systems.

Given that Tasić is not a "dry" theoretician, but strives to make his thought serve the unravelling of practical problems, the subject of his polemics is the parliamentary regime in Yugoslavia between the two world wars. Almost always cautious in his conclusions, on this occasion he points out that governments do not depend on the confidence of the parliamentary majority, and elections are not free (Tasić, 1992: 189). The king, that is, the head of state, in parliamentary constitutional monarchies must not influence the formation of parties and choose ministers (Tasić, 1928: 435). If the king governs the parties, it means that the power has passed into his hands. Such governments are weak, and the parliament is unproductive. The cure for the diseases of Yugoslav parliamentarism lies in the "reorganization" of the parties and the formation of the upper house as representatives of socio-economic groups (socio-economic bicameralism). In addition, depoliticization and professionalization of public administration are necessary (Tasić, 1928: 442), freeing the administration from political constraints. Unlike other theoreticians, Tasić observes a feedback loop between the party and the constitutional system. According to his understanding, the proper "balance" between the parties is necessary for the functioning of the division of power and parliamentarism.[26] Political parties in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and later in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia were criticized for their tribal character,[27] lack of internal democratic structure, and for putting party interests before public interests ("partisanship").

[26] Unlike Slobodan Jovanović, Tasić was not an opponent of coalition governments because he believed that, in addition to stability, in a society it is important to take into account the cooperation of social groups represented by parties.

[27] That Tasić's point of view is authoritative for the legislator is corroborated by the fact that a year after the publication of this text, in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, on the basis of the Law on Protection of Public Safety and Order in the State (Article 3), the ban on political

He also expressed his broad interest in constitutional law in the debate on the creation of the new state of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Tasić, 1921a). As he often did in other cases, he took the debate about the institute of emergency on two levels: theoretically - by criticizing Karl Schmitt's theory of the sovereign, and legally-politically - about the dictatorship of King Aleksandar Karađorđević of 6 January 1929. In understanding the institution of the state of emergency, he again demonstrates a non-dogmatic approach by delving into the complex nature of the institution itself and the theoretical aporia. For Tasić, the theory of a sovereign dictatorship based on the delegation of power is unacceptable, but he admits that "in the field of constitutional law, it is necessary to take into consideration the reality of political life and the state of the relationship between forces that act and constantly exert their influence on the constitution". Applying a sociological starting point, he concludes that constitutional law is "between rules, norms and political reality, a permanent state for a period of time of the forces that operate" (Tasić, 1992: 194-195).

The comprehensiveness of the subject of constitutional law as a field of research and the consistency of Tasić's scientific thought can be seen in the understanding of constitutional rights as a guarantee of freedom and a limit to the unrestrained expansion of power. Equality of citizens is "the basic principle of democracy" and has a great practical scope (Tasić, 1930: 329) because it also includes many other rights, such as the right to appeal against the actions of the government (Tasić, 1984: 253). Tasić points to the ambiguity of equality and advocates the premise that equality implies social justice. Although he believes that people are not factually egalitarian, he concludes that the equality of citizens in the formal legal sense is necessary, which implies the right to personal equality. Social equality includes the absence of discrimination and the right to "equal opportunities". He admits that this means encountering a slippery slope because we abandon the legal notion of egalitarianism (Tasić, 1930: 426). Equality acquires its content according to "the spirit of the constitution and according to the main tendencies expressed in it; individualistic or solidaristic" (Tasić, 1939: 432).[28] The call for the constitutionalization of political, economic and social rights based on the Weimar Constitution is the result of Tasić's commitment to the rule of law and democracy.

Argumentation in favour of state interventionism, in which Tasić was again one step ahead of his time, is based on the belief that a broader role of the state in economic and social policy contributes to a more just society (Tasić, 1925a: 29-31). This does not mean that he is in favour of nationalizing economy and economic life according to the Bolshevik model, because private property is a "sacred" right,[29] but a hint of the welfare

parties with religious or tribal symbols was prescribed. The Constitution of 1931 expanded the reasons for the ban because parties could not be founded on "religious, tribal or regional grounds" (Radojević, 2022b: 27). In practice, this provision was not consistently applied.

[28] When Tasić speaks about the "spirit of the constitution", he has an idea of it in a liberal sense, which implies that rights derive from the constitution even when they are not explicitly stated.

[29] In his earlier works, Tasić is an advocate of the limitation of private property in the public interest, that is, he believes that it is necessary to constitutionally establish the principle of the social function of private property (Tasić, 1921c: 73).

state (Social Welfare), a form of organization of societies in certain European countries after the Second World War. Tasić's aforementioned understandings stemmed from his understanding of politics, founded on ethical principles, and law in the service of general interests. In accordance with "value relativism", he tried to outline the characteristics and importance of legal institutions and principles, but warned that these were only forms, and that the real causes of problems were of a social nature (Tasić, 1938: 24). As a modern theoretician, he assessed the validity of the legal order by combining value and rational criteria, whereby the influences of the modern school of natural law and the rule of law are recognized.[30]

Rejecting one-sided understandings of legal phenomena and institutions, he is inclined to reconsider his previous conclusions. Thus, he notes that some of the social and collective rights conflict with the individual right to equality. On the other hand, if social and economic conditions are not ensured, a gap will arise between proclaimed political (constitutional) rights (*de iure*) and their realization in practice (*de facto*). Political problems should be resolved by agreement and consensus, and when interpreting constitutional norms, the "evolution of social power relations" should also be taken into account (Tasić, 1923: 198).

Tasić's other points of view also have a current quality, for example on judicial authority, in which he was also ahead of his time. Tasić writes about the independence of the judiciary and judges, expressing a deep and complex understanding of the problems related to this branch of government. The first is possible only in the rule of law, that is, in democracies (Tasić, 1935: 5), and the second only for those judges who proceed according to the law and enjoy certain guarantees of their position. For legal technical guarantees of independence to be realized, political and social assumptions are necessary. The judge should be freed from all pressure, which means political orders. He has to be appointed to this position for life, to be materially taken care of, that is, to have a "good salary". The best way to appoint him is by the judicial bodies themselves. Thus, protection is provided against political abuses and party influences.[31] This way of electing judges is in accordance with the principle of separation of powers and "makes judges aware of their independence" (Tasić, 1935: 11-13). However, this system of electing judges is not without flaws, as it creates a "guild spirit" and "coterie".[32] Therefore, certain control of the executive power is necessary, which is formalized in the fact that the decision of the

[30] For example, although he is a supporter of democracy and believes that democratic institutions are the best medicine for its ills, Tasić criticizes the institution of the referendum as a mechanism of complementing or correcting representative democracy, believing that the electorate can be more easily manipulated than the people's representatives. He expects the legislator to be guided by "common sense" (Tasić, 1936: 79).

[31] Tasić rejects the election of judges by the head of the executive power or parliament because they enable the exercise of political influence.

[32] Tasić's argumentation is relevant in expert and professional debates on the adoption of judicial laws in Serbia in 2022. Namely, he belonged to the 'lone theoreticians who stated the advantages of electing judges through special professional (judicial) bodies (Radojević, 2022c: 638, footnote 43)

judicial panels is confirmed by the competent minister, and that the advancement of judges depends on objective criteria (Avramović & Jovanov, 2021: 502). Tasić, as when considering other legal institutes, tried to propose the most suitable solution or model. In this case, it is a balance between the demands for independence and the accountability of judges. Finally, he also believed that it was necessary to develop the awareness and conscience of judges about their role in protecting citizens in relations with the state and executive power. The judge does not have only the task of representing the "mouth of the law", to reveal the will of the legislator (the so-called classical or traditional understanding of the judicial function), but his role is also creative, especially in the case of legal gaps, when a new legal rule is created (Simić, 1973: 308, 316).

Tasić published several articles on decentralization and the complex state. At that time, the theory did not have a built-in conceptual apparatus as it does today, when local self-government is defined as a form of territorial decentralization and a form of realization of a special right recognized by international documents (the right to local self-government). In addition, at the time he wrote these articles, in the unitary constitutional system of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later Yugoslavia, self-government was a form of administrative decentralization. Tasić, therefore, states that it is an indefinite, contradictory or "relative" term (Tasić, 1927b: 106; Tasić, 1927c: 184). Municipal self-government is guided by the constitution and performs entrusted ("administrative") competencies. On the other hand, there are self-governing bodies, elected at the local level, which perform certain tasks. Observing the difference between the formal and real status of local self-government, he notes that it is about "two tendencies". According to the first, a municipality is not a state function nor does it have an original or independent right to manage its affairs, that is, it is not a form of independent management of local affairs (Tasić, 1927b: 91), but a form of administrative decentralization (Tasić, 1926: 34). According to the second tendency, citizens win the right to local self-government, to elect their bodies and perform certain tasks (Tasić, 1927b: 99), so it is accordingly a right regulated by the state.

He considered decentralization important for the development of democracy, but claimed that it was of "secondary importance" in relation to the organization of government at the central level (Tasić, 1926b: 40). The political importance of local self-government lies in the fact that it is the basic level at which citizens are taught to manage public affairs. Tasić is also against the typical organization of local self-government units. The size of municipalities and cities is the criteria by which the status of local self-government units should be determined. According to their social and cultural structure, they should be allowed the possibility of multi-level organization and association of municipalities or cities.[33] In the jurisdiction of the local self-government, apart from communal affairs, a significant part of the affairs must be related to social policy.

Before World War II, Tasić studied federalism. In his views, he expresses scepticism towards changes or reforms in the legal system and the concept of transplanting or

[33] Tasić also researched the problem of regions as administrative and self-governing units in France and Germany.

uncritically taking over solutions from other legal systems (Tasić, 1939). In his opinion, federalism should not be rejected *a priori* as a solution to the problems of the Yugoslav unitary state because its positive side is in encouraging feelings of creating a broader community and solidarity. At the same time, it is necessary to look at similar examples of the functioning of federalism in other countries, such as the United States of America and Switzerland, and to consider doctrinal criticisms of federalism. However, one should start from the fact that "every system and every arrangement has its good and bad sides" (Tasić, 1939: 483), taking into account the fulfilment of the assumptions that the federation would be effective in the political system. In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, unity was opposed by the call for independence and autonomy, i.e., as Tasić says, "the desire for power", which are "all the stronger if they were suppressed by one nation or tribe for a long time in the course of history". Accordingly, it is necessary to have the form of historical circumstances when deciding on the forms of state organization (Tasić, 1939: 483).

ĐORĐE TASIĆ – A MODERN CONSTITUTIONALIST

Tasić's scientific creativity stemmed from the time and environment in which he lived. In the understanding of constitutional law, his erudition, jurisprudential and sociological starting points about law as a social phenomenon were manifested, and in the interpretation of constitutional institutions, a humanistic vision of a just society. Tasić is considered the embodiment of a contemporary and original theoretician of constitutional law and constitutionalism, which is noticeable from his methodological approach and critical attitude toward the influential theories of Hans Kelsen and Karl Schmidt. In a large number of scientific works, he covered a multitude of constitutional law topics, from the concept and change of the constitution to the form of state organization and control of constitutionality. His intention was not only to leave a deeper mark in science, but also to refine practice. This can especially be seen in his thoughts on the rule of law, parliamentarism, protection of human rights, criticism of party interests in the political system and the role of the monarch in the formation of governments, as well as in his interpretation of the concept of independence of the judiciary and views on the problems of decentralization.

For Tasić, the term constitution is multifaceted – it is a legal, political and sociological phenomenon. Therefore, when interpreting the constitution and constitutional institutions, it is important to know the constitutional text, but also the constitutional tradition, constitutional conventions and customs, political and social relations, that is, the "evolution" of social power relations and historical circumstances. Unlike his contemporaries, he apostrophized the influence of the party system on the functioning of the constitutional order, explaining that, due to the action of political and social factors, the *de facto* and actual constitutions in a country often diverge.

In the period of the crisis of parliamentarism between the two world wars, the emergence and development of constitutionalism brought it into connection with democracy, the rule of law and human rights, raising them to the pedestal of basic constitutional values (principles), as criteria for evaluating systems and distinguishing non-democracies or authoritarian societies. For Tasić, society rests on justice and solidarity, and the task of the modern state as a legal organization is to serve social and cultural development.

In his scientific works on constitutional problems, he showed a gift for analysis, although often with a difficult and not-so-clear and elegant style, as was the case with Slobodan Jovanović's writing. However, his virtue is in exposing the flaws and virtues of the research object, discovering the causes and determining the legality. In his analyses, following the relativity of truth, he assumed the imperfection of law, political institutions and democracy itself. Accordingly, he often warns that any constitutional reform is doomed if it is not an expression of social consensus, social responsibility and duty of public authorities.

Tasić is an important legal theoretician who pointed out problems in methodology and shed light on a number of problems in constitutional law, but also anticipated the development of constitutional institutions. His constitutional jurisprudence foreshadows the problems that constitutional law science will deal with almost a century later, such as effective control and balance of power, legitimate limitations of political (constitutional) rights, state intervention in the area of public freedom, protection of minorities and collective rights, citizen participation and social groups in government, decentralization and control of constitutionality etc. That is why he is considered a contemporary thinker and theoretician of the rule of law, whose work, unfortunately, has not been sufficiently explored.

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Rade S. Šarović[1]
University of Montenegro,
Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić,
Study Program of Sociology
Nikšić (Montenegro)

SOCIETY OF MONTENEGRO IN WEBER'S IDEAL-TYPICAL DEFINITION OF THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL AUTHORITY

Abstract: For centuries, the history of Montenegro, as well as its social order, have been the subject of interest of many historians, sociologists, lawyers, political scientists, anthropologists, and economists, both locally and internationally. Consensus, which is rarely found in the majority of these authors' texts, may be summarised in several different manners of governing Montenegrin society. In their opinion, the manner of governing Montenegro ranged from the framework of theocracy of Bishops Danilo, Sava, and Vasilije, through to theocratic republicanism and autocracy of Bishops Petar I and Petar II, enlightened absolutism of Prince Danilo, and the constitutional parliamentary monarchy of Prince Nikola, only to end with the totalitarian regime of Josip Broz Tito (especially in the first post-WWII years). Weber, being one of the most prominent figures in social science, systematised and defined forms of social authority based on legitimacy given to it by its subjects. Thus, he divided these forms of social authority into charismatic, traditional, and bureaucratic types. Using Weber's systematisation, in this paper we have a distinction between three major periods of Montenegrin history and tried to explain each of them in sociological terms and thus provide a new outlook on our history.

Keywords: Weber, authority, Montenegro, trust, bureaucratic, charismatic, patrimonial.

[1] sarovicrade@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

Regardless of what social and historical point in time we may speak of or what society we may belong to, authority is one of the most significant elements of activities jointly undertaken by people. Weber defines authority as legitimate and socially accepted use of power which one person or a group of persons has/have over another person or a group of persons, while the main means of distinguishing authority from the general concept of power is legitimacy. This means that authority depends on subjects accepting that those who are in higher positions have the right to issue orders or instructions to them and also to impose their will, although at times power may be exercised with the use of force and violence. Weber denotes power as the chance to impose one's will within a social relationship despite opposition, regardless of the integrity of that chance", and this level of chance is nothing but an invitation for power to exercise itself in reality as chance, and that it requires thought and the need for opposition (Weber, 2014: 22-23).

One of the crucial issues of Weber's theory of power is a matter of the manner and form of social legitimation of authority that is divided into three ideal types. The three types of authority, i.e., three bases for legitimacy of the power to command, are: rational authority of bureaucracy, traditional and patriarchal authority, and charismatic authority.

Weber examines motivation of those who chose to subject themselves to authority, concluding that there are three motives, each of which corresponds to one specific type of authority. As regards *legal - bureaucratic authority*, Weber thinks that people subject themselves to authority because they try to use the situation at hand in their best interests. For this reason, he is inclined to say that this type of authority is the most reasonable. Voluntary compliance or obedience "may also arise from custom, i.e., from numbly accustoming to one specific form of action", which is when we have in mind the *traditional (patriarchal) authority*. The third type of authority is *charismatic authority*, which is built on the basis of the charisma of an individual or the position this individual holds.

Weber's works have become very important reading in present times, not only among academics at universities, but they are also being frequently "revived" by political and financial elites in their public speeches. For years now, in Central Turkey there has been mention of the so-called Islamic Calvinism (this is, in economic terms, a very successful region that adopted Weber's concept of Protestant work ethics), while Max Weber's works are nowadays being more frequently read in the world's underdeveloped countries.[2] We have therefore tried to incorporate our "contemporary" Weber and his theory in Montenegrin society's historic developments and thus explain the manner of exercising authority in this region.

[2] Edith Hanke –interview for the Deutsche Welle web portal, https://www.dw.com/sr/maks-veber-izvozni-hit-za-21-vek/a-17581010, accessed on 15th July 2022.

CHARISMATIC TYPE OF AUTHORITY IN MONTENEGRO (1684-1851)

As Weber notes, charismatic rule, in its purest form always manifests itself as a product of unusual external (especially political or economic, or internal, intimate (especially religious) conditions, or a combination of the two, or both of them put together. In such relations, people are under the impression that it is only the ruler who is imparted with God's gift of mercy, the person in possession of supernatural abilities, the leader who is on a divinely originating mission – only he can save them. The bearer of charisma takes upon himself the task for which he is predestined and based on his mission, he demands that others subject themselves to him and follow him. When leaders are recognised and accepted in such conditions, masses are prepared to follow them blindly and therein lies the main reason and feature of authoritarian charismatic authority (Weber, 2014: 227). In Weber's view, charisma in this case has qualitative limitations from within and is hence directed at a local, ethnic, religious group of people, or a group limited in any other manner, and its boundaries become limited and match those of the relative group.

At the very end of the 17th century, during the Morean War[3] in addition to the liberation war, in Montenegro ground was broken for the engendering and development of the charismatic system of authority, and this not only of one individual but an entire dynasty. During this period, the Metropolitanate of Cetinje stood for an ideological driving force of the Christian struggle against the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, this was the only factor that could provide a certain form of organisation and order within the clashing Montenegrin clans. The title of Metropolitan, Metropolitan Danilo[4] being the first one to bear it (progenitor of the Petrović Njegoš dynasty) in part formed a charismatic basis for his rule and the basis on which history of the longest-ruling dynasty in

[3] The war period between Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire is the period that changed the entire picture of Europe of the time, as well as relations within the Old Continent. The atmosphere of a united struggle and unification of Christian countries contributed to universal euphoria that the power from Bosphorus (or "the sick man of Europe", as some were inclined to call the Ottoman Empire) could be banished from this region. After a significant victory over the Ottoman Empire, the Treaty of Karlowitz was signed in 1699, which ended hostilities between great powers. The first major victory of Christian states over the Ottoman Empire gave rise to a euphoric atmosphere and the spirit of freedom, the breath of which could also be felt in Montenegro, a small country at the foot of Mount Lovćen. Financial support for the Montenegrin "resistance movement" in its fight against the Turks was provided by the Venetian Republic, which assisted financially the Metropolitanate of Cetinje, as well as generals and authorities. In this manner, the position of the Metropolitanate was stabilised and strengthened both locally and internationally. (Andrijašević and Rastoder, 2006: 104-107).

[4] Selecting the Metropolitan of Montenegro was no easy feat in those times, nor is it now, so the process could not be completed without certain controversy. The first Metropolitan was Savatije Sava Kaluđerović but his term on the Metropolitan's throne in Cetinje was short-lived and ended after mere three years. In 1697, he was succeeded by young Danilo Šćepćević who was elected in the Montenegrin People's Assembly as the new ecclesiastical and secular ruler of Montenegro (Stanojević and Vasić, 206: 249).

the modern era Balkans was later built. Thanks to his Metropolitan sceptre, the political idea of unity of Montenegro, the mythical image of him having launched the "Inquisition of the Turkified". Metropolitan Danilo strived to maintain peace internally and used his personal charisma to exercise authority in the territory of what then was Montenegro.

Charismatic structure, which the Petrović dynasty later built on using this basis, did not have the subjects in today's meaning of the word. It did not know any form or a set of rules for appointing or releasing from duty persons outside the Petrović family, nor was there any monetary compensation for the ruler, or specific required qualifications in terms of education of the bearer of charisma. The Metropolitan, as the bearer of charisma, took upon himself the task and mission to which "in the nature of things" he was predestined, and he therefore expected and demanded, that others be subjected to him and that both in war and in peace he has their unchallengeable following. In this manner, what was built in Montenegro was a type of the one who commanded, i.e., the political and ecclesiastical leader, as well as a type of the one who followed orders, i.e., the subject-disciple. Obedience was owed only by virtue of authority of the leader because he was the one who was predestined to rule according to divine and secular laws. Their charisma was not shaped according to some predefined or specifically created rules. Instead, it was built on belief in the idea of free Montenegro and the absolute or relative sanctity of authority of specific persons or their family, all of whom strived to accomplish this goal.

For said reasons, the Metropolitan was in part perceived as an exceptional person who was endowed (thanks to religious beliefs) with superhuman, extremely special abilities and powers, which were not attainable to everyone. Assuming said elements and formalising charismatic authority were connected with the very act of ordination and combining the secular and ecclesiastical power within Montenegrin people. This is certainly one of the key reasons why the title of Metropolitan was so important to the Petrović dynasty and why they decided that it should become and remain the privilege of this ruling family[5]. A myth was built that their dynasty was God-given and that its members are exceptional individuals who as a result of this were seen by masses as both natural and historical great leaders.

Still, their charismatic authority did not rely solely on the exceptional gift of "God's grace", on the heroism of one ruler, or the legacy of one family. This form of relationship, in keeping with Weber's teaching, survived based on individuals voluntarily subjecting themselves to charismatic authority, because they freely recognised this charisma and in doing so, they legitimised it. In Montenegrin society, this recognition was based on strong psychological mechanisms that derived from enthusiasm, despair, or hope. This segment can especially be connected with partial or complete slavery that existed in Montenegrin society, but also with the fatalistic view of the world and one's own fate.

[5] Although it is uncommon in the Orthodox Church cannon for this title to be declared hereditary, especially within one family, charismatic successors of Danilo Petrović were his close relatives, Metropolitans Sava, Vasilije, Petar I, and Petar II Petrović Njegoš.

In such a social and historical context, the Metropolitans used the strength of their authority and the Gospel to reconcile clashing clans, to punish offenders and provide financial aid to the population so as to resolve certain existential issues. It is exactly in such activities on their part that motivation also lies for voluntary subordination, and the grounds are provided for legitimacy of charismatic power of the Petrović family. Accordingly, it can be connected with Weber's theory. With his charismatic aura, the Metropolitan partly succeeded in introducing some new and stringent restrictions that defied customs of the time (e.g., the "blood feud"), but in many cases they had to be imposed with the use of force[6]. The first Montenegrin legal code, as was the case with charisma, was based on irrational segments, oath, faith in God, God's judgement, ruler's curse, since the charismatic ruler knows no legal norms or assumptions, nor does he recognise a formal judicial system. As Weber concludes, "the ruler's objective right to judge, derives from a personal impression, divine mercy and heroic strength and means denouncing connection with any external order in favour of singular glorification of a true prophetic and heroic inclination" (Weber, 2014: 220).

As is proven by historical sources, the figure of the charismatic leader in Montenegro relied on the faith in heroes, on revelation, on emotional conviction in spiritual, religious, ethical, artistic, and scientific accomplishments of the ruler, his heroism, asceticism, or participation in wars. In this manner, charismatic power of the Metropolitans from the Petrović Njegoš dynasty was conditional upon a certain personal dualism. Their figures combine and reveal character traits of determined army generals, Christian monks, ascetics, historiographers, literary writers, original legislators and not infrequently character

[6] A typical example of this is the first Montenegrin legal code, *Stega*, with which Sava's successor Petar I tried to unite the clashing clans and partially abolish the blood feud among them. *Stega* is the first written code in the territory of (old) Montenegro and the Hills. It was written in 1796 and represents the manner of legally formalising joint struggle of the populations of Montenegro and the Hills against the Turks. This code envisages solely moral sanction, which means that it mainly appealed to conscience and honour of the clans that were the signatories of this document. Article 1 of the Code emphasises the importance of the ruler of this time as well as the charisma he bears. Supplications are made to God, who is to ensure that the populations of Montenegro and the Hills do not betray each other, while supplications to the Creator are conveyed through the Metropolitan. Article 2 points out the Montenegrins' obligation to come to rescue to any clan in the Hills, if they were to come under the attack from the Turks. Article 3 threatens anyone daring betrayal to be cursed by the people. Article 4 notes that the descendants of anyone who would dare to betray would remain dishonoured. Article 5 introduces the obligation to swear to uphold this Code. In Article 6, which is the last article, the Metropolitanate is obligated to safekeep the original *Stega* document (which additionally strengthens the Metropolitanate's influence among the people). Being familiar with Montenegro of the time and skilfully ruling it, Petar I remained remembered as one of the most popular rulers in its history. This popularity was based on his military and spiritual charisma. He therefore earned the epithet of a saint/miracle-worker, whose relics have been kept to date in the Monastery of Cetinje. (See more on: https://archive.org/details/Stega, accessed on 18th July 2022)

traits of greedy bureaucrats whose personal gain outweighs the wellbeing of Montenegro. Contradictions in the above-mentioned spheres, from a psychological point of view, occur simultaneously and on the same foundation. This is especially the case with liberation wars, initial political and social organisation of society and subjective assessment of artistic values that serve the purposes of particular time in which they were created (for example, *The Epistles of Petar I* or *The Mountain Wreath* by Petar II Petrović Njegoš, both of which were written for the purpose of integration of the Montenegrin people). In this manner, it is ensured that differences are eliminated among the poet, historiographer, ruler or Bishop, and manner in which these character traits were perceived and acquired intimately by the subordinates or the followers in Montenegro.

This dualism is very important for the Metropolitans belonging to the Petrović dynasty because it later allowed for two manners of defining their personalities and their accomplishments. As Weber interprets this, "rationalization of this type occurs when masses of followers acquire only external, technical results, which for their interests have practical significance, or they adapt to them, whereas conceptual content of their creators is of no relevance to them" (Weber, 2014: 22). (The lack of respect for the religious dogmas and low levels of practicing religious rites as well as the not-so-strong faith of the Montenegrin people of the time, in part confirm this statement by Weber's.) Nevertheless, we must not forget that in the conquered Montenegro, this latter, "irrelevant" artistic-religious-Christian segment was far from unimportant and it constituted the basis for their charismatic authority. The Ottoman power, which imposed a different culture, religion, language, faith, customs, stood for the enemy to which in this case resistance could be put up by the charismatic spiritual ruler, who is an accomplished writer and can perform sacraments but is also a capable general and strategist. As we can see, in this case, it is hardly a matter of relevant or irrelevant factors and a distinction can hardly be made because where one ends, the other begins.

In sociological terms, irrespective of complicated social and historical circumstances, charismatic authority, and charismatic rule of the Petrović family did not entail an amorphous state lacking any structure. Instead, it represented a social structure with institutions and a range of services and material assets that were adapted to the mission of the bearer of charisma and to the people gathered around him. This is an unavoidable issue in our analysis because any form of existence of authority, even charisma, is exposed to the circumstances of day-to-day life and forces that guide this life (primarily economic interests of the people). On the one hand, the Montenegrin ruler of the time does not see monetary economy and taxes collected in money as an element of acquiring material riches, nor does he need any in his life. The Metropolitan of Montenegro, as a charismatic leader, Bishop, and ruler in the majority of cases[7], lived his life together with

[7] There were certainly exceptions to this. A blatant example was Petar II Petrović Njegoš who (in addition to brilliant literary works bequeathed to our people) with his personal will and testament left to his successor an amount three times larger than the entire Montenegrin budget. (Andrijašević and Šćekić, 2018: 187).

his people, in this world, not away from it. Acquiring material wealth and any form of tax system for the majority of Metropolitans played a secondary role, whereas religious values that integrated people into one community took precedence. Throughout history, there have been cases of governance that was built on the mentioned postulates. In this case, charisma persevered on the basis of a conscious refusal to own money and monetary income as a source of wellbeing, while priority was taken by faith and otherworldly life. A good example of this can specifically be found in Bishops Vasilije and Petar I Petrović Njegoš in Montenegro, or Francis of Assisi and other similar, though rare, ecclesiastical and secular rulers.

On the other hand, although Metropolitans did not possess personal wealth, the rule of charismatic rulers of the Petrović dynasty was marked by their close associates and the Church in Montenegro becoming richer. At the time of these Metropolitans' rule, and later during the rule of King Nikola, the Metropolitanate was and remained the richest institution of the time, with the largest land ownership in the country (see more in: Blagojević 1988: 102-116; Bulajić 1959: 247). Furthermore, the dynasty's personal assistants, among whom at the same time there was a kind of specific charismatic "aristocracy" that represented an inner circle of supporters. This circle was created based on the principle of discipleship and loyalty to the ruler. This group included people who provided formally voluntary, unregulated by law, sporadic, material services for satisfying the rulers' needs. Obligations towards the subjects subordinated by the charismatic rulers were fulfilled when necessary and to the extent possible for the ruler. In this manner, entourage and disciples were given material assets for supporting them and in this manner, they gained their social status in the form of salary or any other form of compensation or reward, title, or rank[8].

At the end of this brief analysis, we must explain the exact moment when charismatic authority and its power were created. As has already been seen, subordination to a charismatic leader was based on volatile psychological emotions of enthusiasm or despair. However, timewise, this was not endless. It often happened that if a charismatic figure's leadership did not result in any gain for the subordinates, charismatic authority began declining as a consequence, only to vanishing eventually. "Authority of a charismatic leader would collapse the moment he lost his charismatic character or when he partially or completely distanced himself from his predecessor. In such cases, the ruler is abandoned by his following because nothing, but pure charisma knows no other legitimacy other than that arising from personal authority which is confirmed over and over" (Weber, 2014: 219). A good example of this situation is the rule of Bishop Sava (1735-1781), for whom personal privileges and, accordingly, distancing himself from the idea

[8] One of the typical examples of gaining health at the expense of a charismatic ruler was Pero Tomov Petrović, Petar II Petrović Njegoš's brother, the last Montenegrin ruler and Bishop. As Chairman of the Montenegrin Senate, Pero Tomov Petrović monopolised entire Montenegrin trade. During the rule of his brother, he was considered the richest and the most powerful Montenegrin of the time. (The study that is indispensable regarding the life of Petar II Petrović Njegoš was written by Milovan Đilas and it is a *sine qua non* in studies of this type) (Đilas, 2013).

of free Montenegro (which meant conflicts with the Turks) diminished to a great extent his charismatic authority among the people, compared to that of his predecessor Bishop Danilo. Bishop Sava did not have a warrior charisma, nor did he have the political vision or ambition of Bishop Danilo, so Archimandrite Vasilije taking power and continuous political struggle between the two rulers significantly affected the charismatic halo of the Petrović dynasty, which gradually diminished and ultimately in part vanished. After Metropolitan Vasilije's sudden death and Bishop Sava's inability to impose himself again as authority that was in charge of politics within his spiritual and political jurisdiction, conditions were met for the rule of the Petrović dynasty to be temporarily interrupted and for a figure such as the assumed emperor Stephen the Humble to appear[9]. This pragmatic stranger used this discontinuity of the charismatic power in Montenegro and at one point in Montenegrin history, he succeeded in interrupting the rule of the Petrović dynasty. In this context, Weber's conclusion is important and practically visible, i.e., that charismatic authority is in its essence specifically volatile and hence can be applied only in certain, specific historical circumstances, upon which it depends[10].

TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY (PATRIMONIALISM) OF THE PETROVIĆ DYNASTY (1851-1918)

Once Petar II Petrović Njegoš was enthroned as the ruler of Montenegro, some processes were initiated. This implied the strengthening of the existing bodies of state authorities and the establishment of others as well. With the introduction of the Court of Law of Montenegro and the Hills, i.e., judicial and police authorities, state coat of arms and symbols, this ruler gradually started building the first social order in Montenegro. The mentioned period is characterised by the establishment of *nahias* (a local type of administrative division, usually consisting of a number of villages) and is marked by

[9] The first and the basic problem that charismatic authority is faced with, if it wants to transform itself to a permanent institution, is specifically the issue of the leader's successor. The leader's successor is not selected for his personal qualities or competences, nor is there a public invitation for him to be selected. The charismatic leader selects his successor on the basis of his personal assessment of his successor's charisma, which the successor should possess at any given time. The Metropolitan's sceptre of the Petrović dynasty was hereditary. However, charisma which some of the bishops had was not hereditary. This was the reason for Stephen the Humble emerging in the first place and for his brief rule (1767 - 1773). At one historical point, he managed to interrupt the previously continuous rule of the Petrović dynasty, and also to distance himself from the Church order and the Church's policies of the time. The period of his rule was marked by him falsely declaring himself to be the deposed Russian Emperor Peter III Romanoff. This period had all the features of the charismatic manner of ruling a people. His charisma was built neither on the Metropolitan's sceptre nor on his personal or family aura, but on respect and love which the Montenegrin people had for Russia at the time (Stanojević and Vasić, 2006: 373-381).

[10] This paper is only an introduction to some future, more extensive analysis of the Montenegrin "game of thrones", while the analysis of the relationship of power and authority between the Petrović dynasty and the Radonjić family remains uncompleted.

the signing of the agreement with Austria on the demarcation of frontiers between the two countries. In this manner, Montenegro's state independence was first recognised, though indirectly. Nevertheless, the period of his rule was not marked by some major endeavours, be it military or political ones, and so the previously established (mainly military) charisma began to dissipate.

However, Njegoš's legacy of the new social order constituted a solid foundation on which a new form of social order was later built, as well as a new form of state policies in Montenegro. The strengthening of state apparatus and the promotion of this new manner of governance was additionally insisted upon by his successor Prince Danilo Petrović Njegoš and was later further solidified by King Nikola. In 1852, Prince Danilo[11] separated the secular and church (spiritual) authorities. Thus, for the first time in its recent history Montenegro got a secular ruler - Prince and the new state order - Principality. Unlike his predecessors, who thrived on the charismatic manner of government, which was based

[11] Unlike his predecessors, Danilo was a ruler who was educated abroad, spoke several European languages and, to say the least, he would feel uncomfortable wearing the monk robes, which was the heritage left by his predecessors. He believed, like most European rulers, that the dualism of governance was an anachronism that had to be done away with. According to the writing of some historians, in accordance with the described form of legitimacy of authority that was imparted upon him, Danilo's politics was aggressive and artful both with his local and international enemies. Thanks to this, Montenegro succeeded in becoming a secular state rather than the theocratic state it used to be. He waged two wars against the Ottoman Empire with the aim of expanding the territories of Montenegro, only for the frontier between Montenegro and the Ottoman Empire to be defined after a lengthy conflict. In terms of the situation within the country, he carried out a reform of Montenegro and partially ended clans' autonomy. He introduced a modern manner of governance in which the country's leader was the Prince, whereas the central institution of secular authority was the Senate. It initially consisted of 12 Senators, and later there were 16 of them. He also conducted a reform of the tax system, and organised a census of the population in 1854. He made a serious turn in foreign policy, and also opened the first diplomatic missions; he introduced a form of customs at the border, etc. The local authorities (administrative power, executive power, and military power) were organised in 50 Captaincies, whose territories matched the frontier of the Principality. Danilo's rule will certainly be remembered for the compiling of *Danilo's Code*, which enabled the Prince to continue reforming the country. The Code was first printed in Novi Sad and then in France, Italy, and Poland. This Code comprised 95 articles, with its most significant provisions referring to constitutional and other legal matters, the position of man and citizen, the Prince's position as the supreme ruler, responsibilities and position of the courts, citizens' duties in terms of defending their motherland, etc. In addition to this Code being passed, during the short-lived rule of Prince Danilo, many other steps were taken both locally and internationally so as to regulate the functioning of Montenegro. These changes prompted social and economic flows that could ensure the country joining the group of modern civil societies. As regards the national and political spheres, as was the case with his predecessors, Prince Danilo aimed for the liberation from the Ottoman Empire, and not only the liberation of Montenegro but all other enslaved South Slav peoples as well. We can conclude that his entire rule and the enacted Code (as a manifesto of his rule) in a way completed the dismantling of the charismatic-patriarchal way of living. Independence of the clans was abolished, state authorities strengthened, to which there was certainly fierce resistance, and there were also additional local problems that needed dealing with. (See more in: Andrijašević and Šćekić, 2018: 115-143; Pavićević, 1990)

on the title of the Metropolitan and personal, military authority, Danilo Petrović built his influence among his subjects in other ways, thus introducing in a grand way a new form of government, in Weberian terms, *traditional or patrimonial authority*.

In its essence, this form of legitimacy of Danilo's authority was not based on an obligation to serve some vague goal, nor on the submission to certain abstract norms. Instead, just the opposite, it was based strictly on personal respect for Prince Danilo's personality and laws that he passed. As part of traditional authority (patrimonialism), Prince Danilo created a kind of internal foothold in the fact that his subordinates for the first time could unavoidably uphold certain written norms. The norms, which in Danilo's Code were created in support of his patriarchal rule, in addition to legal framework additionally relying on the traditions of the Petrović dynasty and belief in the inviolability of what always existed as such. The Petrović dynasty, which had already given four Metropolitans, rendered Prince Danilo legitimacy to become a patrimonial leader based on Njegoš's last will and testament and prior history that had left this legacy to Danilo. As Weber notes, "in patrimonial authority, personally submitting to the ruler guarantees as being legitimate those rules that the ruler established, and the very fact of his sovereign authority and its boundaries arising from the norms, which are not based on laws but on the norms which (he) and tradition made sacred" (Weber, 2014: 90).

In Max Weber's bureaucracy model of authority, he mentions norms that were created rationally. They invoke the sense of abstract legality and are based on technical training, whereas the patriarchal authority model relies on traditions, on the belief in inviolability of what had always existed as such, as well as the belief in the authority of the one who rules. In consciousness of the Montenegrins of the time, apart from the normative-category apparatus, still remained instilled the idea that Prince Danilo was a legitimate successor in the Holy House of Petrović and that he was hence their both secular and ecclesiastical ruler. On the other hand, since traditions or some contending powers did not limit his power, he exacted it without any limitations, at his own discretion, often without any rational rules of state administration.

As is the case with all other examples of patrimonialism in terms of serving the country, in Danilo's Principality there was an absence of bureaucratic distinction between the "private" and the "official" spheres. Political governance in Montenegro was at the time considered a purely personal matter of the ruler, while his possession and exercise of political power were considered an integral part of his personal assets, which he may utilise by charging levies and ancillary income. The issue of how he exacts his authority in the mentioned possessions is solely a matter of his discretion. So, he is not limited by holy traditions. Instead, he is urged by them, while he personally has no need to uphold the norms that he himself had passed. It is therefore presumed that the ruler had the privilege to, almost always, decide at his own discretion on separating the "duties and responsibilities" of his officials. The reason for this lies in the fact that patrimonialism, as a political creation, does not recognise the notion of competence, or the concept of serious state bodies as they are seen today, whereas with the strengthening of appropriation they became secondary and under the absolute discretion of the ruler. The separation of formal from private matters, state from private property and the sovereign authority of officials was exacted only to an extent and arbitrarily, but the absolute power of Prince Danilo nonetheless remained at the highest possible level.

Still, if we were to speak of (minor) re-distribution of power, we must note that there was a small number of loyal local landowners who asked the patrimonial ruler not to take away the privileges they had earned. The same applied to their own patrimonial authority over their subjects. At the same time, they insisted that the ruler should be a direct guarantor of this. So, the first thing they demanded was that the ruler's administrative officials should not be involved in any manner in their running of their own *feudal* lands, i.e., they demanded immunity, for which the Prince in turn requested their unlimited loyalty to the Court of the House of Petrović. It was only after such a "compromise" was reached that the Prince in part met their requests and provided a limited autonomy of authority in the form of Captaincies throughout Montenegro.

Despite what is described above, an important reason due to which Prince Danilo's rule is categorised with patrimonial legitimacy, and we characterise it as such, is the Prince's army or his personal "police" that served him, in many cases contrary to the views held by their own politically subjected fellow clan members. Prince Danilo's personal army was called the *Guards* [12], whose role was to ensure public order and to execute the Prince's decisions without ever questioning them. The *Guards*' equipment and supplies were provided from the Prince's stock and income and, accordingly, the *Guards* represented a form of private security of the Prince and his figure as such. The more authorities and state apparatus depended on patrimonial discretion of the ruler, the more unconditionally he held the army under his thumb. In this case, without the ruler and his decision, the army was not capable of any action and its entire existence depended on the ruler and his non-military bureaucratic apparatus.

The analysis of the body of historical documents shows absolutism that is predominant during the rule of Prince Danilo, and later during the rule of Nikola Petrović. The Prince's aspirations were elevated to the level of legislation, thereby (rather than making an attempt at liberalising) imposing additional limitations to the rights and freedoms of the then population of Montenegro. Taking oath to the Prince by members of other state authorities (the Senate, the Guards and the Captains) and appointment based on the principles of nepotism is a feature that is also attributed to Weber's patrimonial system of governance and ruling. However, apart from all this, thanks to his authoritarian

[12] There were between 400 and 1,000 Guards at the time. They were divided in battalions and had an established particular order and rules in the form of army officers' uniforms and coats of arms. With the help of the *Guards*, Prince Danilo fiercely fought the clans' separatism and their refusal to pay taxes to Montenegro. He mercilessly quashed the rebellions of the Bjelopavlić and the Piper clans. Ravaging of the Kuči clan still remains unforgotten. Prince Danilo's brother Mirko was the commander of this exercise in which the Prince's opponents were punished severely. (Andrijašević and Rastoder, 2006: 197)

rule, Prince Danilo still liberalised some segments of Montenegrin society. He partly eliminated feuds among the clans as well as the blood feud. He banned some harmful and pointless traditions and put the authority of state administration at a very high level. Historians say that Prince Danilo was an iron-willed ruler with a strong character. He was fearless in accomplishing the proclaimed ideals and state idea. In certain aspects, he was controversial and "cocooned" by his inner circle of state officials. He abolished many long-standing and uncivilised customs, such as decapitation of Turkish enemies and displaying their heads above the Monastery of Cetinje, bringing in live slaves, abducting girls, etc. At the same time, according to some chroniclers, he put his life on the line and eventually lost it, due to certain obscure activities he conducted with his entourage.[13] Anyhow, Prince Danilo is a very important historical figure in Montenegro, and we believe that some objective and more thorough analyses in the future will shed real light on his personality and everything he did and thus solve the enigma which has remained unsolved to date.

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Although Weber mainly associates patrimonial authority with Ancient Greek society, the Chinese Empire and only in rare cases with some modern Western European societies, our research has shown that patrimonial authority in this region was "applicable and practically enforceable" through to 1918, when Montenegro was no longer on the territorial map of Europe. This statement can easily be proven if we bear in mind the longest-standing ruler from the House of Petrović Njegoš, Prince Nikola, who was later to become King Nikola. The period of King Nikola's rule was marked by various events (essentially, most of them being fateful for Montenegro's historic journey) – Montenegro's gaining recognition at the Berlin Congress in 1878, the promotion of state authorities, development of education and cultural institutions, construction of roads, building of roads, declaration of Montenegrin kingdom in 1910 and eventually Montenegro's loss of its standing and frontiers.

At the beginning of any analysis of this historical period, the fact must be pointed out that Nikola, in keeping with the social and historical context, worked towards cultural development of the country, built and opened schools, built roads, established new towns, passed useful laws, introduced order in state administration by establishing

[13] For example, the writer, journalist, and reporter Budo Simonović presents in his book *Zeko mali* (*The Green-Eyed Shorty* - nicknamed after the colour of his eyes and stature) more details about the abominable occurrence at the Ostrog Monastery. Based on this, the author draws conclusion that the incident that took place at the Monastery crypt was the reason why Todor Kadić assassinated Prince Danilo in Kotor (Simonović, 2012: 53-87). On the other hand, the historian Živko Andrijašević believes that Prince Danilo's death was in good part the result of his political decisions, his fearlessness as a warrior, territorial expansions, and international promotion of Montenegro, whereas the other part of the reason for his death was Kadić's personal motivation that prompted him to assassinated the Prince of Montenegro in 1860 (Andrijašević and Šćekić, 2018: 213-220).

ministries, as well as encouraged state and trade progress and overall entrepreneurship. This general economic and social progress was contributed to by prominent scientists and figures from the world of culture from Serbia, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina who came to Montenegro upon the invitation of Prince Nikola and created the modern state apparatus. The legacy of patrimonialism, which was characteristic of Nikola's rule on the one hand, and the establishment of *The Girls' Institute*, purchase of a typography machine and opening of a printing house (in which the first Montenegrin newspaper, *The Montenegrin Man*, was printed), as well as visits by renowned intellectuals such as Milan Kostić, Valtazar Bogišić, Laza Kostić, Simo Matavulj, etc., on the other hand, ensured the creation of a new class in Montenegrin society. This class consisted of family members, the closest associates of the Royal Court as well as members of the professional military-political group, all of whom participated actively in major changes in the cultural scene of Montenegro (Pavićević, 2004: 135-142). These influences from abroad inevitably led to the establishment of a new system of upbringing, with all of its consequences and idiosyncrasies: development of certain artistic and cultural goods, in the fields of literature, music, theatre, sculpture even, which Nikola quite frequently used as a means of glorifying himself, a means of developing and preserving the nimbus of his family. This is how a very complex type of upbringing was formed around the ruling family. This resulted in a sort of emancipation and stood in stark contrast to the commoners, the majority of population of Montenegro of the time[14]. As Weber notes, "wherever the structure of power is organised in a prebendal manner, upbringing usually acquires the character of intellectualist-literary education, and according to the form of organisation, in its essence it becomes similar to the bureaucratic ideal of imposing expert knowledge" (Weber, 2014: 190). What additionally contributed to the result of this process is Nikola's "knack" for poetry, which, just like it was the case with his ancestors, made him a popular poet among the people, with a large number of his literary works (with varying literary value) standing witness to how cultural work was used to additionally raise national awareness and build national cohesion. A typical example of this is perhaps his most popular work, *The Empress of the Balkans*.

Nonetheless, Montenegro was lagging behind the modern civilisation developments of the time. Prince Nikola did not find it necessary to seize the opportunity and liberate the unlimited patrimonial authority, which he inherited from Prince Danilo. Instead, with the first Montenegrin Constitution he left himself the enormous, traditional power in the country. This was yet another reason why his rule had no indication of bureaucratic authority because instead it relied more on the traditional type of legitimacy. In accordance with the Constitution, similar to the times in which his predecessors ruled, Prince had the right to present draft laws and pass the laws, to appoint ministers, issue various decrees, appoint a portion of the People's Assembly Members, while the rest

[14] A good example corroborating this claim is that Princess Xenia, the first woman in the Balkans to drive an automobile, was also a photographer, philanthropist and, as pointed out by certain historians, also a very important figure in the Royal Court of Montenegro, so much so that King Nikola himself called her "the Great".

of them were elected in election. During his rule, the People's Assembly was allowed to discuss the laws and propose budgets, whereas all other decisions rested with this patrimonial ruler[15].

Still, this is where we need to point out the fact that the characteristic patrimonialism and maintaining of the military monarchy of Nikola Petrović emerged not only as a consequence of personal character traits of this ruler but also due to political circumstances of the time. What we have in mind here is in particular the territorial expansion and the need to permanently protect the frontiers, economic change and an ever-stronger streamlining of economy, partial professional specialisation and heterogenization, as well as partial distinction between military and civil subjects. Due to the above-described historical and economic circumstances, just like his predecessor Prince Danilo, Nikola was a patrimonial ruler who appropriated financially and socially privileged classes for his own benefit. He did this by keeping the leading positions in the army exclusively for them, as well as the partially developed military administration. These positions stood for the particular profession and title (*Ban*, *Glavaš* or Duke), which entailed an outlook for social and personal promotion to the level of what was later to become bureaucratic clerks. In this manner, it is presumed that they were introduced into a semi-professional military career and were given suitable privileges at the level of their Captaincies or frontiers of clan lands, which were still in place in Montenegro. The position of a patrimonial official arose from particular person's purely personal relationship of submission to the ruler, whereas his position vis-à-vis the subjects represented just the surface of this relationship. Even in situations when a political official was not a personally dependent person at the Royal Court (which was the case with the Dukes of Drobnjak, Banjani, or Uskok), the ruler required unconditional official obedience. Loyalty of a patrimonial official to his service was not an impersonal loyalty to things he uses, i.e., tasks which have rules that limit the level and content of this loyalty. Instead, this subjects' loyalty is not based strictly on a personal relationship to the ruler and constitutes an integral part of his, on principle, universal obligation to respect and be loyal. It is for this reason that Nikola's officials were provided material means at the ruler's dinner table and from the ruler's treasury, as was the case with any other member of his big family. They were shown extreme respect and the court ensured that they were invited to all events celebrating

[15] With the distribution of positions and streamlining of processes, especially with an increase in the number of written documents and establishment of a regulated hierarchy, procedures to be followed for official purposes, Montenegro's patrimonial state apparatus of the time can be in part attributed certain bureaucratic traits. However, in terms of its sociological essence, a truly patrimonial service is all the more different from the bureaucratic one in this aspect, with regards to a pure form of one or the other type of service. For the above-mentioned reason, both authority and the institutions of authority built by Nikola Petrović cannot essentially be categorised as the bureaucratic type of legitimacy. For example, according to some journalists and the transcripts of King Nikola's letters to his subjects, the "Court under the pear tree", or the "threshing floor", is the place where the King, solely at his own discretion, mediated between quarrelling subjects or punished his subjects, and in this manner participated in resolving certain disputes in Montenegrin society, whereas Montenegrin institutions of the time were only formal in their character.

important occasions. However, this was the case only up to a point. Nikola's skill as a ruler was best reflected internally with all appointments and dismissals of his subjects and the ever-present tension among the officials. They were kept on their toes in this manner, never knowing who and at which point would come in the Prince's favour, only to fall out of it and be exiled at any very next moment.

Montenegro's social history is a resource that still remains to be researched. Accordingly, due to the length of Nikola Petrović's rule, his patrimonial state may be and must be discussed extensively. He was an interesting historical figure, who after the year 1910 as a monarch, and later declaration of a territorial expansion of the Kingdom of Montenegro, additionally organised its non-dominion power over the extra-patrimonial territories and people residing there - his political subjects in the north of Montenegro, sometimes with the use of brutal force against his subjects, the objective of all these exercises being to expand the frontiers of his Kingdom. Overall, as regards governance, Nikola did exactly the same as in governing his home. He was a great father of a big family, as he liked to call himself. The origins of such a private structure lie in the authority of *pater familias* in his own family community and he later applied it to ruling the entire country. We can therefore claim that unlike Prince Danilo, Nikola's distancing from the charismatic authority of his predecessors was only partial.

For this period of our history and the rule of Nikola Petrović, it can be said that he initiated a form of traditional legitimacy for which we say that is the purest type of patriarchal authority. King Nikola's traditional authority in part relied on his personal charisma, and in part on an established normative apparatus, and also in part on the legitimacy of sanctity of age-old, existing from time immemorial, eternal orders of power and tradition. Using this matrix, the Petrović family, as was the case in the times of the Metropolitans Danilo, Sava, Vasilije, Petar I, and Petar II, still remained Nikola's basic unit in the structure of authority and the source of all important decisions in Montenegrin society. His governance was based on the "faith in sanctity of a forever existing order and superior power" as well as on him being predestined, as an heir to the dynasty, to decide about the future of Montenegro.

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION (BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITY IN MONTENEGRO)

After World War Two, Montenegro regained the legal status of a state it had lost before, and it officially became one of the six equal republics in the socialist Yugoslav federation. Therefore, after a decades-long wait, it finally initiated the process of creating the *bureaucratic* type of authority. Legislative authorities were put in place, in accordance with rules and regulations which, according to Weber, everyone should uphold, which should apply to everyone invariably, both to those who issue orders, those who implement them and those who carry them out. Unlike the described charismatic and patrimonial legitimacy, in this type of authority, obedience is not owed to a person who, at his/her own discretion, takes the right to make demands. Instead, this occurs based on an established rule, which is the only one that can adequately define to whom and to what extent one should subject oneself. Contrary to the charismatic and patrimonial ruler, the "bureaucrat" is, at the time of issuing orders, subjected only to one rule - a law or an official regulation, to which the bureaucrat is also subjected. The main features of this rational authority should in ideal-typical terms be a continuous performance of official duties, governed by rules; within a clearly defined scope of competence (responsibilities); on hierarchy principles that are based on the relationship between controlling and supervising authorities; with clerks who have formal and specialised education. In the described system of governance, every bearer of power in relation to issuing orders is legitimized by the system of rational rules, and his/her power is legitimate for as long it is in accordance with the rules of the bureaucratic order (Weber, 2014: 37-87).

Nevertheless, unlike the system Weber had in mind when he spoke in ideal-typical terms of the bureaucratic authority (despite many shortcomings[16]), the situation in our country was completely different. Yugoslav institutions that were supposed to form the basis for the bureaucratic model of authority could never provide ideal-typical stability and efficiency as those present in developed democratic countries, nor were they able to keep up with the economic "success" of those countries. Here, almost every ten years there was some sort of constitutional reform (revolution), which would improve ideological support for the functioning of communist system, thereby questioning the legitimacy of institutions every decade. The one stable constant in our case were Party cells and informal relations whereas the bureaucratic-institutional system was changeable under the pressure of the Party. In the eyes of the people of those times, this was imposed as a foreign outside factor. As noted by Sekulić and Šporer, bureaucratic instances of governing authorities as well as institutions within them, were installed from "higher above" by the prince's Communist Party leaders and the functioning of such institutions was secondary compared to the Party's pressures and needs" (Sekulić and Šporer, 2010: 76). In such a situation, it was not possible to speak of the Weber's model of governance, nor was it possible to define it as being bureaucratic in our country. All subsequent research of this subject indicates that authority was organised in a partitocratic manner and that this is the only way in which it can be defined.

After the violent dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1991), Montenegro and Serbia jointly built a new state union - the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. When it was first created, this country was under UN sanctions (1992-1996) and, accordingly, it was completely isolated from the rest of the world in terms of trade. Later, it was a side in an unequal army conflict with NATO, which additionally

[16] In his paper *Contemporaneity of Modern Sociology*, Rade Kalanj notes multiple shortcomings of the bureaucratic type of authority, of which the two most significant ones are as follow: "Since depersonalisation underlies it, it is suitable for the disappearance of certain dignitaries' responsibility. Since the observance of standard procedures underlies it, it prevents innovation" (Kalanj, 2005: 196).

contributed to the deterioration of economy and production. These events diminished to an even greater extent the legitimacy and strength of bureaucratic authority and its institutions, which led to their loss of the minimum independence they used to have during socialism. As a result of the above-mentioned events, in the past three decades, we have seen a complete separation of citizens from the state, of members from organisations, of producers from production, an additional intensifying factor of this being bureaucratisation of the world. "As a result of the advancement of this process, the concept of alienation acquired today's true meaning in the second half of the 20th century, so that alienation became the natural outcome of a political elite that leads from an ordinary man that is being led" (Jacoby, 1985: 244). The process of complete alienation of the Montenegrin political administration (elite) from citizens culminated in 2020, when the first democratic ousting took place in Montenegro. This marked a beginning of democratic processes, which today go hand in hand with immense turbulence of free democratic systems.

The mentioned alienation in Montenegrin society has inevitably led to a drop in trust in the political system and to increased trust in traditional institutions, which have existed in our country for centuries: the army, the educational system and the Orthodox Church. As can be seen in this paper, churches, schools, and monasteries produced the first charismatic leaders. They were the first classrooms and irreplaceable cultural and civilizational originating points for Montenegrin people and its culture. Continuity and stability (irrespective of pressures of the socialist state order) of these institutions in Montenegrin society contributed to them still earning a significantly higher level of trust than other institutions in the country. All that has been mentioned indicates that Montenegrin history may also be observed as a cyclical movement and that the past is nothing but a mirror reflection of our history. Whether the history of Montenegro repeats itself as a heroic reincarnation, farce or tragedy – it still remains to be seen in the period to come. This paper, which is dedicated to Professor Tasić, is a modest contribution to the research into social history of Montenegro.

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Uroš V. Šuvaković[1]
University of Belgrade,
Teacher Education Faculty,
Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences
Belgrade (Serbia)

PROFESSOR ĐORĐE TASIĆ AS AN ANTI-FASCIST[2]

Abstract: The founder of the Society for Sociology and Social Sciences – the predecessor of the Serbian Sociological Association – and the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* – Professor Đorđe Tasić (Vranje, 1892 – Belgrade, 1943) is known to have been a leftist by his convictions and a member of the left-wing faction of the Agrarian Party. Because of that, he was exiled from the Faculty of Law in Belgrade during the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. It is also known that he was executed by shooting in Belgrade, in 1943.

The paper, based on the documents from the Historical Archives of the City of Belgrade, the State Archives of Serbia, the Archives of Yugoslavia and the Military Archives of Serbia, shows that, from the very beginning of World War Two (WW2) in Yugoslavia, he was constantly followed by the Special Police and Gestapo, as well as that he was arrested twice. He was accused both by Gestapo and by German and Serbian informants of being a mason, a participant in the events of 27 March 1941 a communist, an anti-fascist and an anti-Nazi, whereas the last two accusations were absolutely true. The first time he was arrested in November 1941, when he was taken hostage with a large group of intellectuals. He was taken to the Banjica concentration camp, but was released 23 days later. Afterwards he was also interrogated by the collaborationist Special Police, which is proved by the records kept.

Since there is various information in the literature regarding the date and the place of Tasić's execution, and there are no related documents in the archives or those documents are

[1] uros.suvakovic@uf.bg.ac.rs

[2] The paper was written within the scientific-research activity of the Teacher Education Faculty, the University of Belgrade, financially supported by the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation (Agreement No. 451-03-1/2023-01/4).

rather scarce, according to the reconstruction and the comparison of the data sources, we can quite certainly claim that he was not executed in the Banjica camp in 1944. The most reliable information was submitted in 1953 by his pre-war assistant and subsequently academician Radomir Lukić – that Professor Đorđe Tasić was arrested by Gestapo the second time on 25 August 1943 and executed by shooting the following day. It is highly probable, in the light of historical research regarding this location, to say that the execution occurred in the Sajmište concentration camp, which is also a hypothesis by Lukić published in 1984.

The free spirit and the anti-fascist orientation of this great Yugoslav and Serbian intellectual were a sufficient reason to Gestapo to execute him by shooting.

Keywords: Professor Đorđe Tasić, Yugoslav (Serbian) pre-war sociologists, occupier's crimes over Serbian intellectuals, World War Two, anti-fascism.

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

In this paper we do not deal with the scientific contribution of Đorđe Tasić, Professor and pre-war Dean (1938-1941) of the Faculty of Law, the University of Belgrade, as a theoretician of law and a sociologist[3], particularly legal sociologist, which he definitely is and where he made a great contribution (see, for example, Lukić, 1959; Lukić, 1978; Lukić, 1984/1995[4]; Basta, 1994; Vasić, 1995; Vračar, 1997; Dimitrijević, 2003). We will not deal with his contribution to the establishment of the Society for Sociology and Social Sciences (1938) and the launching of the journal *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* (1938), which has already been the subject of other studies and papers (e.g., Mitrović, 1982: 125-127; Antonić, 2018a; Trkulja, Šuvaković, 2018). In this paper we deal with Tasić's humanist-leftist orientation and, consequently, his execution as an anti-fascist by Gestapo[5] in 1943.

Professor Tasić had a respectable scientific and teaching career in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. He was elected Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Law in Subotica, Associate and Full Professor and Dean at the Faculty of Law in Ljubljana and, upon invitation, he was appointed Full Professor at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade and served three mandates as its dean.

[3] In the academic year of 1940/41, at the Faculty of Law, Professor Tasić taught General Sociology, and it was the first and only generation of students attending this subject as compulsory in the first year of studies before the outbreak of WW2 (Kandić, 2002a: 215; Popić, Šuvaković, 2014: 378). "The war prevented Tasic from completing his lectures, and the students from taking this examination" (Antonić, 2018: 8)

[4] First published by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1984 as Lukić's foreword to the edited book by Đorđe Tasić. In our paper, the source used is Book 9 of Lukić's *Collected Works*, which includes the reprint of the text about Đorđe Tasić.

[5] Geheime Staatspolizei, a Secret State Police of Nazi Germany in Serbia and other occupied Europe.

Tasić had progressive ideas in all fields, which is reflected in his theory, among other things, in the introduction of the sociological method in the study of law, which was a novelty at the time, while he does not reject either the normative or the dogmatic method, but "managed to merge both main methods in law into a harmonious whole, to connect the most relevant results of the most prominent jurists of his time and to date, Duguit and Kelsen, and their schools, thus making the foundations for a whole and complete theory of law that would overcome one-sidedness of both methods respectively. To that end, Tasić's results in the theory of law are so important that they exceed the boundaries of our science and assume the European character" (Lukić, 1978: 2)[6].

Tasić always showed his prowess for social activism. Namely, from the very beginning of the foundation of the Society for Social Upbringing as early as 1918, he participated in its work, first as a student, and then as an assistant. Although this Society was composed of the members of different conceptual orientations, "the Society's founders and main pillars of its work were socialists/communists and, subsequently, members of the Alliance of Agrarians" (Milenković, 1989: 123-124). Despite the domination written about by Milenković, it is necessary to see the idea and political-party diversity of the members of this Society. It gathered the intellectuals whose political development will proceed in totally different directions: Mihailo Avramović was the President of the Cooperative Union and the founder of the Alliance of Agrarians; Živko Topalović went all the way from a social democrat to the ideologist of the *chetnik* movement of Draža Mihailović; Sima Marković was the first Secretary General of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and was killed in the Stalin's purges in the Soviet Union; Mirko Kosić, a member of the National Radical Party, subsequently an MP of the Yugoslav National Party ("Court Party") on Bogoljub Jevtić's list, and the Vice Governor of the National Bank of Serbia during the puppet Quisling government of Milan Nedić. Speaking of political parties, Tasić was a member of the Agrarian Party (the Alliance of Agrarians) from 1920 onwards (Milenković, 1989: 123-124), namely its left wing ("leftist agrarians"), whose attitudes were represented by Dragoljub Jovanović (Milosavljević, 2015: 464; see: Simeunović, 2019).

ĐORĐE TASIĆ AND MIRKO KOSIĆ: TWO DIFFERENT POLITICAL AND MORAL CHOICES

However, in Tasić's Society for Sociology and Social Sciences there was no Mirko Kosić, just as there are no texts of his in the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* 1/1938, although in his paper Slobodan M. Drašković mentions Kosić twice (Jovanović, 2018: 54). The reasons, and thus the assumptions, may be different: Božidar S. Marković, one of the first associates of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* and the Society for

[6] This scientific approach by Tasić led Miljković to state that "if someone should be said to have been a pluralist in science, it should be Đorđe Tasić" (Miljković, 1988:197).

Sociology and Social Sciences as its publisher, explains this absence by Kosić's "temper" (Janićijević, Miljković, 1978: 18), while Milić almost decisively thinks that the cause can be found in his idea conservativism, which also led Mirko Kosić to collaborate and emigrate (Milić, 1996: 5), as opposed to the progressive orientation of the majority in the Society[7]. The thesis is not rejected either by Jovanović (Ibid.), while his mentor, denying Milić's attitude, tries to offer a purely practical attitude: all the associates of the Society for Sociology and Social Sciences were from Belgrade and most of them worked at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, while Kosić lived in Subotica (Antonić, 2013: 406). Trkulja, for his part, indicates that at the time of Tasić's activities regarding the planned foundation of the Society for Sociology and Social Sciences and the launching of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review,* Kosić "distanced himself from the academic and publicist work and delved into political waters" (Trkulja, 2012: 38).

Nevertheless, there is a drastic difference in the life destinies of Kosić and Tasić; the former collaborated with the occupier and emigrated before the liberation of Belgrade in 1944, while the latter was executed by shooting by the same occupiers and collaborationists!

Kosić's collaboration is undeniable: not only was he the Vice Governor and *de facto* Governor of Nedić's Serbian Bank, but he also received direct orders from Neuhausen, the German plenipotentiary for economic affairs in Serbia, and Soengen, the German Commissioner of the Serbian Bank (Glišić, 2013: 162-168). It seems that he allowed the chetniks to rob the bank's money, of which he particularly boasted abroad (Glišić, 2013:

[7] Citing parts of the texts from the Introduction to the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* 1/1938, Milić states that they marked "the highest degree of progressiveness that could be reached in the class conscience of the Serbian bourgeoisie before WW2" (Milić, 1996: 5). Critically reviewing the first issue of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* from 1938, he still believes that "it was wrong to transfer the justified rejection of the conservative and regressive political orientation [of Kosić and Ž. Perić, added by U.Š.] automatically to their scientific work on the whole, without a previous careful analysis, and thus the value of certain papers was decreased or they were not spoken about" (Milić, *Ibid*.; cf. Šutović, 2013: 267). Milić objects because, in his "General Overview of Our Sociology and Our Social Sciences", published in the first issue of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* (Tasić, 1938), Tasić did not pay more attention to the works of the listed authors. However, in that article he points to the predecessors of the development of sociology in our country, mentioning, first of all, Vuk Karadžić, and, in the end, Tihomir Đorđević. At the beginning of this paper, Tasić thinks that "out of the younger ones, *primarily* (italics by U.Š.) Mr. M. Kosić should be mentioned" (Tasić, 1938: 239), announcing the review of his works in the references. In this paper, Tasić even cites Kosić (see Tasić, 1938: 244), while in the References, within the Textbook in Serbo-Croatian, he describes Kosić's *Introduction to Sociology* as "representing the first original systematic paper from sociology in our country" (1938: 323), and he also adds that Kosić's paper *Problems of Modern Sociology* can be a supplement to his own Introduction. From the aspect of scope, as well as the critical attitude, Kosić's work is presented more positively that that of Sorokin. Given Tasić's announcement that the following issues of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* would be dedicated to the work of other authors, Milić's observation about Kosić's oeuvre being underestimated is certainly unacceptable. Simply speaking, there were those who had to be presented before Kosić in the first issue in sociological terms.

170); however, is it not financing the collaborationists? Glišić also says that enabling the chetniks to rob the money of the Serbian Bank reached its peak in 1944, "when the formation of the Serbian National Front started by Nedić's, Ljotić's and chetnik armed forces for the purpose of opposing together the units of the National Liberation Movement advancing into Serbia" (Glišić, 2013: 170). During the war, Kosić also helped elderly Aca Stanojević (Glišić, 2013: 169), President of the pre-war People's Radical Party and Pašić's associate, who was invited by Tito to take part in the post-war government at the age of over 90, in an attempt to provide himself with the alibi after the war clearly to be lost by the Germans. There is no evidence whatsoever that Kosić helped the only consistently anti-fascist movement, i.e., the partisans – if he had, he would definitely not have emigrated, or he would at least have used it to protect himself; therefore, the assumptions in that respect, aimed at explaining why Kosić did not stand trial after the war, in his absence, should be understood more like anecdotes (Gordić, 2013: 243). Gordić is certainly right when claiming that Kosić was not merely a collaborationist of Nedić's occupation regime" (Gordić, 2013: 218). The Germans robbed Serbia through him, which was perfectly proved by Glišić (2013). It did not occur to Kosić at any time that he should resign. The claims about Kosić's anti-German feelings, anti-Nazism etc. can be brought into question after fall: between 25 March and 27 March, he chose the Tripartite Pact[8] (see Pejin, 2003: 92); he Nazism and Bolshevism equal, "at the same time attacking them as non-democratic systems" (Glišić, 2013: 157); he thinks that Momčilo Ninčić should be the Prime Minister because he was close to (Fascist) Italy and "believed in Germany's victory" (Pejin, 2003: 88; Kosić, s.a.: 12-13); He does not glorify only Nedić (which was logical, having in mind that he was the Vice Governor in Nedić's puppet government), but also Dimitrije Ljotić, a staunch fascist (see Kosić, s.a.: 34), even after the end of the war, etc. Kosić's pre-war theoretical criticism of German expansionism and the prediction that Germany would cause the war cannot conceal his practical action and open collaboration with the Germans. As for the motives of such cooperation, they can certainly be re-examined (Trkulja, 2013: 77-79) and benevolently considered ("sacrifice for the people", as Kosić himself explained his collaboration that involved high proceeds and visits to foreign spas during his holidays, while the people suffered under the oppressor), but we do not see how it affects the objective fact of his collaboration with the occupier of his own country. Rather than attempting to state the obvious, we would happily accept Njegoš's conclusion that "the fear in life often stains one's honour". As a matter of fact, while conducting our research, we did not find a single indicator that Kosić did not address any German or Nedić's authorities, to which he also belonged, in order to save Tasić's life; moreover, he did not attempt to save the lives of his associates through whom he allegedly was in contact with Draža Mihailović's movement. He fled abroad in 1944, while the ones that stayed in the country were held responsible for their actions, according to him, at Kosić's instruction (e.g., B. Litričin,

[8] On March 25, 1941, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia joined the "triple pact" of the Axis powers; On March 27, a military coup overthrew the Cvetković-Maček government, which had previously accepted the "triple pact".

M. Marković, M. Balzareno)[9], just as he had been left in the country by the royal government, although he had already arrived in Nikšić, from where the royal government fled abroad in 1941.

There were certain similarities between Kosić and Tasić as well. First of all, they both lectured at the faculties of law; they both were interested in sociology, and that was the field in which he wrote our first pre-war textbook *Introduction to General Sociology* and also launched the journal *Social Life* and Sociological Society, despite its failure; a decade and a half after him, Tasić published the first issue of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* and established the Society for Sociology and Social Sciences, which have maintained their existence through the eponymous journal and the Serbian Sociological Association, while before his death he also worked on a special book dedicated to the introduction to sociology (Lukić, 1959: 4). Moreover, both of them had their works published abroad and had a rich international sociological career, while Kosić, since he had acquired his doctoral degree in Switzerland, had more publications in the German-speaking region (his books were published in Germany both before and after WW2); his influence is supported by the fact that his obituary was written by Leopold von Wiese. Tasić's works were published mostly in Francophone journals (although some of his works were published in the German-speaking region too), and the first bibliography of his works was published posthumously in the French journal *Sociologie et Droit Slaves* Nos. 4/1946 and 1/1947 (Stepanov, 1992: 40). Both of them were interested in politics: Kosić was in power, as a Radical, while Tasić was in the opposition, as an Agrarian. From 1930s onwards, Kosić reduced his scientific activities and dealt more with politics instead, while Tasić still actively dealt with science, building his scientific career and becoming the Dean of the Faculty of Law in Belgrade; after WW2, Kosić was in emigration and had his works published mostly in German; he appealed to those emigrants who participated in and supported the coup of 27 March, accusing some of having done it for money, particularly pointing to the Agrarian Party and some of its leaders, labelling them as British agents[10], accusing masons of ruling Yugoslavia, particularly during the dictatorship, but also of controlling political parties etc. (Kosić, s.a.). Both of them signed the *Appeal to the Serbian nation*[11] organized by Velibor Jonić; while Tasić did it only upon insistence after calling for some modifications of the text; when interrogated by the Special Police[12], he explained that he had not agreed with the proposed text and that his interventions were accepted later (Minutes from the

[9] They were executed after the war "without a trial", according to Kosić, while Glišić gives arguments for suspecting that it was "without a trial", just as he suspects the number of the bank clerks who were, according to Kosić, executed by shooting (Glišić, 2013: 173).

[10] The claim that Đorđe Tasić was executed by shooting "because of belonging to the English intelligence service network" is made by Nenezić (Nenezić, 1988: 480) within his argumentation that no masons were killed in Belgrade due to their membership in that organization.

[11] Proclamation that appealed to the Serbian people to respect the occupation authorities.

[12] Collaborationist police under the direction of the Quisling government of General Nedić during World War II, in charge of persecuting anti-fascists, communists and other patriots. In fact, she carried out GESTAPO orders.

interrogation, 31 December 1941, IAB-UGB-1171-1)[13]. By then Kosić had already been Nedić's Vice Governor, whereas Tasić was "available" as the Professor of the University.

WHEN WAS PROFESSOR ĐORĐE TASIĆ EXILED FROM THE FACULTY OF LAW IN BELGRADE?

The literature usually mentions the information that Professor Đorđe Tasić, immediately after the occupation of the country in 1941, was exiled from the University of Belgrade. However, this is not exactly true. Namely, the occupier attempted to find a way of how to subordinate the freedom-oriented University of Belgrade to the Nazi goals, which also implied the replacement of the teaching staff. That "university reform", first attempted by Aćimović's Quisling Commissary administration, and then by Nedić's Quisling Council of Ministers, was strongly opposed by the University of Belgrade, and one of the proponents of this resistance was Đorđe Tasić, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

We tried to reconstruct when exactly Đorđe Tasić was exiled from the University of Belgrade. According to the Minutes from the session of the University Administration, he participated in its work as the Dean of the Faculty of Law on 9 August 1941, but not on 8 October 1941, when Aćimović, the Dean of the Faculty of Law in Subotica, participated in its work (DAS, G-200, Minutes of the University Administration, book 27). Did he substitute Tasić? Particularly having in mind that on 19 July 1941 the Council of Commissioners merged the Faculty of Law in Subotica to the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, at the proposal of the Senate of the University of Belgrade (Kandić, 2005: 181). The last session of the Council of the Faculty of Law chaired by Professor Đorđe Tasić as the Dean was held on 16 June 1941 (DAS, G-205, Minutes 1939-1943, book no. 7). In her monograph, Ljubica Kandić states that Milan Todorović, PhD, was appointed the Dean on 16 July 1941 (Kandić, 2005: 255). A possible explanation for Tasić's participation in the work of the University Administration on 9 August 1941 is probably Professor Todorović's dilemma about whether to accept the dean function (Kandić, 2005: 316). Nevertheless, he performed that duty until the moment Laza Kostić, PhD, was appointed for the Dean of the Faculty of Law in Belgrade [14], by the decision of Nedić's collabora-

[13] The record states that Tasić's claim about being possibly the very first who had such an idea, while citing the testimony of Micić, the Rector of the University of Belgrade, and that it was the reason why he asked to see Dimitrije Ljotić, who received him later, after the text had already been written.

[14] Professor Kandić indicates that Tasić "was available, just like other professors of the University of Belgrade" (Kandić, 2005: 255). To ensure the functioning of the Faculty of Law in line with the envisaged Quisling reform and to set up the main committee for the appointment of other teachers at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, 1st March 1942, Nedić's government appointed as full professors at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade those who were no longer only "available", without a public invitation: Milan Todorović, PhD, Laza Kostić, PhD (the School of Economics and Commerce a) and Nikola Radojčić (from the Faculty of Philosophy). The fact that only one of them was the

tionist government M.S. No. 856/42 from May 1942, who took office on 1 June 1942 (DAS, G-205, f.16). Therefore, Tasić was dismissed from the position of the Dean in July 1941, but he continued working as Full Professor and performing his teaching duties at the Faculty of Law. It can be seen from the invitation to the session of the Council of the Faculty of Law, scheduled by Dean M. Todorović for 1 May 1942, and Đorđe Tasić still attended it. By signing the invitation personally, Tasić confirmed the receipt of the notification and at that session he was elected the member of the committee for examining Velimir Vasić's doctoral thesis entitled "Guest workers migrating from East Serbia" (DAS, G-205, Minutes 1939-1943, book no. 7). His signature confirming the receipt is also found on the notification about the activities organized by the Red Cross of 22 August 1942. At the session of the Council of the Faculty of Law on 10 October 1942, he was chosen for as many as three (out of four) committees for the defence of the applicants' doctoral examinations (DAS, G-205 Minutes 1939-1943, book no. 7). In the letter of the Secretary of the Faculty of Law No. 1815. of 2 November 1942 to the Secretariat of the University of Belgrade, the address book of the teaching staff at the Faculty of Law is submitted, which contains the name and the address of Đorđe Tasić (DAS, G-205, f. 16). In his letter to the Rector of the University of Belgrade of 26 November 1942, Dean Kostić reports about the scientific work of the teachers of the Faculty of Law, and points out that "3) Đorđe Tasić, PhD, available Full Professor, continued his work on the preparation of lectures and scientific publications from the subjects of Sociology and State Law" (DAS, G-205, f. 16)

Tasić tried to stay at the Faculty of Law, so he applied for the public invitation for the Full Professor for the subject General Sociology, in the Department of General Sociology and Statistics, which was opened in June 1942; he was proposed for the appointment unanimously by the relevant bodies of the Faculty and by the majority of those from the University, but Velibor Jonić, the Minister of Education, did not approve of his appointment (Kandić, 2005: 210-211). By the decision of Nedić's Council of Ministers M.s. No. 4486/42 of 3 December 1942, Đorđe Tasić had to retire, and by the decision of the Dean of the Faculty of Law, Milan Todorović, PhD (sic!), No. 2035/42 of 11 January 1943, he was relieved of his duties at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade (DAS-G-200, University of Belgrade, Rector's Office)[15]. Therefore, we can state that it was only at the end of 1942 or

pre-war Full Professor of the Faculty of Law in Belgrade – M. Todorović, PhD (who acquired his doctoral degree in Munich in 1908), shows that "German and Nedić's authorities evidently did not trust the pre-war full professors of the Faculty of Law" (Kandić, 2005: 315).

[15] The following is interesting in this act: the Dean listed in it is Milan Todorović, PhD, but without his personal signature, at the time when Laza Kostić, PhD, was the Dean. The only signature found belongs to the then Secretary of the Faculty of Law, who claims that "the transcript is identical to the original" (DAS, G-200, University of Belgrade, Rector's Office). We have seen that some of the acts from that period were signed by Milan Todorović, PhD, as the "Dean's representative" (e.g., Act No. 2015 of 26 December 1942, DAS, G-205, f. 16), but not as the Dean, since his function had ceased half a year before. Does the absence of the signatures of two professors prove that it was an act of disagreement, or even opposition to such a decision? Based on the historical material, it is difficult to answer this question, but the Council of the Faculty of Law definitely proposed

the very beginning of 1943 that Tasić, by the decision of the collaborationist authorities and contrary to his colleagues' opinions, dismissed from his position of the Full Professor at the University of Belgrade.

WHY WAS ĐORĐE TASIĆ PERSECUTED?

From the material kept in the Historical Archives of the City of Belgrade (see IAB-UGB-1171-1) it is possible to find four accusations against Tasić. His name can be found in the archives of BdS[16] and is also mentioned in the agents' tips in which he is not the main subject, but is mentioned, thus making it sufficient for undertaking measures in the further investigation against him.

(1) On 22 August 1942, SS officer Nadler reported that Vojislav Đorđević, President of the Union of Agrarian Cooperatives, had removed Dragiša Cvetković's photograph from the place of the Honorary President because Cvetković "had signed the pact with Germany", while at the same time the honorary places were held by fleeing ministers, Jews and others, including Đorđe Tasić, the University Professor "who was labelled as a Marxist";

(2) Professor Ljubomir Dukanac was arrested on 27 March 1944. In one note of BdS of 8 June 1943 (before Tasić's execution), Dukanac is said to be the representative of the Democratic left wing and "had closely cooperated with Đorđe Tasić, PhD", who, on his part, "was a close associate of Konstantinović, PhD, a representative of free masons in the Government". After his arrest, suspected of being a member of the Communist Party, Dukanac was interrogated about whether he cooperated with Đorđe Tasić, PhD, and what the nature of their cooperation was. Dukanac answered that "it was true that he had cooperated with Đorđe Tasić, but in the field of science, which had nothing to do with politics". It is interesting to observe that Croatian words were used in the occupation minutes in the midst of Belgrade;

(3) Mihailo Ilić, PhD, is denounced as the "leader of the leftist elements at the University", but this qualification is added "to Đorđe Tasić's name". This denunciation made by an associate under the code "141" contains the following accusations because of which lives were lost at that time: "...Of particular importance is not his (Ilić's, added by U.Š.) political work familiar to all, *but his pursuance of the entirely leftist politics through other colleagues and younger associates, i.e., he was the one, tougher with Đorđe Tasić and the Communist party of Yugoslavia, in charge of the entire destructive action in Serbia*" (italics by U.Š.). In the same denunciation of Professor Mihailo Ilić, the following is concluded: "Once again it should be noted that, together with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and masonic lodges, in the company of Slobodan Jovanović, Minister

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unanimously Đorđe Tasić, PhD, for the appointment in the public competition, according to the reports submitted by Laza Kostić, PhD (as well as by N. Radojčić).

[16] Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und der Sicherheitsdienst (BdS) – Commander of the Security Police and Security Service

Konstantinović and *Đorđe Tasić, in the past few years he was the leader of all those in Serbia who were left-oriented and opposed to National Socialism, fascism and the German Reich*" (IAB-1177-I-99 Mihailo Ilic).

(4) In the archives of the post-war UDBA, there is a note of the pre-war police about the public figures of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia who attended the 20th anniversary of the formation of the Red Army on 22 February 1941. The list also includes Đorđe Tasić. The note must have been available to the Special Police that interrogated Tasić on the last day of 1941.

In addition to the above-mentioned, (5) Dušan Matić was interrogated by the Special Police as early as 24 August 1941. In the Note from the interrogation, he says that he cooperated with the journal "Our Reality"[17] that, according to him, was "just a progressive journal with no communist tendencies". When listing the associates of this journal, Matić mentioned Siniša Stanković, PhD, Mihailo Ilić, PhD, Đorđe Tasić, PhD, Jaša Prodanović and others "well-known authors who are not communists" (IAB UGB SP - IV-11/5 i 192/26).

Previously, on 4 November 1941, Professor Đorđe Tasić (Denković, 1971: 320) and a group of 172 intellectuals (34 University Professors), highly positioned pre-war officials, doctors, merchants, bankers, judges, lawyers etc., were taken hostage by Gestapo and sent to the Banjica camp (Dimić, Ristović, 2009: 48). On that occasion he was kept it the camp for 23 days. He was released by the SS on 27 November of the same year (Certificate, 2021)[18].

[17] Aleksandar Vučo was the owner and editor of the journal.

[18] Tasić was arrested as a member of the "mason" group (Begović, 1989: 160), which points to his belonging to the mason organization. Nenezić also labelled him as a mason in his monograph dedicated to the history of masonry in Yugoslavia, ascribing great significance to the pre-war masonry in Yugoslavia for reaching the agreement Cvetković-Maček – it was "composed of a special mason committee, in which the Serbian side was represented by Mihailo Konstantinović, PhD, Mihailo Ilić, PhD, and Đorđe Tasić, PhD" (Nenezić, 1988: 431). In his monograph, Nenezić publishes as an appendix the list entitled "Free masons in Belgrade", which lists the name of Professor Đorđe Tasić under number 387 (Nenezić, 1988: 576). However, when classifying the masons into lodge, Nenezić does not mention Tasić's name in any of the then active lodges (including the lodge "Dositej Obradović", to which Tasić allegedly belonged, as stated on some Facebook pages today, e.g., https://m.facebook.com/110306604154248/photos/pb.110306604154248.-2207520000../499190558599182/?type=3&eid=ARA8mb4t-ln6RRhgAOep-feU1E6xP6FoMjhJ1jNR_W31TpIjx8CtPg4KKZ0Kr4b9Qk-AQjScp-YbJkLEX&locale=ms_MY). Nenezić list "Nedić's material" as his source. We found out that this list was kept in the Military Archives in Belgrade (VA), fund Nda, K 20 A, F 2, D 23. *We are grateful to Marijana Mraović, PhD*, Archive Consultant of the Military Archives in Belgrade, for her collegiate help in finding this source. Nenezić repeats the same claim later on (Nenezić, 2002). The claim from this document speaks in favour of Tasić's close ties with Ivan Ribar, PhD, Mihailo Konstantinović, PhD, Mihailo Ilić, PhD, to name but a few of the pronounced members of masonry of that time. However, having in mind the time of its creation – when denunciations occurred on a daily basis, and the document was prepared within the work of the Quisling government – the research honesty calls for suspicion; in addition, it is necessary to express methodological suspicion and formulate criticism

Because of these and other accusations, the tips of which have not been kept, was interrogated by the Special Police. We have already cited the minutes from the interrogation dated 31 December 1941 (IAB-UGB-1171-1).

The first question Tasić was asked by the interrogator was how he had come to a situation to sign the request for permission to found the Association of the Friends of the Soviet Union in Belgrade, whether he had initiated it and what his relations with the co-signatories were like. The interrogator emphasized that this was "the very first reason" for interrogating Tasić, who answered that he had done it at the request of Ivan Ribar, PhD (also in the list of the guests attending the celebration of the anniversary of Red Army foundation), that Yugoslavia used to have diplomatic relations with the USSR, but also pointed out that at that time "even the most famous publishers in Germany advocated the thesis of cooperation between the German state and the Soviet Union", evidently having in mind the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and propaganda conducted for the purpose of its affirmation. Tasić suggested that the Association should be called "Russian-Serbian Association", but it was never founded. He also indicates that he had already been interrogated on those grounds while held hostage in the Banjica camp.

Then Tasić was asked as the Dean of the Faculty of Law whether he had favoured the students-communists and leftists, which he categorically denied. He drew attention to the fact that in many of his works he had criticized Marxists viewpoints and that in his theory he had connected sociology with idealism, while also dealing with religious matters and underlining the importance of nationalism. He also pointed out that he had problems with left-oriented students who even organized demonstrations against him as the dean. In addition, he emphasized his viewpoint that youth should have a critical attitude, but never put ideology above the national interest, that students – although

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(primarily internal) of this historical source. This is further necessary because in the relevant fund of the Archives of Yugoslavia (AJ 100-15, 16, 17, 18), Đorđe Tasić's file cannot be found (among the total of 411 files) and his name is not mentioned either in the interviews conducted after WW2 with the pre-war members of the masonic lodges or the connoisseurs of the circumstances in relation to the masons, where contradictions are also present (e.g., when comparing the statements of AJ 100-15, fis. 471 and fis. 478, the former claims that Slobodan Jovanović and Mihailo Konstantinović were not members of the free masons, while the latter claims exactly the opposite). In her article, Nadežda Jovanović points out that the lists of the masons in Yugoslavia were made by the police "at the height of the anti-mason campaign in 1940", and by the German intelligence centres abroad from 1939 onwards, and that based on those lists "some people who had nothing to do with masonry were ranked among masons", for example Branko Čubrilović, Dragomir Drinčić and Slobodan Jovanović. The name of Slobodan Jovanović is also mentioned in Nenezić's book, in the list taken from "Nedić's material", but neither he nor Tasić was labelled as a member of the masonic lodges at the time. In September 1941, the preparation of the lists of masons was taken over by the Ministry of Home Affairs of Nedić's Quisling government. In fact, according to Victor Novak's testimony as cited by Nadežda Jovanović, before the war, the citizens submitted as many as a hundred thousand mason denunciations to the German Embassy in Belgrade (Jovanović, 1971: 85-86). Professor Konstantinović himself denied belonging to masonry (Konstantinović, 1998: 299). The list made at the Faculty of Law with the names of the members of the masonic lodges does not contain the name of Professor Đorđe Tasić (DAS, G-205, f. 16).

they should deal with sociological matters – should not be members of political parties. He points out that he had been a member of the Senate of the University of Belgrade, which always unanimously took a critical attitude towards the left wing.

Later Lukić explained Tasić's theoretical-conceptual position. "Although he was sociologically oriented and ascribed by far the greatest importance to social factors in his explanation of law and resolved many problems almost in a Marxist manner or a manner quite close to Marxism, Đorđe Tasić was not a Marxist in the strict sense of the word. However, since he was close to Marxism, he followed with plenty of understanding what occurred in Marxism of the time and indicated new roads in social sciences. Influenced by him as a teacher, many students did not have difficulty later in finding a road to true Marxism and, in that respect, his influence was significant" (Lukić, 1978: 5-6)[19]. However, Lukić also points out that there was no class division in Tasić's explanation of sociality, which is one of the basic criteria of Marxism (see Lukić, 1984/1995: 608). Moreover, he casts light on Tasić's conflict with left-oriented students; during the interrogation in the Special Police, he tried to present that conflict in his favour in order to save his life. Namely, according to Lukić, Tasić as the dean supported the activities of the progressive student youth, yet had a conflict with them because of signing the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact. Since the directive from Moscow was to support the pact, the pro-communist students at the Faculty of Law proceeded in line with it, while the pact was condemned by their dean and professor, both as someone able to predict future events and as an anti-fascist. The students attacked him because of supporting the "Anglo-French thesis" (according to Kandić, 2002b: 101), not realizing the only proper attitude – that there was no compromise with fascism. Therefore, it is true when Tasić says that he had a conflict with the left-oriented students, but it was not because of "Guépratte's" celebration, as he presented it, but because he was against the Soviet Union's pact with Hitler's Germany. This simultaneously demonstrates his independence as an intellectual, but also his anti-fascism. Nevertheless, according to the minutes from the sessions of the University Council at the end of 1939, Đorđe Tasić actually defended the students who stood up against the regime in power, organized demonstrations and published opposition newspapers. As the Dean of the Faculty of Law, he claimed that such acting was "in charge of the court and not the Senate". Advocating for "utter strictness towards the students", Tasić emphasized that "it was impossible to try someone immediately, without a proper interrogation. Some things must be tolerated to a certain extent… Not all those labelled as communists are really communists... We should try and judge only partially something that is done unlawfully. Our task is to enable them for work and love for this country" (DAS, G-200, Minutes from the sessions of the University Council, book 8). There is no dilemma that here Tasić acted like the students' advocate although he himself was exposed to their criticism. He refused the idea of the University bodies should discuss the students' political responsibility, but is in favour of interrogation, trial etc., having in mind that these processes were

[19] Two decades before Lukić, in his interview to the employee of the State Archives of the City of Belgrade, writer Sima Pandurović spoke about Tasić's cooperation with the journal "Misao" and said that Tasic later "advocated socialist ideas" (IAB, MG, K-3/II, 9).

long-lasting; in that way, a larger number of the students who took part in the protests would thus be released of responsibility. That is why he insisted on their differentiation. On 20 October of the same year, Tasić, Dean of the Faculty of Law in Belgrade at the time, signed a request calling for the general amnesty of political prisoners (Simonović, 1982: 25; Semis, 1997: 119; Dimitrijević, 2004: 28). It is unnecessary to emphasize that the majority of political prisoners at the time were communists.

Then the interrogator asked Tasić about his collegiate and political relationship with Professor Mihailo Konstantinović, PhD. Tasić answered that he was on good collegiate terms with the professor, that as an expert for division of power (competences) he was engaged in the propagation of the Serbian-Croatian agreement, where Konstantinović also represented the Serbian side. However, he had not seen him for several months and had no influence on him as a member of the government; on the contrary, during the mandate of Dragiša Cvetković (with Konstantinović in the government), Tasić was constantly attacked by the press, but no one wanted to protect him.

"Some time ago, in Istanbul, a GPU agent spoke to a university professor who told him that you received money from abroad and it was used for unknown purposes". This is what the interrogator said, asking Tasić for an explanation about the way in which he spent that money. Of course, Tasić denied that allegation, saying that no honourable man would act like that, and that the allegation was offensive; even if he was not honourable, such conduct would be stupid. Someone had obviously denounced Tasić.

However, it is interesting that even after the interrogation in the Special Police, following Tasić's release from the Banjica camp, BdS was still interested in Đorđe Tasić. The material kept in the Historical Archives of the City of Belgrade (IAB-UGB-SP-IV-11-66-k.194-25) shows that the Germans asked Nedić's Special Police to provide the data about Tasić's attendance at the "anti-communist meeting of the educational staff", held on 16 December 1941 at the Kolarac People's University, where Đorđe Tasić verified the minutes. It is not clear whether the Special Police were familiar with Tasić's attendance at that gathering at the time of his interrogation on 31 December 1941 (it is not mentioned at all in the Minutes from the interrogation), while the act in which BdS submits its findings for examination is dated 21 January 1942 (translated into Serbian on 28 January 1941). In the obvious denunciation of Tasić, the German document states the following: "The anti-communist meeting was chaired by the Rector of the University of Belgrade, Petar Mičić (it should be written Micić (instead, note by U.Š.); everyone is sufficiently familiar with the fact that he tolerated the students-communists and did not defend the nationally-oriented students from terror. Đorđe Tasić kept the minutes of that meeting. It was commonly known that Tasić was one of the leaders of the left-oriented youth, as well as one of the advocates of the foundation of the Association of the Friends of the Soviet Union. He was also involved in the events of 27th March. The continuation of such politics meant the destruction of the still existing small national forces. All honourable people had to lose faith in the struggle against communism if they realized that even now, under the German occupation, the same politics was pursued as previously in Yugoslavia, particularly that it was led by the same people as in Yugoslavia. I will also point out that, if these intellectual communists are not executed or if they are not destroyed, all the responsibility for potential unrest in Serbia will be borne by the German authorities that will not or cannot destroy those communists". From this document, written in German and then translated into Serbian evidently by someone who was not a Serbian native speaker, it is absolutely obvious that the denouncer was calling, virtually encouraging the Germans to kill Tasić, and even Micić, accusing them of communism, regardless of the fact that they had chaired "the anti-communist meeting", as it can be seen from the German report. After the check-up, the Special Police in its act II, No. 1023/1942 of 28 May 1942[20] notified BdS about the persons who were the subject of interest. Thus, Professor Branko Popović is qualified as a "great nationalist and fighter against communists", and it is emphasized that he is "now the Dean of the Technical Faculty", Petar Micić is qualified "not as a communist, but as some time ago being under a huge influence of the students-communists, with no courage to resist their terror, since through their propaganda they kept the entire University of Belgrade under their influence for a number of years". As for Đorđe Tasić, the Special Police answered that he was "well-known as a follower of the earlier Agrarian Party and a collaborator of the left-oriented students, more in theoretical than in practical terms. As one of the signatories of the appeal for the foundation of the Association of the Friends of the Soviet Union, he was arrested by this Administration and held responsible, but there was no concrete evidence about his being a communist, so he was released. In the same way, the conducted survey could not establish either that he was involved in the events of 27 March". In the reply, there is an explanation for Milić Majstorović, the teacher who was also claimed not to be a communist, but was qualified as a leftist. According to the above-mentioned, the Special Police denied the allegations from the denunciation against Đorđe Tasić. However, it did not stop Božidar Boško Bećarević, the main villain in the Special Police and a close associate of Gestapo (who was tried as a war criminal and executed by shooting after the war) from writing personally the following instruction on the file cover: "All the persons listed here, except for Branko Popović, University Professor, should be qualified as close to communists, and the subject should be filed as 'University and college professors known as communists'". That largely sealed Đorđe Tasić's fate.

It could be said almost certainly that BdS was not satisfied with the answer of the Special Police and that it most likely continued following Tasić; on the other hand, Bećarević classified the file either in collusion with Gestapo or in order to act upon such suspicions.

In any case, the outstanding post-war communist official, the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia[21], Dušan Čkrebić, emphasizes in his last book that during the period of the Užice Republic, when attempts were made to establish the Main People's Liberation Committee for Serbia, the partisans intended "to take

[20] It can be stated that they took time to answer since the answer came four months later.

[21] In the socialist period, after the adoption of the Constitution of 1974, all Yugoslav republics had presidencies, as collective heads of states-republics.

to the free territory and include in the liberation struggle the renowned public figures and professors of the University of Belgrade – Siniša Stanković, Đorđe Tasić, Dragoljub Jovanović, Ivan Ribar, PhD and others" (Čkrebić, 2018: 62). The partisans indisputably wanted to attract renowned civil and democratically oriented intellectuals to their ranks. Ivan Ribar, PhD, was the only one from Čkrebić's list who managed, after a period of illegal stay in Belgrade, to leave for Zagreb in summer 1942, from where he went to Bosnia and joined the partisans; Siniša Stanković, who was imprisoned in the Banjica camp throughout the war, but managed to run away and hide in Belgrade until liberation, was a member of the Main People's Liberation Committee for Serbia (Bihalji-Merin et al, 1978: 300-301); Dragoljub Jovanović invited the followers of his People's Peasant Party to join partisans, yet he did not become a partisan himself, but collaborated with them from occupied Belgrade, where he illegally spent the whole war. He rejected the offer to join the *chetnik* movement of Draža Mihailović; despite obviously knowing that he was the subject of investigation by both the Germans and their collaborationists, Đorđe Tasić stayed in Belgrade[22] and met his tragic death by shooting in 1943. It might be a coincidence, but the time of the foundation of the Main People's Liberation Committee for Serbia[23] (November 1941) coincides with the time when Tasić was taken hostage and sent to the Banjica concentration camp. It could be assumed that the Germans had the information about the partisans' intention to transfer Tasić and other intellectuals to the free territory, and stopped them from doing it. It is obvious that Tasić did not hide from the occupier at all: until his dismissal, he performed his dean function and teaching duties; he applied for re-election for the Full Professor of the Faculty of Law, lived at his address, despite the fact that he had been taken by the Germans to the Banjica camp and interrogated in the Special Police. Therefore, it was clear to him that he was being followed, but he resorted only to some mimicry-like elements of protection, in the form of signing Jonić's *Appeal to the Serbian nation* (obviously with reluctance and as one of many), his participation at the meeting of the educational staff qualified as "anti-communist" by the Germans (there are no data that Tasić spoke at the meeting – he only kept the minutes, according to the denunciations: namely, he "verified the minutes" and "was a member of the action committee for the preparation of the resolution" of educational staff in Belgrade, as he personally claimed at the interrogation in the Special Police on 31 December 1941). On the other hand, however, Tasić's activities at the University of Belgrade at the beginning of the German occupation caused trouble to the collaborationists. He was a member of the Committee established by the Senate of the University with the task of formulating the attitudes of the University of Belgrade about the announced amendments to the Law on Universities prepared by Aćimović's commissary administration. The Committee prepared a Memorandum that was adopted by the Senate on 5 September 1941 (DAS, G200, Minutes from the sessions of the University Council, book 8) in the preparation of which Tasić played an important role as a jurist (with M. Ilić, also a member of the

[22] "I remember as if it had happened yesterday that my father invited him to come to Vranje after the outbreak of WW2. He virtually begged him to come to our place and save his life. He did not want to listen to him", says Tasić's relative Milorad Đorđević Bonde (Zdravković Džonov, 2015: 166).
[23] The governing body of Yugoslav partisans in the liberated territories.

Committee). The Memorandum "with brilliant jurist skill, expresses the patriotic resistance to the occupier's intention to reform the University" (Markićević, 1999: 51). In fact, the Memorandum rejects everything that the Germans wanted to do at the University through Aćimović's commissary administration: from introducing racist principles to its reorganization and reduction of its autonomy to mere proclamation (see Kandić, 2005: 51-57). Afterwards, until the second time he was arrested (which will be discussed further), "Professor Tasić made no moves or acts that would express his support to the occupation regime and Nedić's government. We cannot see him in any committee or board of the Faculty of the University; he did not publish a single article in journals or daily newspapers published during the occupation" (Kandić, 2005: 261).

Although, in Lukić's opinion, Tasić's theoretical orientation is not Marxist "in narrow terms", but has certain similarities, a question arises whether he had any connections whatsoever with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia before and during the war. As we have already stated, he was an "Agrarian" belonging to the left wing represented by Dragoljub Jovanović, who openly took the side of the partisan movement at the beginning of the war. Apart from the denunciations, which were denied by Tasić himself during the police interrogations, several ties could be found that could indicate something like that rather than be reliable statements:

- On 20 October 1939, during his mandate as the Dean at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, he signed a petition for the general amnesty of political prisoners who were mostly communists at the time;
- Just before the outbreak of the war in Yugoslavia, in February 1941, Tasić attended the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Red Army;
- At the beginning of the war, as a member of the Committee appointed by the Senate, he took part in the preparation of the Memorandum of the University of Belgrade, which rejected all occupation reforms of the University;
- According to Dušan Čkrebić's testimony, the partisans were preparing to transfer a number of influential intellectuals to the free territory, one of whom was also Đorđe Tasić;
- The testimony of Dragoslav Janković, one of the first associates of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review*, Professor at the Faculty of Law and subsequently the Rector of the University of Belgrade, is perhaps the most direct one in that respect: "Late Đorđe Tasić was an extraordinary, outstanding man. I visited him in his home many times during the occupation, usually in the evening, before the curfew, just to take him out for a walk in fresh air. […] *During our walks we talked about everything and then I realized to what extent he had become close to Marxism, although he was an "Agrarian" – a member of the Agrarian Party. […] After the war he would definitely have been on our side – with the communists. I am firmly convinced about it*" (Miljković, 1978: 16, italics by U.Š.).

Therefore, from what is known so far, Tasić was clearly not a member of the Communist Party, but the war circumstances brought him increasingly closer to that political option. If he had survived the war, we would have seen whether Janković's predictions would come true, or Tasić would have met a similar fate like his party companion Dragoljub Jovanović[24].

WHERE AND WHEN DID GESTAPO EXECUTE PROFESSOR ĐORĐE TASIĆ?

It is interesting that neither the year nor the place of the execution of Professor Đorđe Tasić can be precisely determined. He was definitely executed by Gestapo. Where and when?

According to some, he was executed in Banjica (Simić, 1997: 119; Kandić, 2002b: 95, 101; Kandić, 2005: 262; Dimitrijević, 2003: 28). The Banjica camp as the place and 1944 as the year of execution were accepted by others too (e.g., Antonić, 2015: 267), including the author of this paper (Trkulja, Šuvaković, 2018b). We non-critically took over the data while writing notes about the authors of the papers in the reprint edition of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review No. 1/1938*. Kandić points out that during the war Tasić was arrested twice, and that his second arrest took place in January 1943 (i.e., after his retirement)[25] and "stayed in the Banjica camp until the execution in 1944. There are few data about his imprisonment" (Kandić, 2005: 256). However, Kandić does not cite any sources and, as we have already said, Tasić is not in the list of the Banjica camp victims. However, in the Historical Archives of the City of Belgrade there is a report by the State Security Administration (abbreviated UDBA) of 27 January 1959 that actually answers the requested check-up of Đorđe Tasić's whereabouts. That report states that "at the end of 1942 or the beginning of 1943 he was arrested by the Germans and taken to the Banjica camp" (IAB-UGB-1171-1). The problem is that the published list of the Banjica camp victims (Micković, Radojčić, 2009) does not include Đorđe Tasić's name. If Tasić had been imprisoned in the Banjica camp for almost two years, as Kandić claims, there should be some trace about it. His name would have appeared in the list of the Banjica camp victims, someone would have testified about it (just as there are reliable

[24] It is known that, after the victory of the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia, Dragoljub Jovanović had a short mandate in the government, but was dismissed from the Faculty of Law, arrested on grounds of "high treason" and sentenced to nine years in prison. His "guilt" was in his advocation of the civic-parliamentary attitudes which were not in line with the revolutionary moment of the time. He was rehabilitated in 2010. In his conversation with Dušan Čkrebić, the then President of the Republic Executive Council (i.e., the Government) of Serbia recorded in his diary, Petar Stambolić stated the following: "You're a young man, and that's why perhaps you don't know it. We made a terrible mistake regarding Dragoljub" (Čkrebić, 2009: 79). That is why the Council increased Dragoljub Jovanović's financial assistance (up to the maximum amount), since he was not entitled to old-age pension, according to Čkrebić.

[25] "He was arrested the second time on 25 August 1943" (Simonović, 1982: 25).

testimonies and data about his imprisonment in the Banjica camp in 1941), and there would be some minutes from the interrogation...

According to others, Tasić was executed by shooting in the Sajmište concentration camp. However, as late as 1984 Lukić mentions that Tasić was arrested and "shot immediately afterwards in the Sajmište concentration camp" (Lukić, 1984/1995: 600)[26]. Rista Simonović also says that Tasić was executed by shooting "somewhere in Sajmište" (Simonović, 1990: 197). Tasić's relative from Vranje, Milorad Đorđević Bonde, also thinks that Tasić was executed by shooting "in 1943, supposedly in the Sajmište concentration camp" (Zdravković Džonov, 2015: 166). However, Tasić's name is not in the list of the victims in the Sajmište concentration camp, available on the website of the Historical Archives of the City of Belgrade. The reason why Đorđe Tasić is not mentioned in the list of those executed by shooting in this particular camp might be revealed through the finding about the existence of the so-called "Fishermen Pavilion". Writing about the reduced number of the prisoners in the Sajmište camp from 1943 onwards, Milan Koljanin, our historian who committed himself to the study of this camp's history, says that at that time "from the territory of Serbia only some groups of prisoners were brought from other camps, and then transports were formed for sending them to concentration camps. However, some prisoners were brought individually to the camp... mostly smaller groups of those arrested in police actions... In that period, the Sajmište camp was also on several occasions used by the German police as a place for executing individuals or smaller groups of prisoners. They were brought to the camp and immediately killed in the pavilion (known as the Fishermen Pavilion), which was intended solely for that purpose" (Koljanin, 1992: 333-334). In the conversation with Koljanin, conducted at the time this paper was written, he confirmed the possibility that Tasić could have met his death in the "Fishermen Pavilion". Koljanin goes on to explain why Tasić's name is omitted from the list of prisoners in this camp. Therefore, it cannot be determined with absolute certainty where Professor Tasić was killed, but, based on a) his absence from the list of the Banjica camp victims, and b) the absence of any testimony that he spent two years in the Banjica camp (1943 and 1944), which should definitely exist, if not officially, then in the testimonies of the camp survivors, it seems quite sensible that Tasić was not executed by shooting there. The UDBA report points only to the fact that he was taken there, while it was prepared in reply to the search for a missing person, as many as fifteen years after the liberation of Belgrade. There is much more convincing information provided by academician Lukić about the

[26] Lukić presented this information in his study "Đorđe Tasić", written as a preface to *Selection of discussions and articles from the theory of law by Đorđe Tasić*, prepared by Lukić and published by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1984. On the occasion of the publication of the Collected works of academician Lukić, he personally insisted that the book *History of Political and Law Theories* should also be supplemented with his ten-odd papers referring to foreign and Serbian theoreticians from the 18th to the 20th century (from Hegel, over Kelsen and Duguit, Jovan Sterija Popović, to Đorđe Tasić and Božidar S. Marković). On that occasion, the study was added about Đorđe Tasić, which presents Lukić's most complete evaluation of Tasić's life and work, although multiple times on various occasions and in longer time intervals throughout his career, Lukić returned to Tasić, his contribution to Serbian and European science and the suffering he had encountered.

Sajmište camp as a place of execution, particularly when having in mind the data about the "Fishermen Pavilion", revealed by our historian Milan Koljanin.

As for the year of Tasić's execution, as early as 1953, or just eight years after the end of WW2, Radomir Lukić mentioned that Tasić had been "arrested on 25 August 1943 and, according to the received information, executed by Gestapo the following day" (Lukić, 1953: 114). The same dates of Tasić's arrest and execution are given by both Simonović (Simonović, 1990: 197) and Milovan Mitrović in the book based on his doctoral dissertation, mentored by academician Radomir Lukić (Mitrović, 1982: 125). The date of 26 August 1943 is also mentioned in the *Encyclopaedia of Yugoslavia* (Denković, 1971: 320), while *Prosveta's Small Encyclopaedia,* in the entry "Tasić, Đorđe", states 1943 as the year of Tasić's death (Bihalji-Merin et al, 1978: 358). Given the fact that these encyclopaedias were government projects in the country in which anti-fascism was pursued as an ideology, it is difficult to assume that the authors of the entries did not take particular care when providing the date of Tasić's execution[27]. As a matter of fact, the entry about him for the *Encyclopaedia of Yugoslavia* was written by Dragaš Denković, the assistant of Professor Mihailo Ilić (imprisoned and executed in Banjica in 1944) and post-war professor at the Faculty of Law. Denković definitely had reasons to be interested in both Ilić's and Tasić's fate, not only because of writing encyclopaedia entries. Many years after Lukić and twenty years after he wrote the entry in the *Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia* with the information about 26 August 1943 as the ate of execution, at the 1992 gathering, which was attended by Lukić himself, Professor Denković claimed that Tasić had been arrested and executed on 23 August 1943. (Denković, 1994: 32). The same was written by Radomir Konstantinović in the Notes to the book of memoirs of his father, Professor Mihailo Konstantinović, *Politics of Agreement,* which was published 16 years after his death (R. Konstantinović, 1998: 6). Janićijević gives 27 August 1943 as the date of Tasić's execution (Janićijević, 1978: 20), without citing any sources or trying to determine the place of execution, just as Mitrović. Simić and Dimitrijević accept 25 August 1943 as the date of Tasić's arrest, but conclude that the date of his execution is unknown, citing Lukić who says "after the arrest, the following day" (Simić, 1997: 119; Dimitrijević, 2003: 28). Therefore, when speaking of 1943, the arrest and execution dates range from 23 August to 27 August of that year, and this information is provided by the people who knew Tasić and were close to him, primarily Lukić, Denković and Rista Simonović, and even R. Konstantinović, if we assume that he had got the information for his Notes from his father Mihailo. However, it is evident that Lukić cites the "notifications" when disclosing the date of Tasić's arrest and execution. Moreover, Lukić's date, the first Denković's date (from the *Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia*) and Simonović's date are identical – Tasić was arrested on 25 August and executed by shooting on 26 August. However, a question arises as to the source of Lukić's "information". Definitely it was not Rista Simonović since at the time when Lukić published the date of execution (Lukić, 1953: 114) they did not know each other. It is possible that the notification was given to Lukić by Mihailo

[27] The Union Bibliographic-Catalogue data base COBIB.SR also gives 1943 as the year of Đorđe Tasić's death.

Konstantinović, the editor-in-chief of the journal *Annals of the Faculty of Law in Belgrade*, in which Lukić presented the relevant information within *In memoriam* to Đorđe Tasić. Perhaps the source was Dragoslav Janković, a member of the Editorial Board of the Annals at the time. It could also have been Ilić's pre-war assistant, Dragaš Denković, who must have made inquiries into the fate of his professor who had been imprisoned in the Banjica camp and executed there in 1944. While doing so, he could have learnt something about Đorđe Tasić as well, since Lukić had been Tasić's assistant before WW2 (Mitrović, 2015: 234). Lukić definitely knew Professor Antonije Tasić, Đorđe's brother, who was the Professor at the School of Economics and Commerce, which was merged with the Faculty of Law during WW2 and from which the Faculty of Economics was founded after the war. He could also be the source of this information, having in mind that he had spoken to Rista Simonović – who, as a chronicler of Vranje and a friend of the Tasić brothers – recorded the testimony about Antonije trying to save his brother Đorđe: "The second time, based on the report of his fellow citizens, he was arrested on 25 August 1943. His brother, Antonije Tasić, visited the Head of Gestapo in Serbia, Emanuel Schäfer, PhD of law from Vienna (in Carnegie's Street, today's the Archives of Serbia). He showed him the yearbook of the Collection of Works of the Faculty of Law in Heidelberg on the occasion of six centuries of its foundation. The introductory part of the Collection contained a text by Đorđe Tasić. Schäfer, PhD, the Head of Gestapo, was familiar with it. He briefly answered: *Too late! All of you here are communists*. He was executed the following day with many other patriots" (Simonović, 2021: 358)[28].

According to our research results, Professor Ljubica Kandić is the one who claims that Tasić was not executed until 1944 (Kandić, 2005: 256), the year that was carelessly accepted later on. She does not provide any source for such information about the year of Tasić's execution and does not give any approximate date of execution, and, furthermore, neither Simić[29] nor she provides sources proving that it took place in Banjica. The above-mentioned UDBA report, which contains the information about Tasić's arrest and imprisonment in Banjica at the end of 1942 or the beginning of 1943, also states the following: "*After a while, when his wife brought him a package* (italics by U.Š.), the camp authorities refused to take the package, saying that Tasić did not need anything and had everything he wanted. She was not directly told that he had been shot or what had happened to him. In fact, there is nothing known about him since then" (IAB-UGB-1171-1). If we read this statement carefully, the use of the formulation "after a while" is rather indefinite. However, his wife would certainly not have waited two years before taking a package to him, but would have done it immediately and periodically, which was permitted by the camp authorities. Therefore, "after a while" had to be a shorter period. From this time distance, it is difficult to reconstruct what happened to Tasić from the beginning of 1943, when he was dismissed from the Faculty of Law in Belgrade through

[28] Some clergymen did not help either, although Antonije begged them for help, see: S. Simonović (2019: 17).

[29] According to our insight into the literature, Simić was the first to label the Banjica camp as a place of execution, but he specifies the time as August 1943 (Simić, 1997: 119).

his retirement, until 25 August 1943, when, according to Lukić, Tasić was arrested by Gestapo. There may be different assumptions. However, if Tasić had been imprisoned in the Banjica camp for two years, there would have been some testimony about it. As we have already said, Dragoslav Janković testified about visiting Tasić's home "many times during the occupation, usually in the evening, before the curfew, just to take him out for a walk in fresh air" (Miljković, 1978: 16). It is rather debatable to which occupation year he refers. But, since Janković says that he took him out for a walk, it should refer to the period of a sort of exile or semi-illegal life. Having in mind that Tasić applied for the teaching post at the University during 1942 (which means that he was not hiding), that at the end of 1942 he asked for an administrative ban to be imposed on part of his earnings, that he did not retire as a pensioner until the beginning of 1943 (in the meantime he was "available"), it could be assumed (and disputed, of course) that these walks took place afterwards, during 1943. Moreover, Janković says that Tasić became close to Marxism *"at that time"*, although he was a member of the Agrarian Party. The ideological transformation still takes some time. Janković also speaks about Tasić's "naivete", saying: "Perhaps it was his naivete that cost him life. He believed everyone" (Miljković, 1978: 16).

Taking into account all the above-mentioned, we think that the claim about 1944 as the year of Tasić's execution can be rejected as inaccurate, or at least insufficiently supported by evidence. Namely, a) only eight years after WW2, Lukić precisely stated the dates when Đorđe Tasić had been arrested and executed; b) the year of death is given in two important encyclopaedias, one of which gives 26 August 1943 as the date of Tasić's death, the same date stated by Lukić; c) Rista Simonović, as a friend of Đorđe and Antonije Tasić, gives the same dates as Lukić; d) Denković also mentions 1943 as the year of Tasić's death in his entry about Tasić in the *Encyclopaedia of Yugoslavia* – namely, 26 August 1943, but more than two decades later he changed it into 23 August 1943, which was subsequently mentioned by Radomir Konstantinović, Professor Mihailo Konstantinović's son. We assume that Radomir Konstantinović might have heard something like that from his father, since he mentions it in the Notes to his father's book of memoirs, whereas the book and the Notes to it were published many years after his father's death and several decades after the events, when the memory fades unless written down; and e) Janićijević mentions 1943 as the year of Tasić's death and takes 27 August as the execution date. On the basis of the above, before new data are provided, 26 August 1943, as Professor Radomir Lukić actually stated, can be accepted as the most reliable date of Tasić's death.

TOWARDS A CONCLUSION

The respectable scientist, professor, law expert and sociologist Đorđe Tasić, PhD, is indisputably the victim of fascism. It cannot be denied that he was killed by Gestapo.

What are the reasons for Tasić's execution by shooting? First of all, they lie in Tasić's personality. Having been educated in the citizen spirit, loyal to parliamentary principles and democracy, he was certainly not a revolutionary. It can be accepted that Marxist and generally socialist ideas had an effect on him, but rather as a humanist orientation, an interest in the working class (particularly the peasantry and the problems of the village, the research of which he organized at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade). At the same time, we should note his coming closer to the Marxist interpretation of the society during WW2, as confirmed by Professor Dragoljub Janković. Although he stayed away from politics, he was a member of the pre-war Agrarian Party, specifically its left wing, led by Dragoljub Jovanović. It was enough for suspecting him of being close to communists since this party was believed to represent legally, at least in some part, the interests of the illegal Communist Party. During his mandate as the Dean of the Faculty of Law in Belgrade, Tasić even signed a request for general amnesty of political prisoners in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, whereas it goes without saying that most of them came from the ranks of communists. The leaders of the Agrarians were also accused of connections with the British intelligence service (Nenezić directly claims Tasić had such connections, without citing any sources, whereas Kosić makes this claim regarding Miloš Tupanjin, PhD, and some unnamed members of the Agrarians, once again without citing any data sources). In fact, the British intelligence service (even in more recent Serbian historiography)[30] is claimed to have organized the coup on 27 March 1941. This party also had its representatives in Simović's government (Branko Čubrilović), while one if its leaders, Milan Gavrilović (who was certainly close to the British), served as the Yugoslav ambassador to Moscow. As an expert, Tasić also participated in reaching the agreement Cvetković-Maček, which is related to the masonic influence (Tasić himself was first arrested in 1941 and taken to the Banjica camp within the action called "Mason", although the information about his masonry, as we have shown, is debatable). In fact, the nazis labelled masons,

[30] It is interesting to note complete lack of understanding of the historical course by some Serbian researchers from the field of social studies and humanities. Without denying that foreign services, including the British one, wanted to pull the Kingdom of Yugoslavia into the war, the decision to reject the Tripartite Pact was definitely an expression of profound wishes and attitudes of the people *en masse*, who showed it by going out to the streets and cheering in support of that decision. It was the authentic feeling, at least of the Serbian people, in the first Yugoslav state. The people were against Nazis and fascists. World War One and Serbian casualties had not been forgotten. The events from March 1941 were objectively to the benefit of Great Britain and the Soviet Union – Germany postponed attacking the Soviet Union by six weeks in order to attack Yugoslavia first, which seriously affected Hitler's army. In the same way, the accusations that can be heard in 2023 about "Slobodan Milošević giving Serbian blood in 1999 in order to save Russia" are nothing but a notorious lie, intended to clear the NATO of the guilt for having attack the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and to label the decisions about defending the country as "antinational", while we can agree with the claim that the objective "importance of Serbia (although it was assaulted by almost all the countries and organizations) lies in the fact that it postponed by fifteen years the realization of the idea of global management from a single centre so that the humanity could find instruments for opposing this evil. [...] The indicator of the level of maturity of modern civilization, but also the level of Russia's awareness when it comes to its national interests depend exactly on the manner of resolving the Balkan issues" (Guskova, 2014: 410). Therefore, the Serbian nation should not denounce its freedom-oriented traditions and should always defend its country in case it is threatened, and should never be the oppressor. Claiming that others are responsible for our (historically proper and moral) choices that, naturally, implied sacrifice as well, reduces the real historical role of the Serbian people at the crucial moments of world history.

together with Jews, Roma and communists, as their main enemies. Not delving into the (in)existence of all these ties ascribed to Tasić (communists, the Soviet Union, masons, the British intelligence service), their common denominator at that time was – anti-fascism. At the pre-war sessions of the Senate of the University of Belgrade, Tasić stood up for the students who were accused of being communists, stating that it was the teachers' task to educate youth and, in case there was any guilt, it should be decided about by a court of law. He was against the USSR pact with Germany, knowing that Hitler would break his word, while at the same time being aware that there was no compromise with fascism. That is why he had a dispute with the students-communists who justified this agreement within the politics of the Comintern. This dispute was motivated exactly by Tasić's anti-fascism. On the eve of WW2 in Yugoslavia, in February 1941, Tasić expressed his attitude towards the USSR by attending the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Red Army and by participating in the foundation of the Association of the Friends of the Soviet Union, at the proposal of Ivan Ribar, PhD.

Tasić was doubtless not a man who would "go for the barricades". His resistance was composed, intellectual, but also practical. He was definitely an opponent of totalitarianism and fascism as its most brutal form. He opposed it best as he could – in an intellectual manner. In 1941, while he could still do it as the Dean of the Faculty of Law, Tasić strongly resisted the intention of the Nazis and collaborationists to reorganize the University of Belgrade on racist foundations and to put it into the service of the occupation regime. The result of his resistance is the Memorandum of the Senate of the University of Belgrade from September of the same year. The Quislings did not acquire the professors' approval for introducing Nazi regulations at the University, and Tasić significantly contributed to the legal argumentation of that disapproval. There is information that the partisans intended to transfer him to the free territory in 1941, together with other renowned civil intellectuals, but it did not happen. Perhaps he did not want it, just as he did not want to return to his hometown Vranje and spend the occupation period there. In any case, the time when the partisans intended to do it coincides with Tasić's arrest by the Germans and his being held hostage in the Banjica camp.

Tasić's overall attitude towards Nazism and Fascism, even before the outbreak of WW2 in Yugoslavia, as well as during the war, fully entitles us to make a conclusion about his anti-fascist, free-spirited orientation. This has already been emphasized by other authors (Denković, 1971; Golenkova, 1984/2022: 35; Lukić, 1984/1995). Tasić's anti-fascism, openly expressed not only in theory, but also in practice, was the very cause for his execution in the Sajmište camp on 26 August 1943.

SOURCES [In Serbian]:

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Historical Archives of Belgrade, IAB-1177-I-99 Mihailo Ilić

Historical Archives of Belgrade, IAB UGB SP - IV-11/5 i 192/26 Dušan Matić

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Ana S. Vuković[1]
Institute of Social Sciences
Belgrade (Serbia)

Marinko V. Lolić[2]
Institute of Social Sciences
Belgrade (Serbia)

PHILOSOPHICAL AND LEGAL VIEWS ON PACIFISM OF THE SERBIAN INTELLECTUAL ELITE IN THE 20th CENTURY: EXAMPLE OF KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ AND ĐORĐE TASIĆ[3]

The state of war (is) in itself an injustice of the highest degree. Peace is "the ultimate purpose of legal learning" and "the greatest political good".

Immanuel Kant

Abstract: The paper critically discusses the theoretical foundations and key values of pacifism in the philosophical and socio-legal discourse of Ksenija Atanasijević and Đorđe Tasić. Furthermore, in the context of political events in Europe and the world in the 1930s, the interest in pacifist ideas and non-violent forms of resistance to extreme forms of violence among the Serbian intellectual elite is analyzed, pointing out the fate of pacifism and advocation of pacifist ideas, as well as the significance of these ideas for our contemporary political culture. In the second part of the paper, from a broader perspective of our time in a context dominated by various forms of extreme violence resulting from wars, migration, epidemics and the struggle for political, economic and military dominance, the authors

[1] annvukovic@yahoo.com
[2] marinko.lolic@gmail.com
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intend to indicate the relevance and key values of the idea of pacifism and the practical pacifist engagement of Ksenija Atanasijević and Đorđe Tasić.

Keywords: Ksenija Atanasijević, Đordje Tasić, philosophy, sociology, law, pacifism, violence.

INTRODUCTION

Well-known researchers of contemporary Serbian philosophical and legal culture (Basta, 1991; Marjanović, 1993) emphasize that philosopher Ksenija Atanasijević and philosopher of law and sociologist Đorđe Tasić are the most famous advocates and theoreticians of pacifism in the Serbian academic elite of the first half of the 20th century. Regardless of these flattering evaluations, their pacifist ideas, which have exceptional theoretical and practical relevance, have not been sufficiently explored and adequately evaluated in our contemporary philosophy, law and sociological theory.

In the 1930s, although the consequences of the First World War were still felt, eminent scientists and researchers in European countries, including Serbia, and in the world, sensed that the battle between good and evil was on the horizon again, and realized that social changes, such as the coming to power of dictators with eugenic-racist ideological rhetoric, the forcing of the military-industrial complex and the armament of countries, required their philosophical, legal and sociological reflection. Among the scientists and researchers of humanism and society as a whole, who through the questions raised and analyzed in their texts, directly and indirectly, indicated the possibility of a new world conflict, were philosopher Ksenija Atanasijević and jurist and sociologist Đorđe Tasić.

Although the legal sociological and philosophical perspectives of Ksenija Atanasijević and Đorđe Tasić differ, their kinship is reflected in emphasizing the importance of solidarity as a key value in the period of crisis in Europe and the emergence of totalitarian regimes. Ksenija Atanasijević points to the emergence of Nazism, and Đorđe Tasić draws attention to fascism in his texts, while they both believe that it is necessary to make efforts to maintain a just peace. Both authors criticized the League of Nations, that is, the corruption of the society and its inability to peacefully resolve the growing antagonisms between nations. In the Đorđe Tasić thought, the legal and sociological aspect is more prevalent, because he often speaks about the state as an institution that should protect the individual, while in the thought of Ksenija Atanasijević, the moral-philosophical aspect is also included, because she writes about reverence for the human person, that is, about the necessity of protecting human dignity.

In this paper, we try to illuminate only the most important aspects of their, at first glance, very diverse conceptions of pacifism and to point out the relevance of their peace projects for understanding the key problems of our time.

THE ROADS OF PACIFISM OF KSENIJA ATANASIJEVIĆ

In her philosophical understanding of the idea of pacifism, Ksenija Atanasijević was deeply convinced that there were two paths leading to this very atypical political point of view, not only in ours, but also in European and the wider global political culture. She called the first path transcendental, and, in her opinion, it "refers to one who has completely lost interest in world events (...) who is completely turned to some higher religious or metaphysical principle" (Atanasijević, 2011: 41). According to her, "people with such healed souls" are "pacifist-minded ... they do not pick a fight with anyone and do not accept reasons for reckoning from anyone, because they do not even need any of the vain earthly achievements" (Atanasijević, 2011: 41-42). Ksenija calls such persons "sublimated peace-caring... people who forever defeated the world of multitude and deception" (*Ibid:* 42). Although some of her critics and interpreters attributed precisely this understanding of pacifism to her, Ksenija rejected it, considering it too radical and, it seems, ineffective in the real world.

The second path, which leads to a pacifist point of view, in the opinion of our author, is less radical than the previous one, because it strives to achieve peace in our earthly life and is achieved "again by entering into religious[4] or philosophical truths" (*Ibid:* 42), but with the difference that this type of "altruism is related to activity within the framework of participation in the laws and events of this world" (*Ibid:* 42). With Gandhi's[5] belief in the power of truthfulness, she asserts that "people who have deeply imbued themselves with the truth" and consider that "their first duty is to ensure a peaceful existence for themselves and their neighbours, will consciously raise the foundation of the soul ethic, whose first principle will be the inviolability of every human being, without exception" (Atanasijević, 2011: 42). Ksenija believed that morality based on truthfulness resulted in "a political doctrine that will declare that every country, large as well as small[6], has the same right to an independent and free life and to unimpeded development" (*Ibid:* 42).

As a philosopher of refined moral sensibility (Jeremić, 1997: 129), Ksenija pointed out numerous shortcomings of contemporary civilization. Like Immanuel Kant, she believed that "only when culture acquires an ethical character will the danger of using technical inventions to destroy and exterminate people disappear" (*Ibid:* 42). She was deeply convinced that "only enlightened consciousness was able to curb the egoistic and predatory instincts of man and people, and to unite them in joint work for the common good" (*Ibid:* 42).

[4] Cf. Halkin, 1994.

[5] In his autobiography entitled *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, Mahatma Gandhi expressed his belief in the power of truth in the statement: "God is truth - truth is God" (according to Čičovački, 2022: 98).

[6] Đorđe Tasić advocated that the principle of equality of states applied to the League of Nations regardless of the size of the states (Tasić, 1922: 121).

On the basis of the valuable philosophical insights into human nature, provided in Ksenija Atanasijević's philosophical work, it can be said quite reliably that the highly emphasized pessimism[7] permeating her philosophical thought, in a significant sense also determined her final attitude towards pacifism. Bearing in mind the indomitability of human nature, Ksenija believed that most we could expect in the future in this regard was the achievement of "relative peace (underlined by A.V. and M.L.) which (...) will never be unyieldingly respected, because man's nature (...) will continue to snatch under the control of conscience and compassion" (Atanasijević, 2011: 42-43).

Ksenija Atanasijević did not initially advocate the idea of the possibility of achieving ideal peace on earth, as preached by Christ (Atanasijević, 2011: 97-105), or certain modern thinkers, such as Kant. Some researchers of her philosophical thought believe that our philosopher, only in her later writings, begins to believe in the possibility of realization of the "pacifist utopia" (Vuletić, 2012: 237). However, it seems that in those forecasts, her expectations were much more realistic, considering that she believed that significant success would be achieved if "in the future at least the repetition of bloody and devastating wars is avoided" (Atanasijević, 2011: 43).

However, in order to achieve even this substantially modest goal, in the opinion of our philosopher, fundamental changes are necessary, not only in our ethical norms, but also in ontological principles. According to her, the resolution of conflicts between people is not possible without "investing in ontological cosmological essentials and using high moral orientations for practical actions derived from them" (*Ibid:* 43). Since she was convinced that this high moral requirement of "enlightenment can be fulfilled only by philosophers and prophets", it is quite logical for her to point out that "far less harm would have been done to people and nations, if the states had listened to the advice of exalted prophets and of the wise" (*Ibid:* 43).

Ksenija Atanasijević is one of the pioneers in the history of the development of the philosophy of feminism in the territory of Yugoslavia. Her texts, which reflect on the social position and altruistic role of women, represent studious reflections on women and feminism based on experience and knowledge of the mentality, culture and social relations of our midst. According to Ksenija Atanasijević, women significantly contributed to the realization of individual freedom, the protection of women and children, and the introduction of the idea of pacifism instead of political conflicts (Vuković, 2019).

In her discussions on pacifism, Ksenija Atanasijević did not remain only in the sphere of high speculative philosophical theory and theological thought, but also tried to practically realize her peace ideas, as evidenced by her involvement in the Women's Movement,

[7] Ksenija Atanasijevic belonged to the generation of students of Branislav Petronijević, who, after returning from Germany, gave his first lecture on Schopenhauer, and was one of the first philosophers in Serbian philosophical culture who wrote about the greatest philosopher of European pessimism. The words of Ksenija Atanasijević testify to how strong the influence of the author of the work *The World as Will and Performance* was in our intellectual and academic public: "We all swore by Schopenhauer then" (Atanasijević, 2006)!

where she enjoyed a reputation of one of the leaders of Yugoslav feminism and pacifism, as seen from her lecture and her report from the World Conference of Women for Peace and Disarmament, held in Belgrade from May 17 to 19, 1931. Also, her thought and actions later inspired women's organizations in our country (Vuković, 2015). This kind of political and feminist engagement of Ksenija Atanasijević can be seen as a forerunner of research into the role of women's identity – whether women have an identity and what its components are, as well as practical political participation through the analysis of collective women's identity in which the social position of women and the influence it has on the formation of female identity in society is discussed (Vuković, 2013: 249-250).

The topic of Ksenija's presentation was the pacifist influence of women on public opinion during peacetime. From a philosophical perspective, the author pointed out the kinship between feminism and pacifism, and underlined that, in the pursuit of achieving women's rights, the women's movement "is based on an ontological and moral foundation" (Atanasijević 2008: 75). She believed that "feminists spread an atmosphere of harmony and peace around them" (Atanasijević 2008: 79), and given that they stand up for "respect for every person, their political concept will be that one must feel reverence for the freedom of all people, because every stranger is a neighbour" (*Ibid:* 79). In the philosophical views of our philosopher, in which deep empathy towards the foreigner is emphasized, her opposition to any xenophobia that had already deeply affected the "European world of life" is clearly shown.

Evaluating, in the current political context, the importance of the conference on peace, Ksenija did not fail to emphasize that the Belgrade debate came at the time when terrible threats of war emerged among the countries all over the world. She was convinced that the peaceful messages heard at the Belgrade conference strongly "wavered the consciousness and conscience of those who attended and (...) influenced the creation of an atmosphere suitable for achieving moral disarmament" (Atanasijević, 2008: 77). The author states that, at this gathering, the representatives of different countries advocated that women should be given full justice, and that humanity should be provided with permanent and improved peace, which will have a beneficial effect on the strengthening of pacifism in our country and in the world. In the final words of her report, the previous position that affirms Belgrade on the world map as the capital of world pacifism and feminism is summarized:

> "Close contact with European and American pioneers of a more ethical and fairer future of humanity, and listening to their lively, honest and temperamental words, left a beneficial mark in our midst. That is why the effort of the long journey to our Belgrade, which they, in their kindness, compared to the most beautiful cities in the world, paid off for these great idealists" (Atanasijević, 2008: 77).

Undoubtedly one of the eminent Serbian researchers and sincere supporters of pacifism, Ksenija Atanasijević made a great contribution to the understanding and popularization of the most important philosophical works in our community, which significantly strengthened the theoretical reflection of members of the pacifist movement. In her review of the first Yugoslav integral edition of Kant's writings on Perpetual Peace (Atanasijević, 1936: 627-630), she points out that the thinker from Königsberg, within the framework of philosophical research of transcendental idealism, "developed more deeply his review of perpetual peace between peoples, as one of the points whose realization falls under the necessary requirements of the practical mind" (Atanasijević, 1936: 627). Pointing to the eternal relevance of Kant's idea of perpetual peace, she points out that the "greatest German pacifist" not only "exceeds all understanding of man's attitude towards man of his time", but also "surpasses even our age, which is (...) savagely inhuman and blindly merciless" (*Ibid:* 628).

The key principles of Kant's transcendental philosophy of peace; categorical imperative and the concept of legal duty are considered insufficient by Ksenija, "so that evil in man, rooted in the primeval, could weaken to some extent" (Babić, 1985; Hare, 1985; Höffe, 1995; Kinđić, 2016; Lolić, 2018; Slapšak, 2020). Nevertheless, our philosopher pointed out that the creator of transcendental idealism, "in addition to striking distance from reality, also has (...) moments of shrewd, undeniable pessimism" (Atanasijević, 1936: 629), which she saw in the ironic remark of Königsberg thinker "that the world will not perish if there are fewer evil people in it" (*Ibid:* 629). Therefore, she rightly points out that the provision of Kant's concept of perpetual peace that is "grossly desecrated" is precisely that provision of Kant's concept of perpetual peace in which the writer of Th*e Critique of Pure Reason* demands that "every government has to treat human rights as sacred" (*Ibid:* 629).

Ksenija Atanasijević rightly believed that in the middle of the 20th century the idea of pacifism reached its deepest crisis and turned into a "monstrous caricature" (Atanasijević, 1936: 630). Therefore, she welcomed Schneider's translation of Kant's writing on Perpetual Peace into the Serbian language, seeing in it not only an attempt to oppose further degradation of pacifist thought in our environment, but also an opportunity to point out that the thinker from Königsberg, in his peace writing, expressed not only a political demand, but also a spiritual need of the modern age.

ĐORĐE TASIĆ: PACIFISM FROM A LEGAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL STANDPOINT

The first writing of Đorđe Tasić in which he deals with the problem of peace, contains three fragments. It is about his short treatise *Several thoughts about the lost peace* (Tasić, 1928: 46-48), a review of the first years after the Great War, pervaded by the melancholic spirit of the members of the "lost generation" (Žeželj Kocić, 2018: 100-105). The author writes not only about the fact that his generation "lost the peace of our fathers" but also resignedly notes that "we are not trying to regain it" (Tasić, 1928: 46). Tasić's pessimistic words accurately describe the spirit of the new era, whose main features are "the race for money, power, fame, and pleasure, as if we do not care at all about saving our souls" (*Ibid:* 46).

Tasić's reflections on peace and the causes of deep human anxiety in the first decades of the 20th century refer to the social, political, and existential problems of the modern individual. As an important feature of the contemporary era, the author points out the crisis of the individuum itself and its search for existential peace. Tasić believes that an individual will gain his own peace when he accomplishes his existential task and designs his existence. Therefore, he points out in his writing that "life is human, and life is also a task" (*Ibid:* 46).

In an effort to emphasize the need to revitalize the fundamental values of European contemporary culture – humanity, solidarity, and justice, the philosopher, jurist, and sociologist Đorđe Tasić began his search for the concept of peace. He would deal intensively with this problem until the beginning of the 1940s when the life of this exceptional professor, scientist, and great humanist ended tragically and prematurely. At the same time, Ksenija Atanasijević, the most famous Serbian female philosopher of the 20th century, also started researching the problems of pacifism and the struggle against militarism. She, like Đorđe Tasić, begins her engagement with the problem of peace from a broader philosophical, anthropological (see: Slapšak, 2020: 317–325), and existential (see: Atanasijević, 1929: 91–93) perspective.

In a short note in *A Fragment on Peace*, with which the author announced the publication of the first volume of her *Philosophical Fragments*, she equates "human existence and chaoticity as identical terms" (Atanasijević, 1929: 91). Observing human life from a pessimistic perspective, our author, like Schopenhauer, believes that "there is no harmony, transparency, or goodness anywhere in earthly life; order and logos are excluded from it" (*Ibid:* 91). In Ksenija's opinion, "everything happens either by chance or by some dark and silent necessity" (*Ibid:* 91). Therefore, our philosopher believes that in our lives it would be "completely wrong to predict and calculate" (*Ibid:* 91). She suggests that we should strive for "all misery and all entanglements" in our lives to "turn into the calmness of the lake" (*Ibid:* 91). Because the author sees our every action and activism as an absurd Sisyphean effort, "filling a bottomless barrel" (Atanasijević, 1929: 91).

Three years later, Đorđe Tasić will not only write several treatises on the problem of peace, demonstrating exceptional awareness and thorough knowledge of the literature on various aspects of peace, but he will also become a participant in key European debates on this issue and, with his works, he will be the first among us to highlight the most important European sociological, legal, and philosophical research on the causes of war and the problems of peacekeeping.

The first discussion, in which Tasić indirectly writes about the problems of peace, is dedicated to considering the legal equality of states in the League of Nations (Tasić, 1922: 193-202). In that debate, Tasić discusses the ideas of the leading European jurists on the problem of the democratic organisation of the League of Nations, in which small states should also decide on world politics alongside the Great World Powers. Tasić insisted on respecting the principle of equality regardless of the size, economic strength, and cultural importance of individual states, because he believed that in this way the democratic principles of international law are protected. However, Tasić points out that his position is not shared by German jurists, whose ideas carry a democratic and, at the same time, a solidaristic spirit based on an idealistic view of the essence of the law. Famous German jurist Gierke "during the war advocated the idea that the equality of states is usually an empty form without any content" (Tasić, 1922: 121). Gierke believed that "the equality of all can be received in law only as equality according to the values of the culture that a country has" (Tasić, 1922: 121).

In the views of the German jurist, Tasić sees an expression of the unfavourable circumstances caused by the disaster of the First World War, "when the greatest spirits descended into the dust, carried away by political noisemakers or by letting themselves be carried away by elemental urges" (*Ibid*: 122). Among the intellectually stumbling greats were such great philosophical figures as Wundt, who claimed that "modern philosophy has only the German spirit to thank for its basic thoughts", and Bergson, who proved that the French people represented life and the German mechanism (forgetting that, according to his philosophy, one nation can only be life)" (*Ibid*: 122). Similar to Wundt, Eltzbacher also wrote that new international law emerged in wartime conditions. Tasić raises the question of the value and sustainability of rights that arise as a justification for violating legal norms in wartime conditions (*Ibid*: 122). Tasić disagrees with Eltzbacher, who attempts to demonstrate that history prepared the ground for such a development of legal culture, because he believes that the views of German jurists "are far from a proper understanding of general human interests" (*Ibid*: 122) and that he "ultimately recognizes force as right" (*Ibid*: 122). In addition, Tasić is certain that a single further step is required "to define even common barbarism and banditry as a right" (Tasić, 1922: 123).

Tasić's second discussion on the problem of peace is his report on the work of the International Institute of Sociology from its last congress, which was devoted to the causes of war and the conditions for lasting peace[8], and at which the most renowned representatives of European sociological thought, such as Gaston Richard, delivered their lectures (Leopold von Wiese et al.). In his concise report, Gaston Richard indicated the state of sociological research on war and the problems of maintaining global peace. While earlier sociologists were divided into two groups, those who believed that with the industrial society and the victory of scientific positive thinking (Comte, Spencer), peace would prevail in the world, and those who believed that life's competition (Gumplowitz, Ratzenhofer) prevents society from demilitarising (Tasić, 1931: 235), Tasić notes that modern sociologists avoid these extremes, reject fatalism, and strive to "help the pacifist". In his report, Tasić points out that the majority of participants in this congress

[8] In the same year, Tasić published a more concise version of the report from the international congress on war and peace in Geneva in the Serbian Literary Herald, in which he notes that, in addition to Italian scholars, the Hungarian scholars (More) justified the war. Tasić explains the Hungarian scientists' apology for the war with Hungary's defeat in the First World War. Tasić particularly emphasizes the thesis of the Hungarian jurist Móra, who argued that pacifism is contradictory. Tasić published an article about More's treatise in which he pointed out the weaknesses of the author's thesis (Tasić, 1931a, cf. Avakumović, 1935: 191-196).

optimistically believed that “the causes that cause war can be overcome by the conscious will of the people” (*Ibid*: 235). There is an interesting remark by Tasić that only Italian delegates, Rugarli and Namias in particular, vigorously defended the opposing position on this topic. They were challenged by the Kantian, Hegelian, and Spencerian tradition, which was represented at this convention by the French sociologist Émile Lasbax. The disagreement between Lasbax and Italian sociologists involved the historical rhythms of war and peace (*Ibid*: 235). While Namias argued that the rhythm of peace and war could not be controlled by human reason and will, French sociologist Richard, citing Lasbax, attempted to demonstrate the exact opposite: that war is a condition that arose later and that its various forms depend on the social structure of a society (Tasić, 1931: 236).

Based on the published announcements and discussions, Tasić stresses that the main message of the participants of this congress is that, from the point of view of sociology, it cannot be concluded that there will be no more war. However, he believes that the mere possibility of war does not imply its necessity. According to Tasić, “the will for peace is just as possible as the will for war” (Tasić, 1931: 236). As a result, he believes that “pacifist and pacifying institutions with the goal of performing an educational role on public opinion” (*Ibid*: 236) should not be underestimated.

However, Đorđe Tasić, who was not just a reporter from the peace congress in Geneva, but also participated as a lecturer, pointed out in his report entitled “War or Peace: Contemporary Sociological Views” that modern humanity was facing an epochal challenge. Tasić tries to answer this complex dilemma not only as a philosopher of law but also by relying on the latest sociological research and the insights of well-known sociologists. Referring to the opinion of Pitirim Sorokin, the American sociologist of Russian origin, he points out that this “issue has not yet received its definitive solution” (Tasić, 1931: 366).

Regarding the understanding of the relationship between war and peace, Tasić also cites the opinion of representatives of evolutionist-oriented sociologists, who “take the struggle for survival as a fundamental social law and therefore believe” that “the forms of struggle change and soften (...) so that war can, quite naturally, disappear in the course of evolution” (Tasić, 1931: 366). The main thesis that Tasić wants to investigate in his work is whether war becomes crueller throughout history or whether the so-called “humanization” of war causes conflicts. Tasić believed that, based on sociological research, “it is difficult to determine an accurate account of how good or harmful war is” (*Ibid*: 366). He notes that naturalistic authors such as Novikov believe that “the struggle for survival leads to better adaptation by removing the incompetent and acquiring more and more mild forms over time” (*Ibid*: 336). The Russian sociologist claimed that instead of “physical”, more and more “intellectual” struggles were emerging between people (*Ibid*: 366). Novikov overestimated the future of war, believing that “there will only be an economic and political, scientific and artistic struggle, without blood and extermination of people” (*Ibid*: 366). Moreover, Novikov is convinced that the need for any form of struggle is necessary because, without struggle, “society would, indeed, fall into a state of dangerous lethargy” (*Ibid*: 366).

Nonetheless, Tasić believed that the presented evidence, when examined by a sociological expert who values facts, would lead to overly broad and bold generalizations. To the contrary, Tasić agrees with Sorokin that Montaigne's scepticism is justified, stating that war is "a specific feature of the human race, as well as the ironic epigram of Shaftesbury, that Hobbes's famous saying *homo homini lupus*, an insult to a wolf, because they are less bloodthirsty and cruel to each other than man to man" (Tasić, 1931: 367).

In considering the dilemma of war or peace, as a key argument against war, the most frequently used statistics is that "the best of a nation, the flower of the nation, perished in the war" (*Ibid*: 367). This is confirmed by many historians who believe that "the cause of the downfall of Greece and Rome was the extermination of the best blood" (*Ibid*: 367). However, those who advocate the opposite thesis claim that in war "the brave, skilled, and hardy are likely to stay alive and that (...) they leave behind the best offspring" (*Ibid*: 367). Attempting to assess the positive and negative effects of war, Tasić asserts that in addition to the pain of people, war also introduces a huge number of diverse mass diseases and creates numerous disabilities in children born during warfare. Based on statistical data and benchmarks, it can be concluded that war, on the one hand, represents "the devastation of economic goods and, on the other hand, it necessarily requires finding new methods of production and leads to a change in the distribution of wealth among societies (nations)" (*Ibid*: 368).

Tasić asserts that some authors believe that "perpetual peace (...) would put to sleep (...) if war concentrated all national forces" (*Ibid*: 368). It has not been scientifically confirmed that the criminality of soldiers and civilians increases during war. On the contrary, it was established that in times of war, individuals were ready to make sacrifices, that customs were observed, and that corruption decreased. Not ignoring the terrible consequences of the war, nevertheless, examples of courage and heroism and the willingness to sacrifice in the circumstances of war were, according to Tasić, even for Pitirim Sorokin, enough to express doubt that "perpetual peace is something healthy" (Tasić 1931: 368).

Following the genesis of Tasić's legal and philosophical thought about law and the state, it can be observed that his theories of the state and law increasingly take on the meaning of relative pacifism and solve the problem of "order (peace) on the one hand and justice on the other, as well as the relations between states" (Simić, 1995: 83). Because the problem of the connection between these values is addressed too metaphysically, Tasić dismisses as utterly inadmissible those interpretations that only give primacy to order (peace) or justice. In his comments, Tasić argues that the problem of peace should be understood from the perspective of tangible historical reality and that, in such framework, it is possible to find solutions to reconcile these two principles, without which peace cannot be recognized. According to Tasić, "humanity progresses along the route between justice and order (peace)" and he considers the primary function of law to be "maintaining order (peace) and facilitating the growth of society" (Simić, 1995: 83).

The concept of relative pacifism was developed by Tasić primarily in polemical conflict with his role models, Giorgio Del Vecchio (War as a concept and peace as an idea) and Julius More (Is pacifism contradictory? - Discussion with Julius More), as well as other well-known European authors (Del Vecchio, 1999; Tasić, 1931; Tasić 1936; Tasić, 1937), about whom he wrote more in domestic and foreign magazines and anthologies (Tasić, 2011).

CONCLUSION

In their philosophical, legal, and sociological considerations of the causes of modern war, Ksenija Atanasijević and Đorđe Tasić showed that the issue must be approached in a multidisciplinary way from multiple perspectives because it is a complex problem. The key ideas on which Tasić's understanding of pacifism and his criticism of war are based are the ideas of solidarity and justice; the critical reception of Del Vecchio's analysis of war and peace, which shows that war can only be justified if it is of a defensive nature; and the author's demand that war as a way of solving social problems should be declared a crime. Tasić developed his theory of pacifism during the 1930s, at the time of the deepest political crisis in Europe, in an atmosphere where the Nazi idea of "krigideologie" dominated the political scene.

His criticism of that ideology is principled and solidly sociologically, legally, and ethically founded. As a public intellectual, he remained consistent with his pacifist ideas, beliefs, and hopes even in the most difficult wartime situations. He intensively followed and participated in domestic and the most important European debates on the problems of pacifism. In his legal and philosophical debates, Tasić leads discussions and engages in polemics with the leading philosophers and jurists of that time; Giorgio del Vecchio, Julius More, Karl Schmidt, and Oswald Spengler. Tasić strives not only to follow but also to participate equally in the most important European debates on the problems of peace and to inaugurate sociological research on the problem of pacifism in the social sciences and other humanistic disciplines. Together with the legal discussions on pacifism of his colleagues Slobodan Jovanović and Živojin Perić, Tasić referred to the philosophical debates on pacifism of Ksenija Atanasijević who, like him, was very involved in the feminist movement and Nazism criticism in her legal and sociological research on peace in the 1920s and 1930s. She, like Tasić, approached the problem of pacifism from a historical perspective, searching for the roots and principles of pacifism deep in the past of European philosophy, Christian religion, and Eastern thought. Ksenija's condemnation of war and understanding of pacifism have points of contact with Tasić's legal and sociological[9] understanding of this problem. Their closeness in understanding

[9] Although she does not explicitly mention sociological works on pacifism by Đorđe Tasić, our philosopher was no stranger to the sociological perspective when considering the problem of pacifism. In several of her works, she mentions the importance of sociological insights for understanding pacifism. For example, in her review of the book by Hlapec-Đorđević, PhD, Ksenija writes: "For example, philosophers and sociologists are invited to get to the heart of the pacifist problem" (Atanasijević, 2008: 200, cf. Atanasijević, 2011: 45, 47).

pacifist thought, regardless of all the theoretical idiosyncrasies of their pacifist discourse, is reflected in their concept and belief that social reality is only possible to achieve relative peace (Atanasijević) and in the advocacy of the doctrine of relative pacifism (Tasić), which our authors came to from different and completely independent theoretical paths.

As prominent Serbian intellectuals, both Ksenija Atanasijević and Đorđe Tasić strongly condemned the war and advocated peace and solidarity among people, not only in their theoretical writings but also in their public intellectual engagement. Both of them wrote critically about the war and pointed out not only the importance of peace but in their theoretical works they also advocated for justice, equality, and human dignity, legal and moral principles that must be respected as regulative ideas of human struggle. Just peace is the fundamental value of pacifism. The struggle for the ideals of freedom, justice, and human dignity, led by Ksenija Atanasijević and Đorđe Tasić, has inestimable importance for our culture because they, as representatives of the elite of a small nation, were deeply aware that even in extreme war conditions, one must not trade with the truth, justice, or freedom, and advocated that political disputes should not be resolved by war but "in an amicable and consensual way". Being critical of war apologists, Ksenija Atanasijević and Đorđe Tasić were not blind to the flaws of our intellectual elite either. Therefore, their critical theoretical insights about our intellectual elite, expressed almost a century ago, can also serve as valuable landmarks for us today in our further search for a way out of the impasse we have been led into by the contemporary Serbian clientelist elite. At this sad time of ours, it is worth recalling the main message, or rather the promise Ksenija Atanasijević and Đorđe Tasić left us with: their high philosophical (Lolić, 2005) and scientific achievements, as well as their dignified demeanour in the most difficult moments for their people.

At the beginning of the last century, when Europe was going through one of its worst crises, they thought that one of our tasks was:

> "... to develop a taste for thinking, namely theorizing and philosophizing, because our nation needs a deepening of knowledge and the construction of a single point of view on the world and a clear stance on social issues, and because we do not yet have a developed tradition of thought." (Tasić, 1938: 153-154).

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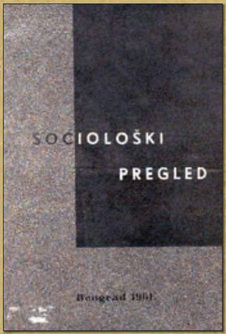

Part Two

Professor Đorđe Tasić – Echoes

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Ewa Bujwid Kurek[1]
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
Krakow (Poland)

STATES IN TRANSFORMATION ACCORDING TO POLITICOLOGY PARADIGMS – SELECTED EXAMPLES

Abstract: Since the beginning of the 1990s, the states in Central and Southeast Europe have been in the stage of system changes. This paper will consider whether these changes fit in with the existing political paradigms, and whether the assumptions of theoretical models are compatible with the system changes occurring in reality. Currently, there are many recognizable models of transformation in Central and Southeast Europe that are related to Yugoslavia and several post-Yugoslav countries.

In the political literature on this topic, many outstanding theoreticians can be identified as the founders of interesting models of transformation in Central and Southeast Europe, such as: Larry Diamond, Francis Fukuyama, Donald L. Horowitz, Marc F. Plattner (2014: 86-100), Samuel Huntington (1991), Herbert Kitschelt, Philippe C. Schmitter, Terry Lynn Karl, Gerardo L. Munck, Carol Skalnik Leff, Klaus von Beyme, Wolfgang Merkel (1999a), Jerzy J. Wiatr, Sabrina Petra Ramet and F. Peter Wagner. When exploring the system transformation of selected countries, attention will also be paid to the basic causes of its beginning. For example, Samuel Huntington described the transformations occurring in the USSR, Bulgaria and Hungary as a transformation, while those in Romania and East Germany as a replacement, while believing that the best expression for Poland and Czechoslovakia would be a transplantation.

In these considerations, attention will be paid to the countries such as Yugoslavia and, after its breakup, only selected countries: Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia. The process of system transformation undergone by almost all post-socialist countries has not been realized through a single coherent theory that contains universal quantitative characteristics. It is worth mentioning that democratization is a necessary characteristic in defining the transformation process. Therefore, democracy is a *sine qua non* condition for the

[1] ewa.bujwidkurek@interia.pl

transformation process undergone by the analyzed countries. That is why special attention will be dedicated not only to the turning point of transformation, but also the level of the present system transformation (democratization).

Keywords: transformations, democratization, states, political paradigms, Yugoslavia, Slovenia, Croatia. Macedonia, Serbia

INTRODUCTION: TRANSITION – TRANSFORMATION – PARADIGM

Transformation, along with transition, is one of the main and quite interesting political categories. So far, a question has often been posed as to what is what, whether transformation of the political system means the same as the transition of this system or not. There are experts who deal with that topic and say that transition is a phenomenon and that it just means transiting, or a moment of transiting from a non-democratic to a completely democratic system. Transformation of a political system is a long-lasting process that most frequently encounters numerous difficulties and barriers. It can be seen in each state of Central and Southeast Europe with the still ongoing a rather complex process of democratic transformation. This primarily refers to the development of the civil society in the full sense of the work, then of democratic institutions, the rule of law, respect for freedom and equality etc. It is worth mentioning that democratization is an inevitable characteristic of defining a complex (ambiguous) process of transformation. Namely, democracy is a *sine qua non* condition for the process of transformation undergone by the analyzed states. That is why special attention will be dedicated not only to the breaking point of transformation (which in this paper means transition as a moment/phenomenon of transiting, but also to the level of current system transformation, or democratization). It is important which of the two is used, transition or transformation consequently, according to some theoreticians. It is perfectly seen in the book by Professor Uroš Šuvaković entitled "Transition: a contribution to sociological study of social changes". In this monograph, the concept of transition is used consequently, in line with the determinations we have given (Šuvaković, 2015: 2). Moreover, this paper will consistently use these two terms. The topic of democratic transition was written in a very interesting and professional manner by Mirjana Kasapović as early as 1999. In her book entitled "Democratic transition and political parties" she pays special attention to the development of political parties and party systems in East Europe. Here I will underline that I fully agree with the author's opinion that transformation is a form of democratic transition founded on the relation between reformers and scholastics inside the authorities. It develops through five stages (Kasapović, 1996: 24). The first stage is within the non-democratic regime, which is gradually shaped by a group of leaders or potential leaders who want democratic changes; in the second stage, reformers within the regime attempt to win power. If long-standing authoritarian leaders or dictators in certain countries do not die, when taking over power. reformers most frequently determine rules themselves and appoint a new leadership; in the third stage there is stabilization of "liberalized authoritarian politics";[2] the fourth stage proceeds in the search for legitimacy; and the fifth stage of transformation presupposes the co-option of the opposition. It is important that reformers begin consultations with the leaders of opposition political parties, main social groups and outstanding public figures (Kasapović, 1996: 24-25).

In this reflection, of particular interest is the question of a paradigm. It is a concept that is considered to denote a pattern, but it also denotes a model, treated as a disciplinary matrix, i.e., an organized set of beliefs, attitudes or opinions shared. Thomas Samuel Kuhn, the founder of the paradigm theory, said that a paradigm is a set of concepts and theories that make the foundations of science. The founder of the paradigm theory noted firstly that it was a pattern to say that the paradigm is a solution to a similar problem, accepted by the scientific community and, secondly, that it may be, as indicated by Khun, a matrix of a scientific discipline (Khun, 1962: passim). This article sees the paradigm as a theoretical model for democratic changes in a political system. In political literature, there are various models in this regard, for example, the model devised by Khun, as well as by other theoreticians, including Samuel Huntington. He described the changes taking place in the USSR, Bulgaria and Hungary as a transformation, while he referred to the same changes in Romania and East Germany as a replacement, thinking that the best term for Poland and Czechoslovakia would be a transplantation. This paper dedicates special attention to the countries such as Yugoslavia (the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), and after its breakup (in 1991), only to specific countries: Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia. The question will be if the phenomenon of transition, experienced by almost all post-socialist countries, has been realized through a coherent theory (paradigm) that contains universal quantitative characteristics. I completely agree with academician Mihailo Marković, who says that transition is "an ideologically coloured concept and that it denotes the transition to liberal capitalism (Marković, 1997: 33; see also Šuvaković, 2015: 2). However, I cannot agree that, as it is sometimes said in a derogatory way, transformation is a bad version of transition, when transition has its defined neoliberal ideological foundation, while transformation and the use of that concept are meant to blur the class essence of the transition process. In this paper, transition is consequently understood as a moment of transiting from a non-democratic to a fully democratic system. The paradigm will be discussed as a thought/concept of selected theoreticians, and not as a paradigm in the conventional meaning of the word, for example as Thomas Khun's constructivism.

In this paper, I will pay special attention not only to the breaking moment of transformation (transition), but also to the level of current system transformation (democratization). Several countries selected as examples were formed after the breakup of Yugoslavia (the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), such as Slovenia and Croatia, which were the first to declare independence (25 June 1991), then Macedonia and, finally, Serbia.

[2] Samuel Huntingon believes that it is a critical stage of the transformation process.

There is extensive literature about transition and transformation of the countries in Central and Southeast Europe. However, in my opinion, there are no studies dealing with this topic explicitly in a research manner – the subject dealing with filling in the research gap in political literature. The following theoreticians provide a very interesting discussion dedicated to this, including Larry Diamond, Francis Fukuyama, Donald L. Horowitz and Marc F. Plattner (2014). Nevertheless, given the limited length of the article, their attitudes will not be discussed here.

The main thesis would be that in all the analyzed countries there was transition; although still in the process of transformation, they are in different stages of its progression. Depending on the occurring phenomena, progress in the transformation process is interpreted differently, which is conditioned by different opinions, i.e., paradigms of certain theoreticians.

The most important research method used in this paper is the descriptive method that, apart from economics, is often used in political science. Here it is important to stress that special attention is dedicated to the changeability of the conditions in which the analyzed phenomenon occurs. The system method was helpful as typical of political science and intended to turn attention to the changeability of the conditions in which the analyzed phenomenon proceeded. A very interesting example is that of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. At the moment of its breakup, each republic, i.e., "new state" deriving from the non-democratic system decided about the direction of its democratic changes; which radically changed the face of the federation.

YUGOSLAVIA (SFRY): THE PHENOMENON OF TRANSITION AND THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION ACCORDING TO SOME THEORETICIANS

In his model paradigm, Klaus von Beyme described Yugoslavia as similar to Romania and Bulgaria, where "changes were conducted under the leadership of old cadres" (Bujwid-Kurek, Mikucka-Wojtowicz, 2015: 32). According to Merkel (Wolfgang Merkel), one of the models (paradigms) of transformation are newly created states (*neu grűndung von Staaten*) that, besides Yugoslavia, include Czechoslovakia and the USSR (Merkel, 1999b: 135). What occurred in Yugoslavia, as well as in the USSR, was described in an interesting manner by the theoreticians who created theoretical models (paradigms) of transition, among whom we should distinguish Sabrina P. Ramet and F. Peter Wagner, who used the most suitable term; frustration (fragmentation + reconstruction), literally *frugstraction* (fragmentation + reconstruction) (Ramet & Wagner, 2012: 45). One of the Polish researchers of the transition occurring in Yugoslavia and the USSR respectively called the most used term simply as the "collapse of the federal state" (Wiatr, 1999: 49). There are also others who use the term "collapse" (Waldenberg, 2005: passim), which, in my opinion, is rather debatable and not completely adequate.

THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA – THE PHENOMENON OF TRANSITION AND THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION IN THE OPINION OF CERTAIN THEORETICIANS AND ACCORDING TO THE REPORT OF THE FOUNDATION FREEDOM HOUSE “NATIONS IN TRANSIT 2022”

Slovenia declared independence on the same day as Croatia, on 25 June 1991 (Bujwid-Kurek, 2014: 67-113). As an independent and autonomous state, it strives to be a democratic state, and that is why it must meet strictly defined requirements. One of the basic and most significant criteria is the Constitution adjusted to a different, new, political, economic and social reality. In that context, it is important to underline that each constitution makes the political system legitimate (Bujwid-Kurek, 2019: 41-52). The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, consisting of 175 articles divided into expected groups, was adopted at the session of the Slovenian Parliament on 23 December 1991. At the historical moment when it was written, the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia was to the largest extent modelled after the German Constitution (Toplak, 2014: 99). Since 1991, the Slovenian Constitution in its preamble states “the right of the Slovenian people to self-determination”,[3] while the historical heritage of the Slovenian people is emphasized in building its own statehood. The founding provisions of the Slovenian Constitution emphasize that all the citizens of the country are bound to it by their citizenship, but it is unambiguous that the act devised in this manner is actually profoundly extremely ethno-national (Đukanović, 2014: 108). I completely agree with the opinion of one of the legal experts, Andraž Terešek, that the constitution is a mirror of the constitutional-legal identity of a political community (Terešek, 2009:143). The ideal model presupposes that the constitution is adequate to the reality it refers to. Unfortunately, that is not always the case, which is proved by, among others, the case of Slovenia. It seems that in the first stage of transformation Slovenia was best prepared of all post-Yugoslav countries for conducting democratic reforms, However, with time it encountered usual problems just like other countries undergoing the process of political system transformation. Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl who, just as in some other countries (Albania, Estonia, Lithuania, Romania), ascribed the changes occurring in Slovenia to one of the paradigms (transition model), calling it “imposed transformation” (Schmitter & Karl, 2010: 35). According to the latest data from the report of the Foundation Freedom House “Nations in Transit 2022”, Slovenia is rated as a country characterized by the following indicators: its degree of consolidated democracy is rated as 79/100, with total democracy in its percentage 78.58/100, democracy evaluation = 5.71/7.00, the democratic nature of the state organization = 5.50/7.00, election process (elections, multiparty system, society’s participation in the political process) = 6.25/7.00, civil society = 5.75/7.00, independent media = 5.25/7.00, local democratic governments (decentralization of power, independence of local administration) = 6.50/7.00, independence of the judiciary = 5.75/7.00,

[3] Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, Preamble, Indent 2, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia*, Ljubljana, No. 33/91-I, 42/1997, 66/2000 i 24.2003.

corruption = 5.00/7.00.[4] As it can be seen, the poorest results are independent media, which substantially reduces the rank of the transformation of the Slovenian political system. Decentralization of power and local self-government are ranked higher, which may be comforting in the anticipation of successful transformation.

THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA − THE PHENOMENON OF TRANSITION AND THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION IN THE OPINION OF CERTAIN THEORETICIANS AND ACCORDING TO THE REPORT OF THE FOUNDATION FREEDOM HOUSE "NATIONS IN TRANSIT 2022"

The Republic of Croatia declared its independence on the same day as the Republic of Slovenia (25 June 1991), thus becoming independent of the Yugoslav federation. The text of the Croatian Constitution from 1990 with its numerous amendments to date, emphasizes in its preamble that the country is "a national state of the Croatian people and a state of the members of autonomous national minorities". This introductory section mentions Serbs, Czechs, Slovaks, Italians, Hungarians, Jews, Austrians, Ukrainians, Ruthenians and others (Đukanović, 2014: 107).[5] Here it is important to emphasize that the Constitution of Croatia, in Article 3, Paragraph 1, stresses the principle of national equality as one of the fundamental values of the constitutional system. According to Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, pressing a non-democratic system towards a democratic one can be described as a "forced revolution". This term was also used to describe transitions occurring in, among others, Armenia, the Czech Republic, Georgia, and Latvia (Schmitter & Karl, 2010: 35-36). If someone was tempted into assessing democracy, whose feature is inherently related to the system transformation, it should be mentioned that the functioning of democratic institutions, similarly to those in Slovenia, did was not smooth, which is doubtless confirmed by the latest data from the report of the Foundation Freedom House "Nations in Transit 2022". The report rates this as a semi-consolidated democracy = 54/100, while in Slovenia it is a consolidated democracy. The total democracy in its percentage = 54.17/100, democracy evaluation = 4.25/7, the democratic nature of the state organization = 4.25/7.00, election process (elections, multiparty system, society's participation in the political process) = 5.00/7.00, civil society = 5.25/7.00, independent media = 3.75/7.00, local democratic governments (decentralization of power, independence of local administration) = 4.50/7.00, independence of the judiciary = 3.50/7.00, corruption = 3.50/7.00.[6] From the report it can be clearly seen that the independence of the judiciary is ranked lowest, while local democratic government

[4] https://freedomhouse.org/country/slovenia/nations-transit/2022 Slovenija (Accessed on 14 August 2022).

[5] See: Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, Preamble, Indent 15, *Narodne novine,* Zagreb, No. 56/1990,135/1997, 8/1998,113/2000, 124/2000,28/2001, 41/2001,55/2001,76/2010, 85/2010, 05/2014.

[6] https://freedomhouse.org/country/croatia/nations-transit/2022 Hrvatska (Accessed on 15 August 2022).

is ranked highest regarding the decentralization of power and independence of local administration, similarly to the case of Slovenia.

NORTH MACEDONIA − THE PHENOMENON OF TRANSITION AND THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION IN THE OPINION OF CERTAIN THEORETICIAN AND ACCORDING TO THE REPORT OF THE FOUNDATION FREEDOM HOUSE "NATIONS IN TRANSIT 2022"

On 17 September 1991 Macedonia declared the act of its independence, following the example of Slovenia and Croatia. Since then, it has been an autonomous state functioning first under the unrecognized name the Republic of Macedonia, and since February 2019 it has been named the Republic of North Macedonia. The Constitution of Macedonia was adopted on 17 November 1991. While stopping the armed conflict between the Albanian rebels and Macedonian authorities in 2001, and thanks to the Ohrid Agreement, the international community, i.e., the United States of America and the European Union led Macedonia to amend its 1991 Constitution (Đukanović, 2014: 111). Here it is important to stress that the amendments to the Constitution were made although the preamble states that Macedonia is a "civil state".[7] It should also be noted that, according to the Ohrid Agreement in 2002, a section was added mentioning Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Roma and other nations respectively, besides the Macedonian nation.[8] According to Article 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, citizens are bearers of sovereignty, while then the Constitution states that the expression of national particularity is guaranteed in this country.[9] Therefore, in the Macedonian constitutional re-engineering, the European Union and the USA actually redesigned this country from the originally civil (1992) into a two-ethnic (Macedonian-Albanian) state. This is confirmed by the ethnic principle and the manner of necessary participation and representation of ethnic communities in the authorities from the local to the central level of power (Đukanović, 2014: 112). According to the above-mentioned theoreticians (Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl), Macedonia is, similarly to Slovenia, included in the paradigm (model) of "imposed transformation" (Schmitter & Karl, 2010: 35-36). When assessing the level of democratic transformation currently ongoing in North Macedonia, the latest report of the Foundation Freedom House "Nations in Transit 2022" considers Macedonia a transitional or hybrid regime = 47/100. The total democracy in its percentage = 47.02/100, democracy evaluation = 3.82/7, the democratic nature of the state organization = 3.50/7.00, election process (elections, multiparty system, society's participation in the political process) = 4.50/7.00, civil society = 4.75/7.00, independent media = 3.50/7.00, local democratic governments (decentralization of power, independence of

[7] Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Macedonia, January 2006, Preamble, Indent 2.
[8] Ibidem, Preamble, Indent 1.
[9] Ibidem, Article 8.

local administration) = 4.00/7.00, independence of the judiciary = 3.25/7.00, corruption = 3.25/7.00.[10] As seen from the data displayed here, the results within the independence of the judiciary and corruption (exeqo) are ranked lowest, while the civil society is ranked highest, which, despite a relatively low total grade, may encourage optimism and hope for successful democratic transformation. Nevertheless, in the case of Macedonia this process seems to be rather tortuous and substantially prolonged.

THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA – THE PHENOMENON OF TRANSITION AND THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION IN THE OPINION OF CERTAIN THEORETICIAN ACCORDING TO THE REPORT OF THE FOUNDATION FREEDOM HOUSE "NATIONS IN TRANSIT 2022"

The Republic of Serbia declared its independence as late as 5 June 2006. In November the same year, the Constitution was adopted that legitimizes the new political system (Bujwid-Kurek, 2012: 58, 2019: 61). The new Constitution defines Serbia as the "state of Serbian nation and all citizens".[11] Here it should be noted, as it was done in the case of previously analyzed state constitutions, that the state-building tradition of the Serbian nation is emphasized in the preamble[12] (Bujwid-Kurek, 2019: 82). The Serbian Constitution lists the principles of civil democracy – sovereignty belongs to citizens.[13] Serbia is defined in ethno-national terms by this Constitution,[14] but also the obligations are determined regarding the protection of the members of the Serbian nation outside Serbia, while "the protection of national minorities" is particularly emphasized. The deeper analysis of other sections of the Serbian Constitution shows that it is an ethno-national strategy of defining the state (Đukanović, 2014: 114). The changes in the Republic of Serbia, similarly to the previously analyzed Republics of Slovenia and Macedonia, the same theoreticians – Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, apply the paradigm (model) defined as "imposed transformation" (Schmitter & Karl, 2010: 36). In the report of the Foundation Freedom House "Nations in Transit 2022", Serbia was rated the same as Macedonia, i.e., as a transitional or hybrid regime = 46.43/100. The total democracy in its percentage = 46.43./100, democracy evaluation = 3.79/7, the democratic nature of the state organization = 3.25/7.00, election process (elections, multiparty system, society's participation in the political process) = 4.25/7.00, civil society = 5.25/7.00, independent media = 3.00/7.00, local democratic governments (decentralization of power, independence of local administration) = 4.00/7.00, independence of the judiciary

[10] https://freedomhouse.org/country/north-macedonia/nations-transit/2022 (Accessed on 15 August 2022).

[11] Constitution of the Republic of Serbia", *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, Beograd, No. 98/2006.

[12] Ibidem, Preamble, Indent 1.

[13] Ibidem, Articles 1 and 2.

[14] See: Ibidem, Articles 13.and 14.

= 3.50/7.00, corruption = 3.25/7.00.[15] From the data displayed here, the lowest results refer to independent media and corruption, while the civil society is ranked highest. It is similar to the case of Macedonia, which may encourage optimism regarding democratic changes in the full sense of the word.

CONCLUSION

As the analysis shows, three of the selected countries (Slovenia, Macedonia, Serbia) belong to the paradigm (model) of transition called "imposed transformation", according to whose authors there are two theoreticians: Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl. In these theoreticians' opinion, only the transition in the Republic of Croatia can be called y "forced revolution". It is quite interesting to look at the transition undergone by Yugoslavia (SFRY). Several theoreticians dealt with this interesting case of the federal state that fell apart at the end of the 20th century. Wolfgang Merkel used a term "newly-created states (*neu grűndung von Staaten*)", while Sabrina P. Ramet and F. Peter Wagner used "frustration (destruction + reconstruction)", literally: frugstraction (fragmentation + reconstruction), and one of the Polish theoreticians, Jerzy J. Wiatr, used only the term "the collapse of the federal state".

Table 1. Paradigms (models) of transition occurrence in the opinion of certain theoreticians –graphic overview of the comparative studies

No.	Name of the paradigm (model)	Name of the state	Creator (theoretician/s)
1.	"imposed transformation"	Republic of Slovenia, North Macedonia, Republic of Serbia	Philippe C. Schmitter, Terry Lynn Karl
2.	"forced revolution".	Republic of Croatia	Philippe C. Schmitter, Terry Lynn Karl
3.	newly-created states *(neu grűndung von Staaten)*	Yugoslavia (SFRY)	Wolfgang Merkel
4.	Frustration (destruction + reconstruction); literally: frugstraction (fragmentation + reconstruction)	Yugoslavia (SFRY)	Sabrina P. Ramet, F. Peter Wagner
5.	"collapse of the federal state"	Yugoslavia (SFRY)	Jerzy J. Wiatr

Source: The author's own study based on: (Schmitter, Karl, 2010; Merkel, 1999b; Wiatr, 1999; Bujwid-Kurek, Mikucka-Wójtowicz, 2015: 31-32).

The table below gives the most important categories which are a *sine qua non* condition for successful democratic transformation.

[15] https://freedomhouse.org/country/serbia/nations-transit/2022 (Accessed on 15 August 2022).

Table 2. The Republic of Slovenia, the Republic of Croatia, North Macedonia and the Republic of Serbia according to the reports of the Foundation Freedom House “Nations in Transit 2022” – graphic overview of the comparative studies.

No.	Analyzed categories	Republic of Slovenia	Republic of Croatia	North Macedonia	Republic of Serbia	Notes
1.	Democracy	78.57/100	54.17/100	47.02/100	46.43/100	
2.	Democracy evaluation	5.71/7.00	4.25/7.00	3.82/7.00	3.79/7.00	
3.	Democratic nature of the state organization	5.50/7.00	4.25/7.00	3.50/7.00	3.25/7.00	
4.	Election process (elections, multiparty system, participation of the society in the democratic process)	6.25/7.00	5.00/7.00	4.50/7.00	4.25/7.00	
5.	Civil society	5.75/7.00	5.25/7.00	4.75/7.00	5.25/7.00	In the Republic of Croatia, North Macedonia and the Republic of Serbia, this category was rated higher than all other rated categories
6.	Independent media	5.25/7.00	3.75/7.00	3.50/7.00	3.00/7.00	
7.	Local democratic governments (decentralization of power, independence of local administration)	6.50/7.00	4.50/7.00	4.00/7.00	4.00/7.00	Macedonia and Serbia – the same note as above
8.	Independence of the judiciary	5.75/7.00	3.50/7.00	3.25/7.00	3.50/7.00	
9.	Corruption	5.00/7.00	3.50/7.00	3.25/7.00	3.25/7.00	Macedonia and Serbia – the same note as above
10.	Democratization level in %	79/100	54/100	47/100	46/100	
11.	Determining the degree of the development of democracy (transformation)	Consolidated democracies	Semi-consolidated democracies	Transitional hybrid regime	Transitional or hybrid regime	Macedonia and Serbia – the same name

Source: The author’s own study based on: https://freedomhouse.org/country/slovenia/nations-transit/2022 (Accessed on 14 August 2022), https://freedomhouse.org/country/croatia/nations-transit/2022 (Accessed on 15.08.2022), https://freedomhouse.org/country/croatia/nations-transit/2022(Accessed on 15 August 2022), https://freedomhouse.org/country/north-macedonia/nations-transit/2022 (Accessed on 15 August 2022).

As shown in the list above, Slovenia can boast of the best results of its democratic transformation, and its political system is defined as a consolidated democracy. Jan Linz and Alfred Stepan think that democracy is consolidated when: 1) there are no violent attempts of taking over power; 2) citizens know and believe that change may occur only as a result of the democratic process; and 3) democracy is based on legally codified routine activities and institutions (Linz & Stepan 1966: passim). In the ranking by the main creator of transitology (transitology paradigm). Dankwart Rustow (Ganes-Morse, 2004:325-326), only consolidated democracy is the final stage of transformation that begins depending on the degree of economic development and certain social conditions. This state is proved by a great influence on his thinking about the modernization theory, in the light of changes observed in economy that bring changes in the social structure, and finally in the political sphere as well. Political elites play a very important role in the stabilization and destabilization of democracy (Rustow, 1970: 355). Democratic transformation is the poorest in the Republic of Serbia and is called, just as in North Macedonia, a transitional or hybrid regime. I completely agree with Thomas Carothers, who says that the existing paradigms (models) taking into consideration the quantitative characteristics of transition should be supplemented by paradigms that would include the characteristics of the degree of transformation (democratic change) occurring (Carothers, 2002: 6) in the countries of Central and Southeast Europe.

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Nevena G. Jakovljević[1]
University of Priština, in Kosovska Mitrovica,
Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Sociology
Kosovska Mitrovica (Serbia)

ATTITUDES OF SECONDARY VOCATIONAL SCHOOL STUDENTS ON THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Abstract: This paper will present a part of the research for the purpose of preparing a doctoral dissertation entitled "Teaching in the Republic of Serbia in the subject of sociology during the COVID-19 pandemic", which was carried out in secondary vocational schools throughout the Republic of Serbia. The research was conducted in all five statistical regions, in schools that were randomly selected, and among students of the third and final grades, that is, students attending sociology classes in the third grade the previous year and students attending sociology classes this year. We compared their views, because classes in the 2020/2021 school year were mostly online or in a hybrid model, while classes in the 2021/2022 school year took place mainly in classrooms, i.e., in real space or according to a hybrid model, but with certain modifications such as possible shortening of classes, reduction of teaching materials, dividing students into groups, etc. One segment of the questionnaire examines students' attitudes and opinions about the teaching of sociology during the COVID-19 pandemic and whether the classic (live) way of teaching sociology was better, worse, or whether they believe that everything is the same and that the differences exist only in the way of conducting classes. Although European development strategies, including the Strategy for the National Development of Education by 2030 in the Republic of Serbia from June 2021, advocate the opening of online schools, the results of this research show that our schools, teaching staff and students are still not ready for this type of teaching.

Keywords: sociology teaching, COVID-19, education, online-teaching, hybrid teaching

[1] nevenanastic2@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

In the conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic, numerous changes took place in all areas of society, but in this paper, attention will be focused only on the changes that occurred in the educational system of the Republic of Serbia, that is, the changes that occurred in the teaching of sociology, with a number of specific characteristics in the researched period. When the pandemic was announced in the Republic of Serbia, the healthcare workers were the first to be affected, then followed by teachers and students who had to adapt to the changes that took place at all costs. The main change in the educational process is the transition from live classes to online classes. We will not list various definitions of online teaching here because there are too many of them; it is enough to point out that "all definitions of online teaching have in common that the student is physically distant from the teacher, that he uses digital tools and the Internet in order to access learning materials and interact with the teacher and other students" (Kuzmanović, 2022: 36). Accordingly, this research is planned to establish the experiences of students in secondary vocational schools in relation to online teaching that was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic. For this purpose, a Google questionnaire was created under the title *Teaching in the Republic of Serbia in the subject of sociology, during the COVID-19 pandemic* and it was successfully implemented. The questionnaire contains 22 questions, a few of which will be presented in this paper. The selected questions refer to students' views on the quality of online teaching in the subject of sociology for the period from 2021 to 2022. Moreover, the problems and difficulties encountered by students during the online teaching of sociology will be presented, their views on the whether the teachers trusted the students during the assessment, as well as what the interaction between the teachers and students was like during the online and live classes. This research was conducted online, in all five statistical regions in the Republic of Serbia in regular secondary vocational schools. At the beginning of the 2021/2022 school year, there were 408 regular secondary vocational schools. Half of the total number of these schools were contacted, of which some schools were not interested in cooperation, and in some schools they emphasized that they wanted to send the questionnaire to the students, but that they were too busy so they probably would not make it. Therefore, in a sample of 204 schools, some schools they were not ready to help scientific research, while other schools, depending on the majors, one or two classes were included, more precisely only the final year or both the third and final years. The research was carried out by calling the principals or professional assistants on the official, i.e., school phone number, so the questionnaire was sent to them, as agreed, to the school's official e-mail or forwarded to them via Viber. In addition, some sociology teachers also forwarded the questionnaire to their colleagues, so we could not strictly adhere to the sample of 204 schools. The decision to conduct the research in this way was made because of the very idea that if the teaching took place online, then it was all right to conduct the research online too. As many as 759 responses were received to the conducted questionnaire, out of which 172 responses were rejected as invalid because they were answered by high school students who attended sociology live, i.e., directly in the classrooms, so we had a total of 587 questionnaires at our disposal.

In the Republic of Serbia, the first case of infection with the SARS-CoV-2 virus, later called COVID-19, was registered on 6 March 2020, and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development met on March 16, 2020 and made a decision that "due to the current epidemiological situation in the country, immediate educational work in primary and secondary schools in the territory of the Republic of Serbia should be temporarily suspended" (Decision of MESTD 2020, No. 601-00-9/1/2020-01). By the decision of the same authority, teaching was implemented through distance learning, whereby schools had to adapt teaching to their own capabilities, but also to take care of those students who were at risk, that is, those students who had a worse socio-economic status, as well as those students who did not have access to information and communication means.

IMPLEMENTATION OF EDUCATIONAL WORK AND MEASURES ADOPTED DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA

As early as March 17, 2020, when teaching in schools, including the teaching of sociology, began to be conducted online, additional and precise instructions were sent to the schools on the methods of conducting the teaching, whereby the teachers were given the opportunity to plan how they would implement their classes, but not to change the curricula and programs, but to adhere to them- As proof of maintaining the lessons and monitoring the work of the students, all teachers submitted operational plans to the schools on a weekly basis, which were unified and forwarded to the school administrations. Therefore, in the first moments of the pandemic in Serbia, namely in the first school year that was affected by the pandemic, and in connection with education in secondary schools, only the way of work changed. At the level of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development, it was decided to switch from classes held live in real conditions to classes held remotely. Based on the analysis of 2019/2020, the first school year affected by the pandemic, it can be seen that the monitoring of scientific achievements, including professional training of teachers, especially in the fields of information technology, was necessary. Principals, professional associates, and especially teachers were expected to keep up with modern information technologies. As S. Gvozdenović states in one of his works, "in order to encourage positive changes in others, the teachers must start with themselves; they must continuously work on self-education, on improving individual and professional self-knowledge" (Gvozdenović, 2007: 168). Speaking of the educational cycle, we can definitely mark this period at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic as a period of increased need for professional training of teachers. However, the solution is not only in the professional development of teachers but, as I have stated earlier in one of my papers, the solution and "way out of the crisis lies in greater investment in education, in knowledge and promoting research, and the school program itself should be focused on creativity and innovation" (Jakovljević, 2022: 246).

The aim of every class, whether it is held live or remotely, is to be successful from the teaching perspective and from the perspective of the teaching material being learnt by the students. And in order to be able to determine teaching as successful, the teacher must be more competent, and in order to be more competent, teachers must improve professionally. That is why, as Todorović, Milin and Vujačić write, "professional training of teachers is a very important link in providing quality teachers, since it represents the dominant framework for improving their professional competences" (Todorović, Milin, Vujačić, 2016: 47). Although the 2020/2021 school year began as usual in classrooms, schools were given access to a large number of online platforms, and by the decision of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development in July 2020, schools chose one platform that would be used for remote teaching, so in that regard schools were obliged to "provide support to those teachers who did not have the necessary knowledge and skills to work on the chosen platform" (Decision of MESTD 2020, No. 601-00-00027/2020-15). Also, the MESTD offered full support to the schools, in the form of enabling the strengthening of the digital competences of teachers and professional associates, and the schools were provided with technical support in the form of computers and laptops and various educational materials were delivered to the teachers etc. By the decision of 20 November 2020, it was already decided that from 23 November until the end of the first semester on 18 December 2020, the entire educational work would be carried out remotely, as well as that schools would have to choose by themselves the channels of communication with students. At the beginning of the 2021/2022 school year, the organization of educational work was somewhat different than the previous year. On 1 September, most secondary schools in the Republic of Serbia started working according to the first model of teaching organization, which implied the presence of teachers and students in schools, who were obliged to comply with anti-epidemic measures. Depending on the course of this infectious disease, two more models of teaching organization were proposed. In the municipalities with a large number of patients, the Team for Monitoring and Coordinating the Application of Preventive Measures in the Work of Schools made a proposal that in 15 secondary schools in the Republic of Serbia teaching took place according to the second model, i.e., according to the combined model, while the third model was applied only in one municipality. As early as 9 September, the Team made the decision about switching to online teaching in 40 municipalities. And that "third model of the organization of educational work would be applied from September 13, 2021, in all secondary schools in the municipalities and cities mentioned in Item 1 of this decision" (Decision of MESTD 2021, 601-03-00033/4/2021-15). This decision indicated a significant increase in the number of infected people in school environments, which was why these measures were taken to prevent the spread of the virus. With the next session on 16 September 2021, a slight decrease in the number of infected people in school environments was recorded, so 45 secondary schools would function according to the second model of the organization of educational work, while eight would function according to the third online model, including the schools located in the territory of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija.

The very next decision, which came into force on 4 October 2021, indicated the effectiveness of the measures as well as the reduction in the number of infected people in school environments, so all secondary schools continued to work according to the first model, i.e., with direct teaching in schools, except in 23 municipalities where teaching took place according to the combined, model. And the next decision of the Team, which was made on 23 September 2021, stated that from 27 September 2021, teaching would take place according to the second model in 18 municipalities, while in three municipalities the third model would be applied. Due to the decision of 23 September 2021 and regular monitoring of the epidemiological situation by the end of the school year, no major increase in the number of infected people was recorded in school environments, so there was no need to conduct classes according to the third model. However, classes according to the combined model took place in some municipalities until 22 November 2021.

After that period, until June 2022, classes in all secondary schools in the Republic of Serbia took place according to the first model, in classrooms. By reviewing the letters, decisions and recommendations sent to secondary schools by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development, and in connection with conducting classes in pandemic conditions, it can be concluded that, from 17 March 2020 until the end of that school year, classes, including sociology classes, were conducted online. The next school year began under normal conditions, that is, classes took place directly in classrooms, but from 23 November 2020 until the end of the first semester on 18 December 2020, the entire educational work took place through platforms and various educational portals. From the beginning of the 2021/2022 school year, classes were conducted mainly online and in a combined model until 22 November 22 2021, and from then until the end of this school year, classes were held in classrooms.

TEACHING SOCIOLOGY DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA – RESEARCH RESULTS

Prior to the presentation of the research results, Table 1 will show a sample according to socio-demographic variables, in order to have an insight into elementary data.

Table 1: The sample according to socio-demographic variables

Gender	male	257	43.8%
	female	327	55.7%
Type of place of residence	in the countryside	216	36.8%
	in a city/town with up to 50,000 inhabitants	159	27.1%
	in a city with 50,000 - 100,000 inhabitants	71	12.1%
	in a city with over 100,000 inhabitants	119	20.3%
	in a city with over 1,000,000 inhabitants	22	3.7%

What characterizes the teaching of sociology before the outbreak of the pandemic is direct teaching in classrooms, while during the COVID-19 pandemic, there were significant changes, starting with the way in which teaching is conducted and then the quality of teaching. It is known that sociology in secondary schools plays a big role in the development and education of students who are soon to become adults. In accordance with that, the students' views on the quality of online teaching will be presented in the further work.

Table 2: Students' attitudes about the quality of online teaching

Online teaching is:	Frequency	Percentage
Much better and more useful. Students learn more.	49	8.3%
It is only a different way; Learning is equally good.	209	35.6%
It is much worse. Nothing is learnt. We have to do everything by ourselves.	329	56.0%
Total	587	100.0%

Although with the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, when teaching first took place online, sociology lost its 'strength', as shown by the results of the research, where more than half of the respondents answered that the online teaching of sociology was much worse compared to classes that took place live. Out of the total number of 587 respondents, 329 of them (or 56%) answered that online teaching was much worse and that nothing was learnt; 209 respondents answered that it was just a different way of teaching, and that the same things were learnt, which would account for 35.6% of the respondents; 49 respondents, or 8.3%, answered that online classes were much better and more useful than live classes, as well as that much more was learnt during them.

Here, it is necessary to review the aspirations from the Strategy for the national Development of Education by 2030, which was adopted in February 2021. According to this Strategy, "the foundations for the development of digital education at the pre-university level have been established" (Strategy for the National Development of Education by 2030, 2021: 36). We could agree with this because in recent years there has been an accelerated development of the IT sector, and education has been directed in that direction since March 2020 due to pandemic conditions, so it even became mandatory at one point, which we can see in the Decision of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of 17 March 2020, where it is stated: "we instruct the principals, professional associates and teachers that distance learning is the responsibility of everyone at school" (Decision of MESTD 2020, no. 601-00-9/1/2020-01). However, we cannot agree, as the presented results show, with the need and desire to establish a "state online primary school and state online grammar school" (Strategy for the National Development of Education by 2030, 2021: 36).

Although educational institutions in the Republic of Serbia have improved their digital capacities, intensified their work on strengthening teachers' competencies, the results show that students are not ready for this type of teaching. This will be corroborated in Table 3 below by the results of the research conducted by Đorđić, Cvijetić and Damjanović on teachers and their experiences during the implementation of distance learning due to the corona virus pandemic.

Table no. 3: Teachers' attitudes about students' work during online classes.

	1	2	3	4	5
Students do their tasks independently	97 (18.13%)	200 (37.38%)	182 (34.02%)	50 (9.35%)	6 (1.12%)

Key: 1 - I do not agree at all, 2 - I do not agree, 3 - I neither agree nor disagree, 4 - I agree, 5 - I completely agree (Đorđić, Cvijetić, Damjanović, 2021: 96)

Based on their research, it can be seen that 55.42% of the respondents do not agree that students do their tasks independently. Furthermore, the majority of teachers do not agree with students doing their assignments independently, because the quality of online teaching is not at an enviable level, a large number of students do not have digital competences, students have technical problems, they can cheat when doing assignments, they can to be helped by parents, guardians, friends, etc. Additionally, "in electronic classes, the teacher cannot create a true picture of the level of student participation in class, or an insight into whether the student clearly understands the material covered" (Stepanović, 2020: 188). On the other hand, the conditions were such that the teachers as well as the students, despite everything, had to adapt and independently find ways to get the students to cooperate during the online teaching. Although in one of his papers dealing with online teaching Stojanović states that "the quality of education is at a higher level" (Stojanović, 2020: 122) in online teaching, we could not agree with this statement because, based on the research conducted by the Institute for the Improvement of Education, it can be concluded that teachers do not trust their students, and that students are not ready for independent work, which will be seen in the following table. It shows that 33.5% of students, according to the teachers, have a low level of digital competences, as well as that 52.3% of students do not have access to resources and technologies. And according to the results of the research we conducted, out of a total of 587 respondents, as many as 150 of them (or 52.6%) answered that they had no interest in following online classes, and therefore the quality of such classes could not be good. Also, "online teaching, as a modern form of distance education, is associated with problems in socialization, the absence of interaction and active participation of students in the teaching process, delayed or scarce feedback from the teacher" (Kuzmanović, 2022: 34) so that the psychological and socialization aspect should also be taken into account, especially since this refers to adolescents.

According to the part of this Institute's survey conducted at the beginning of May 2020 on teachers, professional assistants and principals of primary and secondary schools, and on the realization of the distance learning process, it was determined that the main problems faced by teachers during the transition to the implementation of the educational process through distance learning were as follows:

Table 4: What were the main problems faced by teachers during the transition to implementing the educational process through distance learning? (The respondents could choose up to 5 answers) (survey of the Institute for the Improvement of Education, 2020)

The school does not implement the educational process through distance learning	1.0%
There were no problems	4.8%
Time management and organization	17.2%
Increased workload	51.6%
Insufficient support or guidance from the school	5.3%
Creating content for the educational process through distance learning	8.9%
Assessment of student progress	41.5%
Process of adapting activities and content to educational ones	15.8%
Support for students with developmental disabilities or disabilities	16.3%
Student motivation and involvement	20.0%
Involvement of students from marginalized groups	23.2%
Involvement of undisciplined students	25.4%
Low level of digital competences of students	33.5%
Low level of digital competence of teachers	25.3%
Communication with parents / legal representatives	13.3%
Communication with students	18.3%
Availability of resources and technology to students	52.3%
Availability of resources and technology to teachers	37.4%

Based on this research conducted by the above-mentioned Institute, it can be determined that the main problem faced by teachers during online teaching was a substantially increased workload. Teaching materials were not available to them on the Internet, so they had to adapt their plans and preparations to the conditions, make special presentations and reports, which required much more time than it was needed in normal school conditions. A large number of teachers had a problem with the availability of resources and technology, and a low level of digital competence was also noticeable, from which we can conclude that many teachers had problems with online teaching. A certain number of teachers and students did not have the technical requirements needed for teaching, as well as the necessary experience for working on platforms, but they had to be trained in a short period of time. In this regard, a question arises whether these changes will later affect the change of the educational system or whether everything will return to the old ways. As Anderson says, "schools can be revolutionized by this experience" (Anderson, 30 March 2020, Quartz). But that remains for us to determine after the end of the pandemic.

Table 5 contains the research results regarding the problems and difficulties encountered by the students during sociology classes during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Table 5: Problems and difficulties encountered by the students during sociology classes during the pandemic

	Frequency	Percentage
Invalid	5	0.9%
Lack of IT literacy	32	5.5%
Bad Internet connection	232	39.5%
I had no technical requirements	69	11.8%
I had no interest in following online classes	150	25.6%
Second: no difficulties	82	14.0%
We didn't have online classes	11	1.9%
In total	581	99.0%
Missing	6	1.0%
In total	587	100.0%

Out of 587 surveyed students, poor Internet connection stood out as the biggest problem faced by students during online classes, and as many as 232 respondents, or 39.5%, answered that they had a problem with Internet connection. The next problem listed by the students was the lack of interest in following online classes, with as many as 150 respondents, or 25.6%, indicating in the background the poor quality of the classes and the lack of interest of the teachers to try to raise the quality of their classes and to bring the material and teaching materials closer to the students and better explain the subject. Furthermore, 11.8% or 69 respondents stated that they had no technical conditions for attending classes, which meant no free space, no information technology for attending classes, and frequent power outages, most often encountered by the students in the territory of Kosovo and Metohija. With 32 students, or 5.5%, stating that they were insufficiently IT literate, this is a good indicator showing that the majority of young people are IT literate, since, according to the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, "frequency of Internet use - individuals, 81.2 % in the last three months" (Statistical Office, 2021), which would further indicate that out of 18.8% of the population not using the Internet or not being computer literate, only 5.5% are young people under the age of 18. In addition, 82 respondents, or 14.0%, stated that they did not have any problems when studying online.

CONCLUSION

This paper presents the results of research on students about the teaching of sociology in secondary vocational schools during the COVID-19 pandemic, which led to significant changes worldwide in all areas, not only in education. What is certain is that this pandemic has had a significant impact on increasing many inequalities that exist in the world. Occasional closing of schools, interruptions and sudden changes in the way of teaching in the educational process have led to unfathomable consequences. The pandemic has had a negative impact on all areas, except for the fields of information technology, which began to develop rapidly from the very beginning of the pandemic. In the technological world, there was a sudden development of various distance learning software and platforms to facilitate teachers to improve the quality of teaching. It should be added here that the increased development of various software has helped, not only the educational process, but also numerous other sectors so that the entire economies of the countries would not collapse. "The challenge is to reduce, as much as possible, the negative impact that this pandemic has on learning and schooling and to build an experience that will help students progress faster in the learning process" (Stepanović, 2020: 192).

Despite numerous advantages of online teaching, such as scientific and technical progress that represents mutual cooperation between science and education, then strengthening of teacher competences, greater solidarity among colleagues, saving time because students did not have to travel to school and could have more independent work, which allows faster progress, safety, always available materials, classes can be followed from home and many other advantages can be listed. However, the conclusion is that online classes cannot be realized in the Republic of Serbia in the way feasible in economically stronger and more modern countries. Economically more developed countries have higher investments in education. According to OECD results, "around 60% of the surveyed countries have already increased their education budget in response to the pandemic" (OECD, 2020). In these areas, schools are still not ready to fully adapt to online teaching, largely because the socio-economic status of both students and teachers is at an unenviable level. A large number of the respondents, as it can be seen in the above results, have technical, Internet and network problems. The teachers, as well as the students have a low level of digital competence; a large number of the students have no interest in further training and cooperation with teachers. In general, it can be concluded that the majority of students showed a negative attitude towards online education, pointing out that the main problems they encountered during the learning process were lack of interest, lack of concentration, difficult communication, lack of motivation for further progress, sitting in front of the computer for a long time. Moreover, there was reduced interaction between teachers and students, as well as the stress of whether they would be able to do all the assigned tasks independently, etc. This is exactly why it is "necessary for the survival of the school as an institution to follow innovations and trends in science and technology, because education plays a great role in the development of innovation, creativity, critical thinking, emotionality, professionalism, etc." (Jakovljević, 2022: 252).

However, if we look at the whole picture from the point of view that in the educational process education is in the second place in the overall educational process, and the health of students and teachers comes first, then we should still conclude that online and any kind of teaching is better than risking the lives of our youngest citizens.

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Sreten M. Jelić[1]
University of Belgrade,
Faculty of Agriculture
Belgrade (Serbia)

Marija D. Popović[2]
University of Belgrade,
Faculty of Agriculture
Belgrade (Serbia)

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN SERBIA WITH A FOCUS ON RURAL AREAS

Abstract: The rural areas of our country are changing. In recent decades, significant changes have occurred in the structure of the population, households and family farms. Women in rural areas, as part of the population outside the city, are often left out from the impact of positive social and economic changes. Women must be ensured the opportunity to enjoy all the benefits of social protection, social welfare and the use of healthcare services. The paper especially points out the position of women in Serbia with a focus on rural areas, because out of the total population 1,454,919 or 20.24% women live in these areas. Women are increasingly becoming the holders of single and elderly households. Women in rural areas are older than women in urban areas. The participation of older women in local communities, areas and regions of Southern and Eastern Serbia is increasing. Some socio-demographic characteristics show that the position of women has improved, as well as the improvement of rural communities in general, which is conditioned by the resources and the way of life in the countryside.

Keywords: women, position, rural areas, characteristics, Serbia.

[1] sjelic@agrif.bg.ac.rs
[2] marija.popovic11@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

Women represent a significant group of the population, but their needs and problems are usually invisible. Based on some socio-demographic characteristics of the female population of Serbia, the changes that have occurred are evident. Women in rural areas are older than women living in urban areas. The participation of the old population and women living in rural areas is increasing compared to the young.

Women living in the countryside, although they are an invisible workforce, represent development potential in rural areas and play a very significant role in maintaining the development of agriculture and rural areas (Jelić and Popović, 2020).

The educational capital of women in rural areas is low, and the opportunities for acquiring additional knowledge and skills are extremely scarce. Under the pressure of work and obligations, women in rural areas are poorly motivated to act more actively in the labour market. Positive changes in the educational structure of the female population, primarily during the transition period, have contributed to the reduction of the share of illiterates and the improvement of the educational structure. Differences in the educational structure of women are especially pronounced between rural and urban areas by regions, districts, local communities and settlements.

It is necessary to emphasize that the position of women in rural areas in terms of their freedom and right to freely choose their life priorities is changing because the entire society is changing, especially the concept of patriarchy in families. Certainly, a big problem is the insufficient appreciation of women's efforts and work on farms, because they often work up to 15 hours, but no one records it and they do not get personal recognition for it. However, women in rural areas are increasingly opting for independent entrepreneurship in the form of tourism, catering, various crafts, and in that field, they are achieving significant success and results. They can be very important actors and the driving force behind the development of rural areas.

RESULTS OF THE PAPER AND DISCUSSION

In recent decades, and particularly during the transition period, significant changes in the structure of the population have occurred in Serbia. Our country is one of the oldest nations in the world where the average age of population is over forty years old and with a particularly high proportion of old people (over 65 years old). The deterioration of demographic trends is particularly expressed by the aging index, which represents the ratio of the population over 65 years and of the population under 19 years old. According to the data from the 2011 population census, the average age of women in rural areas is 44.9 years, which is 2.2 years more than women in the city. The number of women living in rural areas is smaller than the number of women in urban areas, and the dominant difference is the larger number of women over 65 in the village than in the city. These data point to the fact confirming the thesis that in rural areas there is an increasing number of elderly people and limited working capacity of the population, while the share of young people is smaller and the working female population is decreasing.

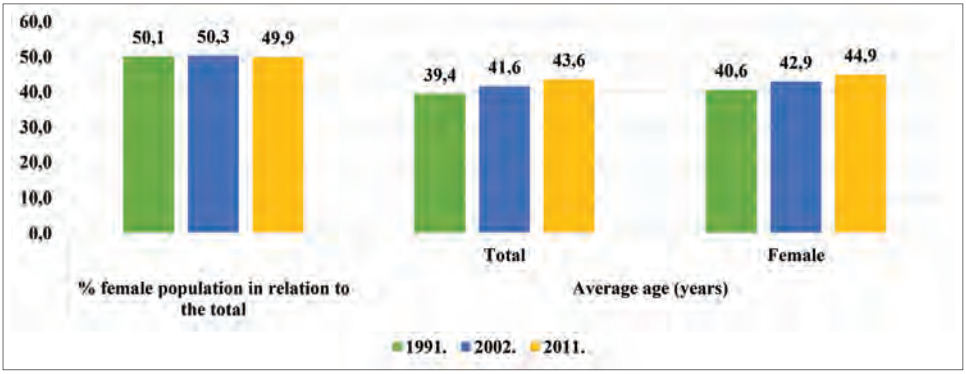
Changes in the values of the basic indicators of population age indicate that demographic aging was still faster in the urban population. The causes of the more intensive aging of the urban population should be sought in the character of the migration flows that were present in the period 1991-2011. During the 1990s, the wave of refugees was primarily directed towards urban areas which, considering the age structure of the refugees, influenced the acceleration of the aging process of the total population in the cities.

The main feature of the gender structure of the population of the Republic of Serbia, viewed by age, is the numerical dominance of men among the younger population, and the numerical dominance of women among the middle and old population. Men are more numerous until the 40-44 age group, in which group the number of men and women becomes equal. In all other age groups, women are more numerous, and their numerical dominance becomes more pronounced with age (Mitrović, 2015). Rural areas are dominated by a mature and elderly population. The largest share in the total rural population is the age group of 30-49 (accounting for 25.22%), followed by the category of 56-64 (accounting for 23.21%), and the concerning fact is that a fifth of the total rural population is made up of people over 65 years old. The continuous aging of the population of Serbia has been present for a long period of time, and constitutes one of the biggest problems in the country. The data show that the older population mostly lives in rural areas of Serbia, while the younger population lives in urban areas. The intensity of migration of the female population is primarily a consequence of education, employment, marriage, but also a greater representation of the female population (from other areas) from the republics of the former Yugoslavia (Jelić and Jovanović, 2018).

In relation to the total population of the country, women make up 51.3% of the total population. There is a higher proportion of women in the middle-aged and old population. In single households, women are represented by 60%, and in elderly households whose bearers are 65 and older, almost three quarters are women (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2017). In rural areas, 20.24% of the total population are women. As women's life expectancy increases, so does the share of women in rural areas.

Changes in the gender structure of the country's total population took place in the direction of reducing the difference in the number of male and female population. There are significant regional differences in the full structure of the population. In a large number of the municipalities, women are more numerous than men. Migration as a factor in the formation of the gender structure of the total population was of particular importance, especially in the period 1991-2011, or the transition period (Chart 1).

Chart 1. Structure of the female population in rural areas in Serbia in the period 1991-2011



Source: Census of population, households and dwellings in 2002, Gender and age: data by settlements, RZS, Belgrade, 2003; Census of population, households and dwellings in the Republic of Serbia in 2011, Population, age and gender, data by settlements, Belgrade, 2012, pp. 42-43, author's calculation.

In rural areas, according to the data of the 2011 population census, the proportion of male population is higher than that of female population. The structure of the population according to age and gender shows that the population in the younger period of life, or up to 29 years of age, is continuously decreasing, while the population of both genders after 50 years of age records growth. On the basis of the mentioned characteristics, the increasing participation of elderly residents in rural areas can be observed (Table 1).

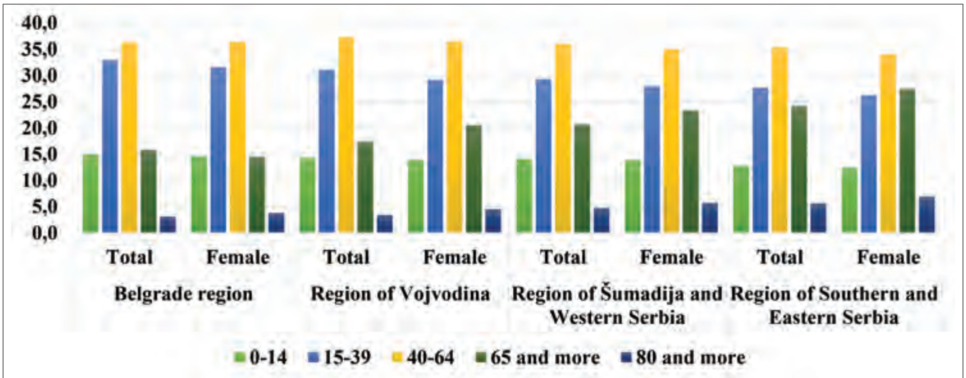
Table 1. Structure of the total population by age and gender in rural areas in Serbia in 2011

Age		0 – 14	15 – 19	20 – 24	25 – 29	30 – 49	50 – 64	65 and more	Total
2011	Total	13,92	5.7	5,97	5,9	25,22	23,21	20,08	100,00
	Male %	7,15	2,94	3,14	3,16	13,21	11,84	8,65	50,09
	Female %	6,77	2,76	2,83	2,74	12,01	11,37	11,43	49,91

Source: Census of population, households and dwellings in the Republic of Serbia in 2011, Population, age and gender, data by settlements, RZS, Belgrade, 2012, author's calculation.

Differences can be observed both between regions and in the gender structure in rural areas (Chart 2). The highest average age of women is in the south and east of Serbia, where at the same time there is the smallest share of the female population under the age of 14 is and the largest share of the population over 65 years of age, with an emphasis on the fact that there is the largest share of women over 80 years old compared to other regions. The largest number of women in rural areas live in Šumadija and Western Serbia, while the smallest number of them live in other areas of Belgrade region.

Chart 2. Age structure of the population in rural areas by region in Serbia in 2011



Source: Census of population, households and dwellings in the Republic of Serbia in 2011, Population, age and gender, data by settlements, RZS, Belgrade, 2012, author's calculation.

FEMALE EDUCATION IN RURAL AREAS

Education is a very important factor in the development of society, as well as in the improvement of women's life in rural areas. We have already reviewed the position of women in rural areas, but it should be noted that there have been changes throughout the history of women's education in the rural areas. In the past, the education of the female population was not given much importance. Their own life was predicted through the process of training for work on the farm, acquiring knowledge necessary for a housewife and marriage. There were exceptions where female children were sent to school only for the purpose of finding them a better husband in the future. Women's education is undergoing a long-term transformation process, so today there are more and more highly educated women who came from the countryside, which is a consequence of the modernization of society, changing the patriarchal ways of observing the female population in the countryside and numerous global changes. Certainly, there are still rural areas where the female population's education is treated in the same way as before. The share of illiterate persons in the total population today amounts to almost 2%. The total number of illiterate persons has decreased by about 100,000 in the last ten years, from as many as 232,925 according to the previous census to 127,463. Positive changes in literacy of the population of Serbia in the long run, and particularly in recent years, have significantly contributed to the reduction of the share of illiterate persons, and thus to the reduction of differences compared to the countries with the lowest share of the illiterate.

Between the population in urban and rural areas, there are certain differences in the structure of illiterate persons according to gender. In rural settlements in 2002, there were 9.92% illiterate women, or 6 times more than men. According to the 2011 census female illiteracy decreased to 5.48% (Table 2).

Table 2. Population according to literacy by gender in rural areas 2002-2011. in Serbia

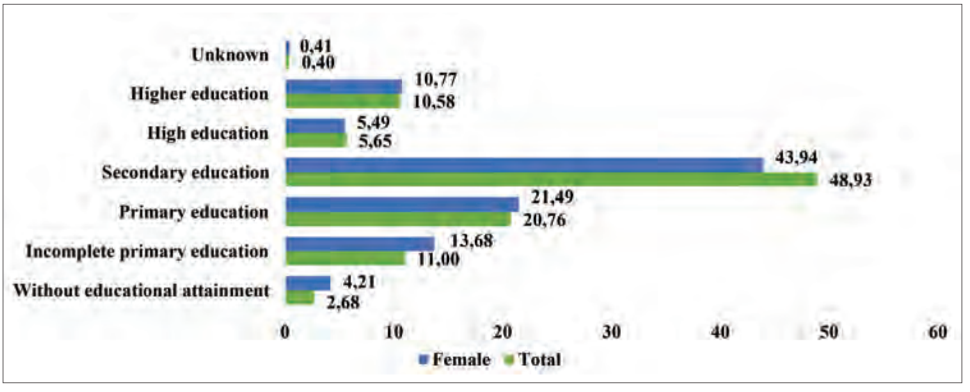
Type of settlement	2002.			2011.		
Other settlements	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**
Illiterate	173.849	26.175	147.674	87.762	14.975	72.787
Illiteracy rate	5,90	1,79	9,92	3,31	1,13	5,48

Source: Census of population, households and dwellings in 2002, Population, Level of Education and Literacy, data by municipalities, RZS, Belgrade, 2003, p. 16. Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in 2011 in the Republic of Serbia, Population, Level of Education, Literacy and Computer Literacy, Data by Municipalities and Cities, RZS, Belgrade, 2013.

The educational structure of the population in the city and other settlements indicates the existence difference, primarily between regions and areas. The largest percentage of inhabitants without school is in the region of Šumadija and West Serbia, about 36%, and the lowest percentage is in the Belgrade region, which is understandable because education in the area of Belgrade is more accessible, as well as better infrastructural equipment than in other regions of Serbia. The population with completed secondary education is almost equally represented in all regions, which would mean that this type of schooling is the most represented and common in all regions of Serbia (Jelić and Jovanović, 2018).

The structure of the female population aged 15 and over by professional qualifications indicates that there are 34.43% women without any formal education, with incomplete primary education and with primary education, 48.93% have secondary education while 16.23% of women in Serbia have college and university education (Chart 3).

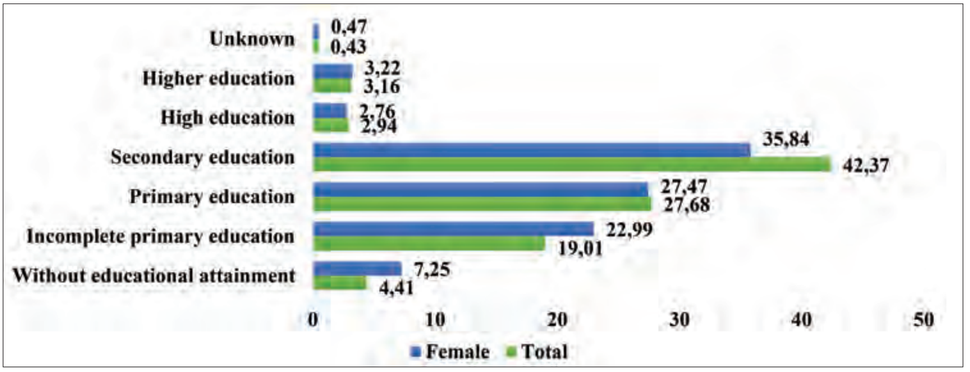
Chart 3. Female population aged 15 and over according to professional qualifications in Serbia in 2011



Source: 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia, Population, Level of Education, Literacy and Computer Literacy, Data by Municipalities and Cities, RZS, Belgrade, 2013, pp. 34-35, calculation of the author.

In rural areas, 51.9% of the total population has no formal education, has incomplete primary education and primary education. Moreover, 42.37% of the population has secondary education, while 6.1% of the population have college and university education. The share of women without education, with incomplete elementary school and primary education is 57.72% in relation to the total population of rural areas aged 15 and over. There are 35.84% women with secondary education in rural areas and 5.98%. with high and higher education According to the above-listed data, there is a larger share of women with no education, with incomplete primary education and with primary education in relation to the total population of the age of 15 and over in rural areas. In addition, there is a smaller share of women with secondary, college and university education in relation to the total population of rural areas aged 15 and over (Chart 4).

Chart 4. Female population aged 15 and over according to professional qualifications in rural areas in Serbia, 2011



Source: 2011 Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia, Population, Level of Education, Literacy and Computer Literacy, Data by Municipalities and Cities, RZS, Belgrade, 2013, pp. 34-35, calculation of the author.

The educational characteristics of the population in rural areas are unfavourable, and the chances for the improvement of the educational structure is limited by a number of obstacles. More than half of the rural residents aged 15 and over do not have primary school education at all or have completed only primary school. The availability of schools and contents in rural areas is extremely unfavourable and constitutes a substantial obstacle in the improvement of the educational structure in these areas.

One of the issues of the future development of the agriculture sector is the rather unfavourable age and educational structure of the agricultural workforce. This problem is significant from the aspect of the rural area social structure and in terms of the capacity of human resources for adopting new technologies, changing the production structure and many others (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Economy, 2014). Considering the educational structure of the population, the changes occurring in the surveyed period, as well as still unfavourable tendencies with underdeveloped agricultural potential, out-of-date machines and underdeveloped infrastructure, school availability etc., are slowing down not only modernization and development of agriculture, but also other activities, rural development and development of certain regions and areas. Successful revitalization of rural areas implies reformation of agrarian structures.

QUALITY OF LIFE AND ACCESS TO SOCIAL SERVICES FOR WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS

It is generally known that the quality of life and the availability of services of state institutions are poorer in rural areas than in the cities. Spatial and geographical distance is one of the factors that discriminates rural areas in terms of access to these services compared to urban areas. Mobility of women, the information they have, or personal determination for the necessity of some social service also affect the level of use of these services for women in rural areas. Women who live in rural areas and work in agriculture are subject to the risk of discrimination and that is why it is necessary to take the necessary measures in order to improve their position. The most significant factor leading to discrimination is the fact that they live in underdeveloped areas and have no rights in the process of making important decisions. They are not given the opportunity to manage assets, and 60% of women in rural areas have no pension insurance at all. A woman's working day in the countryside, as it has already been mentioned in the paper, lasts about 15 hours because their work does not include only the jobs considered exclusively female, but also doing all the jobs done by men – hard physical work and often taking care of older family members. Women frequently suffer physical and psychological abuse and have difficulty in deciding whether to report it. The position of women in the countryside is unfavourable, and their access to services for the establishment of economic participation is limited.

Among women in rural areas there are more work-inactive and unemployed compared to men, with the ratio of 55% women to 39% men. Participation of employees in non-agricultural sectors is significantly low, i.e., 20% women and 34% men; the participation of women in agricultural work is high and amounts to 56.6%, while employment mainly refers to women's jobs within households. In addition, a large number of women have the status of auxiliary members of the household.

The majority of the female population in urban areas is made of pensioners. Children and young people in the countryside understand that moving to the city is the fastest way to leave bad living conditions, providing them with better opportunities for social inclusion and a higher and better level of education, which is the reason for a larger number of pupils and students in the city. In other settlements, housewives as part of the population are subordinated to the household chores and care of their family members. Inactive people in rural areas are primarily women engaged in raising children or looking for work outside the village.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN ON THE FARM AND IN THE HOUSEHOLD IN RURAL AREAS

A woman in rural areas who lives in a family has a more favourable social position and is an active participant in production on the farm and the carrier of household chores. The most important role of a woman is motherhood or parenting, i.e., taking care of and raising children. A woman also has a role in children's upbringing and education, while at the same time she performs the function of a housewife and the function of an agricultural producer. The woman is the main worker in the rural household, and the household is the unit of consumption.

According to the division of labour into men's and women's jobs in rural areas, all jobs related to the household are entirely left to women. Jobs in the agricultural household are different from those in non-agricultural households because the household and agricultural farm are part of the form used to express economic functions of the family in the countryside. The position of women as wives in rural areas is not determined solely by economic dependence on the husband. Many factors before marriage and in family life affect the position of a woman as a wife. Women gradually become carriers of agricultural production on individual farms, because men, if they do not leave the farm, are professionally oriented towards non-agricultural activities. Thus, women are active farmers on individual farms and in some regions, they even make up more than half of the agricultural workforce.

Women as agricultural producers do not participate equally in all areas of agricultural production. Women participate more in animal husbandry than in tillage. Poultry farming is an exclusive area of their activities. In this existing division of labour, women in rural areas are suited to agricultural production that is related to economic yards, which allows them occasional interruptions in work during the working day, so that they can perform be housewives and agricultural producers at the same time. On the farms with the area of more than 8 ha, the participation of women in agricultural work is lower than that of men due to the fact that such farms have more male workers who are oriented towards agricultural production. Therefore, women's work in relation to men's work is the most significant on poor individual farms and declines proportionally to the size of the farm. Despite intensive involvement in agricultural production, which classifies them as full rather than helping members of the household, these women are in most cases excluded from decision-making regarding production. In most cases, their work takes place in the conditions of small and medium-sized farms with mixed, non-specialized production and with scarce means of production. These working conditions make their position even more unfavourable. Women have the opportunity to plan production and make some decisions when it comes to agricultural production as a supplementary economic activity, and when other members of the household are employed outside the farm.

In most households, budgets are centralized and usually controlled mainly by male members of the household. Women can use the household money for everyday consumption. When they need money for personal needs, half of the women in the sample are forced to ask for it from other (mostly male) household members, while one third of them manage to provide their personal funds for such purposes. This personal money is often put aside by women who sell agricultural products or work for other households.

Based on the survey that covered 800 female respondents, the following data were obtained in the rural areas of Vojvodina. The respondents are most often married with children (44.4%), or live in the extended family (26.1%), while 10.9% of them live with their parents. There are 5.9% women in single households. Only a small number of women live in extramarital union (1.7%) or are married but have no children (5.3%). Extramarital union is most common among the youngest women (2.6%). As many as 15.2% women from the oldest surveyed category live alone. Over 70% of the respondents live with the children in the household. They most often live with two children (37.4%) or with one child (26.8%). However, as many as 40.1% of women from the oldest group live without children in the household, as well as 44.7% of women with the highest education. It can be assumed that in these cases, the respondents' children have already grown up and established their own households (Blagojević, 2010).

CONCLUSION

The complexity of the demographic processes faced by our country has not bypassed rural areas. Significant structural changes have occurred in the structure of the population, especially the reduction of the population, regional disproportions, the increase in the share of the elderly and reduction in the share of young people, etc. Out of the total population, the participation of women is slightly higher, but 20.24% of women out of the total population live in rural areas. There is a larger share of middle-aged and older women. The age structure of women is unfavourable because as women's age increases, their share in the total and rural population also increases. In the region of South and East Serbia, the women's age structure is particularly unfavourable.

The largest share of women in rural areas have secondary school education. The educational structure of women in rural areas indicates differences between the city and rural areas settlements, differences between regions, areas, municipalities and local communities. With the increasing age, the educational structure of the female population in rural areas is more unfavourable. The female population of rural areas differs largely by educational and age groups. The educational capital of women living in rural areas is low, and opportunities for acquiring additional knowledge and skills are extremely scarce, while due to the pressure of work and obligations women are poorly motivated to take active part in the labour market. Women in rural settlements earn less than men in the household, but it is a fact that a large number of women contribute to the family budget.

It is necessary to ensure that women in rural areas use all the benefits of social protection, healthcare and family planning services. Women in rural areas rarely visits healthcare institutions. Almost half of them will see a doctor only when they are ill. There is not sufficiently widespread awareness of the need for prevention among the rural population.

Opportunities to improve the position of women, as well as the improvement of rural communities in general, are conditioned both by resources and by the way of life in the countryside, because these are the frameworks within which specific activities and development policies should be implemented.

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Milana M. Ljubičić[1]
University of Belgrade,
Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Sociology
Belgrade (Serbia)

Slađana M. Dragišić Labaš[2]
University of Belgrade,
Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Sociology
Belgrade (Serbia)

NURSING HOME USERS AND THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC: RESEARCH INTO EVERYDAY PRACTICES AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE NEW NORMALITY

Abstract: Our paper deals with the research into everyday life of the institutionally accommodated elderly and their attitudes towards the coronavirus pandemic. After the pandemic was declared in March 2020, the elderly were recognized as a particularly vulnerable population. In their case, the risk of infection and fatal outcome was considered exceptional in comparison to other age groups. Both in our country and in many others, such discourse in relation to the elderly gave rise to the seemingly paternalistic, and actually repressive practices. Namely, their freedom of movement was restricted, while the ones in institutional care were deprived of direct contact with their family members and friends, all for the purpose of health protection. According to our research hypothesis, this context determined their daily routines and formed their opinions about the danger from the coronavirus. The aim of our research was to examine how the institutionally accommodated elderly lived their everyday lives within the context of the new normal and in what manner they perceived the newly-arising situation. To find an answer to this question, we interviewed eight users of a

[1] milanaljubicic@yahoo.com
[2] sladjadl@yahoo.com

Belgrade-based elderly home. The findings of the analysis show that their everyday practices have remained more or less unchanged in the conditions of the new normal, while the absence of any contact with the close ones and with the outside world was seen as painful. Our respondents faced fears, the most pronounced of which was the fear for the lives of the loved ones.

Keywords: the elderly, institutional accommodation, pandemic, everyday life.

INTRODUCTION

The majority of modern societies, particularly those that are ranked as the most developed in economic terms, face the population recession – fertility decrease and longer life expectancy. The world population is ageing rapidly, and it is predicted that by 2050 there will be 22% people older than 60 (Bloom et al., 2015).

Population ageing is a pronounced demographic trend in our country as well: one fifth of the population is older than 65 (*Report on the work of institutions for accommodating adults and the elderly for the year of 2020,* 2021). This percentage is expected to rise and to reach more than one quarter by 2050.

Although the above-listed data constitute indisputable proof of social progress (Bobić, 2013; Dragišić Labaš, 2016; Knežić & Vidanović, 2011), just a glance at the social position of the elderly reveals that there is no room for excessive optimism[3]. As far as population ageing is concerned, all modern societies encounter numerous challenges regardless of the degree of their economic development. Therefore, although social care for the elderly is one of the pillars of social law in the EU (Ljubičić, 2020), the social system infrastructure cannot meet the increasing needs of the elderly[4] (https://hir.harvard.edu/elder-care-infrastructure/). What is particularly worrying is the decreasing trend of social and other allocations of funds intended for persons in the third age of life,[5] but also the poverty faced by this population. The latter is perfectly illustrated by the 2019 OECD Report: in most member-states, the elderly are the poorest part of the population, while their material deprivation increases along with their age (Pensions at a Glance 2019: OECD and G20 indicators, 2019).

Furthermore, it is especially worrying that the elderly are exposed to discrimination and ageism. Despite the expectations of a different state of affairs, even in the European Union member states that can boast of the developed legislation directed towards protecting minorities from discrimination, little has been done regarding old age as grounds

[3] For example, at the G20 summing in 2019, an opinion was expressed that population ageing is a global risk (https://www.france24.com/en/20190609-historic-first-g20-weighs-ageing-global-risk).
[4] There are no sufficient caregivers or institutions to take care of the elderly.
[5] In fact, judging by the report *Global Elderly Care in Crisis* (The Lancet, 2014), after the decision to reduce allocations, about 800,000 elderly people in needy circumstances were left without the support of publicly and privately financed help organizations.

for violating the right to equality (Mikołajczyk, 2018). The bias about the elderly being a social burden and bias-based practices are present with no exception in all modern societies, while ageism was fully and openly expressed during the coronavirus pandemic itself. The manner of treating the elderly and the implications of such manner of treatment will be further discussed in the research below.

THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC AND THE ELDERLY

In March 2020, the world faced the coronavirus pandemic, and the World Health Organization and the governments of national states undertook a number of measures in order to prevent the spread of the infection. Although very little was known about the disease caused by the coronavirus at the time of its outbreak, the elderly[6] became the centre of social care because they were thought to be at the greatest risk. To protect their health and save the capacities of healthcare institutions, the elderly were subject to a number of protection measures, particularly at the global level. Therefore, although the measures varied from one country to another, the elderly were treated in a similarly restrictive manner in almost all corners of the globe (Fischer et al., 2020). They were asked to observe the prohibitions that essentially meant self-isolation and restraint from all social contacts.[7]

A special protection regime was introduced in nursing homes[8] because these places were recognized as a particular risk to the health condition of the largest number of residents (Vukušić, 2021). The World Health Organization offered a number of guidelines as to how to care for the users of these institutions during the pandemic, how to keep hygiene and how to act in the cases of coronavirus infection. Finally, to prevent the spread of the infection, contacts were prohibited between the outside world and physical distance was imposed to nursing home users.

Although healthcare and other policies and practices intended for the elderly during the pandemic were aimed at protecting their lives, a number of authors notice that such treatment actually strengthened pandemic biases[9] (Momtaz, 2020) and exposed the elderly to open discrimination and violation of constitutional and civil rights (Zvijer,

[6] In the text we use the term "the elderly" instead of the term that had the politically correct status until recently ("older people"), taking into account the opinion of the advocates of the rights of the elderly to promote (benevolent) ageism through the use of the latter term (Ljubičić, 2021).
[7] Ayalon (2020) asserts that the latent meaning of this message is that the intergenerational contact is problematic and should be abolished.
[8] They remained under such special protection regime even after the abolition of the state of emergency in the Republic of Serbia in May 2020, unlike their peers living at home.
[9] Ageism is a phenomenon persisting throughout centuries. The beliefs it is founded on are that the elderly are less valuable or at least dependent members of the society, that they are a burden to younger generations (Whitton, 1997). These beliefs are accompanied by the expectations that the elderly should not spend resources, that they must give their own autonomy (because of being less rational, retrograde tec.) and that, at best, they should allow younger generations to care for them (Swift, Steeden, 2020).

2021). An important role in the process was played by the media[10], in which the elderly were presented as a homogeneous group, and COVID-10 as their disease (Ayalon, 2020). It resulted in a strong public resentment and hatred speech, particularly towards *the disobedient elderly* – those who did not observe the measures[11] (D'cruz & Banerjee, 2020). Namely, young generations directed their anger towards the elderly, being encouraged by the media-promoted thesis that economies would fail due to special vulnerability of the people in the third age and the measures imposed in order to protect them (Ayalon, 2020).

Furthermore, something almost unimaginable occurred in practice – healthcare systems in some countries made age-based discrimination of patients official (see: Ljubičić, 2022). The logic behind rationalization of the healthcare treatment: younger and middle-aged generations have the priority in the treatment over the elderly in intensive care units, i.e., it is necessary to save first those who yet have to live a quality life (D'cruz & Banerjee, 2020). Some authors, not without irony, translate the essence of such medical utilitarianism as follows: the elderly cannot be a priority because they are not expected to be productive or socially useful, and it is perfectly alright to let them die (Aronson, 2020: 4).

The mortality of the elderly at the beginning of the pandemic was extremely high. For example, in Italy, the National Health Institute stated the fact that on 17th March 1.625 persons died, as well as that 169 of them were 60-69 years old; 578 were 70-79 years old, while the largest number of deceased – as many as 850 were in the ninth decade of their lives (Fischer et al., 2020). Moreover, the high mortality rate was recorded among the institutionally accommodated elderly. Although the data about what actually took place in nursing homes throughout Europe and the world are only partially available, according to Gábor Kemenesi et al. (2020), a large number of nursing home residents died from COVID-19. The report of the London School of Economics states that at least half of all death cases caused by the coronavirus (between 42% and 57%) occurred in the nursing homes in Italy, Belgium, Spain, Ireland and France. Alarming data also came from the USA[12]. The Center for Medicare and Medicaid Services reported that on 1st June 2020 as many as 26,000 people died in social protection institutions, which was one quarter of all death cases caused by COVID-19 in the USA at that moment (Monahan et al., 2020).

In our country, despite the introduction of restrictive measures, the coronavirus entered nursing homes as well. For example, according to the data of the Ministry of Labour, Employment, Veteran and Social Policy, the virus was confirmed in 59 nursing

[10] Rahman and Jahan remind us of how powerful the influence of the media is and how, owing to the fear initiated by the media at the beginning of the pandemic, we were panic-stricken into buying groceries and stocking up toilet paper.

[11] They were accused of selfishness in the situation in which they were expected to observe the measures (Ayalon, 2020).

[12] We have also found out that in some countries (Spain and Italy), a number of the bed-confined elderly patients died not of the coronavirus but because they were left by their caregivers who were afraid of the disease (Ayalon, 2020).

homes at the beginning of November 2020 (https://rs.n1info.com/vesti/a669400-raste-broj-zarazenih-korisnika-domova-za-stare-vise-od-200/=), while according to the latest press release of this Ministry (of 8th August 2022), the presence of the virus was confirmed among 179 users in 51 institutions (https://www.minrzs.gov.rs/srb-lat/aktuelnosti/vesti/u-ustanovama-socijalne-zastite-i-domovima-za-smestaj-odraslih-i-starih-zarazeno-179-korisnika-i-76-zaposlenih-).

We will also remind of the fact that in April 2020, there was a real disaster in the Gerontology Centre in Niš. Out of 256 residents of the Centre, 140 were infected. Criminal charges were pressed against the manager of the Centre because of his failure to inform the relevant bodies that some of the residents had been infected, or to prohibit visits or joint meals of the residents (https://www.blic.rs/vesti/hronika/negira-da-je-kriv-zbog-140-zarazenih-direktoru-gerontoloskog-centra-u-nisu-odreden/3p0mv7x). Almost two years later (in February 2022), there were 102 infected residents in this institution and it has been stated, out of 200 residents who were treated in the University Clinical Centre in Niš (it is not known whether it was solely due to the coronavirus infection), 50 died (https://www.danas.rs/vesti/drustvo/u-niskom-gerontoloskom-centru-koronom-zarazeno-104-korisnika-i-radnika/). As suggested by a number of the authors (Jovanović, 2020, according to Mojić, 2021), the above-mentioned data should be accepted with reserve because of the reasonable doubt that the number of those infected with the virus and deceased due to the infection is far larger.

It is also important to emphasize that the mortality of the institutionally accommodated elderly, at least in our country, is high regardless of the pandemic; one third of the residents die during their first year in the nursing home, while about 97% residents of private institutions are functionally dependent on somebody else's help (Babović et al., 2018), and that is why these data are not surprising at all. The mortality of the residentially accommodated elderly further increased during the pandemic owing to numerous organizational and technical deficiencies of these institutions. Namely, at the very beginning of the health crisis it became clear that there was no sufficient protection equipment (e.g., masks) or technical-medical aids, that the care quality was (also) rather low because of the (long-term) lack of staff (Mojić, 2021), while those facts were made public due to the pandemic itself.

In addition, although we do not doubt that restrictive measures had two goals: 1. To protect the most vulnerable among us – the elderly – from the unknown disease, and 2. To prevent healthcare systems from collapsing completely, we must observe that they also had a series of undesired consequences. First of all, the imposed social isolation was taken as rather hard for the largest number of the elderly (Ljubičić, 2021). The prohibition of direct physical contact with others, especially their family members, where hugging their grandchildren was presented as disastrous for the elderly in the public discourse (Ayalon, 2020), had a negative effect on the overall health conditions of persons in the third age of life. Namely, earlier studies showed that loneliness and lack of contact increase the risk of dementia, anxiety, depression, heart diseases and emergence of health-risky behaviours – excessive use of alcohol and consumption of cigarettes (Fischer et al., 2020; Monahan et al., 2020). The point is that isolated persons tend to react more to so-called social threats, of which rejection by others is the most unbearable one to every human being (Milivojević et al., 2017: 39). A man deprived of contacts will consider himself less valuable and exposed to the risk of *becoming ill*[13] with loneliness. It further leads to anxiety; various fears and negative self-perception arise, including confusion and even paranoia. In addition, a series of symptoms emerge at the somatic level: the feeling of constant fatigue or pains, which eventually results in self-neglect as well (Milivojević et al., 2017).

Finally, we must also recall that the elderly, although they were in the focus of the creators of social and health policies, and even scientific research during the first months of the pandemic (see: Ljubičić, 2021), ceased to be the subject of such *special attention* as early as mid-2020.

The strengthening of prejudice towards the elderly in the pandemic circumstances has already been spoken about, and directly in relation to their marginalization, there is the fact that all those restrictions were imposed without anyone hearing their opinion about it (Ljubičić, 2021). In this place, we find it important to stress a simple and easily verifiable fact in practice that those who are socially less important are deprived of the possibility to speak about their own experience. Since we believe that researchers' social responsibility also includes the opening of the space for the stories of the marginalized ones, we initiated the interview with the nursing home residents about their everyday life while the restrictive measures were in force.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The research task was to describe how the residents of one nursing home lived their everyday lives after the imposition of prohibited movement and visits, and how they perceived the virus and the accompanying narrative. We set two goals before us: 1. to describe daily routines of the elderly in the institution within the context of restrictive measures – lockdown; and 2. to understand the meaning of the new disease to them and of the measures supposed to protect them from becoming infected.

In our research, we were guided by the following research questions: 1. What activities were included in the daily routine of the nursing home? 2. How did they see the coronavirus and measures supposed to protect them? and 3. How did they feel during the lockdown period?

The research was conducted by the method of the focus group interview combined with the participant observation. The interview was preceded by several steps: the

[13] That loneliness is a type of disease is claimed by Milivojević et al. (2017) and we also agree with them in that respect.

research problems and goals of the study were defined, and then the guide to discussion was prepared, containing three key topics (research questions). We posed open-ended and suggestive questions, as well as those about feelings, by the order that is common for the focus group interview[14] (see: Đurić, 2007: 86).

The interview was transcribed and analyzed by the qualitative content analysis. The content analysis was preceded by the procedure of indexing and defining the analysis units. We defined the categories using the deductive approach – we formed them on the basis of research questions.

CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK AND SAMPLE

The research covers the period in which the measures were imposed by the Minister of Health, regulating contacts between nursing home users, employees and the outside world in the institutions for accommodating the elderly in the territory of our country. According to the *Order about prohibited visits and restricted movement in the facilities of the institutions for accommodating the elderly* of 14th March 2020, which was amended on 7th May 2020, visits were prohibited to all institutions where the elderly were accommodated; the residents were forbidden to leave the institutions, while the reception of the new ones was allowed only if they were not infected by the virus, with the obligatory 14-day isolation period after the arrival at the nursing home. In addition, the isolation measures for those who were in contact with the infected were conducted within the institution, including the orders remaining in force until the end of the danger of the spread of the infectious COVID-19 disease in the Republic of Serbia (https://www.pravno-informacioni-sistem.rs/SlGlasnikPortal/eli/rep/sgrs/ministarstva/naredba/2020/28/1/reg.).

The sample covered eight respondents – residents of a private nursing home[15] on the outskirts of the capital city of Serbia. In the selection of our respondents, we applied several criteria: 1. Whether they had preserved cognitive abilities; 2. That they had stayed in the institution for minimum one year; and 3. That they wanted to speak about the proposed topics. The respondents who fulfilled the first two criteria were asked by the representatives of the nursing home management whether they wanted to participate in the interview and all of them, except for one woman, accepted the invitation. The interview was conducted on the nursing home terrace and it was recorded, with their permission. After the formal completion of the interview, we continued our conversation. Although half of our respondents left the terrace setting immediately after being informed that the interview was over, four of them decided to stay. From those subsequent stories we learnt additional details about their lives in the nursing home, which were of crucial importance for understating their everyday lives.

[14] Since the coronavirus pandemic is not over yet, we have organized only one group interview, not wanting to expose our respondents to the risk of being infected.

[15] The institution has about 40 residents, the majority of whom are functionally highly dependent on other people's assistance.

ABOUT OUR RESPONDENTS, THEIR DAILY ROUTINES DURING LOCKDOWN AND THEIR PERCEPTION OF THE CORONAVIRUS

Our respondents are between 71 and 86 years of age (Table 1). Curiously, eight of them are among rare residents of the nursing home who can walk and take care of their needs without or with minimum assistance of the staff. It should also be mentioned that they were mostly directed towards one another – they did not have much choice when it came to people to whom to speak. It does not mean that all of them get along very well: during the interview, their mutual disagreements surfaced, and we also noticed that one of the persons was ignored by the others, most probably because he tended to openly criticize the nursing home and fellow residents.

Table 1. Respondents' characteristics

Name[16]	Age	Degree of education	Marital status	Has his/her own children	Decision to come to the nursing home
Nina	85	Secondary school	divorced	yes	not her own
Dragan	80	Higher education	widower	yes	not his own
Dušan	86	Higher education	widower	yes	his own
Dušanka	79	Higher education	widow	yes	her own
Radmila	82	Higher education	widow	yes	not her own
Jelena	86	Higher education	widow	yes	not her own
Steva	82	Higher education	widower	yes	his own
Vukašin	71	Secondary school	divorced	yes	not his own

All our respondents were married, while currently they had no partners due to the death of their spouses, or divorce. They all have children and income of their own and they all came to the nursing come because they *had to*, except for one woman and two men. They had no other options because there was no one to take care of them when they got ill. For example, Dragan was urgently operated and then he was infected by the coronavirus in hospital. The disease had numerous consequences so that he could not get up. According to him, he was positive to the virus (i.e., its presence in the body) for six weeks. Since his sons are unable to look after him because of their own family obligations, the only option was for Dragan to go to a nursing home. Radmila and Jelena had mental problems after the death of their husbands – both of them had died due to the coronavirus infection and, since there was no one to look after these women, the only option was a nursing home. It was also the only option for Vukašin, who arrived at the institution directly from the hospital after the leg amputation operation.

[16] Our respondents' names were changed for the sake of protecting their anonymity.

Nina, Steva, Dušan and Dušanka arrived at the nursing home for different reasons. Nina's accommodation was initiated against her will by her daughter-in-law when they needed a vacant room for Nina's grandson who was getting married. Although she had never considered the option of leaving her home (which she had not visited since being accommodated in the nursing home), she was forced to decide whether she would "stay in the street or rent a place of her own". Unlike her, Steva made his own decision because he felt lonely after his wife's death. He says: "I couldn't bear being alone. One of the neighbours or my daughter would come for an hour or so, but it wasn't enough. I was completely alone. First, there was fear, then illness, sadness and bad mood. In the end you become depressed. You become more sensitive to everything in life, unsure. My children asked me what to do, whether I would move to their place or go to a nursing home. They are always at work, and that is why I decided to go to a nursing home". Dušanka decided to come to the institution because she had broken her ribs and could not function on her own, just like Dušan. He asked his family members to take him to a nursing home because he could no longer look after himself. "I can't even heat a meal", he says.

The arrival at the nursing home was traumatic for all of them. For example, Nina, who entered the home before the pandemic, spend the first days "only crying", being unable to come to terms with what had happened to her. In her acceptance of the fact that she was in the nursing home she was helped by the "kind staff and other patients", as well as by the realization that she was still doing well because she could do things by herself. The others had undergone obligatory two-week isolation. Dragan was alone in a room for fourteen days. "I didn't go out", he says. He felt bad: "I was disappointed by everything because of such an experience. I was in diapers and couldn't walk". Vukašin had an almost identical experience. He says that he felt helpless. "It was very difficult for me. Not because of the nursing home, but because I can no longer walk – I don't have a leg. I was just lying and thinking those first days" (he bursts into tears.). Jelena and Radmila cried – both were in a difficult mental state after the death of their husbands. They do not remember anything apart from her sadness and the support of the staff ("I overcame depression thanks to them", Radmila says). Dušanka also "barely survived" the first days, but not due to being isolated. In fact, she does not mind being alone: "I used to work as a doctor for 37 years and I am sick and tired of everything. I like peace and quiet". She finds some of the living conditions difficult to bear. She says: "Here you can smell the sewerage" and, with great relief, she adds: "I'm going home on Sunday and I can't wait". Steva describes in detail what preceded his coming to the nursing home and speaks further about what he found in the nursing home, but he does not say a single word about the isolation immediately after his arrival at the institution. He talks about his (unfulfilled) expectations that he will no longer be alone and about the unacceptable reality. "Here most people are just waiting to die". He especially minds "the noise, because everything can be heard", and he is upset by "seriously mentally disturbed patients who shout and hit walls day and night. I can't sleep because of them. It is unbearable". Finally, he says: "It isn't easy to live at home and then come here, but there is no option for us".

Dušan is the only one who does not mention at all how he experienced his arrival at the nursing home. He solely emphasizes the positive aspects of life in the institution, saying that he asked his family members to "bring them here immediately". He is satisfied with everything. With a big smile, he says: "This is better than better".

From these segments of their narrative, we may see how the change of the environment and the first weeks in the nursing home affected them. On the other hand, we wondered what their daily routines were like during the period of imposed prohibitions. Judging by Nina, who has stayed in the nursing home longer than the others (for three years), everyday life in the restrictive regime does not essentially differ from ordinary days. "It's the same to us, but it's different to those who have just arrived", she says.

Those who have stayed in the nursing home for a shorter period of time also agree that every day is the same. During the state of emergency, these people organized their time around the main contents of the day: drinking coffee – "they serve two cups of coffee every day" – and meals – "breakfast at nine, lunch at half past twelve or one, and then dinner". They all, except for Steva, praise the food served in the nursing home. They spent time between their meals mostly watching television (Radmila, Jelena, Dragan, Dušan), reading books (Vukašin, Dušanka), reading newspapers (Nina), doing physical exercise: workout, watering the flowers, taking a walk in the yard (Steva) and socializing - but only with those who are cognitively able and relatively mobile. "The gathering place" – or the meeting place is the large terrace, while the topics of their conversations are: "Everything. The family, life, where they used to work, what they did for a living" (Nina). These stories seem to be told, but they are constantly repeated and supplemented with some new personal details (e.g., what they like or dislike, whether their sons and daughters have called them). They share news about the nursing home, the staff and other residents, for example, who died, whether someone new has arrived, what that person is like, who has been visited, who has received a package, what the caregivers are like etc. Some of our respondents try to be of use to others. Therefore, ever since his arrival until now, Vukašin has offered "moral support to the patients" and helped the staff, and that is why the doctor calls him a psychotherapist. He also adds that "he tells jokes and makes fun of himself and others, and that he does it because things are hard". When asked what things the residents find hard, he answers that those are "being separated from their families and the failure of their family members to contact them" (he bursts into tears). The lack of contact is the reality for a number of the home residents, including Vukašin.

Our respondents spoke very little about the disease caused by the coronavirus. Some of them, Dragan, Radmila, Jelena and Vukašin, were infected by the virus. All four of them say that their clinical picture was rather serious. Dragan "couldn't walk and lost his eyesight". Radmila and Jelena lost their husbands to the coronavirus and the two of them barely survived. It is especially painful for them that they could not attend their husbands' funerals. Dušanka "took care not to get infected", but she did not listen to some instructions regarding the elderly population. For example, she was not vaccinated although she is a haematologist herself. "Corona is an unknown disease, an unknown virus. People rushed to be vaccinated, but against what?", she asks. She also says that she was rather worried when her son and grandson were infected. "It was terrible". Jelena did not get the vaccine either. "I am against it, but in this environment, you must keep quiet about it", she says and adds that she doubts "the measures regarding pensioners were justified". Although he was not in a position to violate any prohibition due to his health conditions, Dušan has a very clear opinion in that respect: "The most difficult thing for a man is when he is forbidden to do something".

On the other hand, some of our respondents fully support the measures. Namely, Dragan thinks that all the prohibitions regarding "pensioners", as he calls them, are reliable and adds: "The relevant bodies should make decisions and we should listen to them". Vukašin „trusts medical workers" and, although it was hard for him to be closed, he "observed all the measures". Steva behaved in the same way: "Caution measures must be observed".

Our respondents spoke very little about the way they felt during the lockdown, trying to show the life in the nursing home at the present moment and in a positive light ("I am satisfied with everything", "Everyone has accepted me", "The staff are kind and helpful", "This is my second home"). The only emotion we managed to identify clearly was their fear regarding the coronavirus infection. It transpired that the concern for their own lives and the lives of their nearest and dearest was present among all our respondents. We also noticed that the women more commonly feared for the lives of their children and grandchildren, while the men talked about their experience with the disease (Dragan), or about the fear from being infected (Steva, Vukašin).

DISCUSSION

From the interview with our respondents, we have learnt that during the period of prohibitions, the nursing home everyday life did not differ from what it was like before the pandemic or at the moment, excluding the two-week isolation period undergone by all of them except for Nina. All of them except for Dušanka had a hard time in isolation because they were alone and never left the room. They spent this "thinking time" (Vukašin) going back to the more recent past (their reasons for coming to the nursing home), considering their failed expectations and warring about their health conditions. The future was excluded from such *self-negotiations* I or it was processed in a pessimistic manner ("I won't be able to walk", "I will depend on others", "I won't be able to go back home"), except for Dušanka, who, even prior to her arrival here, decided to leave the institution after having fully recovered.

After the expiry of isolation, our respondents found additional activities that will be repeated on a daily basis. Their daily routine includes: meals, coffee drinking, watching television, going for a walk, chatting and reading. Steva regularly exercises and waters the flowers. Although at the beginning of our interview they all spoke about being pleased with their everyday lives, from the subsequent stories after the end of the focus group we may guess that it is not exactly like that. Steva spoke about it most openly, exposing himself to the criticism of others – we suppose because he revealed the dull everyday life faced by the residents. He says: "If you heard us talk to one another, you would find out about all the difficulties here and back at home". Dušanka tells Steva that he has taken up too much space and that others would also like to say something. She criticizes him and is joined by others in her criticism. Steva stays at the terrace and reveals some other negative sides of their everyday life in the nursing home (for example, boredom, lack of privacy).

Our respondents agree, particularly if they were infected by the coronavirus, that the disease is serious. However, they are clearly divided when it comes to the justification of the measures regarding the elderly. Three of them, Steva, Vukašin and Dragan, think that the measures were justified because they were introduced by medical authorities so they observed them although it was difficult. Jelena, Dušanka and Dušan tend to criticize the measures, while Nina does not express her opinion about it. What is interesting to mention is that at the end of our formal interview, Dušanka, a doctor by vocation, expressed her opinion that the coronavirus was not natural, but artificially produced in a laboratory. The others listened to her, but did not take part in talking about this topic.

In the end, speaking of the feelings, we can recognize only one – the fear that they or their loved ones might be infected. From their stories, we may guess that fear is not the only (negative) feeling present in our respondents' lives. There are also the feeling of loneliness and being left alone. These emotions are somewhat alleviated by the presence of other residents and the fact that they also face similar difficulties.

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

The coronavirus pandemic that struck planet Earth made numerous contradictions of modern societies visible. Sharp social polarization occurred, so some swore by medical authorities and measures advocated by them, while others questioned the ratio pursued by the creators of these policies and practices. Although it seemed that all of us had a say in it, the governing discourse was clear in terms of what the truth was. In other words, the coronavirus abolished a series of freedoms, such as the freedom of thought and expression, whereas the elderly were particularly affected in that respect. Namely, they were subject, on a much larger scale, to the prohibition of movement and contact with others, for the purpose of protecting them from infection and almost certain death, but they could not express their own opinions about this matter.

Exclusion of the elderly from social trends, which existed before the pandemic as well, became more than evident, particularly in nursing homes and geriatric clinics (D'cruz & Banerjee, 2020). Their autonomy, independence and agency were officially abolished, all for the purpose of preserving their lives and health, i.e., healthcare systems.

Although we do not doubt that the intention of the creators of these directives was justified in the pandemic circumstances, we are surprised by two facts: 1. That there is no critical public review of the policy creators of the measures, their efficiency and consequences; and 2. Rapidly forgetting the population on which we focused great attention and towards which we showed great care during the first months of 2020. As a matter of fact, after the abolition of restrictive measures, the elderly found themselves in the same place as before the pandemic – in the background. This refers particularly to the invisible elderly – those who live in institutions and cannot be seen by us (and vice versa).

Very little is known about how they lead their everyday lives and how they feel and, judging by the findings of our study, their days are identical, with little content, burdened by the feelings of fear, loneliness and sadness. On the other hand, it is important to emphasize that neither expert nor scientific literature recognizes the need to explore their perspective. We believe that this attitude should be changed not only because of the fact that the world population, including Serbian population, is becoming older and the fact that at some time we will also belong to that corpus, but also because struggling against marginalization and discrimination is integral part of human rights protection. Finally, we would like once again to stress that it is praiseworthy to stand up for the elderly, but that it should not be done against their will.

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Анна И. Мантарова[1]

Болгарская Академия наук,
Институт философии и социологии
София (България)

УСТОЙЧИВОСТЬ И ДИНАМИКА ДЕТЕРМИНАНТ ПРЕСТУПНОСТИ В БОЛГАРИИ

В современном мире социальная среда очень динамична, полна ситуациями неопределенности и появления непредвиденных изменений. Любое серьезное изменение в ней затрагивает элементы и процессы, которые прямо или косвенно влияют на преступность, изменяется конкретное состояние и силу действия ее универсальных детерминант.

В докладе прослеживается и анализируется динамика и действие технологических (связанных с использованием цифровых технологий и Интернета), экономических (бедность, безработица), институционально-нормативных (нормативно-организационные изменения) и культурных (состояние и динамика систем ценностей) процессов и явлений и их влияние на состояние и структура преступности. Особое внимание уделено специфике ситуации, сложившейся в условиях эпидемии КОВИД и их влияние на преступность.

Использовались статистические данные и данные эмпирических социологических исследований.

Ключевые слова: преступность, бедность, безработица, имущественная дифференциация, правоохранительные учреждения, ценности.

Состояние преступности имеет огромное значение для любого общества, его нормального функционирования и целостности. Именно поэтому такая проблема как преступность весьма важна не только с теоретической точки зрения, но и в

[1] anna.mantarova@abv.bg

социальной практике – для оказания эффективного противодействия необходима адекватная информация об ее реальном состоянии, существующих взаимосвязях и зависимостях с различными социальными явлениями и процессами в их динамике. В современном меняющемся социальном контексте характеристики и сила действия отдельных детерминант преступности постоянно трансформируются, как и их конфигурация, – этим обусловлена необходимость их постоянного исследования и анализа.

ПРЕСТУПНОСТЬ В БОЛГАРИИ

До конца 80-х годов XX века Болгария была одной из европейских стран с самым низким уровнем преступности, но с началом эпохи перемен, после 1989 года, все резко изменилось – количество преступлений возросло в несколько раз, увеличилась доля тяжких преступлений, появилась и бурно расцвела организованная преступность.

Сейчас уже можно сказать, что после пиковых уровней начала и конца 90-х годов, за исключением отдельных небольших периодов, в целом наблюдается тенденция к снижению преступности. Этот процесс следует рассматривать и в свете изменений демографической структуры населения. Так, например, за период 2010-2021 годов чувствительно сократилось число лиц в возрастных группах с наиболее высокой криминальной активностью (20-39 лет) – с 2156606 до 1586931 человек. Среди мужчин показатели составляют соответственно 1103701 чел. – в 2010 г. и 816821 чел. – в 2021 г., или сокращение составило 286880 человек.

ДЕТЕРМИНАНТЫ ПРЕСТУПНОСТИ

Индивидуальное поведение, в том числе и юридически релевантное, всегда прямо или косвенно обусловлено социальной макросредой. Микросреда и индивидуальные характеристики личности (социальные и психологические) модифицируют влияние макросреды, но элиминировать его нельзя. Вот почему объяснение состояния преступности требует рассмотрения в широком социальном контексте.

Используя концепцию Н. Генова (Genov, 2021, p. 32.) о детерминантах социальных взаимодействий, можно объединить факторы, оказывающие влияние на преступность, можно указать четыре группы: технологические, экономические, институционально-нормативные и культурные.

Что касается технологических факторов, то в первую очередь, следует отметить массовое проникновение компьютеров и цифровизацию во все области жизни. Ускоренный рост использования Интернета для покупок и финансовых транзакций, очевидно, будет продолжаться, что будет определять повышение значимости технологических факторов в будущем. Помимо этого, предстоит включение в активную жизнь все большего числа представителей так называемого «поколения Z», т. е. тех, кто «рожден после 2000 года, так называемые «цифровые дети». У представителей поколения Z использование цифровых технологий врожденное, так как они не были свидетелями изменений, наступивших с появлением Интернета и цифровых инноваций – они просто родились в этой среде...» (Рангелова, 2001, с. 14). Все это расширяет поле для реализации киберпреступлений.

Среди экономических детерминант особо выделяются бедность и безработица. Безработица влияет на преступность различными способами. Кроме криминогенных последствий воздействия плохого материального положения, она накладывает и свой отпечаток на психику, вследствие изменившегося социального статуса и образа жизни, которые вступают в противоречие с самооценкой и воспринимаются трагически индивидом; влияет на систему ценностей и правовое сознание; деструктивно воздействует на профессиональную квалификацию, становясь барьером для дальнейшей успешной реализации на рынке труда; негативно сказывается на исполнении иных социальных ролей личности. Прямое и косвенное влияние бедности и безработицы на уровень преступности, как конвенциональной, так и организованной, проверено временем.

В группу институционально-нормативных детерминант входят: состояние нормативной базы и ее соответствие объективной ситуации и потребностям общества с учетом тенденций текущих процессов, состояние соответствующих организационных структур, уровень их функционирования и взаимодействия, кадровые изменения в них, политическая стабильность и нестабильность, политически мотивированное воздействие на специализированные правоохранительные и правоприменительные органы.

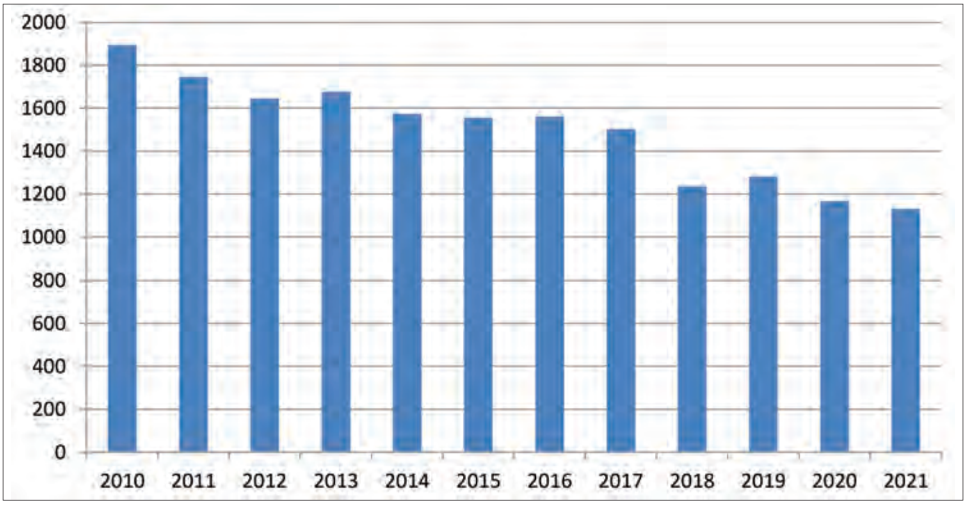
Среди культурных детерминант, помимо правового сознания, рассматриваемого как комплекс информированности, отношения к закону и склонности его соблюдать, следует отнести и систему и иерархию ценностей в их совокупности, т.е. их характеристики в содержательном аспекте, а также соотношение между конечными целями/ценностями и инструментальными ценностями. Участвуя в мотивационном процессе личности, они оказывают существенное влияние на направленность поведения индивида, в том числе и на юридические релевантные действия.

ДИНАМИКА ПРЕСТУПНОСТИ В МЕНЯЮЩЕМСЯ СОЦИАЛЬНОМ КОНТЕКСТЕ

Хотя изменения методологии регистрации преступлений не позволяют провести корректные сопоставления, определенно можно сказать, что, начиная с 1990 года, было несколько кризисных периодов резкого роста преступности.

Самый большой скачок зафиксирован в первые три года перемен – с 1990 по 1992, второй – в 1997, когда было зарегистрировано наибольшее число преступлений за все время болгарской криминальной статистики – более 241 тыс. преступлений, и третий – с 2009 по 2010. Во всех трех периодах ухудшение криминологической ситуации совпало с тяжелыми экономическими и/или политическими кризисами. При этом более краткие и менее выраженные скачки наблюдались и во времена политического кризиса конца 2013 – начала 2014 года; при отмене ограничений в связи с распространением COVID-19 в июне 2020 г.; в период политической нестабильности в октябре-ноябре 2021 г. И наоборот, заметное снижение наблюдалось в период действия строгих ограничений из-за COVID-19 в марте-мае 2020 г. и ноябре 2020 г.

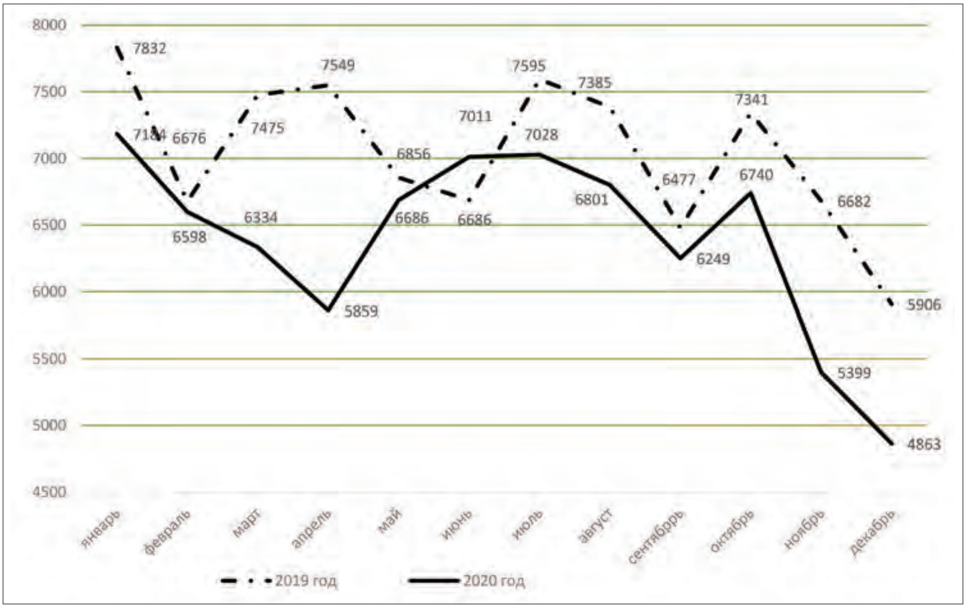
Рис. 1. Уровень зарегистрированных преступлений на 100 000 человек



Проведенные Центром изучения демократии 14 национальных исследований в 2002-2019 годах, наглядно показывают, что в целом официальная статистика МВД Болгарии, за исключением некоторых периодов, объективно фиксирует тенденции, наблюдаемые при конвенциональной преступности. Но не во всем. Например, ухудшение криминогенной обстановки и рост конвенциональной преступности, сопровождавшие экономический кризис 2009 года, по данным статистики полиции продолжались до 2010 года, а по результатам эмпирических исследований – до 2012. При этом, параллельно с продолжающимся спадом зарегистрированных преступлений налицо рекордно высокий уровень латентной преступности – в 2019 году доля преступлений, о которых граждане не сообщили в полицию, составила более 60%.

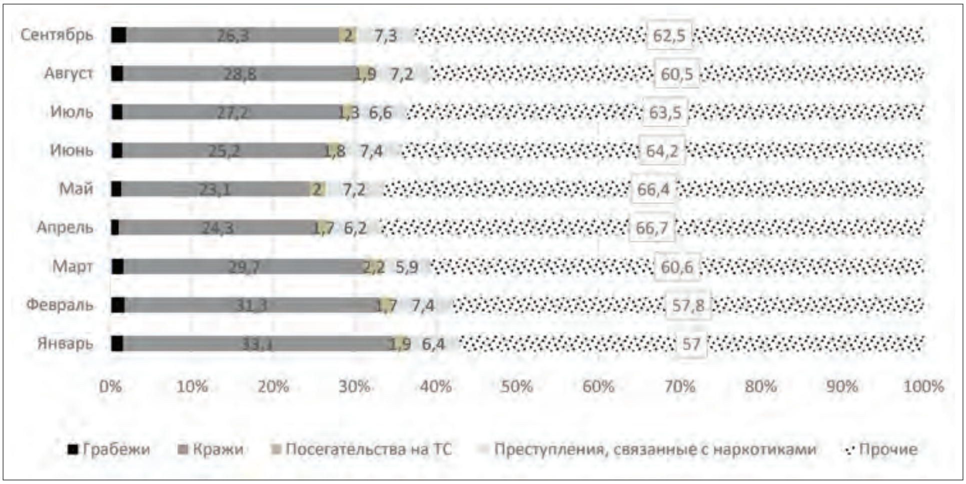
Интересна сама по себе ежемесячная статистика преступности в период пандемии COVID-1.

Рис. 2. Количество зарегистрированных преступлений



Для того, чтобы увидеть, аналогичны ли месячные флуктуации в год действия рестрикций ранее ежегодно наблюдаемым, было проведено сравнение данных с 2019 «доковидным» годом. Разница бросается в глаза, особенно в период март-июнь. Сразу же после введения чрезвычайного положения 13 марта 2020 года зарегистрированная преступность резко снизилась, особенно ощутимый спад был в апреле – месяце самых жестких ограничительных мер. Однако позднее, когда в середине мая большая часть рестрикций была снята и жизнь стала возвращаться в обычное русло, преступность осязаемо поползла вверх. Четко прослеживаются и изменения в структуре преступности. Видно, что изменения организации и контроля в общественной жизни, в трудовой деятельности и повседневной жизни людей оказывают существенное влияние на условия и возможности совершения того или иного вида преступлений. Изменение образа жизни, в свою очередь, неразрывно связано с трансформацией структуры преступности. Особенно в этом отношении показательна разница в количестве и относительной доле краж, мошенничества и компьютерных преступлений (последние два вида включены в представленной статистике МВД в категорию «прочие»). На фоне сохраняющегося минимального количества убийств и сокращения иных видов преступлений, о совершении которых есть конкретная информация, мы видим чувствительный рост категории «прочие» – с 57,0% в январе до 66,7% в апреле и практически на том же уровне в мае – 66,4%. В июне 2020 года был небольшой спад из-за большого увеличения числа таких широко распространенных преступлений, как кражи.

Рис. 3. Структура преступности в 2020 году



Следует отметить, что в категории «прочие» ощутим значительный рост доли киберпреступности. По словам Явора Колева, руководившего отделом по борьбе с киберпреступностью в Главном управлении по борьбе с организованной преступностью, «киберпреступность в период действия чрезвычайного положения выросла примерно на 1/3 по сравнению с последними месяцами до пандемии» (https://legalworld.bg/edna-treta-poveche-sa-kiberprestypleniiata-u-nas-v-izvynrednoto-polojenie).

Этот рост тесно связан с массовым использованием компьютеров и Интернета для удаленной работы, совершения покупок, использования услуг, совершения безналичных расчетов.

Переход на удаленную работу после введения чрезвычайной ситуации вынудил тысячи компаний реструктурировать свою деятельность, вынудив их поспешно и без необходимой переналадки дать удаленный доступ к своим внутренним корпоративным сетям. При этом стало видно, что многие компании использовали устаревшие приложения или методы и это предоставило многообразные возможности для проникновения и манипуляций, которыми с успехом воспользовались хакеры-злоумышленники. В то же время, из-за закрытия магазинов и боязни заражения резко выросла электронная (on-line) торговля, объемы безналичных интернет-расчетов, предоставление и оплата административных и иных услуг дистанционно, различные банковские операции с наличными с использованием приложений. Все это расширило поле для проявления киберпреступников и попыток компрометации соответствующих платформ. Попытки взлома и кражи информации с торговых и платежных платформ, даже безуспешные, резко увеличились.

При рассмотрении экономических детерминант преступности прослеживается связь между периодами с высокой или растущей преступностью и экономической ситуацией в стране. Это видно как для начала 1990-х годов и 1996-1997 годов, так и для 2009 года и некоторых последующих лет. С большой долей вероятности можно утверждать, что данный фактор оказал значительное влияние на мотивацию и в период пандемии, однако надо иметь в виду, что из-за строгих ограничительных мер, в период их действия возможности совершения наиболее распространенных преступлений - краж, резко уменьшились, в связи с чем несмотря на плохую экономическую ситуацию, не был зарегистрирован рост преступности.

Пик преступности в 90-е годы совпал с крайне негативной макроэкономической ситуацией, генерировавшей драматические личностные проекции – резкое падение доходов и всеобщую бедность. Субъективные оценки граждан своего материального состояния такие как: страдаю от безденежья 17% в 1994 г., 18% в 1995 г., 22,5% в 1996 г. и 22% в конце 1997 года (Мантарова, 2001, с. 108) подтверждаются и структурой расходов. В 1997 расходы на питание составляли 54,4% доходов, а в 1998 – 47,9%. Для сравнения, в конце 1980-х их доля была около 30%.

Экономический натиск редуцирует критерии поиска источников дохода. Невозможность достижения личных целей, и особенно удовлетворить элементарные личные и семейные потребности, приводит, в достаточно больших масштабах, к использованию социально неприемлемых средств. Эмпирические социологические исследования показывают, что значительный процент граждан заявляют о готовности совершать любые действия, в т.ч. и незаконные, чтобы удовлетворить основные потребности своей семьи (Мантарова, 2001, с. 110). При сложившихся тогда всеобщих бедности и безработице, дестабилизации и неэффективном институциональном и неформальном социальном контроле вероятность восприятия противоправного и преступного поведения в качестве нормальной стратегии выживания – чрезвычайно высока.

Экономические детерминанты и в последующие годы воздействовали перманентно, хотя и более ограниченно, но экономический кризис 2009 года вновь вывел их на первый план и способствовал росту преступности. Усиление криминогенного влияния экономических факторов наблюдалось и в 2020 г., в условиях пандемии. В период рестрикций, предусматривающих резкую редукцию или даже «сворачивание» многих видов экономической деятельности, доходы значительной части граждан чувствительно снизились. Обнищание, вызванное потерей работы, неоплачиваемыми отпусками, сокращением рабочего времени и, как следствие, редукция заработной платы, отсутствие потребителей-покупателей товаров и услуг и т. д. затронуло чрезвычайно большое число людей. Однако сейчас это происходит на фоне резких изменений организации и условий жизни, что значительно снижает возможность совершения незаконных посягательств на имущество.

Хотя в Болгарии налицо значительное количество «работающих бедняков», основным генератором бедности остается безработица. Высокий уровень преступности в 90-х годах полностью совпал со скачком безработицы, вызванным резким сокращением промышленного производства и неудачными реформами в сельском хозяйстве, проведенными согласно Закону «О собственности и использовании сельскохозяйственных земель», которые вместо ликвидации сдерживавших развитие бюрократических структур практически уничтожили производственные факторы. Особенно неблагоприятно повлияло на ситуацию высвобождение неквалифицированных и низкоквалифицированных работников (которых в сельском хозяйстве было очень много). Учитывая, что это, в основном слабо интегрированные в общество группы, с неустойчивыми и/или деформированными системами ценностей, то блокаж их законных возможностей на пути достижения целей (на фоне фрустрации от потери работы) ведет к существенному риску развития различного рода девиаций, включая преступную деятельность и даже профессионализацию в преступности.

К определенным выводам о роле безработицы можно прийти, и сопоставив данные о динамике преступности и уровне безработицы в разных регионах страны в 90-е годы. За период 1991-1997 при росте преступности в Болгарии на 41,9% рост выше среднего по стране был зафиксирован в областях Монтана – 70,1%, Ловеч – 68,4% и Хасково – 62,9%. По шкале безработицы, в том числе длительной, лидирующую позицию вновь заняла Монтана, а безработица в областях Хасково и Ловеч также была выше средней по стране. В то же время статистические данные по годам показывают, что для этих регионов традиционно характерен низкий уровень преступности, и единственное, что может объяснить опережающие средние по стране показатели, – это наличие компактных групп, для которых характерен значительно более высокий, чем средний, уровень безработицы, особенно длительной.

Исследования 90-х годов наглядно демонстрируют связь между занятостью и установками на соблюдение закона. «Именно среди безработных меньше всего заявивших, что законы должны соблюдаться безусловно, – доля их около 70%, тогда как среди работающих она составляет почти 78%, а среди госслужащих – более 80%. Распределение ответов о том, что порой закон можно и нарушить, – абсолютно противоположное» (Мантарова, 2001, с. 129).

Результаты исследований показали, что безработица негативно влияет на выполнение и прочих социальных ролей (например, родительских). Исследование Национального центра изучения общественного мнения 1997 года выявило, что именно дети из семей с безработными родителями чаще всего бросают школу. Школу не посещают только 5,1% детей из семей с двумя работающими взрослыми и 24,8% детей из семей с двумя безработными, а выпали из системы школьного образования соответственно 5,1% и 32,1%. И хотя наличие двоих родителей-безработных чаще характерно для цыганских семей, где образование изначально не является ценностью, вывод о том, что «депрессивный безработный более склонен пренебрегать нуждами и проблемами, как своими, так и своих детей», вряд ли можно оспорить. С точки зрения общества важен не только факт, что бросившие школу дети тяготеют к девиантному и преступному поведению, но и то, что в будущем они скорее всего окажутся в крайне невыгодном положении на рынке труда и их ждет участь потенциально безработных. При этом трудности при трудоустройстве и обеспечении законных доходов, в свою очередь, окажут криминогенное воздействие.

Однозначно рост безработицы в 2009-2013 годах напрямую связан с ростом преступности в это время. Более того, в условиях экономического кризиса тех лет безработица в гораздо большей степени затронула молодых мужчин, т.е. тех, у кого изначально криминальная активность выше.

Также нельзя не учитывать последствия резкого роста безработицы в условиях COVID-19, хотя вследствие сильного влияния ряда других факторов преступность в этот период и снижается. Невозможно, чтобы высвобождение десятков тысяч человек не оказало криминогенного эффекта: по данным службы занятости, только в период с 13 марта по 14 апреля 2020 года количество безработных, зарегистрированных на бирже труда, увеличилось на 61 тыс. чел., а к 22 мая 2020 года общее число вновь зарегистрированных безработных составило 137 тысяч. К ним следует прибавить сотни тысяч вернувшихся из-за границы болгарских граждан, которые в большинстве низкоквалифицированые или неквалифицированные, и работали в Италии, Испании, Великобритании в сельском хозяйстве, строительстве и сфере услуг (всего за десять дней, с 13 по 23 марта, в страну вернулось 109 467 болгарских граждан).

Каковы же факторы институционально-нормативного характера, которые влияют на преступность, и когда они проявляются особенно ярко? Рост преступности в 90-е, особенно в первой их половине, непосредственно связан с механизмами реализации реформ в стране после 1989 года. Именно тогда было положено начало всеохватным и глубоким социальным преобразованиям, затронувшим все сферы и уровни общества. Ключевую роль стали играть изменения в политике, законодательстве и институтах власти.

Стало очевидно, что сложившаяся нормативная база и институциональная структура, которые соответствовали иным социальным условиям и принципам функционирования общества, нуждаются в существенных изменениях, а в ряде случаев и в полной переработке. Но еще с самого начала перестройки административная и законотворческая деятельность отличались отсутствием стратегии, отставанием от экономических и социальных процессов, фрагментарностью и конъюнктурностью. На протяжении многих лет отсутствует адекватное регламентирование ключевых вопросов жизнедеятельности государственного и частного секторов, контроля источников происхождения капитала, банковских, валютно-фондовых операций, проведения оценок объектов приватизации, таможенных процедур и пр., что ведет к многочисленным экономическим преступлениям, незаконному переделу собственности и неправомерному обогащению.

Даже положительный сам по себе факт открытия Болгарии миру и либерализация коммуникаций и перемещения болгарских и иностранных граждан порождает криминогенные последствия в условиях неадекватной нормативной базы и институциональной системы. При отсутствии адекватной профилактики этот процесс придает дополнительный импульс росту преступности. Новоявленная болгарская организованная преступность выходит за пределы национальных границ, формирует свои структуры и начинает действовать за рубежом. В то же время Болгария становится ареной для деятельности иностранных преступных группировок, которые, наряду с местными болгарскими, еще больше усугубляют криминогенную ситуацию.

Конкретно в отношении уголовного законодательства можно отметить, что стремительное внесение ряда изменений во многом является "отголоском эйфории скорейших перемен на пути построения наиболее действенных гарантий защиты прав граждан" (Трайков, 1996, с. 13), причем изменения эти совершенно не соответствуют новой криминогенной ситуации и криминологическим прогнозам.

Значительную роль в росте преступности в первой половине 90-х годов сыграла и дестабилизация государственных институтов: структурные изменения в МВД, ликвидация органов государственного надзора и контроля, практический развал системы финансово-экономического контроля и др. Подобная дестабилизация резко принижает оказываемое правозащитными органами противодействие преступности. Подтверждение этому – изменение таких основных показателей, как раскрываемость преступлений и соотношение зарегистрированных преступлений к количеству преступлений, за совершение которых лица уже осуждены.

Негативный эффект в отношении отдельных видов преступлений проявился и в годы беженского кризиса. Приток за относительно короткий период времени десятков тысяч иммигрантов с Ближнего и Среднего Востока создал новую ситуацию, которая выявила, как институциональные и организационные пропуски, так и нормативные. Стала очевидной необходимость четкой и эффективной регламентации функций и механизмов взаимодействия множества вовлеченных в данный процесс социальных субъектов.

Дело в том, что в годы сильного миграционного давления практически установилась аномия режима пересечения границ и их охраны. Но аномия в этой сфере порождает аномию в других, при этом присутствие иммигрантов создает новые ниши для и так уже широко распространенных в стране коррупционных практик (например, при заключении госконтрактов на обеспечение жильем, питанием и пр. лиц, ищущих убежища, подавших ходатайства о предоставлении защиты, а также нелегально въехавших, пребывающих и подлежащих выдворению из страны и др.), хищений, афер и мошенничества.

Институциональные и административно-организационные дефициты и дисфункции способствуют возникновению связанных с мигрантами девиаций и преступлений, в т. ч. незаконному трафику людей. О значении дефицитов и бюрократизации говорит такой пример, записанный в ходе интервью с работниками центров размещения лиц, ищущих убежища: ребенок, чьи родители легально пребывают в стране ЕС, помещен в специализированный беженский центр в Болгарии как несовершеннолетний без сопровождения. Месяцами велась переписка между учреждениями двух стран (обе страны члены ЕС!), но – безрезультатно. Ребенок так и не отправлен к родителям. Воссоединение семьи произошло только тогда, когда отец приехал в Болгарию и заплатил проводнику за переправку ребенка через границу...

В годы пандемии COVID-19 разнонаправленное воздействие на преступность оказывает очень широкий спектр организационных решений и мер. Некоторые введенные рестрикции сказываются благоприятно: они формируют условия, затрудняющие и препятствующие совершению определенных преступлений. Ограничение выхода на улицу и страх заражения удерживают людей дома, что делает почти невозможным совершение краж со взломом – самого распространенного в стране преступления. Пустынные улицы и повышенное присутствие полиции снижают возможности незаметного передвижения, особенно с крадеными вещами. Еще более мощным барьером становятся контрольно-пропускные пункты. Даже их временное размещение в местах концентрации лиц с повышенной криминальной активностью чувствительно снижает возможность совершения правонарушений. Кроме того, ограниченное посещение общественных мест (даже в условиях всеобщего стресса) значительно уменьшает риск возникновения конфликтных ситуаций и криминальных инцидентов. В то же время социальная практика в период пандемии COVID-19 демонстрирует и недостатки, имеющие определенный криминогенный эффект, например, указывает на пробелы в законодательстве о киберпреступности и выявляет недостаточный наличный потенциал для противодействия ей.

Что же касается детерминант преступности культурного характера, то здесь первостепенное значение имеют правовое сознание и утвердившиеся в обществе системы ценностей. В этом отношении процессы последних десятилетий нельзя охарактеризовать как благоприятные для формирования законосообразного поведения.

Развенчание и отрицание ключевых идей, ценностей, поведенческих моделей, десятилетиями формировавших и регулирующих индивидуальное поведение, вызывает у людей растерянность и дезориентацию. Старые ценностно-нормативные системы теряют свою способность быть ориентиром и регулятором поведения. Степень индивидуализации в условиях неблагоприятной экономической среды, крайне ограниченных и десятилетиями сокращающихся ресурсов, а также при нестабильных и плохо функционирующих институтах власти объективируется в широкий спектр индивидуальных копинг-стратегий, некоторые из которых включают крайние формы индивидуальной рациональности, а порой находятся на грани и в противоречии не только с общими интересами, но и с законом.

Перемещение терминальных ценностей на задний план за счет продвижения вперед инструментальных, в первую очередь – денег, а не таких, как компетентность, профессионализм, инициатива и предприимчивость, оказывает негативное влияние на юридически релевантное поведение. Исследование Евробарометра (Eurobarometer 69) показало, что деньги являются наиболее значимой ценностью с точки зрения собственного представления о счастье для 51% болгар, в то время как в среднем в ЕС эта доля составляет 32%. В то же время, такая традиционная для болгар ценность как трудолюбие заметно теряет свои позиции в иерархии ценностей. Широкое распространение получает мнение, что успеха в жизни можно достичь, используя мошенничество, бесчестное поведение и беспринципность. Причем со временем данное убеждение ширится: в 1995 так считали 17,3% совершеннолетних граждан Болгарии, в 1998 – 20,5%, а в 2004 – 24,3%.

Макросреда в условиях трансформации обуславливает нарушение процесса правовой социализации (а и социализации в целом), а также снижение престижа закона в общественном сознании. Детерминированные изменениями макросреды трансформации систем и иерархии ценностей способствуют ослаблению социальных связей и чувства солидарности, дестабилизируют отдельные группы и общество в целом. В свою очередь, те влияют на усвоение ценностей, правовых и моральных норм, моделей поведения и социальных ролей, как и на их интериоризацию на индивидуальном уровне.

Показательна в этом плане информация о правосознании и, в частности, о склонности к соблюдению законов. Репрезентативное эмпирическое исследование 1998 года установило, что, по мнению 78,8% взрослого населения, законы должны соблюдаться всегда и безоговорочно; 11,2% придерживаются мнения, что в определенных случаях закон может быть нарушен, а 4,1% прямо заявляют, что важны лишь их личные интересы и цели, а не требования закона. Как и следовало ожидать, исследование фиксирует значительные межгрупповые и межпоколенческие различия в отношении к закону. Для представителей 18-30 лет и 31-40 лет характерно гораздо более свободное отношение к законодательству. Среди них доля тех, кто считает, что ориентиром должны быть личные интересы и цели, и особенно доля тех, для кого нарушение закона в определенных случаях допустимо, значительно больше, чем среди пожилых. Если провести параллель между зарегистрированным отношением к соблюдению закона и криминальной статистикой выявленных лиц, совершивших преступления, то видно, что эти показатели – в унисон. Полностью в соответствии с выявленными склонностями и установками показатели криминальной активности в возрастной группе до 30 лет значительно выше.

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Параллельное сравнение и анализ во времени процессов, происходящих в разных сферах общественной жизни, и преступности наглядно показывают связь между ними. При этом детерминанты преступности представляют собой сложный, динамичный комплекс взаимодействующих и взаимно влияющих друг на друга элементов. Функционирование экономики, в том числе, бедность и безработица, а также экономическая дифференциация зависят от законов, регулирующих рыночные отношения. Влияние оказывает и деятельность государственных органов, отвечающих за охрану правопорядка, – насколько они выявляют и пресекают противоправные действия. Деятельность экономических субъектов зависит от непосредственного влияния их личных систем ценностей и установок на соблюдение законов. В свою очередь, деятельность государственных правоохранительных органов зависит как от экономических факторов, т. е. от экономического состояния государства, так и от средств, которые государство в состоянии выделить на их содержание, а также от систем ценностей и склонности к соблюдению законов и правовых норм у работающих там. В содержательном плане законы несут в себе отпечаток различных экономических, политических и идеологических интересов. Уголовное и уголовно-процессуальное законодательство напрямую определяет деятельность правозащитных институтов и их эффективность. Системы ценностей формируются под влиянием социальной среды, таким образом, бедность не может не оставить свой отпечаток, особенно вкупе с незаконным и несанкционированным обогащением. В результате всех этих разноплановых и разнонаправленных взаимодействий меняется конкретное состояние отдельных детерминант, определяющее направление и силу воздействия каждой из них на преступность, а также их удельный вес в конкретный период времени.

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Marija D. Marsenić[1]
Institute of European Studies
Belgrade (Serbia)

MEDIA REPORTING IN SERBIA ABOUT THE WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

Abstract: When reporting about the war, media play a key role as a source of public information, including the control of public opinions, whereas the political factor is a very important component. War rhetoric, often with sensationalist inputs, has almost become integral part of media reporting in Serbia, while the practice of factual reporting is rather rare. The subject of this paper is the writing about Russian-Ukrainian war in online editions of dailies *Politika* (politika.rs), *Danas* (danas.rs) and *Kurir* (kurir.rs). The aim of this paper is to use the qualitative-quantitative content analysis in order to determine whether online media in Serbia, with regard to the war between Russia and Ukraine, appear in one-sided manner, i.e. whether they observe the principle of objectivity and professionality in reporting, or whether they are committed to support one side in the war. The paper starts from the presumption that the Russian-Ukrainian war takes the key place in the above-mentioned Internet portals as a sensationalist or emotionally involved event, which substantially reduces the informative effect and increases the persuasive function.

Keywords: war, Russia and Ukraine, Internet portals, Serbia, sensationalism.

RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN WAR – BACKGROUND

Protests in the Ukrainian capital Kiev against Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych's decision to reject the economic integration agreement with the European Union (EU), better known as the "Euromaidan Revolution", triggered the annexation of Crimea and were violently attacked by state security forces. Russia interpreted this event as an unacceptable conspiracy by the West to pull Ukraine into the Western sphere of

[1] marsenicmarija7@gmail.com

influence and immediately retaliated. On the other hand, Ukraine sought to build a national identity and political power involving many actors who exerted influence on the Ukrainian people through national ideologies. Thus, it viewed the European Union and its political influence as promising, while Russia did not fit in because of its "nostalgic view" of the Soviet Union (Mankoff, 2022). This was only the immediate cause of the conflict, while the background of "intolerance" between the West and Russia regarding Ukraine has existed since the 1980s, when Gorbachev began to think about the limited independence of the Soviet republics. During a quarter of the century separating the Euromaidan from Gorbachev's plan for independence of the republics, it was noted that Russia did not want to submit to Western globalization. Putin stated that Russia could be defended against Western aggression through friendly coaxing, but that the West had to be pushed back not only in Crimea, but also in Ukraine and a number of other disputed territories (Rosefielde, 2017). A month later, in March 2014, Russian troops took control of Ukraine's Crimea region after Crimean residents had voted in a local referendum to join the Russian Federation. Although the annexation of Crimea was made official through a referendum, the other side believed that the referendum was mainly used for propaganda to demonize Ukrainian power and its leadership (Bebler, 2015).

The conflict has its roots in a significant division within Ukraine, similar to the situation of many countries during the Cold War in the relations between the Soviet and the Western blocs. The polarization within Ukraine is a result of the strong presence of Russian culture and political influence that lasted for many years during one of the most sensitive and delicate periods in history, but twenty years of U.S. politics and intentions to extend its control further and further into eastern Europe also played a large part in creating this fateful U.S.-Russian confrontation. The influential columnist Charles Krauthammer admitted: "It is about Russia first and democracy second [...] The West wants to finish the job begun with the fall of the Berlin Wall and continue Europe's march eastward.... The big prize is Ukraine" (Cohen, 2019: 37).

As Brzezinski states in his book *The Great Chessboard*, "Washington decided in 1996 to make NATO enlargement a central goal of U.S. policy to create a larger and more secure Euro-Atlantic community" (Brzezinski, 1998: 103). Russian President Vladimir Putin stated that the rights of Russian citizens and those who speak the Russian language in Crimea and southeast Ukraine must be protected.

In April 2014, mass unrest broke out in several Ukrainian cities, during which Ukrainian state symbols were torn down and Russian national flags were hoisted, while numerous official buildings were broken into and occupied. "People's republics" were declared in Kharkiv, Donetsk, Lugansk and Odesa. While this (dis)sentiment is expressed by residents of the afore-mentioned cities who identify themselves as Russians rather than Ukrainians, the other side (Ukraine and the West) believes that many Crimean Russians, Chechens, and other volunteers living outside the territory of Ukraine actually participated in these events and made up more than one-third of the rebel forces (Bebler, 2015). Beginning with the Clinton administration and with the support of all subsequent Republican and Democratic presidents and the Congress, the West, led by the United States, inexorably moved its military, political, and economic power ever closer to Russia. Led by NATO's eastward expansion, already stockpiled in the former Soviet Baltic republics bordering Russia and supplemented by defensive missile installations in neighbouring countries, this led to even greater tensions (Cohen, 2019). The President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin, was anxious to put an end to the establishment of an anti-Russian regime by the West in Kiev and, on the other hand, to prevent the geopolitical and strategic setback that such a regime in Kiev would represent, leading to the revival of Ukraine's EU accession agreement and eventual membership in the EU and NATO. Russia did not allow this to happen because in that case it would lose its Black Sea naval base in Sevastopol and the anti-Russian regime would cover Russia's entire western border through NATO countries (Hahn, 2014). According to numerous independent surveys conducted by various Ukrainian and foreign organizations between 2002 and 2013, Ukraine's support for NATO membership was low (Hahn, 2014). The crisis exacerbated ethnic divisions, and two months later (May 2014), pro-Russian forces in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions of eastern Ukraine held a referendum to declare independence from Ukraine. Soon after, the armed conflict broke out between Russian-backed forces and the Ukrainian army. Moscow denied military involvement, although both Ukraine and NATO reported a build-up of Russian troops and military equipment near Donetsk, as well as Russian cross-border shelling shortly after Russia's annexation of Crimea. The conflict continued with regular shelling and skirmishes along the front line separating the Russian- and Ukrainian-controlled border regions in the east. In October 2021, Russia began moving troops and military equipment near the Ukrainian border, raising renewed concerns about a possible conflict. As of December, more than one hundred thousand Russian troops were stationed near the border between Russia and Ukraine. In mid-December 2021, the Russian Foreign Ministry issued a series of demands calling on the United States and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to halt all military activity in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, prevent further NATO expansion toward Russia, and prevent Ukraine from joining NATO in the future (Donahue, Krasnolutska, 2022). On February 24, 2022, President Putin announced the beginning of a full-scale land, sea, and air invasion of Ukraine, targeting Ukrainian military installations and cities throughout the country.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The central question of our research is how the media in Serbia report on the war in Ukraine, i.e., whether the standards of journalistic ethics are observed and whether journalists adhere to the principles of objectivity and professionalism in their reporting or are dedicated to sensationalism and active support of one side in the war. The subject of the research analysis are articles in the online editions of the daily newspapers *Politika* (politika.rs), *Danas* (danas.rs) and *Kurir* (kurir.rs). The analysis includes all texts about the Russian-Ukrainian war. The text is treated as a complete whole related to the war between Russia and Ukraine, whether it is a very short journalistic form - news, a slightly longer one – reportage, or a more extensive one - editorial, interview, commentary. In addition to the texts that undoubtedly relate to the Russian-Ukrainian war, the sample also included texts that indirectly deal with it - such as the consequences of the war one affecting other countries as well, statements by representatives of countries not involved in the war, etc. The main goal of this research is to determine, with the help of a qualitative-quantitative content analysis, whether online media in Serbia, when it comes to the Russian-Ukrainian war, act unilaterally (pro-Russian/pro-Ukrainian) or adopt a neutral tone, i.e., whether they adhere to the principle of objective reporting or spread war propaganda when it comes to the war in Ukraine. We assume that online media in Serbia cover the Russian-Ukrainian war in a sensationalist manner, i.e., the majority is pro-Russian/pro-Ukrainian, and that the informative genre dominates in the coverage of the studied media. The sample included a total of 1,640 texts published on the Internet portals of the daily newspapers *Politika, Danas* and *Kurir*, regardless of whether they were factual forms such as news and reports or analytical forms such as articles, editorials and commentaries. The sample is intentional when it comes to the choice of media. Namely, we have been guided by the reputation, circulation and influence of daily newspapers in Serbia that cover a wide range of target audiences. We have covered all the articles published in the period between the beginning of the conflict on 24 February 2022 and 1 April 2022.

RESULTS OF QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

The statistical method and the application of descriptive statistics show that in the observed period a total of 1640 texts were published on the Internet portals of the daily newspapers *Politika, Danas* and *Kurir*, of which politika.rs (26.6%), danas.rs (38.8%) and kurir.rs (36.6%). The publishing frequency is normally distributed for danas.rs and kurir.rs portals, while politika.rs published fewer texts, which is probably a matter of the editorial policy, taking into account that both *Kurir* and *Danas* had special supplements, i.e., pages dedicated to the conflict in Ukraine, since the beginning of the crisis.

To adequately measure publication intensity, we divided time coverage into two intervals. More texts were published in the period from 13 March 13 to 31 March (56.9%) than in the first period (43.9%). It can be said that this intensity is common in the coverage of crisis situations. After a large amount of information in the first days of the conflict to alert the public to the cause of the event and a great interest in how the situation will develop, there is often a slight stagnation due to information saturation, followed by a new wave of information. In this case, there was a new wave of information due to the intensification of events in Ukraine and the news of the first civilian casualties, which made the situation even more "serious". The percentage of 72.3% of the texts written in the form of reports underlines the fact that the analyzed online media in Serbia are not committed to a deeper analysis of important issues such as the war, but only strive to provide information. There are far fewer texts in the form of news compared to reports, only 11.3%. On the observed portals of the Serbian press, there are far fewer commentaries (0.4%) and editorials (0.8%) on the topic of the Russian-Ukrainian war. In a slightly higher percentage, the mentioned topic was discussed through an analytical genre in the form of articles (15.1%). The length of the text ranges from 1 to 2077 words, with the average length of the text being 258 words (AA=258.47, SD=234.70).

In the research, we wanted to examine which expressions the observed portals used most often to characterize the situation in Ukraine. The results showed that the most frequently used expressions were invasion (25.4%), war (8.9%), special military operation (5.4%) and attack (2.9%), while in most cases editors avoided some of the mentioned expressions when describing the situation (52.2%). This information could indicate that the media were on alert, waiting for the official political position of the Serbian government to emerge. Also, due to Serbia's political and economic goals, which are focused on the EU, and pressure on Serbia to condemn events in Ukraine on the one hand, and its historical proximity to Russia on the other, there was no official narrative in Serbia that explicitly supported one side or the other in the war. This was also reflected in similar media coverage of this conflict. The official qualification of the situation in Ukraine offered by the President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin, is a "special military operation" and this term is used by the media, which mainly refer to Russian sources. In addition, the expressions "military intervention", "military offensive" etc. are also used. The West and the countries that have sided with Ukraine, on the other hand, use the terms "aggression", "invasion" and the like.

The term "invasion" is most frequently used on *Danas* (49.5%) and *Kurir* (42.8%) portals, while the term "special military operation" is most frequently used on *Politika* (71.4%). The use of the term "attack" is most frequent on *Danas* portal (72.3%), while *Politika* does not use this term at all. *Kurir* has the fewest texts avoiding the use of some of the mentioned expressions (25.9%), while the opposite is the case on the portal *Danas* (41.3%).

From the processed data, we can conclude that the text is partially equipped, since in most cases it lacks two elements - a supertitle and a subtitle. "A fully equipped text was considered an article with a supertitle, a title, a subtitle and a photo (illustration) functionally connected to the text" (Petrović, 2012).

In the observed media, it is noticeable that the use of supertitles and subtitles is poorly represented, but it is possible that this is a consequence of the presentation of shorter journalistic forms, in our case reports, since shorter texts in practice usually remain without supertitles and subtitles. Moreover, we conclude that the measure of text communicability is low, as "series of common structural-content features that are formal and organizational..." determine the meaning of the text, interaction with the audience and their better understanding of the content (Jevtović, 2014).

RESULTS OF QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

The qualitative analysis included longer contributions such as articles, commentaries and editorials, which are suitable for analyzing the level of commitment, professionalism and respect for the rules of journalistic ethics. Looking at the units of analysis of the portals included in the sample, we found a lack of investigative journalism, a tendency to sensationalism and routinization of writing texts on all three portals.

As for the *Politika*, it can be said that the articles about Russia, China and Belarus mostly struck a positive tone. *Politika* mainly took information from Beta, Tanjug and Sputnik, while the practice of investigative journalism was low on this portal. More active journalism in *Politika* is reflected in phone calls from Ukrainian residents and their statements. An example of the first is the text "Kyiv Lavra a place of refuge from acts of war" (27 February), in which Deacon Nikolai Sapsai, a doctoral student at the Kyiv Spiritual Academy, talks about the impossibility of returning to Ukraine due to the war events. Another example is a conversation with the residents of Ivano-Frankivsk, a city in Ukraine hit by Russian shells, in which the interviewee vividly describes the situation from the moment she heard the first bombs, through the overall situation in the city, to her plans to leave the country.

Routinization in writing is the next thing we noticed while reading the texts; it is reflected in the downloading of ready-made information from the mentioned sources, sometimes even in downloading entire texts. There is a practice of publishing the same text in intervals of 2-5 days, or possibly changing the title, while the text remains the same, which we assume is due to the need to fill the space caused by the lack of information about current events and the journalists not being interested in giving their critical judgment or considering the issue from multiple perspectives.

On the *Politika* portal there are numerous texts about the Russian military strategy and the attacks on Ukraine. The texts are dominated by the theme of sanctions imposed on Russia by the West to prevent further development of its army. The texts often emphasize the superiority of Russia and Russian soldiers over the West and Ukraine. The pro-Russian view and "mocking" tone are expressed in the texts in which the editors try to describe the speed and easiness with which the Russian armed forces are destroying Ukraine. One of them is entitled: *"Putin's move - the EU and the U.S. are checkmated"* (28 February), where it is stated:

> "What kind of player the current president of the largest country Vladimir Putin is, the whole world could see for itself these days. With the lightning-fast action of Russian forces in Ukraine, he has virtually checkmated both Europe and the United States. He has not cornered them, but he has narrowed their room for manoeuvre as much as possible. He has effectively given them the opportunity to speak out - whether they have the courage and guts to go into a new, common world war, or whether their individual interests take precedence. The lightning-fast incursion of Russian forces into

> Ukrainian territory last week could be described in chess terms as a queen's gambit - quick, sharp, attacking. And from a technical point of view, it all boiled down to the successful actions of the Russian air force and precisely fired artillery platoons. And all this through military installations and associated facilities. As in practice. Yet enough to leave the whole world scratching its head in confusion."

The Russian narrative is also expressed in the coverage of the negotiations between the two warring parties, prompting *Politika* to publish headlines such as "Today's negotiations between Russia and Ukraine –our conditions are minimal" (3 March), "Head of Russian delegation: negotiations with Ukraine are difficult", "Russia advocates peace as soon as possible" (16 March) etc.

Most texts on the negotiations depict Ukraine as an obstacle that does not meet the optimal criteria for achieving peace. *Politika* reaches similar conclusions when it comes to the evacuation of civilians through humanitarian corridors, where it suggests that Ukrainians themselves are preventing civilians from leaving the most dangerous cities. In the text "Who is preventing the evacuation of civilians from Ukraine", *Politika* reports that Ukraine is violating humanitarian law and that Russia is taking all necessary measures to save the lives of civilians prevented from doing so by nationalist battalions, or "Ukrainian army prevents evacuation of civilians from Volnovaya" (5 March), with a statement by the Russian ministry that evacuation routes for civilians have been agreed with Ukraine, but the Ukrainian army is preventing them from evacuating.

In the analyzed texts, international law is always mentioned in connection with NATO aggression in 1999. The editors try to deprive NATO of any legitimacy to condemn Russia's violation of Ukraine's territorial integrity by pointing out that NATO did the same thing in 1999 in the bombing campaign against Serbia. *Politika* ensured balanced coverage on the opposite side by publishing a number of critical texts, mostly penned by experts. A number of texts were published in which the journalists' expertise on the topic at hand was clearly evident, as was the consideration of issues from different perspectives. A good example of this is the part of the downloaded article claiming that Russian soldiers will suffer when a cold wave arrives from the Arctic, which will stop the army's advance and completely demoralize them. The journalist comments on this, claiming the authors of the text to be ignorant, and cites a number of historical facts about winter as an ally of the Russian army in previous wars, as well as examples of military strategies suitable for this time of year, demonstrating excellent knowledge of history and information on the subject.

When it comes to the goals of the war through the prism of this portal, most of the discussion is about humanitarian goals, i.e., that the operation is aimed at protecting people who have been tortured for eight years; the war is a forced response to the provocations of Ukraine and NATO; the goal is to protect Russia from the military threat of the West and the like. It has also been noted that there is more discussion about the economic consequences of the sanctions imposed on Russia by the EU and the US than about the victims of the war. Politicians implicitly conveyed their narrative by most frequently using President Vladimir Putin's official categorization of the war as a "special military operation", which was also noted in the quantitative analysis, while another example of this may be the title *The entire Lugansk Republic is liberated* (7 March). Indeed, by using the term "liberated", *Politika* adhered to Putin's official narrative that the main goal of Russia's special military operation in Ukraine was to denazify the population and that Russia was not occupying or invading the territories, but liberating them from the Nazis. In most cases, the articles focused on reporting the military progress of the Russian army, emphasizing its competence and training, which can be illustrated by the following:

> "The commander of Russian troops on the southern front, if the parts of Ukraine south of Crimea can be called that, will certainly become a favourite of the General Staff in Moscow. Unlike the Russian troops advancing toward Kharkiv and Kiev, the units in Crimea have achieved success in all three directions of advance .... The troops in Kherson are able to stop the advance because their mere presence on the right bank of the Dnieper has forced the Ukrainian troops in the area of Mykolaiv and Odesa to retreat to the north ... If the Ukrainians had come out of the trenches and dugouts, the images of the Iraqi army's retreat from Kuwait in 1991, when American fighter planes destroyed Saddam Hussein's best units, would probably have been repeated" (3 March).

How a text is interpreted also depends on its graphic representation and the context of the story that is usually accompanied with photography. Photography has the power to frame the content of a text and manipulate our feelings and perception of a particular event. It is closely related to propaganda, so photo manipulation is usually found where a particular personality or event is intended to be portrayed in a specific way. The manipulation of photography is evident in *Politika's* attempts to put an emotional "stamp" on information and shape the meaning and context in which it is found. The photograph can be used to frame the content in a specific way, so that the actors who are being favoured are shown as concerned and calm, while the opposing side is shown as angry and threatening.

Picture 1. UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson

In the photo titled "We will not fight Russian forces in Ukraine" (March 1), British Prime Minister Boris Johnson can be perceived as a frightened man with his hands raised in surrender. This can be interpreted as an intention to portray Russia as a powerful force that should not be opposed.

Picture 2. US President Joseph Biden

A photo of angry President Biden with his fist raised in a display of resistance, accompanying the headline "Putin Will Pay, Freedom Will Defeat Tyranny" (3 February) reaffirms America's stated determination to put an end to Russian "tyranny".

Picture 3. Elon Musk, the owner of the company SpaceX

A photo of smiling Elon Musk with the text explaining the West's mandate to block Russian news and media with its Starlink broadband satellite system, and his response of "Sorry, we are absolute champions of free speech" as an explanation of why they will not block it, gives the impression that he is making fun of the West's demands on Musk.

Like *Politika*, *Danas* tends to fill its pages with the same articles every few days, sometimes with different titles or a slightly different structure of the text, sometimes even without that. Reviewing the texts on this portal, it is noticeable that personal meaning is given to the war by linking it to NATO aggression in Kosovo and Metohija, for example, through the texts "Cries of newborns" (15 March), "Similarities and differences between NATO bombings and the war in Ukraine" (24 March), "Does the Ukrainian scenario threaten the Balkans?" (20 March) and it is interpreted that "the current conflict over Ukraine is practically a continuation of the 1999 NATO bombing", and a conspiratorial view of the situation is given, warning that Bosnian Serb leader Milorad Dodik and Serbian President Aleksandar Vučić, considering their close relations with President Putin, may use the situation in Ukraine to try to achieve war aims from the 1990s that President Slobodan Milošević was unable to achieve. Moreover, it is predicted that the war will drag on and that this will force Russia to turn to diplomacy, but this diplomatic process will have a great impact on us and on the future of Serbia.... "An interesting diplomatic initiative has emerged that includes a package of solutions to the Kosovo issue" (27 February).

In the texts presented by *Danas*, Russia's losses are usually overemphasized and highlighted in order to portray the Russian army as incompetent and weak, the best example of which is: "According to American estimates, Russia lost more soldiers in 20 days of the invasion than the American army lost in 20 years in Iraq and Afghanistan" (18 March) or

"The Pentagon announced that 50 percent of Russia's combat power is in Ukraine. At the height of our wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, we were at about 29 percent ... Russia has neither the manpower nor the firepower to encircle the Ukrainian capital, let alone invade it... The death toll is in the thousands (American sources say 5,000 to 6,000) and the number of the wounded is much higher" (15 March) and:

"While the total death toll among Russian troops remains a matter of heated debate, most informed estimates point to losses of more than 10,000 in a single month. No major power has suffered such losses since World War II" (29 March).

In the articles that we have found on this portal, the personality of President Putin is dehumanized by portraying him as a "Kremlin murderer", "bloodthirsty" and fascist, making analogies with Hitler, and we have also come across texts openly calling for his liquidation with the words "You would do a great favour to your country, but also to the world" (4 March). Putin and Russia are portrayed as a threat to the West and the whole world, so we see a sharp polarization into "us" and "them". The category "us" includes the whole world united against the common enemy –Russia. Not infrequently, entire texts of the Western media are adopted, in which members of the Russian leadership are dehumanized in order to paint the sharpest possible picture of the Russians as aggressors and criminals.

As for *Danas*, the most frequent sources of information were Foreign Policy, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and N1. The focus of the coverage was on civilian casualties, especially children, and the statement that Russia primarily attacks civilian objects. We assume that such a portrayal serves to arouse emotions in the audience and to highlight rights violations, including international human rights law.

Danas used anonymous sources "(...) an official who spoke under the condition that his name would not be published", "a Russian military commentator who asked to remain anonymous", usually for the texts talking about the number of missiles fired at Ukraine, the number of dead soldiers and casualties, as well as destroyed artillery. However, it is important to note that a week after the war began, there was a note at the end of each text stating that the information provided had been verified by several different sources, but if any of the readers had sufficient evidence to claim that information was incorrect, they could contact them by email to correct it.

As positive actors in texts brought by *Danas* were presented the sympathizers of the Ukrainian side, as well as the leadership of Ukraine and its army. The portals were overwhelmed with the news about the Russian journalist Marina Ovsyanikova, who interrupted the live news broadcast and displayed a banner with an anti-war message in the studio, to which the court in Moscow reacted harshly and sentenced Ovsyanikova to a fine of 30,000 rubles after she had spent several days in detention. *Danas*, however, published an article calling the journalist "courageous" for speaking up against the war in this way. This label is also attributed to Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, who "bravely perseveres" in difficult times. Special emphasis was placed on the successes of the Ukrainian army, which, despite Russia's best efforts, put up excellent resistance. The superiority of the Ukrainian army is reflected in the fact that despite Russia's various artillery, ballistic, and bombing missions, "there is still resistance in Ukraine" (4 March), described as "fierce", which has "slowed the invasion and thwarted Moscow's hopes of a lightning victory, and the Ukrainians are working to strengthen the defence of cities throughout the country" (7 March).

The main culprits of the war in Ukraine, about which *Danas* writes, clash with those found responsible in *Politika*. In *Danas*, the situation is mostly characterized as "senseless bloodshed", "unprovoked invasion", but also "innocent Ukrainians". In condemning Russia's attack on Ukraine's territorial integrity, Serbia was praised for making the right decision to get on the right side of history.

A mocking tone was also audible in *Danas*, which ironically characterized President Vladimir Putin as a "unifier" who "naively" went to war with a destructive goal, among others, for the EU, when in fact there has never been greater unity in Europe and among Western partners. sought since World War II, so Putin gave the world a new historical opportunity – "Putin unified the West and made himself persona non grata" (11 March). This undertone can be illustrated as follows: "Instead of additional ammunition and rations, Russian soldiers apparently brought ceremonial uniforms for the parade on the occasion of the victory in Kiev" (14 March), accordingly, the following is also stated: "In principle, the plan was good and should have functioned, but suddenly the Ukrainians started shooting" (10 March).

Danas took a moderate attitude by publishing articles in favour of the Russian side, so it conveys a text from a conversation with history professors that a large number of high school students have already formed an opinion on this issue and that most of them support Russia, then it conveys the text "Ukraine - a country on the border" (3 January), in which the necessary level of knowledge of the facts is shown and it is stated that "the media of the world nowadays contribute to the confusion and focus on pathos, which is normal, since the media are, knowingly or unknowingly, part of the propaganda machine", and the method of Putin's political behaviour is explained in an argumentative way and it is stated that Putin is not "crazy", as the Western media describe him, but on the contrary – rational, and that this step is rational in its logic.

This portal's texts about the negotiations between Russia and Ukraine were also striking. The context is diametrically opposed to *Politika,* which means that in this case the Russians are the main culprits regarding the failure of negotiations. Ukraine is presented as the side that wants to try negotiating with Russia, but does not believe in being successful. In this case, willingness is characteristic of Ukraine, while Russia is the whose agreement is awaited.

As far as the content of the *Kurir* daily newspaper's portal is concerned, it can be said that it is saturated with typical, sensationalist and bombastic headlines. However, given the fact that this newspaper is a tabloid, this observation is not surprising. Some of the most memorable headlines are as follows: "Scary! Putin: Whoever intervenes from the side must expect Russia's immediate response!" (24 February), "Disaster! Chaos in Mariupol, the residents are terrified: we have no water, the bombs keep falling!" (3 April), "Alarming! Because of the war in Ukraine, the world is in danger of starvation!" (22 March), "The horror of war! Russians: Ukrainians torture and kill our prisoners! Kiev: Russian soldiers rape our women!" (29 March), "Fear! If the Russian-Ukrainian crisis is not resolved soon, the world will face a major economic crisis! The shortages have already begun!" (16 March). Then there are the so-called "clickbait" headlines, which are characterized by omitting part of the information, sometimes even all of it, from the headline so that the reader needs to click to get to it – "Shocking BBC commentary! First Afghanistan, now Ukraine! America is learning to be obedient! Here's why it's good for the rest of the world!" (21 March). Punctuation marks are used to increase the emotional charge of the audience and spread panic and fear, and the manipulative use of the question mark is most often used when the author is unsure of the accuracy of the information he/she is disseminating, e.g.: "Disturbing images are coming from bombed Donetsk!", "The mayor claims Ukraine attacked the city, corpses on the street?!" (14 March). Sensationalism is usually maintained in the title, so we assume that such formulated titles are a consequence of the need for the greatest number of viewers and the biggest profit possible. In addition to the inappropriate titles, there is also inappropriate language, e.g., colloquial language without literary quality, where Americans are referred to as "Yankees" and money as "cash" several times, as well as tendentious phrases, such as "The EU - be worse than one's word!". This only reinforces the journalistic tone and underscores the journalists' unprofessionalism, and at the same time ascribes values to the actors, which clearly puts the journalists on one side or the other.

It is surprising that *Kurir* has gone a step further in investigative journalism compared to the other two portals, visiting the border between Romania and Ukraine several times and reporting on the ground about the columns of refugees coming into that country and the atmosphere there. The scenes are described as harrowing and they mainly show the procedure of crossing the Ukrainian border and what awaits Ukrainians when they enter Romania (food stalls, diapers, first aid, etc.). On the other hand, *Kurir* has often published information from social networks, which shows that in most cases this daily newspaper has not bothered to get the information on its own, and more importantly and dangerously, it has taken information from sources that are unreliable and often trivial.

We note that *Kurir* sides with Russia and portrays it as a positive actor. Russia is in the role of protector of Ukrainian refugees and strongly condemns the actions of Ukrainian authorities in not allowing the evacuation of civilians. Therefore, it is taking matters into its own hands by creating conditions for the safe evacuation of "more than 142,000 people, including nearly 40,000 children, as well as 588 foreigners from France, Italy, the United States and other countries". Moreover, 15,246 cars crossed the Russian state border, including 738 in one day" (3 March). Thus, Russia presents itself as a place of refuge that warmly welcomes its people. In favour of the Russian side, *Kurir* also highlights the number of Russians who support the special military operation and express great confidence in their country and the army, whose success they predict. President Putin also portrays himself as the "head of the Kremlin", which underscores his satisfaction with his leadership, and he is also perceived as the "master of the empire" who has the credibility to expand that empire. The superiority of the Russian army over the Ukrainian army is also emphasized, with the Russian army on the border with Ukraine being assessed as larger than the entire Ukrainian army.

The texts offered by *Kurir* are full of photos and videos of those killed and wounded in the war, showing the wounded soldiers and dead bodies on the streets without any censorship. By doing so, the journalists violated the Serbian Journalists' Code of Ethics, disregarded the dignity of victims and alarmed the public. This way of revealing the victims' identity may be a consequence of the journalist's desire to provide readers with as much information as possible and to illustrate an event to them, but the fact is that it is still a violation of the right to privacy. The *Kurir's* reporting focused on predictions about the course and end of the war and on the weapons the Russians had at their disposal, admiring the power of weapons while at the same time frightening the public. Thus, there are numerous texts in which various experts analyze the situation in Ukraine and its ultimate outcome, including headlines such as "When and how will the conflict in Ukraine end?", "Putin's invasion has triggered a major war in Europe after several decades" (3 May), "Five scenarios of how the conflict between Ukraine and Russia could end: from a short war to Putin's fall" (3 April), "War in Ukraine won't end soon - U.S. portal analysis speaks about Putin's chances of victory and similarities to Syria and Chechnya" (12 March), "New World! Expert analysis: Russia is weakening politically, the rivalry between China and America remains, the EU gets a chance!" (17 March), and the assessments are balanced, depending on the source of information.

By reporting on the types of weapons the Russians have in their arsenal, the editors portray Russia as a power that no reasonable person should oppose. Russia has one of the most advanced thermobaric bombs in the world, about which *Kurir* writes as follows: "The world fears of the most powerful Russian weapons! Putin's fearsome ace in the hole: "FATHER" destroys like a nuclear bomb!" (26 February), "Sucks the air out of the lungs and deforms the body: these are thermobaric bombs, a terrible weapon Russia has at its disposal!" (2 March), or when it comes to the operational Iskander tactical system, *Kurir* writes: "Iskander does not forgive: the Russian army published a video of the destruction of the Ukrainian Buk air defence system!" (26 March).

In unpredictable situations such as the war development in Ukraine, the way is paved for numerous conspiratorial explanations of events, i.e., the creation of conspiracy theories that usually point to a secret plan made by the political powers in secret. *Kurir* resorts to such conspiratorial stories about the "real goal" of the war in Ukraine. One of them says that the ultimate goal is the creation of the Soviet Union, only under a slightly different idea, and Ukraine is just a way to this main goal. The second theory is neo-Eurasian. Russia's "task" is to be big and to expand constantly, and that is where the idea that it should unite the peoples of Eurasia and dominate them comes from. This newspaper also had its part in stirring up panic and spreading fear by publishing articles about the shortages caused by the Russian-Ukrainian war. If this does not end soon, "the world will face an economic catastrophe and an unprecedented crisis, even greater than that of the 1930s", which will be reflected in rising prices and insufficient supplies of necessary products. Panic buying, as during the Corona virus pandemic, began in Italy "for fear of a new war and, therefore, of logistic problems, acquiring supplies and facing shortages" and the United Nations warned of a "hurricane of hunger" that "is already being felt".

CONCLUSION

The media coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian war is largely embedded in the perspective of the pro-war idea of the media in Serbia. The Serbian press typically tends to sensationalize the war, focusing on war conquests and the superiority of weapons and the army. This confirms our basic hypothesis that the online media in Serbia report one-sidedly about the Russian-Ukrainian war and do not observe the rules of journalistic ethics. The results of the analyzed texts show that the texts on all three observed portals are routinely written and that the articles are less and less independently devised and written, but are increasingly influenced by PR services, in some cases even by social networks. This phenomenon is closely related to the routinization of journalism, which is increasingly present in all communication processes and their stages, from information collecting to event selection and message shaping (Erjavec, Poler Kovačić, 2004). Because foreign political authorities have a strong influence on international news reporting, none of the news organizations has much autonomy in reporting about international news.

The results of the quantitative analysis show that the approximate number of texts was published by *Danas* and *Kurir*, while *Politika* published a slightly smaller number of texts, which can be seen as a result of the editorial policy, but also special supplements about the Russian-Ukrainian war on *Danas* and *Kurir* portals. From the processed data we can conclude that the text is partially equipped, as in most cases two elements are missing – a supertitle and a subtitle.

Politika and *Kurir* were found to report less on the anti-war aspects, as only a small portion of their coverage was devoted to portraying the Russians as the main culprits in the conflict. The results suggest that *Danas*, unlike *Politika* and *Kurir*, predominantly holds an anti-war stance and is less inclined to present opposing views. It is important to note that the analyzed media nevertheless attempted to provide balanced coverage of the issue by including opposing viewpoints and discussions on the topic by experts from both sides. The balance of coverage may be a result of a desire for greater visibility and increased visits to the portal through the hyperproduction of news, the retention of an audience accustomed to credible information, while it may also be caused by economic motives. *Kurir* took a neutral position on the Russian-Ukrainian crisis on several occasions, but was mostly pro-war and used a defensive reporting framework, i.e., it tended to portray Russia as a country defending its people against the Nazis and taking reactive actions. In Addition, *Kurir* tended to report on the successful defeat of the Ukrainian army and the powerful Russian arsenal and to use "sharp language" when talking about Western actors. However, *Danas* was widely opposed and presented Western statements against the war, negative public opinion, critical American attitudes towards the attack on Ukraine and the like. It included articles highlighting negative public opinion, public protests in Serbia and Russia with anti-war messages, and opposition statements by political and religious figures from all over the world. Thus, *Danas* was found to use an "anti-war" and "humanitarian" framework in its reporting. *Politika* successfully balanced coverage, with a preponderance of Sputnik-dominated sources and frames that focused on Russian conquests and made little reference to Ukrainian casualties, although they did not absolutely justify Russia's attack on Ukraine. *Politika* pointed to the negative connotation of the West, polls and comments in favour of Russia and the support by the Russian people, as well as the inability of Ukraine's allied forces to control the situation. U.S. policies and statements by the EU and U.S. leaders were mostly portrayed negatively by *Politika*, while at the same time *Politika* and *Kurir* had a humanitarian framework that mostly balanced the coverage, and by that we mean the issues of the shortages of food, medicines and basic necessities of which the Ukrainian people are deprived.

All three analyzed portals resorted to easy downloading of prefabricated information, thus achieving interdependence between journalists and the source from which the information is most often downloaded, which nowadays is mostly PR services, politicians and social networks, with the result that everything is moving further away from analytical journalism and a critical approach to the content, moving towards a gradual tabloidization of journalism. The assumption that shorter information and the informative genre prevail in the observed media was confirmed in the quantitative analysis, which shows that 72.3% of the texts were written in the form of reports, indicating that the observed newspapers were not devoted to a deeper, critical analysis of the war in Ukraine, but only to the interpretation of short information. Today's journalism is increasingly dominated by informative genres, as busy modern society does not have enough time for reading articles and commentaries, but needs quick and concise information. This division "seems more logical in today's news-saturated society than the earlier tripartite division, as fictional elements increasingly give way to dry factography in modern journalism" (Todorović, 2002: 63).

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Zoran D. Matevski[1]
Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje
Skopje (North Macedonia)

Dushka N. Matevska[2]
Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje
Skopje (North Macedonia)

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION AND CONFLICTS IN EUROPE

Abstract: Today, Europe is faced with a crisis of moral, religious and even civilizational values. Many have talked about the moral decadence of Europe. Furthermore, European countries are constantly faced with political crises. The European Union has not fully fulfilled the expectations of its member states. The ethno-religious mobilization of citizens and political parties in the states in the Western Balkans is still present. In that sense, the role of religion and religious is realized in several directions. If the religious feelings of believers are abused or if religious teachings are brutally perverted, then religion is placed in the role of an amplifier of ethnic and political conflicts. Globalization imposes situations in which confessions, ethnic groups, countries, and civilizations affect each other inevitably, unlike in the past when they were more or less isolated from each other. All of this has two opposing social effects. On the one hand, there is a risk of an outbreak of clashes between different religions, which are present within a social community. On the other hand, these close contacts among different religions may diminish differences among them, and thus reduce the tensions and conflicts. Global society, among other things, is characterized by the conflict between particularism and universalism. The particularism emphasizes the importance of the characteristics of particular social groups. Those differences may be ethnic, cultural, religious, and regional. Unlike particularism, universalism emphasizes the importance of similarities among people and systems of values in individual societies.

Keywords: ethnoreligious mobilization, conflicts, particularism, universalism.

[1] zmatevski@fzf.ukim.edu.mk
[2] dmatevska@hotmail.com

INTRODUCTION

Religious tolerance among believers from different confessions, mutual understanding, respect of the differences, mutual dialogue and non-discrimination of people on a religious basis and affiliation are the essential components of religious pluralism. Religious pluralism should be considered a mosaic of our cultural wealth, of civilization achievements, customs and traditions, and all this should serve as a basis for progress rather than a motivation for non-tolerance, discrimination, mutual conflict and mutual destruction. On the one hand, it is very peculiar how so many people today, in contemporary society, are prepared to lose their lives for the sake of their religion and, on the other hand, they are not prepared to live in accordance with the principles and values of other religions. Basically, the principles implicated by different religions are not as contradicted as they may seem to be. According to the aspect of the development of civil society, there is an absolute necessity for institutionalizing the pastor care for peace, human values, as well as interreligious and intercultural respect. Civil society can find an answer to these issues with the aid of dialogues between different religions and cultures.

Tolerance is the model of behaviour that allows for validity of other principles. Tolerance means patience and relevance and it allows people to step back from the usual rule. Interpreted in a sociological manner, tolerance is patience, respecting the beliefs of others, ensuring the validity of other principles, which are not our own but still must be respected in the spirit of civil freedom and the public opinion. Briefly, tolerance can allow a person to step back from his or her own beliefs and the best method to introduce religious and ethnic tolerance is through civic society, which is a supra-national society. In the frameworks of this type of society, basic human values become more general. Generalization of the values and norms goes towards the level of creation of universal human rights and values. With this, inherited ethnic rights and linked habits, moral and legal norms drop. Universal values and norms followed by human rights and freedom are broader than the values of special ethnic communities. However, the system of norms and values has to rise at a universal level; just as there is separation of the state and church, there is also separation of state identity from national identity.

One of the key issues that contemporary sociology is faced with are what the roles of different religions are when conflicts emerge between civilizations, ethnic groups and states. How do religious individuals and groups use their power in spreading either peace or conflict? Sociological, philosophical, anthropological, historical, psychological and theological approaches will be considered in an attempt to answer these issues. We will also search to answer whether Orthodox churches, Catholic churches, Islamic religious communities etc. have weakened or sharpened ethnic conflicts and problems. Since they are separated from the state, it is clear that they cannot assume primary guilt for inter-ethnic problems in Europe. However, they are not completely free of responsibility either. If they are not responsible for what they say, they are responsible for concealing some matters. It gives the impression that religious organizations in Europe do not have enough power to speak in their own religious language, but in certain social-political moments they speak in a somewhat collective language, where ethnocentrism becomes the ideology of modern times.

In regard to the religious situation in Europe, the following dilemmas and questions arise:

Does religion have a positive or negative role in Europe?

Is secularization in Europe a myth or reality?

Is the process of de-secularization, or even sacralization, taking place in contemporary European society?

Are religious organizations becoming more and more profane in their activities?

Is the process of ethno-religious mobilization taking place in Europe?

Why does religious fundamentalism reject the practical implementation of the principles of secularization and religious tolerance?

Is the process of religious universalism taking place in Europe through the ideas of ecumenism and neo-ecumenism, and if yes, to what extent?

What is the role of religious tolerance as a principle between religious particularism and religious universalism in Europe?

To what extent are the religious organizations in Europe practically implementing the principles of religious tolerance? (Matevski, 2021).

RELIGION AND GLOBALIZATION

As a result of industrialization and modernization, modern European societies are fragmented by numerous cultural and religious groups. In conditions of religious pluralism, the states can no longer support only one religion without causing conflict in society. Religious pluralism allows individuals to make their religion a personal choice rather than an integral part of their membership in society. Religious pluralism in modern societies mainly comes from two sources: the existence of different ethnic groups that nurture their own religious traditions, and the increasing number of sects and cults. In such societies, religion will remain particularly important because it usually fulfils one of two important functions for ethnic groups: the protection of their own culture and cultural transition (Beyer, 2000).

Religion assumes the role of protecting culture when there are two (or more) conflicting communities of different religions; for example, the relationship between Protestants and Catholics in the Ulster area of Northern Ireland, or the relationship between Serbs (Orthodox), Croats (Roman Catholics) and Bosniaks (Muslims) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In such conditions, the sense of religious identity of each community may encourage a need for new loyalty to one's own community. Religion can become very significant because of the help it can provide to people in the process of transition from one world to another. Here we are speaking about people who have migrated to another country or continued living in the same place that has radically changed.

The theory of postmodernism claims that the state has again occurred when society begins to reject the scientific rationality typical of modernism. The reason for this is that people are starting to become sceptical of science. They perceive the failures of science and especially due to the perception of the negative consequences of the development of science and technology. Examples of this can be global warming, air pollution, more frequent occurrence of cancer, creation of ozone holes, etc. In such circumstances, people turn to some form of religion. The role and strength of religion in modern societies is determined by a series of factors (David, 2016).

One of the most important factors is the degree of religious pluralism and the strength of the dominant religion. Societies in which the Roman Catholic Church claims a monopoly over religious truth are usually very different from societies in which both Protestantism and Catholicism have a strong foothold, and from societies in which there is a plurality of denominations and churches. The political system of society and the relationship between Church and State have a strong influence on the degree of importance of religion in a particular society. The third important factor is the extent to which religion helps create national, regional or ethnic identity.

In the United States, the degree of religious pluralism is high and there is no official relationship between the Church and the state. There is a number of migrant groups of different ethnic origins. Religious pluralism is flourishing as ethnic minorities strive to maintain their own identity. Although the degree of participation in religious rituals is high, religion does not play an important role in the functioning of society. Social solidarity is achieved more by a sense of patriotism and belief in the values of the American way of life, and less by shared religious beliefs.

In Catholic countries such as France, Spain, Italy or Portugal, the church still plays a major role in society and influences government policy in the area of education and legislation governing marriage, divorce, contraception and abortion. Church attendance is high and Martin believes that Catholic societies are less secular than Protestant ones. Where Catholicism dominates, there is very little religious pluralism (David, 2016).

In other countries such as the Netherlands, Germany and Switzerland, the division between the Protestant majority and the strong Catholic minority is clear. The Catholic minority usually belongs to the lower social strata. Participation in religious rituals is very high because it offers the two most important subcultures a sense of identity. Religion also plays an important role in education, so there are separate Protestant and Catholic schools. The claims of universalist religions that the world was created by one God do not lead us to the conclusion that God is the primary long-term driving force in globalization. It leads to proving that humanity constitutes a single community regardless of geographical space and political territories. Among the universalist religions, Christianity and Islam have proven to be the most effective globalizers because of their conversion missions. It is most explicit in Islam. The world goal of Islam is the establishment of a community of believers (Ummah) in which the practices outlined in the Qur'an will be followed literally and which will engage in a holy war (Jihad) against the infidels.

The rapid demographic growth of Muslim population already suggests that Islam could be the religion of globalization. On the other hand, fundamentalism is the Islamic version of globalization. However, we also find fundamentalism in other religions and not only in Islam (Protestant Christianity, Orthodox Christianity, Buddhism, etc.). Fundamentalism is only a response to the challenge of globalization. The idea is to establish a moral system, but on traditional values. What is dangerous about fundamentalism is that only one tradition is acceptable (its own, of course), and all other traditions, religions, and worldviews are unacceptable (Beyer, 2014).

CONFLICTS IN EUROPE

Europe was shaped by the ancient authentic values of Christianity and Islam. Interestingly, even though these religions in their essence are close to each other, originate from a common ancient foundation in Judaism and preach peace as an ideal, the multi-confessional regions have always been among the most conflicting regions in the Europe. Above all, it is a result of the essence of religion. The great monotheistic religions derived from the so-called Abrahamic tradition are in particular very intolerant. They have firm and unchangeable worldviews, a strict code of ethics, and they draw a clear distinction between those who are and those who are not true believers. Their dogmas and rules given by God are eternal truth. They cannot be subject to negotiations, compromises, and variances. When such a group meets another similar group, they inevitably call each other heretics and apostates. They are not in a position to recognize their share in knowing the truth. Why? Because it would cast some doubt on their dogmas. Such contacts must end up with alienation and conflict. These religions are at the same time very collectivistic. They claim that believers create a special and morally superior community. Relations with them easily become a sign of political or national loyalty. The biggest danger lies in connecting the nation and religion. Moreover, if Abrahamic religions become factors in politics, because of their uncompromising points of view they lead to constant conflict with the religious others.

The pseudo-democratic processes in Europe are a means of ruling the majority, wherein the leaders of those processes succeed in manipulating the unthinking masses using religious scriptures. Through the religious worldview, the masses are mobilized in the European societies, in which Christian and Islamic values become simple commodities in neoliberal capitalism. Does denying the right of others to be different from you means you are moving into the space of open and concealed violence? The problem is that original Islam is falsified and used by the political right in the European states. They define society as an organic national, ethnic, and racial whole, which is primarily oriented towards national and patriarchal values. In the case of Europe, the division of people between "religious us" and "religious them"; Christians and Muslims; believers and atheists, breeds violence which is founded on a totalitarian understanding of faith. The idea that God is one, and the belief in Him differently placed in different religions, can lead some individuals, religious and political organizations to the false notion that we are "us" because we are not "them" and the only way to remain "us" is to exterminate "them". Because of this, religious exclusivism leads to a violent ideology and religious extremism. From then on, this has been the rule, not the exception. Because of this, religious exclusivity, without undermining other forms of exclusivity, has generated the biggest problems in the world (Schmid, 2018).

When we are speaking about religious pluralism, I would like to refer to the differences between the religious varieties. They testify to the existence of many different religions. Religious pluralism means a relatively peaceful coexistence and cooperation of different religions. It is not aimed at creating a single world religion as a syncretism of different religions, nor is it a simple existence of one next to the others (following the principle "separate but equal"). Nowadays, in European countries, religious freedom is interpreted as the simple existence of one next to the others, without mutual dialogue and meetings. Meeting here would be mostly a violent meeting.

The best terrain for introducing religious and ethnic tolerance, as well as the idea of ecumenism and neo-ecumenism, is civil society. It is a supra-national society where the primary criterion is citizenship. Such kind of society generalizes basic human values. The generalization of values and norms leads to the creation of universal human rights and values. With this, inherited ethnic rights and related customs, moral and legal norms fall. Universal values and norms, accompanied by human rights and freedoms, are broader than the values of a particular ethnic community. However, the system of values and norms should and has to rise to a universal level. Processes of globalization undoubtedly lead us to the conclusion that religion in the global era is understood within the context of changes in the world in general. This is based on the assumptions that borders among societies are becoming less important and socio-cultural developments in certain societies are increasingly influenced by events from other parts of the world (Hogan and Lehrke, 2009).

ACTUALIZATION OF THE RELIGIOUS OTHER IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Religious otherness, that is, the alterity of modern European society, is imposed as one of the most important phenomena. Europe cannot neglect, let alone ignore, this phenomenon. The more the coordinates of the global village in which we live decrease, the more we are directed to those with whom we live, to others, regardless of their faith. However different we are from each other, which is beyond doubt, it is quite certain that we are completely directed towards each other. Our religious identity does not threaten but only enriches the religious identities of those who live with us, as well as vice versa, of course. We all function successfully only if we do it together. The rest are prejudices, which when we do not know how to overcome them or when we emphasize them unnecessarily, inevitably provoke disagreements and conflicts.

I theorize throughout the "big world" during almost the entire twentieth century as a "constitutive category" - that is, as a problem of interaction between two persons, between two utterances or as a problem of time-space communication between two or more cultures (Levi-Strauss, 1995). In our European context, the problem of alterity is still much more practised than discussed. Unfortunately, that practice is usually negotiable, not to say conflictual. In the text, we try to elaborate the problem of the closure of small cultures ("organic cultures"). When we speak about Europe, we refer to cultures that constantly collide (face misunderstandings, and solve them through "euphoria of closure", dividing "subjects" into "religious ours" and "religious theirs". Such a culture, with no small amount of religious devotion, surrenders to its own hermeticity, living the desolate illusion that everything that is not "unique" (in the sense of "ours") becomes unnatural.

We live in a time when the principles of democracy are accepted in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe under the so-called model of joint living of different communities with different cultures and religions. In Europe, there are several religious communities that show a strong interest in preserving and nurturing their cultural and historical heritage. What is worrying is that the basic feature of the study and affirmation of religious affiliation is expressed pathetically, as the avoidance or resistance to what is "someone else's and not mine" or what belongs to "you" and not to "us". Hence the question of developing awareness and the methodology that will increase the sharing of the religious heritage. Throughout the territory of Europe, members of all religious groups, regardless of their numbers, including the Orthodox in the category of the other, because the representation of the other, its naming and recognition in a religious group depends on the point of view and the observing subject. For example, Orthodox is different for a Muslim, a Catholic or a member of a Protestant religious community or a new religious movement.

Everything that has been created by various cultures and civilizations in the territory of Europe over the centuries should not be denied, but, on the contrary, cherished, treated objectively, studied and felt as the cultural property of all. The issue arising from this context is very serious and requires a serious elaboration. The refinement of the methodology in the approach to the problem is one reference aspect of our method. The exact way of determining and discovering the truth of a question is more valuable than what philosophizing means. By changing the way of looking at things, the life of a person changes as well (Aristotle and Williams, 2000).

Someone could tell us that the idea of the religious other has been overcome by the demise of the idea of "brotherhood and unity" of peoples and non-kinships in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. That model of cooperation of different ethnic and religious groups has failed and been overcome. Some of the radical thinkers will also say that perhaps one of the reasons why Tito and his League of Communists suppressed religious affiliation and participation in the desire to prevent any kind of religious intolerance and hatred in the state. I believe that the current idea of religious tolerance (including ethnic tolerance, of course) is only a logical extension of the idea of "brotherhood and unity" as a kind of neo-socialism. However, today's situation is no better than that during the period of socialism. Namely, what we are "looking for" is nothing but parallelism. If we think in this way, it means that we do not believe in moral values. Religious dialogue and cooperation are one of the capital values of civilization. The world as a whole, and Europe as a part of it, should be understood as a structural whole of different religions, cultures and systems, forming a relationship and culture towards the different as a wealth of the world and what is in it a universal human experience and meaning. This means that accepting the view that the richness of differences of human social experience is a condition for its vitality and creativity.

FROM RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE TO RELIGIOUS TERRORISM

If we speak about the interreligious tolerance between Christians and Muslims, we see two extremes that have the same goal. For example, in the Muslim nations, societal tolerance is mainly guided by religion. If you steal, your hands will be cut off. If you commit adultery, you will be stoned to death. The Western world looks to these laws as barbaric. On the other hand, Muslim believers look to Christianity as decadent. The most important thing is the amount of tolerance that one side has for the other. While Christians and Muslim differ in their values, they still have the same aspirations and ambitions in life. Those who misinterpret the Qur'an were led towards intolerance regarding all non-Muslims. This is also true for those who misinterpret the Bible – known as Christian fundamentalists (Methenitis, 2019).

If this is already indicated in the 'two-part composition' of Muslim terrorism, the question is left unanswered as to whether it will remain and, if it does, which will be the leading component. This is a highly debated problem, and is largely present in the discussions of political Islam, with opposing views. Some Muslim intellectuals believe that terrorism has no connection to Islam, claiming that Islam is a religion of peace, tolerance and understanding. This view is contradictory to the many clashes between different currents in Islam, and is often connected to the antagonism towards the Western values and decadent lifestyle, and some opponents to this view equate the war against terror to the war against Islam (especially after the events of 11 September 2001). The problem is in the fact that these views, in different versions and emphasis, can be verified in past practices and current events. Muslim fundamentalism has given terrorism brutality and fanaticism, apotheosis of sacrifice with the belief of incarnation of life, which can be seen in many cases of 'car bombs' and 'suicide bombers', and in the cruelty of the suffering of innocents.

Muslims inhabit about 120 countries today. They represent the majority in 35 countries, and Islam is the state religion of 28 countries. In many Muslim countries the principles of the Muslim faith are built into the constitution. This means that no political action can be undertaken if it is not in accordance with the Muslim faith (Sharia law). In line with Muslim teachings, the duty of all Muslim countries is to perform their religious mission - Da'wah. The main goal of the Da'wah is for Islam to be preached until there is only one country - one Muslim state. In a classical sense, this means that all Muslims need to wage war, because the acceptance of Islam is the final instance and the end of autonomy of non-Muslims countries, but such an idea is unachievable in current conditions, so they need to realize this goal in a different manner (Jevtić, 2009:170-179).

We cannot speak of Islam and politics unless we explain the way Islam understands sovereignty. The widely accepted idea of national sovereignty, is completely rejected, because only God is capable of creating laws, and any human action towards creating laws is blasphemy. We must stress the fact that the idea that God is a legislator and sovereign does not exist only in Muslim teachings, but also in the Jewish and Christian past. But this theory in Islam is accepted today, unlike the same idea in Christianity, where it has been overcome by the process of secularization.

Because of this, all Muslim societies today are more or less theocratic, and this tendency to strengthen theocracy is more visible over time. As previously stated, the idea that all authority is given by God has previously existed in the frameworks of Christianity, with which the theocratic organization of society has been more or less expressed. For the Christian world, the separation of the church and the state was a necessary condition for growth. That is why the idea of the people as the holders of sovereignty is reinforced. However, Islam has remained attached to medieval traditions, according to which Allah directly rules over the Islamic state through the laws in the Qur'an. This holy book also represents the constitution and the fundamental source of law in Muslim countries. Islamic countries can be separated into 3 groups according to the analysis of their constitutions and the practices based on them. The first group consists of the Islamic countries wherein the constitution clearly states that Allah holds sovereign power. The second group consists of the countries wherein the people are the holders of sovereignty. Nevertheless, it is emphasized in the constitution that the people can realize their sovereign rights only in accordance with the laws imposed by Allah. The third group consists of the countries whose sovereignty most closely resembles that of Europe and the USA (Jevtić, 2009: 177- 205).

Modern civilization rests on secularist ideas, according to which religion is placed in the private realm of the individual. We cannot speak about elements of religious fundamentalism in a religion as long as the expression of religious feelings remains in the private realm and does not disturb normal life and the religious freedoms of the members of other confessions. A religion becomes fundamentalist when, according to the interpretation of a religious teaching, it involves establishing societal laws that do not allow basic human rights.

CONCLUSION

Religious fundamentalism is most often manifested as a politically-religious ideology that entirely or partially rejects the ideas of cultural globalism, those ideas being the phenomena of religious tolerance, ecumenism and neo-ecumenism; secularization; modern achievements in science and technology. For various reasons they are not compatible with the doctrines and practices of religious fundamentalists and extremists. Out of all the Universalist religions, Christianity, Islam and Buddhism have shown to be the strongest forces of globalization in the postmodern era. The sudden and constant demographic growth of Muslim population worldwide leads us to the assumption that Islam might become the strongest religion of globalization. On the other hand, fundamentalism represents a type of an answer to the challenge of globalization. The idea is to establish a moral system of religious and traditional cultural values. The biggest problem of religious fundamentalism and extremism is the idea that only the cultural traditions of Muslim civilization and Sharia law are acceptable. Furthermore, religious institutions, especially Christian ones, are trying to take a more universal approach towards the believers of other religions. In this regard, religious communities and groups are trying to practically implement the principles of ecumenism and neo-ecumenism in an attempt to unite believers with different confessional belongings. Instead of starting by emphasizing the differences, using this principle, religious institutions emphasize the beliefs and religious values that should become common for the entire world in the global era. Contrary to the exclusivity of fundamentalism, ecumenism suggests a plan through which religious tolerance and dialogue could be guided by universal religious values and moral norms.

The global economy and the global political system can be of very little help to the individual and social groups in the affirmation of their ethnic, religious and cultural identity. The identities are being increasingly relativized, resulting in the lack of unification in determining what people really are. All of this causes the identity crisis among individuals and social groups. In this respect, religion could help people to overcome this issue. Individuals and social groups can turn to religion in order to secure the unique, yet threatened sense of identity. However, they can simultaneously misuse religion so as to affirm their supremacy over other individuals or social groups. Religion is able to mobilize social groups that strive for power and influence in the European societies where they feel marginalized or consider the globalized society as some kind of threat. This is the reason why the identity crisis makes religious fundamentalism the most prevalent and most controversial ideology of modern times. The secular goal of Islam is establishing a community of adherents in which the practices stated in the Qur'an will be followed consistently (the militant version of which is engaging in a holy war against non-believers). It is believed that the abrupt Muslim population growth already points to the fact that Islam could potentially be the religion of globalization. However, fundamentalism is only a reaction to the challenge of globalization.

Europe is a meeting place of different religions: Christianity, Islam and Judaism. Interestingly, despite the fact that all these religions are essentially similar to one another, deriving from a common ancient basis in Judaism and all of them preaching peace as an ideal, Europe has always been considered among the most conflicting regions in the world. These religions are also very collectivistic. They claim that their adherents make a special and morally superior community. Connections with them easily become a sign of political or national loyalty. The greatest danger lies in the connection between nation and religion. Moreover, if the Abrahamic religions become factors in politics, they, because of their uncompromising positions, essentially lead to a constant conflict with the religious others (Kuschel, 2001).

The problem arises when mutual misunderstandings and conflicts occur within each of the above-mentioned ethnic and religious groups. For example, the Macedonians and the Albanians are essentially closed ethnic groups. Inside these groups, there are misunderstandings and problems of economic, social, political and cultural character which cannot be solved from within. Henceforth, as a rule, there is a search for a regular culprit. And who would that be? Of course, the scapegoat is being searched for among the members of the ethnic group which is closest to your own. In that way, the real reasons for the social crisis of one's own ethnic community are being very successfully concealed and its members are being distracted from the real culprits, who should be either banished or punished. Therefore, a much more acceptable maxim is that the one who cannot have a humane conversation with an adherent of one's own faith, can have it to an even smaller extent with an adherent of a different one. In this regard, Durkheim's sociological thesis is very up to date. Paraphrased, it would look like this: if in a social community, there is a negative and destructive energy which could completely disintegrate the community, then this negative energy is being directed towards the neighbouring social community. In that case, "my community" is free of destruction and internal strife. To save one's own tribe, it is best to attack the neighbouring tribe (Durkheim, 1995).

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Slobodan M. Miladinović[1]
University of Belgrade,
Faculty of Organizational Science,
Department of Human Resources Management
Belgrade (Serbia)

ON THE CONCEPT OF VIRTUAL AND DIGITAL IDENTITY[2]

Abstract: This paper starts from the position that identity represents a set of relatively permanent, i.e., long-term determinants that relate to or can be associated with an individual or a social group and are most often recognized as awareness of the long-term continuity of personal or collective experience. Based on that, we can talk about personal and social identities. The contemporary moment is marked by identity pluralism (professional, educational, ethnic, religious, sexual, gender, generational, etc.). One of its new forms, which is associated with the accelerated scientific and technological development and especially the emergence of digital technologies, is virtual and digital identity. These identities also refer to individuals and social groups, but also extend to different organizations and products. They are formed in the online environment and consist of digital records, on the basis of which a special set of characteristics is built – from them, a unique identity is derived, making sense both in personal or collective identification, as well as in legal and business relations. The aim of this paper is to point to the concept of virtual and collective identities and their importance at the contemporary social moment.

Keywords: identity, technology, social development, virtual identity, digital identity.

[1] slobodan.miladinovic@fon.bg.ac.rs

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INTRODUCTION

In the last five decades, scientific and technological development has been determined by the development of information and communication technologies, based on the microprocessor, which can process a large amount of information in a short time. From the beginning of the 1970s, when computers began to enter mass use, until today, several generations of these devices have been developed, and each of them could process a significantly larger amount of data than the previous one. The Third Industrial Revolution or Industry 3.0 begins with them. From that moment, the entire human life begins to speed up and become overwhelmed by a large amount of information (Eriksen, 2001). At the end of the first decade of the 21st century, thanks to these technologies, artificial intelligence began to enter everyday use, and with it, the Fourth Industrial Revolution or Industry 4.0 was launched (Miladinović, 2020).

So, in just a few decades, we have two scientific-technological (industrial) revolutions that have fundamentally changed the entire way of life of people. What is common to all technologies developed in these frameworks is that all information appears in the form of a different arrangement of only two digits 0 (zero) and 1 (one). Hence the name "digital".

The term "digital" is quickly entering everyday use. Many things, over time, move from real to virtual space and from analogue to digital form. There is almost no area of human life that has not taken on a digital variant. This means that computers from being exclusively personal instruments become parts of larger or smaller networks, which creates cyberspace as a network of connected computers, where virtual data translated into digital form resides. Today, it is almost pointless to list what is in the virtual space. It may be more challenging to look for what is not there. This means that many things can appear in digital form today. Moreover, it is going so far that literacy also acquires the attribute of "digital", and now we are starting to talk about digital literacy as well (Miladinović, 2019). In that multitude, there are also identities.

The aim of this paper is (1) to point out the existence of virtual and digital identities, which in many respects can be identical to real identities, but also have the peculiarities that make them different, and (2) to recognize their main characteristics and forms.

THE GENERAL CONCEPT OF IDENTITY

The general concept of identity implies a connection - the identity of an object with a certain property. It is about the fact that we can attribute certain properties to a certain object and, based on that, place it in a classification category. The identity defined in this way must be related to a relatively permanent or steady property based on which the identification is made. Although identity is linked to a property, it is not, by itself, a property, an attribute, but it represents a certain relationship, which is subjective and determines the form and not the content of the identity (Radojčić, 2011: 93). In a sociological context, identity would be a social relationship, a relationship between people regarding things and their specific properties.

In earlier times, when social life was not so differentiated, as it is at today's level of scientific-technological, economic and social development, there was a relatively small number of identification frameworks with which an individual could be identified. Identification was mainly done according to belonging to the family, local community and religious group. To this, eventually, belonging to a profession - trade or social class – could be added. Of the above-mentioned frames, one most often dominated while the others came to the fore in exceptional situations. Today we can talk about identity pluralism. Pluralism follows from the complexity of modern society. Everyone is involved in many different social groups. Some of them are given greater and others smaller importance and, therefore, we can talk about different importance of individual identities respectively.

One can ask why there is a need for identities. The answer lies in, among other things, the fact that people need ways to identify each other, such as names and surnames. To this should be added the individual need for identification with the communities to which they belong (nation, confession, state, local area, profession, workplace, etc.). In small communities, identity can easily be established based on informal grounds such as belonging to a kinship group, physical appearance, or the guarantees of trusted persons. Organized societies, of greater complexity, have more formal requirements such as identification documents that are equipped with relatively reliable indicators based on which it is possible to determine the identity of their owners, such as a personal description, signature, photo, and more recently, biometric data. All this must be verified in central registers kept in official state archives (WB, 2016: 194).

We should not forget that people need to belong somewhere, to know with whom they share certain characteristics that are important to them. People are social beings, and the sense of belonging is a very important element of self-evaluation.

Legally verified identities are the basis for exercising many human and civil rights, such as the right to work, education or health care. Therefore, identity must be a public good. but is that the case in the 21st century? The World Bank estimates that today about 2.4 billion people, mostly in underdeveloped and developing countries, are not registered. Even in Serbia, it is estimated that not a small number of Roma have not been included in the official records. Estimates range up to several hundred thousand. Hence their marginalization and social exclusion (Miladinović, 2008).

From a psychological point of view, identity is the sequence of an individual's mental life from which the basis for development is created. Viewed in this way, identity is not someone's trait but is formed through the socialization process. Based on it, one can feel their uniqueness, but also affiliation to a wider group. Therefore, it is a dynamic structure of self-perception that is formed in individual self-determination in cooperation with external determinants (Pakhtusova, 2019). No matter how identities are socially rooted, they still represent the psychological basis of personality.

In social-psychological terms, identity can be seen as the way in which one tries to present oneself to others. It follows that cyberspace "offers people the ability to be whatever they want to be". Personal identity becomes one's creation, and every cybernaut is a free artist" (Golčevski, 2004). Of course, that performance must be related to the social and cultural context. Therefore, identity is not only a matter of personal perception of someone's characteristics, but it is connected with time and space. Thus, identity becomes a sociological category that connects the individual and all his experiences with the entire structure of society. This means that identity is not only a matter of personal perception and personal choice but also appears externally imposed, regardless of whether someone wants that kind of identification or not.

Here it makes sense to mention Erikson, who claims that the feeling of identity is based on the observation of self-identity and the continuity of one's existence in time and space and the acceptance that others notice and acknowledge this fact (Erikson, 2008: 11). Hereby, Erikson accepts the interconnectedness of sociological and psychological viewpoints. Time and space form an important setting for the sociological consideration of any phenomenon, including identities. The first impulse, when it comes to them, comes from the awareness of self-perception, which is undoubtedly the psychological plane. Sociability follows from social interactions, i.e., social relations in which perceptions are associated with specific time and space, that is, a given social framework.

The bearer of the identity can be an individual or a group. From this follows the basic division of identity into personal (individual) and group (collective and social). Collective identity is socially based on tradition, culture, religion, values, customs, norms of a society, etc. In the case of personal, or individual identity, this obviousness is absent, but that does not mean there are no connections and influences of the mentioned elements. Individuals are parts of wider wholes and, as such, they belong to certain social groups, and narrower cultures, and adopt dominant norms and values, even when they resist them by denying them or different forms of antisocial behaviour directly negating them. Therefore, individuals belong to society and are subject to all influences that shape collective identity. Of course, there are also individual experiences and interactions with a limited number of individuals that have a certain influence on them. The type and level of education, profession, political, local or similar affiliation are also important here, which makes a specific difference in the relationship between an individual - a wider collective - other individuals.

Social identity refers to an individual's perception that he belongs to a certain social group. This is complemented by an emotional value related to the given affiliation (Turner, 1975). The mechanism of building social identity includes the processes of categorization, identification and comparison. It starts with categorization, which is carried out by the classification of individuals based on different properties, which places them in different social categories. In the next step, identification with others similar to oneself is performed. In this way, individuals recognize others as members of different groups and adopt the identity of the group they identify with. In the third step, the individual compares himself with other groups, which are set as a reference framework for his evaluation. This establishes a relationship with other subjects of social life. This means that individuals, when they identify with a group and classify themselves as its members, tend to compare their group with other groups. Of course, this process should produce a feeling of group self-esteem and, therefore, it would not make sense if one's group was not compared to others in a positive light, more precisely as more valuable and useful than others.

We derive all other classifications from the basic division into individual and collective identities and they are made based on different life circumstances. In the case of individual identity, the key benchmarks are the individual's personal characteristics, physical appearance, knowledge, skills and abilities, psychological characteristics, intellect, etc. In the case of collective identity, the individual's belonging to different groups is of crucial importance, with the most significant identification frameworks being ethnic, religious, social class, professional and territorial affiliation. In this context, the division is made of social groups to which individuals belong, into in and out groups. By in groups are meant all those groups to which individuals, in one way or another, belong and identify with them (Çöteli, 2019). On the other hand, outgroups are those with which they do not feel closeness or belonging. The members of these groups are considered in the categories of us and them. From this follows the division into insiders (we) and outsiders (they). The essence of the division into in and out groups is in (1) setting boundaries and (2) symbols. The borders are more or less impermeable and make it difficult for insiders and outsiders to mix. Symbols have the function of strengthening the insider's connection with the group and the boundaries between them. The point of all this is that the individual strongly identifies with his group. Based on this, the social-collective-group identity is formed.

The concepts of in and out groups and wee – they relations were introduced at the beginning of the 1070s by Henry Tajfel and his colleagues (Tajfel, 1970: 96-102; Tajfel et al, 1971: 151-152), while developing the theory of social identity. Tajfel and Turner believe that identity is important in social interactions because (1) individuals, striving to maintain or achieve a positive identity, strengthen their self-confidence and self-esteem through it; (2) they value belonging to their own or close groups positively and base it on favourable comparisons between the in-group and relevant out-groups. (3) their group is evaluated by comparison with another, if the evaluations are not favourable, individuals will either leave it and join one that they value more positively, or they will make an effort to improve their group and thereby regain their self-esteem (Tajfel and Turner, 1979: 40).

Otherwise, the theory of social identity has been criticized intensely in the literature (Çöteli, 2019: 4-5) due to the sharp separation of individual and social identities. The main argument is that these two groups of identities cannot be sharply demarcated because individual identities are socially determined. The individual is not isolated from society and, therefore, his identities cannot be distinctly separated from the social ones; they intertwine and combine in most diverse ways and build the unique identity of each individual. Almost every personal trait of an individual that builds his identity is shaped by the socialization process, and it cannot be solely the product of chance events isolated from society.

VIRTUAL IDENTITY

Within the framework of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, in the context of this topic, the development of new, digital media, primarily social networking sites, is of particular importance. They were primarily adopted by members of younger generations. For them, these sites represented an instrument for establishing mutual connections, whether their goal was to maintain contacts with old acquaintances or to acquire new acquaintances and connections to meet various goals and needs (Banepali et all, 2017: 226). New generations of digital natives (Prensky, 2001; Prensky, 2001a) were formed around them very quickly, i.e., people who grew up with digital technologies and who, through various media, such as text, audio and video recordings, reshaped the social relations into which they entered daily. By building different models of mutual communication (Snijders, Kenny, 1999), they shaped previously unknown forms of personal and collective identities. And all this takes place on different software platforms, most often social networking websites, which are virtual meeting places for different individuals. What distinguishes them from the real space are profiles that, very often, can be designed for different purposes, through which individuals are identified depending on the nature and purpose of the platform itself, but can also be completely imaginary, and even consciously designed as fake, as well as misleading. The complexity of the virtual identity is expressed by the totality of characteristics that someone has online, which should reflect real, or at least desirable, individual characteristics and guarantee the integrity and identity of that person during their stay on the Internet.

Observing things in this context, Pakhtusova believes that the virtual identity usually emerges as an expression of dissatisfaction with the real identity, or because of an identity crisis and that it appears as a function of compensation for one's specific life situation or socialization, which should mean that the virtual identity can be seen as an open path for self-actualization and personal fulfilment (Pakhtusova, 2019). But is that so? A virtual identity may or may not be compensation for one's dissatisfaction with a real identity. There are many reasons why people build virtual identities. Many of them require that the virtual identity should correspond to the real situation and even that it should be filled with verifiable facts – especially when the goal is to establish business contacts. It is a different matter if we speak about sites for establishing personal contacts. Then it is not unusual for profiles to be formed by listing only positive features, mostly of a valuable character, to be full of euphemisms and even to relativize the entered data.

By transferring to the virtual space, the individual often wants to hide the representation of his personality from real life and to present himself as different, better, more valuable, smarter, and more beautiful than he perceives himself to be. In virtual space, it is easy to hide your tracks in order not to reveal your identity. Of course, trail-blank should be understood conditionally, given that if there is any abuse of online contacts, forensics can relatively easily track down the perpetrator.

One of the first surprising findings of cyberspace researchers is the conclusion that the majority of those who regularly live in it actually value their identity in the digital environment (cyber identity) more than the one representing their personality and everyday identity in the real environment in which they spend their daily lives (Turkle, 1995; cited according to Olivier, 2011: 40). Moreover, instead of one identity, there are identities at work. This identity transformation was made possible by the advent of the Internet, which made it possible to connect a large number of people when visiting multi-user domains, chat rooms, online social networks, and similar virtual spaces, specially created for establishing contacts for various purposes. It is precisely because of these different purposes that the need arose to open multiple profiles, digital doubles, during which each of them constructs a separate identity (avatar). This diversity of identities has contributed to the fact that today we also look at the concept of identity differently.

Of course, when it comes to online social networking platforms such as Facebook and the like, most people are aware that they are then exposed mainly to those who know them and are therefore not inclined to give false information about themselves. Another thing is when they appear on different forums, then their true identity is very often unknown to other users. There, a completely new identity can be built, which is drastically different from the real one. In that case, the possibility of public action opens, without public display. People then become bolder, more daring and ready for different actions, which otherwise, for various reasons, they are not ready for in real life.

In such a situation, it is possible that each actor appears in the virtual space, as a split personality, like Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. In one's regular activities, it is possible to be frustrated, anxious, quiet and withdrawn, in a word inferior, while in the virtual space appearing as an arrogant noisemaker with a sharp tongue, who has the ambition to shape public opinion. Or in a similar situation, someone who is functionally, so to speak, illiterate presents himself as a highly educated intellectual who, with full authority, gives lessons to everyone, or a person who has not left some rural hinterland may present himself as someone who has travelled the world and knows very much about how people live in different societies and cultures.

Therefore, in the virtual zone, it is possible to build an ideal self-image and establish an ideal identity based on it. This is difficult to do in real life, given that identities are built in direct physical interaction with others and their formation is influenced by many factors, such as ethnic, confessional, local and wider spatial affiliation, language or dialect, profession, education, class-layer position, a job that someone performs, etc. In the virtual space, the possibility is created for the individual to become what he is not really and, conversely, to be not what he actually is, but what he would like to be. In this way, identity takes the form of a hybrid between desire and reality. This compensates for what is not realized in real life with something that appears as an ideal image from virtual reality (Đorđević, 2011: 103-104). Of course, it is possible to create plenty of such ideal images that would circulate in the virtual space as different identities, that is, identities for different purposes. In real life, it would not be easy to create so many different identities for the simple reason that each interacts with a relatively limited number of other persons, and it is impossible to hide some of their real identities. Nowadays, this is particularly difficult to achieve, given that thanks to modern technologies, many data are easily verifiable. Attempting to switch identities in this way can easily turn into outright deception.

The virtual space allows greater anonymity, where someone wants to hide their real identity and build an imaginary one according to their own wishes and measure. An imaginary identity in the virtual space does not have to be experienced as an act of fraud and deception in the way it would be understood as such in the real world. This is even more possible if no traces of physical identity are left in the virtual space, e.g., photos, addresses, phone numbers and other identifiable information.

The phenomenon of bots, which is present on many Internet portals, gives such an impression. In this case, bots refer to individuals, usually party henchmen who, as a sign of recognition, leave their nicknames in comments on published news. Their task is to comment on various media publications supporting certain ideas and ideologies. Many of them have already built their image and identity to a large extent and have become recognizable by the narratives they leave about themselves and the topics commented on. Moreover, real bot wars are being waged on some of the portals in which some of them try to unmask others by knocking down their key identity items (e.g., occupation, level of education, political or religious affiliation, place of permanent residence, etc.).

DIGITAL IDENTITY

The concept of digital identity can be understood in a two-fold manner. First, more broadly, it implies that it is a synonym for online or virtual identity. The second, narrower meaning implies an instrument for identification when accessing the network, i.e., special resources located in cyberspace. This is usually about confidential content, which can only be accessed by authorized individuals. Depending on the confidentiality level, different instruments can be developed to determine the personal identity of each actor in the online environment. This section will discuss the narrower meaning of digital identity.

A more serious need for the formation of reliable digital identities arose from the expansion of the use of information and communication technologies in the sphere of financial services. Until then, the issue of digital identity was solved by using a username and password. This method was not reliable enough to protect confidential transactions and there was a need to develop different security mechanisms to prevent identity theft and fraud based on it (Newman & McNally, 2005; Koops & Leenes, 2006).

Digital identity refers to the digital representation of known information about a specific individual, group, organization or product. It provides each actor involved with the opportunity to know with whom they are interacting, thus encouraging the establishment of mutual trust. This means authentication and authorization processes, i.e., recognition of someone's personal - physical identity and authority in the digital space (WTO, 2022: 41). The concept of digital identity conceived in this way applies both to natural and legal persons, as well as to physical and digital objects. Digital identity can be proven through different identifiers, such as official identification documents that are accessed through appropriate readers, a token that generates a new code with each access, different types of identification cards, confirmation via a link sent to an email address or mobile phone, etc. Where less sensitive information is located, it is possible to use usernames and passwords of different levels of confidence. A key function of digital identity is to prevent unauthorized persons from accessing confidential data.

Digital identity, therefore, can be defined as a set of online data about an individual, group, organization, product, etc. Usually, it can consist of four categories of information: (1) elements for authentication of personal and username, password, alias or IP address; (2) data such as personal, administrative, banking, and professional; (3) identifiers - photo, biometric data, logo, avatar and (4) digital traces, i.e., everything we leave on the Internet as traces of our activity (YEES, 2015: 3).

Thus, digital identity is a part of virtual or online identity that an individual, organization or electronic device adopts as its own in cyberspace. Considering its multiple purposes, of particular importance are security and privacy issues. Although research in these fields has already advanced, we cannot yet be completely satisfied with the results achieved, given that practice shows that these are still vulnerable technical solutions. However, it should be noted that, at least when it comes to strategic security segments such as, for example, banking systems or security-sensitive institutions, we already have developed sophisticated systems that guarantee high security of both existing infrastructure and available data. Things are different when it comes to technologies of wider purpose, such as the so-called social network. Sites like Facebook or Instagram are available to a wide range of users and allow them to create their own identities. This is sometimes done by creating several profiles that align with the different needs or intentions of their owners.

For those who are involved in the social system, digital identity may seem like something completely trivial, but for others, it can be a catalyst for changes towards inclusion in various social activities and the use of services provided by official society. Today, biometric personal documents represent reliable proof of personal identity, which enables numerous social transactions, from using the services of the financial, educational or healthcare system to the exercise of voting rights.

Of course, digital identity can be formed for specific purposes of using various online resources such as video sites, networking platforms or for the offer and demand of work, but also for several other activities in which it is important to enable those who have the right to have safe access to network resources.

Given the level of modern technological development, identity is determined as a series of properties (physical, legal, behavioural) that combine to form a unique representation of an individual (Commonwealth, 2020: 39). Physical characteristics today include not only outward appearance but also one's DNA and biometric characteristics. Legal properties are linked to classic identification documents, which are more or less used worldwide and are now supplemented with biometric data. Electronic properties are associated with the increasing amount of time individuals spend on the Internet, and include email addresses, social media accounts, actions taken online, and IP addresses.

Modern technologies are precisely focused on the study of an individual's online behaviour, thus delving into the details of his behaviour and interests. This collects personal data which are easily commercialized, thereby opening a new research field called behavioural biometrics (Yampolskiy & Govindaraju, 2008). Today, data about individuals is collected by tracking their browsing history on the Internet, or by various organizations, especially commercial ones, having elaborate applications that collect data on the consumer habits of their users, offer them targeted discounts or reward them in certain ways for loyalty. In this way, the specific (digital) identity of each individual who joins the "consumer club" of trade chains is established. Of course, the story does not end here; there are many varieties in which different organizations can collect certain types of data about citizens and thereby construct their virtual and digital identities.

CONCLUSION

Ultimately, virtual identity can be defined as the sum of all traces that an individual leaves in cyberspace. Based on them, it is possible to build an idea about an individual. Participants in online communication may be interested in various types of data and information about other participants, which all depends on their goals and interests for which they connect to the network. Therefore, they may only be interested in certain segments of other users' identities.

On the other hand, digital identity is a set of data that serves to verify the right of access to certain, most often sensitive, data in cyberspace, i.e., authorization and authentication when accessing certain data. The purpose of digital identity is to prevent misuse by third parties.

Basically, online and virtual identity, as well as digital identity in a broader sense, have a sociological meaning that, with the development of new technologies, is gaining more and more importance. The involved individuals interact with each other in the online space, based on which they create their own, desired, identity. On the other hand, digital identity in the narrower sense appears as a legally based concept denoting a set of identifiers that legitimize an individual before accessing the Internet or a specific place in cyberspace.

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Marina D. Nedeljković[1]
College of Vocational Studies for Educators – Sirmium
Sremska Mitrovica (Serbia)

Kristina S. Pejković[2]
University of Novi Sad,
Faculty of Philosophy
Novi Sad (Serbia)

RURAL WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS AS A DEVELOPMENT FACTOR IN WOMEN'S RURAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP[3]

Abstract: The paper monitors and analyzes the structure and dynamics of the method of work and organization of several rural women's associations in the context of potential for the development of women's rural entrepreneurship in tourism. The research was conducted in the territory of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, by applying the case study method and the technique of semi-structured interview. The primary hypothesis refers to the opinion that life in the village is no longer equivalent to going into agriculture, and that we are everyday witnesses to the importance and role of the diversification process of rural economy. Women's rural entrepreneurship is burdened by numerous limiting factors, just as the development and progress of rural women's associations themselves. The obtained results adequately elaborate not only the presented hypotheses, but also essentially show the attitudes of those encountering numerous problems in their work on a daily basis – namely, rural women who are members of such associations. The paper intends to answer the question whether rural women's associations may be an important development factor of women's rural entrepreneurship and rural tourism in particular. It transpires that, despite a series of problems they encounter, the associations have capacities and potential for growth

[1] marina.nedeljkovic89@gmail.com
[2] pejkovick@yahoo.com
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and development, as well as that the factor of togetherness and the sense of connection plays an important role in their perception. The conclusion is that the existence of joint motives, goals, challenges and problems in the work is an important cohesive factor that gathers rural women as members of the associations, but also that at the same time they are somewhat aware of their multiply marginalized and vulnerable social status.

Keywords: rural women's association, women's rural entrepreneurship, rural tourism, rural gender regimes, rural economy diversification.

INTRODUCTION

Rural women's associations, as a factor in developing a local community's rural tourism offer and female entrepreneurship itself, represent an important yet insufficiently scientifically researched aspect of the transformation of agrarian social structures and contemporary egalitarian tendencies in the rural domain. It is considered that within the framework of modern development tendencies, there is a positive connection between changes in the traditional positions and roles of rural women and their entrepreneurial involvement. Although they represent a specific type of local and rural activism and self-engagement, women's associations can be an essential development factor. At the same time, they are characterized by great potential, and numerous social, economic, cultural and many other obstacles and limitations. Today, the traditional roles of women are not disappearing. However, they are gaining entirely new outlines and possibilities, all with the aim of removing the "traditional veil" of women in the countryside and the stereotype that they do not have the potential to engage in entrepreneurial activities and run successful businesses. The question arises as to whether the role of women as possible bearers of creative, innovative, and developmental impulses within local rural communities and factors of diversification in the rural economy is observed and treated in relation to their actual potential. The paper aims to present, through a previously conceived methodological research framework involving case study methods, the form of organizing, approach to work, and effectiveness of rural women's associations and various benefits felt not only by the direct beneficiaries (rural women) but also by the broader local community (development of rural tourist offer).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A particular sphere of research into female entrepreneurship in our society comprises rural women, who represent a sensitive and still marginalized social group that has attracted the attention of sociologists. Scientific thought has thus focused on different aspects of this problem, exploring the requirements of gender-balanced rural development, gender-sensitive policies, changes in women's work and family roles, and their capacity for self-organization and entrepreneurship (Babović, 2014; Babović, 2012; Blagojević, 2006; Blagojević, 2010; Blagojević Hjuson 2012; Markov, 1995; Čikić, Petrović and Petrović, 2011; Čikić, 2015; Zlatkov Cvetković, 2015;). Some authors, on the other hand, advocate the view that gender regimes, closely related to issues of power, decision-making, and ownership of goods, are critical mechanisms in creating but also maintaining existing conceptions of rural development (Čikić, Jovanović, and Nedeljković, 2018). The concept of gender regimes is thus presented as a set of established patterns in historical, economic, social, and cultural aspects, determining the opportunities, potentials, and starting positions of various actors in resource and capital distribution. All this leads to a situation where female rural entrepreneurship is integrated, to a large extent, with traditional female roles and activities, which results in insufficient recognition of their work and contribution (Čikić, Jovanović, and Nedeljković, 2018).

One of the characteristics of the modernization process in the context of the rural landscape and production is the diversification of the rural economy. It is precisely in the sphere of our society's insufficiently diversified rural economy that many authors see one of the problems that hinder its capacity to develop and improve the quality of life of its inhabitants. "The problem of employment in rural areas of Serbia boils down to two aspects: 1. reducing the unemployment rate of the rural population and 2. changing the existing employment structure in which agriculture is highly represented" (Bogdanov, 2007: 156). Along these lines, it is pointed out that women in rural areas have significant potential for diversifying the rural economy but also that their role is pressured and suppressed by a whole series of limiting factors – round-the-clock agricultural, household, and family obligations (Bogdanov, Tomanović, Cvejić, Babović, and Vuković, 2011).

Some authors (Mitrović, 1999) point out that the Serbian countryside and society will continue to face severe challenges and significant structural and developmental problems for a long time to come, while others point out the variety and abundance of these problems – the decline in the quality of life in rural communities, the loss of social vitality (Čikić, 2013), depopulation, senility – demographic aging, negative indicators of migration from the countryside to the city, lack of functionality of the rural economy and low profitability of its production, rapid decline in the peasantry as a socio-demographic category, employment opportunities for different categories of the rural population, transformation of the reproductive patterns of the rural population, cultural "mirroring of urban behaviour and lifestyle", gender imbalance in the conceptions of rural development, marginalization of sensitive and less employable categories of the rural population, social exclusion and poverty (Cvejić, Babović, Petrović, Bogdanov, and Vuković, 2010; Čikić, 2013; Mitrović, 2015; Šljukić, and Janković, 2015; Čikić and Jovanović, 2015; Čikić, Jovanović and Nedeljković, 2018). The conclusion is that the unfavourable situation in rural areas in various aspects leads to the need for the development and implementation of more effective policies relevant to the inclusion of the rural population and sustainable rural development (Cvejić, Babović, Petrović, Bogdanov, and Vuković, 2010: 97).

The answer to the question of whether rural women are indeed the “dormant force” in the development of the Serbian countryside is given by numerous authors whose research focus was precisely the position and role of rural women in the reproduction of the specific type of social, economic and cultural relations that we call “rurality” (Blagojević, 2006; Babović, and Vuković, 2008; Čikić, 2015; Markov, 1995). That rurality, with its distinctive ways and quality of life, is conditioned by the characteristics of the rural area and its reflection in it (Čikić & Jovanović, 2015: 27). The changes accompanying the development of human societies, which today are very dynamic and all-encompassing, inevitably affect their rural structures and the space through which what we call rurality is manifested. As the scene of interactions inherent in this spatial and social phenomenon, the countryside and the rural landscape are changing just as quickly, complexly, and convolutedly as the societies and their structures. Following how modernization affects the rural area, rurality, and rural development, enables us to observe how the rural economy can be reproduced. This change process is accompanied by the emerging diversification of the rural economy as an essential socio-economic phenomenon of multifunctional agriculture. This shows us that village and agriculture are no longer unambiguous terms. What does this mean? Through changes in the characteristics of the rural landscape and structure, in addition to agriculture as the basis for survival, the rural population has found sources of income and interests outside primary production.

However, the literature also points to various limitations when activating the entrepreneurial potential of a portion of the rural population. These limitations concern a particular targeted group – rural women (Čikić & Nedeljković, 2019; Institute for Gender Equality of Vojvodina, 2014; Bogdanov, 2007; Babović, 2012; Blagojević, 2010; Markov, 1995; Blagojević, 2006; Babović & Vuković, 2008; Stanković & Markov, 2011; Cvijanović, Vojnović, and Lazić, 2011). A question arises regarding the actual possibility for the empowerment of women and the strengthening of female rural entrepreneurship in conditions where the official support system for women entrepreneurs is not sufficiently developed and adapted to their needs and potential, which is reflected in the extremely low number of women included in national entrepreneurship support programs. On the other hand, Serbia is still a country where most new small enterprises are founded out of economic necessity, such as loss of employment or continued unemployment, which is an aggravating factor (Markov, 1995). This fact additionally threatens the postulate that economic stability is one of the fundamental bases for productive rural development, with rural women being a particularly risk-exposed and less employable category (Bogdanov, 2007). “In summary, rural women in modern Serbian society face multiple restrictions when accessing different resources both as individuals and as a social group” (Čikić & Nedeljković, 2019: 373).

The starting assumption is that in the conditions of post-socialist transformation in societies such as ours, there are numerous challenges that entrepreneurs face daily (Bolčić, 2003; Milošević, 1997), and female rural entrepreneurs are faced with at least twice as heavy burden. Female rural entrepreneurship is not only pressured by the general structural and developmental limitations of the private sector but also by gender-based and environmental restrictions. Rural areas occupy 85% of the surface area of the Republic of Serbia, with 55% of the total population living there (Bogdanov, 2007: 155). In addition, in most strategic documents they are defined as areas of more pronounced poverty and significant developmental restrictions (Bogdanov, 2007: 155). Serbia is one of the most agrarian and rural countries in Europe (Šljukić & Janković, 2015), and many studies have shown that the inclusion of women in the local economy on an equal footing rapidly reduces poverty and contributes to development (Blagojević, 2010). In this way, the characteristics of rural women's entrepreneurship and the changes in their position and roles in rural structures can be seen as an indicator of whether, through the transformation of Serbian society, we are approaching postmodern societies or their (semi)periphery. *This means that the development of specific characteristics of the social structure is an integral part of modernization* (Šljukić, 2009: 23).

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The research into the connection between the category of rural women's associations and the development of female rural entrepreneurship in the conditions set by contemporary Serbian society and the transformations affecting its agrarian structure is based on several vital premises – qualitative analysis, case study method, and semi-structured interview. Based on qualitative postulates, the case study method has the characteristics and mode of analysis corresponding to the defined research goals and the subject of investigation. The case study method is a relevant source of sociological data, especially in cases where it is necessary to conduct an in-depth analysis of insufficiently researched areas and concepts or relations in different social contexts and structures. The benefits and characteristics, but also the limitations of the case study method, as well as the qualitative research itself, have been presented in various literature, which in this case, also represented a relevant source for creating a methodological research framework (Babbie, 2011; Bensemann, 2010; Garcia-Ramon, Canoves, and Valdovinos, 1995; Milas, 2009; Stake, 1995). On the other hand, the dynamics and premises of the research impose a need for adequate research techniques, which in this case were based on the characteristics of a semi-structured interview. This research technique provides enough room to respect the protocols and the predefined course and aim of the research, but also allows a certain level of freedom and interaction in the relationship between the researchers and the respondents, as well as between the questions and the answers themselves (Bornat, 2008; Oppenheim, 1992; Ryan, 1995; Yates, 2003). In addition to interviews, as a primary data collection technique, the knowledge sources used for the needs of this research were numerous secondary datasets – such as official statistics, available websites of relevant institutions that deal with the issue of rural women and their activism, and the registers they have at their disposal.

The research was carried out in the territory of three districts of AP Vojvodina – South Bačka, North Banat and South Banat, including five villages and seven rural women's associations' representatives. All the respondents (27 in total) immediately agreed to a conversation with the researcher and showed a high degree of willingness and interest to discuss the given topic. Rural women's associations in rural entrepreneurship do not manage individual estates, properties, or tourist facilities. Instead, there is an emphasis on solidarity, association, and collective action. Therefore, it was considered relevant to sociologically investigate the connection between the importance and role of rural female members of the association and the development of female rural entrepreneurship, with all the advantages, difficulties, and limitations accompanying this sociological relationship.

RESEARCH RESULTS – POTENTIALS AND LIMITATIONS IN THE WORK AND ORGANIZATION OF RURAL WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS

Based on the analysis of the database of rural women's associations in the territory of AP Vojvodina, we can conclude that a total of 456 of them are registered[4], noting that the goal of data collection concerning this rural group is the possibility of their greater visibility and manifest presence in society/local community and market/entrepreneurial sphere. Why was it necessary to deal more deeply with the role and importance of rural women's associations and the development of rural entrepreneurship? Precisely for the reasons explained in the presentation of the leading theoretical positions in this field – the fact that, despite their social activism's great importance and role, their work in the public sphere, institutional sector, and market often remained invisible, insufficiently respected, and underpaid. Based on the interviews conducted with the respondents, it can be concluded that there is a whole range of different motivational factors that were relevant reasons for their interest in becoming socially active. These various motivational factors can be classified as those originating from personal, familial, primary-social, and local (broad social) social categories[5]. The respondents often become active in rural women's associations because this type of social action is a rare or even the only way for them to influence the course of events in their local communities. They often felt marginalized, sidelined, or insufficiently visible, with their work and contribution to village activities and events (celebrations, manifestations, visits, etc.) being unpaid. It was taken for granted and expected of them to make cakes and pies, organize events or contribute to the local community without being adequately valued and reciprocated. They consider going to the market and presenting their products as a way of receiving value for their work, a unique and vital dimension of their sense of self-awareness and presence in social and economic circles.

[4] Available at: https://ravnopravnost.org.rs/udruzenja-zena/

[5] The category of primary-social sources of motivation considers a spectrum of close/primary relationships is social groups that are important for the members of rural women's associations but do not belong to the closest primary social community – the family. This includes, for example, categories such as the neighbours, peers, close friends, etc. with whom they have formed a continuous relationship of mutual influence, in the form of support, solidarity, and cooperation.

The research results show that association members believe these organizations function well, meet regularly, and contribute to the broader local community. They are particularly keen to point out that solving the formal/legal business aspects significantly improved their organizational capabilities and helped raise them to a higher level. Although the formal-legal part was never an obstacle for them to independently organize, socialize, work and feel a sense of belonging, it also provided and opened numerous perspectives and opportunities. This primarily relates to the possibility of applying for open calls and competitions, participating in various fairs and promotional events, and business correspondence with numerous institutions. The respondents drew attention to the fact that although sometimes the formal and legal establishment date may be more recent, this does not mean that women have only recently started gathering. On the contrary, they point out that their cooperation often goes back far into the past and that rural women's associations are part of the tradition and folklore of this region. The initial drive for rural women to gather was contained in the fact that they realized that they, too, had the right to leisure and time for themselves and that they needed to use it creatively and interactively. They used this free time, time away from home and direct subordination to household chores, to transfer their varied knowledge to each other – such as weaving, knitting, embroidery, and the like. There were also different courses teaching techniques of various old trades. Through community and a sense of solidarity, they tried to exchange and perfect them.

> "We make handicrafts in a way that is characteristic of our village. These are the customs and traditions of our national minority. Our goal is to pass these skills on from generation to generation." [respondent M. N.]

Throughout the conversation, they show a tendency not to let being directed only by life and living circumstances and that they are interested in influencing their destinies and the events in their lives. Each of the respondents, to varying degrees, showed willingness and determination to do something valuable and practical in her free time and to stave off any potential boredom, routine, or lull in everyday life through work in the rural women's association.

Their activism and work often served as motivation and a driving force for the entire village. Their desire to establish a rural-tourist institution in their community, which would be open to the public and present their handicrafts, traditional costumes, and practically anything that represents the community in a cultural and historical sense is particularly interesting. The facility would contain anything and everything that made the community specific and recognizable and was produced by their own hands. In that indicator, we see that rural women's associations, even in the face of numerous limitations in their work (primarily of material nature), can be the initiator and bearer of the development of entrepreneurial potential and rural tourism. However, despite their efforts, they often encounter numerous obstacles and challenges. In all analyzed cases, the respondents state that the lack of funds is a significant obstacle, as well as expectations that are sometimes betrayed by the institutional system. Although there are examples of good practices in cooperation with local, provincial, or state institutions, there are also cases of classic disappointment with the work of their representatives and the way the system treats them.

> "More support is needed from institutions; more attention should be paid to rural women's associations. Of course, financial means are important, but it is also important for us to feel supported." [respondent S. Ć.]

The research results also point to the view that this type of activism us very important to the respondents and that they feel personally and socially more helpful when participating in the association's various activities. Feelings of connectedness, solidarity, mutual understanding, support and help play a substantial role for them – so substantial that it often compensates for the lack of material satisfaction and motivation, which is not negligible either. It is not insignificant because women are almost used to the fact that their products do not cost anything and that, by the nature of things, they are expected to cook, knead, bake and bring to the table different products of their work. The very feeling that their products could be brought to the market and not just to the family table changes their perception of reality and power distribution in their social and economic relations. They understand that their products can and should have a price and if that price is paid, they can occupy better positions in society, family, or the local community.

It is interesting to consider and shed light from a sociological perspective on how women's rural association members experienced the reactions of their immediate environment and community at large regarding their decision to become socially and entrepreneurially active. The answers vary from positive response, understanding, and encouragement to condemnation and resentment. A prohibitive pattern regarding activism in rural women's associations can come from (1) older male family members – father, father-in-law; (2) partner; and (3) other family members and neighbours. The community's prejudices are primarily rooted in the established patterns of traditional thought, according to which women have no place outside the home. They are fuelled by fear of the potential changes in their private and public behaviour. However, some respondents share positive experiences concerning the decision to become socially and entrepreneurially engaged. Now, they are trying to transfer their knowledge and expertise to other family members and the local community. The current value system plays a significant role in their ability to "open up" to the world and the various potentials it offers.

Despite having reasons to be satisfied and motivated, they recognize numerous obstacles to their work and the current perception of female entrepreneurship. At the same time, they sense and hear the countless problems that our countryside faces day-to-day – decrease in the number of inhabitants, aging of the rural population, single-person households, relocation of young people to urban centres, problematic nature of women's employment and work, financial difficulties in business, insufficient cooperation of associations and official institutions, a still limited value system and low mobility of marginalized social strata, including rural women themselves. They are also aware of their limited political involvement and participation in the local community or local institutional structure (municipality). This all adds to their already difficult situation. Still, at the same time, it also represents a solid motivation to face their daily struggles and overcome numerous obstacles on their path. Most respondents also note that the help they sometimes receive from the institutional system is often a matter of protocol rather than substance. What does that mean? It means that institutional representatives sometimes neglect the importance and role of rural women's associations and do not allocate enough funds for their needs. The most common problems they face can be classified into several categories. These are (1) spatial limitations (insufficient space in which to gather and work), (2) financial problems (limited funding), (3) problems related to the value system and reactions of the community (primary groups or local community), and (4) insufficient capacity for project activity and tender application, which is directly tied to the feeling of the lack of support from the official system and institutions and the lack of communication with economically, socially, and politically relevant actors, primarily the critical bearers of power and distribution of resources.

> "We need support from institutions. Communication with them should be clearer. We live in the countryside, but we are not stupid or dull." [respondent D. Đ.]

It has been noted that, in many cases, their work is unpaid or valued disproportionately to the effort invested. Conversations with association representatives also indicate that most of them know the importance and role of modern communication channels in tourism, entrepreneurship, and local association. However, the sublimation of conversations and results indicates that, when collecting information, direct communication and personal contact with other association members are of great, if not utmost, importance. This is directly related to the fact that, decisions about the association's work are, as a rule, made by consensus and mutual agreement.

> "It is never my decision but the decision of all of us. We all agree. We find a solution that suits everyone." [respondent M. N.]

> "We always plan together at the beginning of the year. We determine important dates, celebrations, and events we will organize or participate in." [respondent I. M.]

It is interesting to note that the respondents are aware of the importance and role of connecting, spreading togetherness, and mutual solidarity. They perceive joining associations as an integrative moment and a factor in the modernization of their social and family roles and the entire local community.

> "We cannot do anything as individuals. We can do a little for ourselves and our families. However, imagine what individuals can do when they join efforts. I see it in what we do and how we work. How much humanitarian work we do and how much we donate." [respondent D. Đ.]

In the end, the interviews confirmed that the vast majority of respondents consider the development of female rural entrepreneurship to be extremely important because it provides the potential for independence and modernization of work and family roles, improves solidarity in the community and primary groups, and is one of the factors of modern processes affecting rural social structures, such as the diversification of the rural economy (Bogdanov, Tomanović, Cvejić, Babović and Vuković, 2011; Cvejić, Babović, Petrović, Bogdanov and Vuković, 2010). However, just like the countryside itself, women's rural entrepreneurship is burdened with numerous developmental obstacles. These obstacles stem from various limitations, such as insufficient activation of all resource capacities, lack of a concrete strategic vision of rural development, financial constraints, institutional barriers, rigid social and cultural patterns, negative consequences of various socio-demographic processes in society, the unsatisfactory position of marginalized social groups (such as rural woman), etc.

> "The potential for rural development is all around us; it is enough to look around you; but what are we going to do with the fact that young people are leaving, our villages are being abandoned, and yet we still have the desire and belief? The question is whether those from the top will support us." [respondent R. M.]

CONCLUSION

One of the preconditions for the development of entrepreneurship and the strengthening of the socio-economic position of rural women, in the context of the revitalization of rural areas and the revitalization of their everyday life, is maximum motivation and encouragement of the use of human capital. In addition, a prerequisite for the independence of rural women is continuous work on increasing the importance, support, and interest of rural women in diversifying rural economy, developing rural tourism, and generating income through non-agricultural activities in rural areas. The empowerment of rural women through changes in the established patterns of life, society, and work and "playing" new professional roles represents a critical segment of incentives aimed at revitalizing the Serbian countryside. Members of rural women's associations are also involved in shifting structural challenges and gaps between traditional and modern roles in the agrarian sphere. Certain studies have observed that the rural women's associations could be the only source of women's activism in the sphere of tourism-based female rural entrepreneurship in smaller municipalities, which do not have a developed rural tourism offer but have the potential for it (Nedeljković, 2021[6]). The answer to the question of whether rural women's associations can be viewed as a factor in the development of the rural-tourism offer of local communities and entrepreneurship has positive outlines based on the presented analysis, showing the need for further research into conditions, ways of working and opportunities for the advancement of female rural activism in the

[6] The reference was created as a result of a doctoral dissertation prepared and defended at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad in 2021.

form of associations. Moreover, it has been established that there is a positive feedback loop and connection between women's activism in the form of local/rural associations and changes in the perceptions of their social and familial roles and positions.

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Jasmina S. Petrović[1]
University of Niš,
Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Sociology
Niš (Serbia)

Vesna D. Miltojević[2]
University of Niš,
Faculty of Occupational Safety
Niš (Serbia)

LIFE IN THE TIME OF CORONAVIRUS: CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF SPECIFIC SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC[3]

Abstract: A little over two years have passed since the WHO declared the COVID-19 pandemic on 11 March 2020. Faced with imminent risk, countries throughout the world responded differently in the way they managed the pandemic crisis and changed their strategies throughout to match the information updates. Likewise, world populations differently adapted their own everyday- and social-life practices to the pandemic information and government demands for the citizens to channel the pandemic. The aim of this paper is to present a portion of the results of a study designed to determine changes in the social life of Serbian citizens due to COVID-19 during the time when the pandemic was just beginning to take hold. The paper focuses on citizens' attitudes regarding the ecological dimension of the pandemic effects, on certain prevailing practices (e.g., reverse migrations from cities to villages), and on the attitudes that reflect solidarity within local communities and the degree

[1] jasmina.petrovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs
[2] vesna.miltojevic@znrfak.ni.ac.rs
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of satisfaction the most relevant institutions/organizations during the pandemic. The data were obtained from a sample of 602 over-18 respondents from Serbia by means of an online study conducted in May 2020 and a questionnaire distributed via e-mail and social networks with multiple access points.

Keywords: COVID-19 pandemic, Serbia, ecological attitudes and practices of citizens, confidence in institutions, solidarity.

INSTEAD OF AN INTRODUCTION

After the declaration of the global COVID-19 pandemic on 11 March 2020, in an attempt to "flatten the curve" (Ward, 2020: 726) of the number of people infected with the SARS-CoV-2 virus, governments of different countries introduced measures to protect the health of their citizens. A broad spectrum of measures was implemented, ranging from physical distance recommendations to full lockdowns. Some authorities restricted the movement of specific portions of the populations for several days or urged the vulnerable social categories to refrain from going outside and from any other social activities. Some countries banned social gatherings, which practically erased sports, art, and cultural events from the activity agenda of the local population. Many industrial complexes temporarily ceased their activity, while work was increasingly performed online wherever possible. The purpose of certain jobs was brought into question, especially those involving direct contact. In addition to the justified fear of disease, the pandemic brought along a series of consequences to social life, both individually and on the general societal level. These ranged from an overall sense of insecurity, changes in the quality and frequency of social interactions, and serious existential problems of households with breadwinners suddenly becoming unemployed or working at reduced rates, to general issues of crisis management in various aspects of social life, including the economic sphere. During the pockets between pandemic waves, some social actions were temporarily restored, while others retained their newly-acquired features resulting from new ways of organizing social life.

METHODOLOGY

The aim of this paper is to present a portion of the results of a study conducted in April and May 2020 using an online survey, designed to determine changes in the social life of Serbian citizens due to COVID-19 during the time when the pandemic was just beginning to take hold. The study focuses on citizens' attitudes concerning the ecological dimension of pandemic effects and specific prevalent practices (e.g., reverse migrations from cities to villages) and on their attitudes regarding solidarity within local communities and the degree of satisfaction with the most relevant institutions/organizations during the pandemic.

The study was conducted by the Centre for Sociological Research in cooperation with the Serbian Sociological Association. The data were obtained from the sample of 602 over-18 respondents from Serbia, who were given a questionnaire via email and social networks with multiple access points. Since the key difficulty in data collection via the Internet is the impossibility to control the sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents, weighting was applied to correct the share of respondents only according to gender and education, as other characteristics did not significantly deviate from their distribution in the base population.[4] The structure of the weighted sample is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Structure of respondents according to the most relevant sociodemographic characteristics

Gender	F	%
Male	292	48.7
Female	306	51.3
Education level		
Primary	165	27.6
Secondary	316	53.1
College and higher	115	19.3
Age		
18-24	108	18.1
25-34	137	23.0
35-44	171	28.6
45-54	113	18.8
55-64	56	9.3
65+	13	2.2

Several assumptions regarding the aforementioned aspects of citizens' life in Serbia during the pandemic were tested. The first assumption is that the spread of COVID-19 focused the citizens' attention on the impact of ecological factors on human health. The second assumption is that the pandemic-induced crisis influenced the migration from urban to rural areas and that villages were now seen as a more favourable natural and social life environment. Third, considering that the government could not provide support services for COVID-19 patients and those placed under self-isolation fast enough, the assumption was that during a health crisis citizens relied on solidarity within their primary groups and cultivated social networks. Finally, the idea was to test the degree of satisfaction with the most relevant institutions-organizations during the pandemic, with the assumption that the degree was not high but that it indicates only a slight change in the degree of confidence the citizens already express in specific institutions.

[4] The weights were created on the basis of the available estimates of the educational and gender structure of the population obtained from the Survey on the Workforce from 2019.

ECOLOGICAL DIMENSION OF LIFE DURING THE FIRST COVID-19 PANDEMIC WAVE IN SERBIA

The ever-extensive literature on the topic of ecological aspects of the pandemic includes emphases of a wide variety of issues resulting from the spread of the virus and people's attempts to reduce its impact. Within this context, there are debates about the positive and negative environmental impacts of the coronavirus. The most important negative impacts include the following: increased medical waste, disposal and handling of infectious waste, postponed implementation of regulations concerning the use of plastic bags in certain countries, postponed environmental studies due to closed borders and researchers' inability to travel, increased municipal waste and difficulties with its management, and so on. The most prominent positive impacts include the following: short-term reduction of air pollution and greenhouse gas emissions, reduced water pollution in developing countries in which waste is dumped into rivers without being treated, reduced noise levels due to lighter traffic, and so on (Buck & Weinstein, 2020; Rume & Islam, 2020; Guo & Lee, 2022). Some authors also identified neutral impacts, such as animal species populating habitats that they previously avoided due to human presence (Buck & Weinstein, 2020).

The present study focuses on how the Serbian population views the role of ecological factors in health protection[5], whether the care (or lack thereof) for the environment had any influence on the spread of the virus, and whether people recognized the benefits of living closer to nature during the pandemic and the way this affects the change of residence (urban dwellers staying in / moving to the countryside).

When asked on what human health depends most, over a half of the respondents (52.7%) thought that one's lifestyle directly affects one's health. The second most frequent response was that environmental preservation affects human health to the greatest extent (20.6%). Another relevant factor is the genetic factor, per every eighth respondent (12.5%) (Table 2). Some respondents also listed medical research (4.3%) and healthcare activities (4.5%) as essential factors of health protection. This indicates that a significant portion of the Serbian population are aware of the crucial impact of preserving the natural component of human environment on human health.[6]

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[5] For instance, air pollution has been recognized as one of the most significant environmental factors negatively affecting human health (e.g., see Đorđević, Miltojević & Todorović, 2015).

[6] Human helath preservation, their survival, as well as the survival of other beings depend on the quality of the natural environmental component, which entails the existence of such environmental conditions and impacts that do not endanger the proper functioning of the 'nature-society' system and that facilitate sustainable development (see Miltojević, 2006: 432-436 and Miltojević & Petrović, 2020).

Table 2. Distribution of respondents' responses to the question of what human health depends on the most today (%)

	F	%
God	17	2.8
Genetics (hereditary factors)	75	12.5
Lifestyle	317	52.7
Scientific research and development in medicine	26	4.3
Environmental preservation (clean air, water, and soil; biodiversity preservation)	124	20.6
Fortune or fate	16	2.7
Healthcare activities (work of healthcare institutions and workers)	27	4.5
Total	602	100

Even though Serbian citizens were justifiably uncertain about the crucial factor of impact on human health, they unequivocally stressed the importance of ecological factors for infectious disease prevention, including the current COVID-19 pandemic. The respondents predominantly agreed with the statement that *the current crisis caused by the pandemic is a consequence of the negative environmental impact of humans/society* (as many as 70.4% completely agreed or mostly agreed). An even larger share of the respondents (almost three-quarters) agreed with the statement that the *modern way of life and disturbed balance between society and nature increasingly exposes humanity to the hazards from infectious and other diseases* (42.9% completely agreed and 40.7% mostly agreed). Finally, we were interested in learning whether thus manifested ecological awareness was also present in the attitude that ecological risk warranted attention even after immediate danger had passed. Over two-thirds of the respondents (68.3%) completely agreed with the statement that *after the pandemic caused by the coronavirus, the world needs to seriously focus on resolving the ecological issues and reducing the ecological hazards it faces*, while another 24.6% mostly agreed (Table 3). this amounts to a total of 92.9% of the respondents who maintain that ecological issues need to be tackled in the future. This confirms the initial assumption that the COVID-19 pandemic revitalized people's interest in ecological issues, as they understood that a portion of ecological and social risks originates from the disturbed balance between social and natural factors. Of course, it is up to the sociologists to examine whether such attitudes are a consequence of current circumstances or a more permanent change in citizens' opinion.[7]

[7] Similar results were also obtained by a group of researchers form the Institute for Sociological Research in Novi Sad. According to their findings, 44.5% of respondents thought that the coronavirus emerged as a consequence of excessive human interference with the natural processes (Pajvančić Cizelj, Čikić, Ristić, 2020).

Table 3. Respondents' attitudes about the environmental impact of humans (%)

	1	2	3	4	5	Σ
The current crisis caused by the pandemic is a consequence of the negative environmental impact of humans/society	30.2	40.2	12.6	9.5	7.5	100
Modern way of life and disturbed balance between society and nature increasingly exposes humanity to the hazards from infectious and other diseases	42.9	40.7	8.6	3.7	4.2	100
After the pandemic caused by the coronavirus, the world needs to seriously focus on resolving the ecological issues and reducing the ecological hazards it faces	68.3	24.6	2.2	2.5	2.5	100

Legend: (1) I completely agree; (2) I mostly agree; (3) I mostly disagree; (4) I completely disagree; (5) I don't know

One of the survey questions concerning the ecological dimension of the effects coronavirus spread focused on potential migration from urban to rural areas. This aspect was considered on the basis not only of population density in the cities, as a potential factor of higher incidence of illness,[8] but also on the challenges associated with other social factors of city life. Namely, it is no secret that the underprivileged social strata more often contracted the disease in the cities, considering that they were unable to ensure sufficient physical distance in their homes or to reduce the risk of social contact (grocery shopping etc.). This is precisely why some authors emphasize that the type of population density is perhaps even more important than the physical population density itself, viewed strictly in statistical terms (Florida, 2020, according to Božilović and Petković, 2020: 839). As the pandemic progressed, cities lost their main urban features, as cultural institutions, restaurants, and parks became hazardous areas to be avoided because of the high risk of disease transmission. There was a "transformation of urban places from invigorating to threatening, from cultural enclaves to viral epicentres", which "has also transformed their rural counterparts", now turned into places of safety (Malatzky, Gillespie, Couch, Cosgrave, 2020: 2). Since reverse migration is especially characteristic of developed countries,[9] the question is how the Serbian population perceived the risk of

[8] The analysis of illnesses and infection spread in the rural areas of Italy also confirms the importance of population density, together with economic and environmental factors (Agnolettia, Manganellib, Pirasa, 2020).

[9] In Great Britain, interest in buying a countryside house in June and July 2020 spiked by 126% compared to the same period the year before (Village enquiries double as city dwellers escape to the country). Similar trends were observed in Sweden (Söder-mäklaren: "Inte många sönder-renoverade bostäder här"). According to the report by the Republic Geodetic Authority of Serbia, real estate sales actually decreased at the onset of the pandemic, only to surge after the state of emergency ended, while the purchase of country retreat houses also increased, their prices ranging

illness in cities and the rigorous measures of the Crisis Response Team[10] and what kind of reaction ensued. Data indicate that the population migration from urban to suburban and rural areas began only two months after the pandemic had been officially declared. Even though the migration intensity at the time was not that high, the statistic showing that 8% of the respondents who had lived in a city prior to the pandemic changed their place of residence afterward is noteworthy. It is highly probable that that the share of citizens moving from the city to the countryside increased after two years of the pandemic, especially considering the upheaval on the real estate market and the growing demand for country retreat houses and rural homesteads, as well as the sudden price increase of such real estate, previously heavily undervalued.

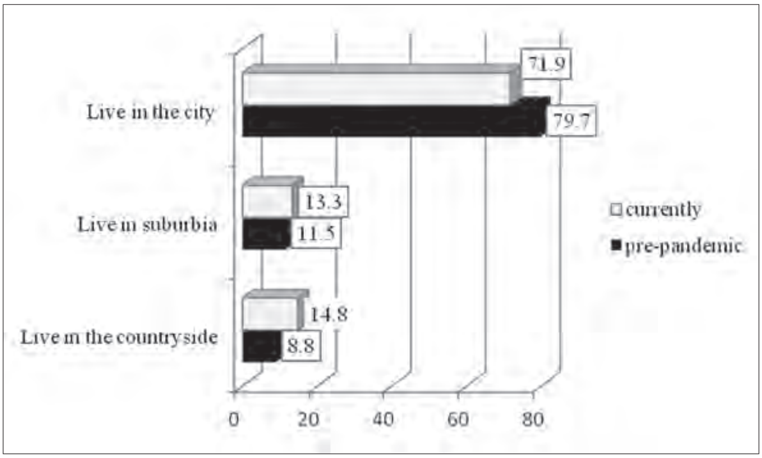

Figure 1. Migration from urban to rural/suburban areas during the pandemic (%)

This assumption is in a way validated by the findings obtained after asking the questions about whether the pandemic influenced the respondents and their family members to consider buying a house in the countryside or outside the city.[11] Almost

from €3,000 to €253,000 depending on location and surface area (Report on the State of the Real Estate Market for 2020).

[10] It should be remembered that restriction of movement was in force before this study was conducted. In Serbia, the state of emergency was declared on 15 March 2020 and a curfew was imposed from 8 p.m. to 5.a.m. beginning 18 March, whereas people over the age of 65 were prohibited from leaving their home altogether (with the exception of smaller rural areas and settlements with a population smaller than 5,000, where the age limit was raised to 70). During the state of emergency, total curfew was imposed for all citizens during the weekends. Other measures pertained to specific categories of the population or specific activities (Decree on Measures of Prevention and Control of COVID-19).

[11] According to the findings of real estate agents in Sweden, one in three persons has changed their residential preferences since the beginning of the pandemic and 5% would want to move to the countryside (Söder-mäklaren: "Inte många sönderrenoverade bostäder här").

one-quarter of the respondents (22.8%) answered affirmatively. A similar number of respondents (28.2%) believe that in the future the pandemic experience will steer people toward a life in the countryside and away from the cities. With over a third of the respondents (36.5%) who are undecided regarding this question, there is a significant portion of the population that are potential candidates for reverse migration – from the city to the countryside.

Such a conclusion is further supported by the answers of the respondents concerning their perception of the countryside as a favourable environment for settlement. Namely, as many as 88.7% of the respondents think that rural areas offer better virus protection options and even more think that rural life allows freer movement because of a smaller population (95.5%) and more quality time during isolation (86.7%). Evidently, strict epidemiological measures were instrumental in shaping the citizens' opinion that rural environments are a better choice for spending time during the pandemic. However, even in a general assessment of the comparative advantages of rural living, a high percentage of the respondents see rural environments as safer and of high-quality natural environments (as many as 95.2%), as environments that allow better cooperation, solidarity, understanding, and mutual assistance (65.9%), and as areas in which higher-quality agricultural products are more readily available (85.2%).[12] More than a half of the respondents (58.3%) even think that rural environments offer more possibilities for complete satisfaction of all existential needs (Table 4).

Table 4. Citizens' attitudes toward the benefits of rural living compared to urban living (%)

	Yes	No	Σ
Offers better virus protection possibilities	88.7	11.3	100
Allows freer movement because there are fewer people	95.5	4.5	100
Provides more quality time during isolation	86.7	13.3	100
Is a safer and better (natural) living environment	95.2	4.8	100
Allows better cooperation, solidarity, understanding, and mutual assistance between residents	65.9	34.1	100
Offers improved availability and quality of agricultural products	85.2	14.8	100
Offers more possibilities for complete satisfaction of all existential needs	58.5	41.5	100

Such an idealized notion of villages is not based on factual judgments, as clearly demonstrated by a study of the sustainability of Serbian villages during the pandemic, whose data indicate that rural living during the pandemic does not offer distinct benefits compared to city living, regardless of the rural area in question, regardless

[12] A sense of freedom and improved quality of life were the main drivers of migrations in Sweden (Aberg, Tondelli, 2021: 6), which did not even impose such rigorous measures as Serbia and other European countries during the pandemic.

of the population category, etc. (for more, see Lukić & al., 2021).[13] In other words, it can be sociologically determined that health and quality of life in the countryside are determined both by the development level of the infrastructure and investment in agricultural production and by different social factors – population categories, economic status, education and social stratification. Nevertheless, faced with restricted movement, problems with the supply of certain food staples, and anxiety caused by the looming danger of infection, Serbian citizens resorted to leaving the city. However, this suggests that, having spent a relatively short time away from the city, they were unable to observe or experience problems typical of living in rural areas.

CITIZENS' SOLIDARITY DURING THE PANDEMIC

Confronted by a pandemic crisis, citizens were not only forced to rely on the effects of controlled medical and epidemiological measures, but were also driven to resort "to cooperation and solidarity, requiring a certain degree of confidence in the institutions as well as trust on an interpersonal level, and to their individual capacities to function in a crisis" (Pavlović and Petrović, 2020: 560). While solidarity may be viewed from different perspectives, in theoretical terms mostly as a kind of cohesive force that gathers/unites citizens around an identity matrix, idea, value, political agenda, and the like (for more, see Vasiljević, 2018: 361-375), and thus legitimizes them, the present study focuses on situational solidarity of the citizens in terms of empathy, mutual assistance, and support from citizens in the pandemic.

According to the obtained data, during the first wave of the pandemic and the state of emergency, a little over a half of Serbian citizens had to care not only for the family members within their household but also for persons living elsewhere. The respondents stated that they mostly cared for their older and/or sick relatives (32.4%), neighbours (11.5%), friends (7.7%), or other persons (7.8%). The least demonstrated form of solidarity was volunteer work in a humanitarian organization (4.8%).

When the above responses are compared to those regarding who the respondents would turn to first for help, if necessary, it is indicative that 81.2% would rely on their family members for support. Even though a significant number of the respondents claimed that they cared for their sick relatives and neighbours, in the event of their own illness or isolation, they would more often turn to their friends. This warrants the question whether the respondents answered the previous question in a socially desirable manner or they directed their solidarity toward those who could not reciprocate through help and support (Table 5).

[13] Similar results were obtained by other researchers studying life in rural areas during the pandemic.

Table 5. Support and assistance practices during the pandemic

Persons the respondents cared for during the pandemic outside their household	%	Persons the respondents would ask for help	%
		Family members (spouse, child/children, parent(s))	81.2
Older and/or sick relatives	32.4	Relatives	2.7
Older and/or sick friends	7.7	Friends	7.0
Older and/or sick neighbours	11.5	Neighbours	2.2
Fellow citizens as volunteers in an organization (the Red Cross, local volunteer organization, the church, UNICEF, etc.)	4.8	Volunteers	2.3
Someone else	7.8	Co-workers	1.3
No one	49.3	No one	3.3

The respondents who had been in self-isolation were asked who took care of them and helped with grocery shopping and other needs. Although the number of such respondents was small at the time of the survey (N= 114), most of them primarily relied on their family members (70.2%), significantly fewer respondent relied on their friends (7.9%), while only one in twenty respondents was able to count on the help from their relatives or neighbours, usually in the form of additional help. It is a matter of some concern that as many as 20.2% of the respondents did not receive assistance from anyone during isolation, especially considering that many of them stated that they cared for someone outside their household and that local self-governments organized groups of volunteers tasked with assisting citizens who could not receive support from their families or social circles.

Table 6. Distribution of the respondents' answers to the question of who provided them with assistance while they were sick or in self-isolation

	%
Family members (spouse, child/children, parent(s))	70.2
Friends	7.9
Relatives	5.3
Neighbours	5.3
Volunteers	2.6
No one	20.2

CITIZENS' SATISFACTION WITH THE WORK OF INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PANDEMIC

Organization of work during the pandemic was particularly challenging for most institutions, especially while this research was being conducted, and only partly due to the numerous unknowns about the virus, the dynamic of its propagation, the lack of prevention measures (vaccines), and the like. Efficient operation of institutions also involved a certain degree of citizens' confidence in the institutions and their cooperation, in order to maintain the course of everyday social life on the one hand and to protect people's health and prevent potential effects of the extreme spread of the virus among the population on the other hand.

Considering the "legitimacy deficit of political institutions" (Kovačević, 2010), the consequent relatively low degree of confidence in the institutions exhibited by the Serbian citizens and citizens of other countries in the region for many years prior to the pandemic (EVS, 2020; EVS, 2022; Golubović, Džunić, Golubović, 2015), the respondents were asked how the general crisis was reflected in their degree of satisfaction with the work of specific institutions that played the key role in crisis management during the pandemic. As it has been previously established, confidence in institutions and organizations and in what they do during a crisis "is based on the efficiency assessment of the very institutions that need to accomplish the set goals" (Lipset & Schneider, 1983, according to Bešić, 2011: 123), so the respondents were not expected to express prominent satisfaction with the institutions' work even during the pandemic. It is our interpretation that satisfaction with the work of institutions under such circumstances could not significantly differ from the general assessment of the state of the society, for which the observed institutions are partially responsible.

However, deviations from the expected degree of satisfaction were observed in comparison to previous prolonged confidence trends. The deviations occurred in relation to those institutions that did not properly adjust their activities during a threat to public health. For instance, citizens in Serbia traditionally place a higher degree of trust in the church, but in this study, they expressed a relatively low degree of satisfaction with its dealings, which might be due to rather controversial conduct of the church authorities in the early days of the pandemic. It needs to be emphasized that the Serbian Orthodox Church invited people to attend worship services and even communion before Easter, despite the appeals by the Crisis Response Team to avoid mass gatherings![14]

As presumed, the respondents were least satisfied with the work of the so-called political institutions (government, prime minister, president), but also with the work of the media, especially print media, and the judicial authorities. This result was to be expected, since the studies of confidence in institutions both in Serbia and in other

[14] During those days, a fierce debate took place among the public, demonstrating a symbolic conflict "about the classification/identification of communion as either a healing and multipurpose religious ritual or a high-risk practice that can endanger one's health" (Jovanović, 2022: 12).

countries indicate that people are more prone to trusting the so-called traditional institutions, such as the military, the police, the healthcare or the education system, while being less trusting of political institutions (Table 7).

Table 7. Distribution of respondents' responses to the question: To what extent are you satisfied/dissatisfied with the work of the following institutions during the state of emergency and the pandemic? (%)

	1	2	3	4	5
Serbian Government	12.1	21.3	22.3	19.9	24.4
Serbian Prime Minister	12.8	17.3	22.3	15.6	32.1
Serbian President	12.3	18.6	18.6	14.1	36.4
Military	22.1	25.6	26.9	10.6	14.8
Police	19.8	27.4	25.6	12.5	14.8
Church	12.8	20.1	28.2	11.6	27.2
Judicial system	9.0	17.1	37.2	13.8	22.9
Healthcare system	23.6	29.2	26.6	12.5	8.1
Education system	21.3	34.7	29.1	9.6	5.3
Social welfare system	13.0	24.8	39.4	13.1	9.8
Domestic NGOs	9.6	23.4	45.3	10.8	10.8
International NGOs (UNICEF, WHO)	8.8	26.4	44.5	10.1	10.1
Print media in Serbia	7.3	16.9	27.4	24.8	23.6
TV and radio stations in Serbia	9.8	21.9	27.6	23.1	17.6
Digital media	11.3	27.7	30.9	17.4	12.6
Banks	20.1	30.9	33.7	8.5	6.8

Legend: (1) I am completely satisfied; (2) I am mostly satisfied; (3) I am neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; (4) I am mostly dissatisfied; (5) I am completely dissatisfied

Even though the respondents were divided in their attitudes, according to the calculated general satisfaction index,[15] they were most satisfied with the work of the healthcare and education systems, the social welfare system, as well as banks, the military, and the police. It should be noted that the respondents were more satisfied with the activity of digital media and international and domestic NGOs than with traditional political institutions (Table 7 and Figure 2).

[15] General index of satisfaction with the work of an institution was calculated by multiplying by four the share of the respondents completely satisfied with the work of an institution, by three the share of those mostly satisfied, by two the share of those neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, and by one the share of those mostly dissatisfied. The share of completely dissatisfied respondents was multiplied by zero, which means that it was disregarded. The sum of all products was then divided by 100.

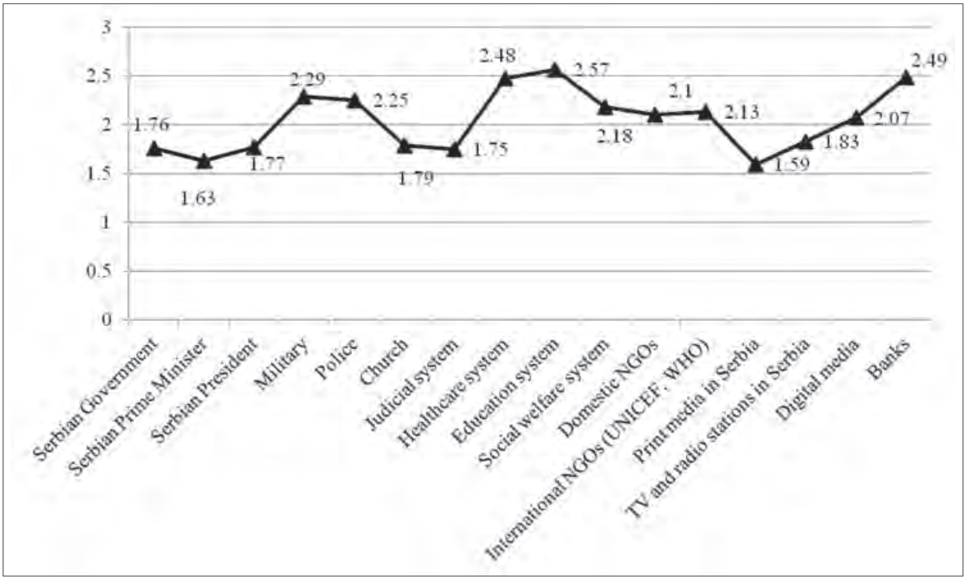

Figure 2. General index of satisfaction with the work of an institution

Despite the impossibility of direct comparison with the data from the European Values Study, the findings confirm the trends observed in the fifth wave of European research; however, we believe that the pandemic raised the trust in specific institutions that made decisions benefitting the citizens. For instance, during the first wave of the pandemic, banks placed a loan moratorium[16] for citizens and entrepreneurs, which helped them considerably while their livelihood was in jeopardy. On the other hand, this would later incur additional costs from the citizens. In addition, although most people were dissatisfied with the work of political institutions, the share of respondents who were satisfied with their work indicates that the circumstances influenced one-third of the population to value the efforts of political institutions to provide the necessary assets for COVID-19 treatment or the recommended medical supplies for disease prevention (face masks, vaccines, etc.).

CONCLUSION

Directly or indirectly unfavourable epidemiological circumstances affect everyday life of people and global flows in demographic structure, economy, politics, culture, the environment, etc. In addition to these, the experience of the current pandemic has shifted the focus to the issues of environmental quality and human health. With the understanding that the human environment is a totality of natural and social factors and

[16] See: Decision on Temporary Measures for Banks to Mitigate the Consequences of the COVID-19 Pandemic with the Aim of Preserving Financial System Stability

using the obtained data, we established that the majority of the respondents associated health with lifestyle and environmental quality and agreed with the opinion that modern lifestyle and the negative environmental impact of people/society increase the risks from the pandemic. Since modern lifestyle is associated with urban environments, the global as well as Serbian trend of reverse migration from urban to rural areas comes as no surprise, considering the measures imposed during the pandemic. Only time will tell whether the pandemic caused a more permanent change in attitudes of Serbian citizens regarding the benefits of rural life or whether this is only an acute reflection of the ongoing crisis due to the pandemic, and whether the enduring low investment in rural areas will nonetheless prompt citizens to choose living in the city – in other words, whether the attitude that rural environments are safer and more natural living environments will triumph over the adversities with which the rural population is faced. Some of the most prominent adversities are poor infrastructure and limited availability of healthcare services, depending on the level of regional development. If the claims stand that the COVID-19 pandemic has raised awareness of the connections between human health and the health of ecosystems, as highlighted in the EU Biodiversity Strategy for 2030 (EU, 2020), and that increased reverse migrations (city to countryside) occur throughout the world, this would be the moment to change Serbian policies aimed at rural areas and boost investments in their properly planned development.

Empathy and solidarity are of paramount importance as factors of the social component of human environment, both within local communities and globally. The search for a global response to COVID-19, regardless of all the disagreements regarding the origin of the virus, measures, vaccines, and distribution of aid, suggests a certain degree of international solidarity. With regard to the respondents in this study, only slightly more than a half stated that they cared for someone outside their household during the pandemic, which could indicate alienation and lack of solidarity on the one hand, but may also be interpreted as a consequence of fear of the diseases due to confusing and often contradictory statements of physicians and officials concerning virus transmission and risk of contagion. In other words, it is entirely possible that insistence on physical distancing helped create an image of other people as risk carriers, which resulted in stigmatization and absence of solidarity in some respondents. Family solidarity in the pandemic was shown to be the most powerful and most frequent mechanism of support for the sick, the isolated, and the elderly during the state of emergency. The importance of family was also corroborated by the piece of data that the respondents who were sick and isolated predominantly received help and support from their family members and that most of the other respondents would ask for help and support from their family members.

Since risks associated with the pandemic require responsible actions from institutions, another objective of the study was to determine the respondents' satisfaction with the work of specific institutions/organizations during the pandemic. The highest degree of dissatisfaction was expressed in relation to political institutions, while the respondents were most satisfied with the work of the healthcare system, the military, the education system, the social welfare system, and the banks. Considering the general importance of information, especially during the crisis, it was interesting to learn how satisfied citizens were with media activities during the first wave of the pandemic. The deepest dissatisfaction was expressed for the work of Serbian print media and radio and TV stations, while the greatest satisfaction was expressed in relation to the work of digital media. Even though such results can be partially explained by the fact that the surveyed population sample consisted mostly of younger and middle-aged population, it should be noted that, owing to restricted mobility, the pandemic prompted increased use of digital technologies. It was thus reasonable to examine the efficiency of specific media in a crisis as well as the longevity of information source preferences after the pandemic.

The COVID-19 pandemic raised numerous research questions: from the impact of the pandemic on the economy, the environment, health, personal liberties, and democracy to interpersonal and international relations. It is up to researchers, prominently including sociologists, to continue to deal with these issues and seek adequate solutions for mitigating the negative impacts of this infectious disease. The role of sociologists is to either come up with new or adapt the existing concepts and theories in order to explain the changes caused by the health crisis: perception of risk sources, interpersonal trust and confidence in institutions, types of coping with existential risks among specific population groups, growing inequalities in access to proper medical treatment, limited freedoms in a crisis, and longevity of the newly-built 'barriers' toward other people; in particular, sociologists need to examine the longevity of these changes.

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Rada Smedovska Toneva[1]
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences,
Institute of Philosophy and Sociology,
New Bulgarian University
Sofia (Bulgaria)

THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF CRISIS MANAGEMENT[2]

Abstract: At first glance, the state of emergency is an attractive instrument for dealing with different kind of crisis. It gives to the executive power extraordinary prerogatives in order to manage with and control a concrete extreme situation. It seems like emergency and crisis are used as synonyms, which makes the suspension of a state of emergency a difficult task. In this context, the text examines, from a comparative perspective, the very state of emergency, its practical implementation and the appearance of new notions related to the sanitary emergency. Is it possible to speak about it as an effective instrument of managing social crisis and public fear and what are its potential consequences?

Keywords: *état d'urgence*, emergency powers, extraordinary regime, state of emergency, state of sanitary emergency

INTRODUCTION

Over the past three years the notion of a state of emergency has dominated the global political and public life. The coronavirus pandemic has revived the idea of exceptional circumstances when, at the beginning of 2020, many states were forced to activate emergency regimes of governance and decision-making of various duration and areas of application.

[1] smerada03@gmail.com.
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Legal and operational frameworks describing the circumstances that can give rise to a state of emergency are characteristic of democratic countries; each state has its own procedures and requirements that have been shaped in the course of its historical and cultural development. By their nature, authoritarian regimes do not need special mechanisms to sanction the use of emergency or exceptional powers in times of crisis. Emergency regimes differ conceptually and in scope across countries; broadly speaking, they all refer to a state of war/martial law, a state of siege, a state of emergency or emergency powers. In most cases the reasons for declaring an emergency situation are war, terrorist threats, economic crises, natural disasters, epidemics, etc. In general terms, we are dealing with situations in which the public order is disrupted or is under immediate threat.

From a legal-political perspective, a state of emergency entails measures taken by the executive that go beyond the ordinary norms and principles guiding the daily workings of the state and that are justified and necessary in the concrete exceptional circumstances. It is believed that such measures enable governments to quickly and decisively deal with the crisis and maintain the public order. Many studies delve into the question why governments have used a state of emergency more often in recent decades. Those who take a more critical stance find an explanation in the exhaustion of modern democracies and the need to resort to authoritarian tactics in times of crisis. Carl Schmitt argues that this is a reaction to an underlying phenomenon of structural depoliticization, caused by liberalism and indicating the decline of the liberal state (Schmitt, 2005). Giorgio Agamben, on the other hand, claims that governments use the state of exception/emergency because of fear which signifies the transition from a state governed by the rule of law to a state governed by security (Agamben, 2019).

Looking at how different European countries have practiced this political-legal instrument in recent years, we can distinguish some general trends. On the one hand, we see the state of emergency being declared in different contexts and situations, for example, in cases of terrorism, major social conflicts or other forms of instability in the state. On the other hand, the concept itself is evolving; normative history now includes the notions of "emergency epidemic situation" and "state of health emergency", both of which are recognized as grounds to introduce various restrictive and control mechanisms concerning civil rights and freedoms. From this perspective, it seems that the use of a state of emergency is gradually becoming banal/ordinary. The sense of exceptionality and urgency disappears, and slowly but steadily assumes a sense of normality for the sake of preserving global security. In other words, in the political practices and discourses the state of emergency becomes normalized. Why does this happen? One reason lies in the fact that the measures and norms declared as extraordinary and temporary are subsequently made permanent and are incorporated in ordinary laws. Examples include countries with both common law and continental law systems, e.g., Great Britain, France and others.

On the other hand, the concept's own evolution and the appearance of new variants linked to the coronavirus pandemic reveal a unique overlap of emergency situations and crisis management (for example in France, Bulgaria). In this paper, I critically examine these two lines of development, describing the normative aspects and practices in the above-mentioned countries and outlining the major implications and risks related to these practices.

a) Legal framework for emergency/exceptional powers in France

The current provisions in French primary laws and the Constitution foresee several emergency situations. Two of them are mentioned in the Constitution; Art. 16 reads: "Where the institutions of the Republic, the independence of the Nation, the integrity of its territory or the fulfilment of its international commitments are under serious and immediate threat, and where the proper functioning of the constitutional public authorities is interrupted, the President of the Republic shall take measures required by these circumstances, after formally consulting the Prime Minister, the Presidents of the Houses of Parliament and the Constitutional Council."[3]

Article 36 of the Constitution refers to the state of siege (*état de siège*), which can be invoked in case of an immediate and serious threat such as foreign war or a military conflict, following which there is a transfer of certain powers from the civilian to the military authority, to protect national security and the public order.[4]

The third provision concerns the state of emergency (*état d'urgence*) in French legislation. Unlike the state of siege and the presidential exceptional powers, the state of emergency is not dealt with in the Constitution, but is regulated in a special law.[5] Such arrangement gives the government a different legal means to react in the event of an imminent threat to the public order or other public emergency.

b) Legal framework for emergency/exceptional powers in the UK

The lack of a written constitution in the UK has in a way shaped the regulations concerning the emergency regimes. The British law includes the notion of a *martial law*, which resembles the French state of siege (*état de siège)* and can be declared for a period of time in the event of an emergency, natural disaster or foreign invasion. In the state of siege, all powers are transferred from the executive to the military. Further legal provisions refer to *emergency powers*, on the basis of which the government can declare emergency measures. Historically, the statute of *emergency powers* relates to the exercise of royal prerogatives. Agamben writes that WWI played a major role in determining the scope of emergency powers given to the executive. Shortly after the outbreak of

[3] Art. 16 was invoked only once, in April 1961, by General De Gaulle in reaction to the attempted military coup in Algeria. This provision was heavily criticized then and also more recently, but has not been revised or overturned.

[4] Art. 36 of 4 October 1958, amending the Constitution; this provision is also included in the Defence Code (L2121-1 à L2121-8 du Code de la défense).

[5] Law №55-385 of 3 April 1955 on state of emergency (*Loi No 55-385 du 3 avril 1955 relative à l'état d'urgence*)

the war, the government addressed the Parliament asking for the approval of a series of emergency measures which passed without much debate. The purpose of these acts was to give the executive control over the economy in war times, but they also imposed serious restrictions on basic civil rights and freedoms. Several years later, in 1920, the *Emergency Powers Act* was passed, which gave His Majesty the power to declare a state of emergency in the event of an act or an immediate threat of such nature and magnitude that could block the access to basic foods for some part of or for the entire population, and disrupt the supplies of water, fuel or electricity.[6]

The most recent change related to the state of emergency is the *Civil Contingencies Act,* adopted in 2004.[7] According to some experts, the act was passed to replace previous legislation which had proven less effective over the years (Khakee, 2009). The Act proposes a new and broad definition of emergency, which now covers the following three circumstances: an event or situation seriously endangering the public security; an event or a situation endangering the (natural) environment; war or terrorist attacks posing a serious threat to national security.

c) How is the legislation put in practice?

In the last 20 years both France and the UK have adopted exceptional measures using different legal mechanisms, mainly because of their different constitutional regimes. As Agamben writes, in both countries the emergency measures have been invoked not only in response to a crisis caused by a war (Agamben, 2019; 47). But once instituted as such, these regimes inevitably begin to evolve into new forms. Over time, the likelihood of an emergency arising due to war or a similar danger diminishes while other types of conflict situations and crises appear which require a state of emergency to be declared.

In the 20th century, France had to resort twice to a state of emergency in situations posing a threat to the country's territory. First, in April 1961, when the military took over in Algeria as a measure to prevent a coup,[8] and in 1985 in New Caledonia, once again in response to events related to France's colonial history.

The year 2005 marks a turning point in the evolution of the instrument of state of emergency. It was declared because of civil riots in the suburbs on several locations in France. The government was heavily criticized for this decision which was considered an overreaction to a situation that did not warrant such excessive measures. The state of emergency only helped the prefects impose a curfew, a prerogative that is already granted to them by primary law. The use of a state of emergency in that case was considered a

[6] The Emergency Powers Act was amended in 1964, when supplementary sectoral legislation was passed, such as the Energy Act of 1976, the Electricity Act if 1989, the Radioactive Substances Act of 1993 and the Environment Act of 1995.

[7] Civil Contingencies Act 2004 http://www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/acts2004/20040036.htm

[8] It lasts more than 2 years, continuing even after Algeria declared independence in 1962.

strategic political move needed to appease the public opinion and the voters who were concerned about public security and safety in the country. Ten years later, immediately following the terrorist attacks in Paris in 2015, a state of emergency was declared and was prolonged several times until 2017.

The UK has also frequently resorted to emergency regimes. Between 1920 and 1974 the Emergency Power Act was used 12 times, mainly in cases of major strikes and civil riots. With the onset of the conflict in Northern Ireland, however, the key argument for activating emergency powers and extra security measures was the so-called war on terror. The UK announced a state of emergency immediately after the 11 September terrorist attacks in the USA, becoming the only country in Europe to do so, despite the physical distance from its territory. The government referred to Art. 15 of the European Convention of Human Rights, and requested a derogation of Art. 5, Right to Liberty and Security. This decision set in motion an intensive legislative process related to the fight against terrorism. Since the troubles at the end of 20th century, governments have been under pressure to revise the antiterrorist laws several times, but those changes did not come through until 2001 when the Terrorism Act 2000 was passed. The Act expanded the definition of terrorism and also fundamentally changed the way emergency situations are conceptualized. The notion of "emergency" is largely 'normalized' and urgency is no longer considered an important characteristic, which has led some experts to argue that this will enable the possibility of having a permanent state of emergency (Slater, 2016). Similar to France, public opinion played a key role in the process. The majority of the population supported the government's decision in the hope that this would boost public safety and security.

No one can deny that acts of terrorism create extraordinary crises which call for extraordinary measures and powers. In recent years, the concept of terrorism is the subject of ongoing studies and debates; the concept continues to evolve since terrorism is a transnational threat that goes beyond national borders. Another, more difficult question arises here, namely, to what extent terrorism gives sufficient grounds for declaring a state of emergency, given that terrorism is a constant threat today? In the face of this persistent global threat, do we not also face the risk of living in a state of permanent emergency?

d) Towards the normalization of emergency measures

The emergency measures taken by the executive have one essential feature. i.e., they are temporary. Their exceptionality vis-à-vis the common norms is intended as a means to solve quickly the specific crisis. Therefore, the law provides for parliamentary oversight of the prolongation of the emergency powers, the measures taken, etc. However, the experience of both France and the UK illustrates that the issue of their temporary character can be critical. On the one hand, the two countries have a history of extending the measures beyond the originally set deadline. On the other hand, in both countries new legislation was passed or the existing legislation was revised to incorporate some of the exceptional measures after the deadline expired. Thus, the measures have become permanent and their exceptionality is "normalized." Sociologist Alan Greene writes that Great Britain prefers to adopt emergency legislation in exceptional circumstances because this grants the executive powers that they do not normally possess but that nevertheless enable them to tackle the crisis more efficiently and swiftly (Green, 2016). Special laws need to contain the so-called sunset clauses, that is, provisions concerning their temporal exercise and phasing out. As it turns out, the sunset clauses, limiting the temporal validity of some of these control mechanisms were revised and extended several times between 2005 and 2011.

As a result of the state of emergency declared in 2001 which lasted only a few months, subsequent legislation transformed some temporary control mechanisms into permanent, including some restrictions regarding suspected terrorists. In 2011, the *Terrorism Prevention and Investigation Measures Act* was passed which reconfirmed some of the restrictive measures; in 2015, the *Counter Terrorism and Security Act* was adopted. This ends the long process of gradual normalization of the measures initially declared exceptional and subsequently incorporated in the primary law.

We observe a similar development in France. Between November 2015 and July 2017, the government introduced six proposals for extending the state of emergency for various periods of time, which received full support of everyone involved in the process. This period of emergency measures has come under heavy criticism, attacking above all the length of its application: *"L'état d'urgence reste un état de crise qui est par nature temporaire… L'accoutumance à cette situation hors norme serait pour notre démocratie un risque: celui de la banalisation de l'exception…"* (Rousset, 2017).

The difficulty this situation presents is not so much legal as it is political; the decision to activate a state of emergency is made by the politicians. This explains why while the state of emergency was in force, new anti-terrorism legislation was passed. Shortly before the emergency state was lifted, the new Internal Security and Counter Terrorism Act was adopted[9], as somewhat of a natural extension of the state of emergency; the Act made permanent some of the emergency measures, incorporating them in statutory provisions. Not surprisingly, the new act drew widespread criticism; critics warned that it posed a risk of establishing a permanent state of emergency.

NEW VARIANTS OF THE "STATE OF EMERGENCY" CONCEPT

The global health crisis produced a unique emergency situation. Many states were forced to enact emergency regimes and measures to contain the spread of the coronavirus, and this process brought forth new concepts such as "public health emergency", "emergency epidemiological situation" etc.

[9] Law № 2017-1510 of 30 October 2017 on internal security and anti-terrorism (Loi № 2017-1510 du 30 Octobre 2017 renforçant la sécurité intérieure et la lutte contre le terrorisme)

On 23 March 2020, France announced a public health emergency by special decree due to COVID-19.[10] The notion of "public health emergency" is stipulated in the Public Health Code[11], and the new law was intended to reinforce the normative framework used as a basis for the measures adopted against the coronavirus. This new emergency regime gave exceptional powers to the prime minister and the prefects to limit some of the constitutionally guaranteed rights and freedoms. The concept of health emergency was not entirely unexpected or arbitrary; having lived until recently in a state of emergency, the French society was aware that once introduced, the new restrictions would not be easily cancelled and could have serious implications for human rights and the rule of law. And while the rest of the [European] countries did not hesitate to declare a general state of emergency, the French authorities were more cautious and were looking for a carefully planned and targeted response to the looming crisis.

In this context, the use of the term "emergency health situation" can be seen as a rather positive step forward on the part of the authorities. If we agree with the argument that an emergency regime predisposes governments to take excessive measures because of the exceptional powers granted to them, then an approach based on careful examination and precise definition of the nature of emergency would prevent governments from transgressing their realm of duties, taking only those measures that are necessary to deal with the health crisis.

Bulgaria is one of the countries with a practice similar to that of France; the country declared a state of emergency in March 2020. Several months later the National Assembly amended the Public Health Act and introduced a new statute, "emergency epidemiological situation",[12] which was interpreted by some analysts as a first step towards normalizing (Slavov, 2021) the exceptionality of the circumstances.

The adoption of the act stirred heated debates and prompted the president to veto it and to refer the case to the Constitutional Court. The Court confirmed the constitutionality of the new provisions as well as the legality of the restrictions concerning some civil rights. In its ruling, the Court compares various emergency situations (natural disasters, military or other emergencies) and argues that the main distinction with regard to the emergency epidemiological situation is the intensity of measures that need to be taken by the competent authorities.[13]

[10] Extraordinary law № 2020-290 of 23 March 2020 to tackle the COVID-19 pandemic (LOI n° 2020-290 du 23 mars 2020 d'urgence pour faire face à l'épidémie de covid-19).

[11] The emergency health state can be extended upon parts of or upon the entire territory of the country in the case of a health emergency, which poses an immediate threat to the public health.

[12] Amendments to the Public Health Act, (promulgated in State Gazette, No. 44/13.05.2020). "Emergency epidemic situation as stipulated in art. 63, para. arises in the case of a disaster due to a contagious disease which spreads at an epidemic level and presents an immediate threat to the life and health of citizens, and the prevention and containment of which requires going beyond the ordinary measures for the protection and preservation of the life and health of the citizens "

[13] Decision № 10 of 23 July 2020, by the Constitutional Act № 7 of 2020.

RISKS AND IMPLICATIONS

The expectations related to a state of emergency are usually high. Governments seem to view it as an almost magical instrument to handle a crisis and often forget the risks and potential dangers that it carries. Regardless of the motivations and the concrete reasons for declaring a state of emergency, there is plenty we can learn from it about the functioning of the democratic government, its evolution, advantages and disadvantages.

First, the state of emergency is directly linked to national security. At first glance, it is an attractive instrument in the hands of the authorities allowing them to act quickly to restore and preserve the public order. Furthermore, in recent years new studies have expanded the concept of security, especially in the context of the fight against terrorism. Security is no longer solely and exclusively related to international relations and policies; today, multiple risks and threats of various nature are considered security issues (internal and external security, migration issues, extremist organizations, terrorism, etc.). Issues like these often raise questions whether the current legal frameworks can guarantee the desired level of security. A significant implication and a tendency that seems to apply to many countries is the way governments respond to crises today: they are much more inclined to look for new measures and to pass new legislation instead of using the tools they already have. The introduction of the special institutes of "emergency epidemiological situation" are good examples of this trend.

Second, current practice has shown that the state of emergency is becoming an "ordinary" instrument used to tackle situations of various scope and scale. Its use is becoming trivialized in political reactions and discourses. Agamben is right to say that the state of emergency will be henceforth perceived as the "rule" and is increasingly being regarded a management technique rather than an exceptional measure (Agamben, 2019; 24). In other words, it is no longer understood solely and only as a means to provide more security, but it is also an instrument of management and communication. This instrument is in possession of the destabilized political power which can resort to it at any time when it needs to demonstrate authority and legitimize itself in the eyes of the public. The reasons for political destabilization can vary – terrorist threats, economic and social crises. In this sense, we can argue that the state of emergency, which was initially conceived as a mechanism to provide general security and protection against (predominantly) military conflicts, is gradually gaining a new meaning. Current developments lead us to conclude that it is being increasingly used as an instrument with the main purpose and task to manage serious conflicts in society, and that means, conflicts of a different nature. In the presence of such conflict's society is more likely to accept emergency measures. When people live in fear, it seems they more readily give up their rights.

Third, the prolonged use of the state of emergency generates the perception that in ordinary circumstances the state is actually weaker. There is a real risk of believing that the government is only strong in a state of emergency and that ordinary legal statutes are not fit to cope with a crisis. In this way, the normal functioning of public institutions is undermined and the relevance of the primary legal provisions is questioned.

Fourth, exiting the emergency situation is a difficult choice to make. While at the onset of the crisis the real reason for the state of emergency is easily identifiable, its end is rather hard to predict. Declaring the end of the state of emergency should be an indication that the crisis situation is over. Therefore, the dilemma of when to put an end to it is primarily political in nature, since the termination of the state of emergency could also be seen as a resignation on the part of the authorities and institutions from their duties.

Fifth, risks are inherent in modern society and they cannot be eliminated. Risks can only be limited and reduced. Therefore, modern security policies concentrate on the assessment, analysis and reduction of different types of risks. If we followed the maxim that risks must be eliminated, then we would always live in a state of emergency and would need the imposition of emergency measures (Popov, 2021).

Two important conclusions can be derived in this regard from recent practice. On the one hand, there appears to be a kind of merging between an emergency and a crisis. On the other hand, the introduction of measures like "emergency health situation" and "extraordinary epidemiological situation" has led to new ways of conceptualizing emergency. Would it be possible, for example, to speak of a *refugee* emergency situation? In order to avoid such possibilities, it is necessary to expand the understanding of crisis culture, to think in the paradigm of risk, and to work on risk reduction. A crisis and an emergency should be theorized at two different levels. While an emergency implies a short duration, a crisis may protract in time. But even so we face a paradox; in cases where the danger is still present, the only possible solution is to reinforce the standing legal statutes. However, the adoption of provisions solidifying some of the emergency measures and emergency institutional powers is inevitable. From this point of view, we must say that promising a short duration of the state of emergency may be just an empty promise.

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Snežana S. Stojšin[1]
University of Novi Sad,
Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Sociology
Novi Sad (Serbia)

Vladan D. Vidicki[2]
University of Novi Sad,
Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Sociology
Novi Sad (Serbia)

CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDE OF VILLAGE YOUTH TOWARDS ENTERING MARRIAGE AND STARTING A FAMILY – EXAMPLE OF THE VILLAGE OF KAĆ[3]

Abstract: The primary aim of this paper is to analyze the changes in attitudes of young people in rural areas towards marriage and the potentials for establishing a family. Potentially limiting material and non-material factors which may influence their decisions to (not) marry and (not) start a family are taken into account. Attitudes towards marriage were interpreted through elements of data from a longitudinal study conducted in 1999 and 2021 in the village of Kać. The data were collected through in-depth interviews. The open-ended questionnaire made it possible to collect wide-ranging data regarding the respondents' perceptions of the necessary conditions for getting married and starting a family, the perceived difference between their experience and that of their parents, of potential problems, of the given opportunities to find a suitable partner, etc. The findings show, among other things,

[1] stojsin.snezana@gmail.com
[2] vladanvidicki@gmail.com
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that in both research periods, more than half of the respondents believe their parents had better conditions for starting a family in comparison to them.

Keywords: rural youth, marriage, starting a family, Kać.

INTRODUCTION

By analyzing numerous theories on marital and reproductive behaviour of young people, Pešić Jenaćković (2019) indicates a complex combination of factors that influence marital and reproductive behaviour and says that the paradigm resources-limitations-behaviour (Hoffmann Nowotny and Fux) is adequate (Pešić-Jenaćković, 2019: 104). Marital and reproductive behaviour has a broad and quite complex deterministic foundation which includes socio-economic, socio-demographic and socio-cultural aspects, so these patterns of behaviour cannot be observed from only one theoretical approach.[4] In this broad deterministic combination, accompanied by long-term effects of modernization, industrialization and urbanization (Marković Krstić, 2021: 231), the decline in the rates of getting married and fertility is also influenced by the changes in the value system, individualism, consumer mentality and a high value of freedom of choice in life (Devedžić, 2006: 53).

The changes occurring in Serbia in terms of the marital behaviour of the population, i.e., the characteristic of the process of marrying can be tracked through demographic indicators: the number of marriages per 1,000 people (general rate of marriage), average age of the population when entering marriage, average age when entering the first marriage, number of common law unions which have been registered since the 2011 Census etc. (Bobić, 2007). The analysis of the data on the population in Serbia indicates a decrease in the general rate of marrying and the increase in the average age of entering marriage. Therefore, these indicators represent the most frequently mentioned demographic factors in the analysis of changes in the marital behaviour of the population.

In Serbia, "the postponement of marriage or significant shift towards entering marriage at a later age" (Bobić, 2007: 174) is prominent, so the average age of grooms when entering the first marriage increased from 25.5 in 1971 to 31.5 in 2021 and of brides, from the age of 22 to 28.7 (Bobić, 2007: 174; Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, 2022). At the same time, there has been a decrease in the general marriage rate from 9.3 (in 1971) to 4.8 per mille (in 2021), which means that the rate has halved in these five decades. Bobić (2007: 175) claims that the causes of the nuptial rate are, firstly,

[4] Pešić Jenaćković groups theories on marital and reproductive behaviour in the following way: the first group of theories comprises "the theory of (first) democratic transition (Landry, Notestein and Thompson), microeconomic theory (Leibenstein, Easterlin, Becker), ideational-cultural theory (Cleland and Wilson) and theory of the second demographic transition" while the second group of theories strives "to explain the combination of several factors and thus revise the listed theories" (Pešić Jenaćković, 2019: 104).

the decrease in the number of generations when marriage is most often started (20-30 years of age) and, secondly, changes in the attitude towards the traditional institution of marriage. Therefore, even though the nuptial rate has been significantly affected by the above-mentioned demographic factors, it seems that psychological and socio-economic factors still take great prevalence (Marković Krstić, 2021), while the effect of socio-psychological factors, such as changes in the system of values, beliefs and aspirations which direct the behaviour of the population, is crucial (*Ibid*: 245).

In the period after the Second World War until the last census in 2011, there were significant changes in the marital structure of the population. First of all, the number of married people in Serbia rose until 1961 and then constantly dropped (in 1961, 69.0% people were married and in 2011 that percentage was 55.1%), which indicates that there are changes in the marital behaviour of the population and changes in the attitudes towards marriage. At the same time, there has been a constant rise in the number of divorced people (0.78% in 1948 and 4.93% of the total population older than 15 in 2011) (Marković Krstić, 2021: 233, according to the Statistical Office). In the Census from 2011, in comparison with the observed period, there has been the largest share of unmarried people – 27.9% (Statistical Office, 2013). In addition to the statistical and demographic analysis, research studies are definitely another source of rich sociological material regarding the possible causes and consequences of these changes, including the analysis of socio-economic and psychological factors of marital behaviour.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

The paper presents some of the results in relation to entering marriage and starting a family from two larger research studies. The aim of this paper is to indicate changes that have happened in the last two decades and that have been kept track of in the period of 22 years since the first research in 1999 and the second one conducted in the period 2021-2022. In order to be able to compare the data in both research studies, the same questionnaire[5] was used, consisting of open-ended questions. The results presented in this paper are part of a larger research project regarding village youth.[6]

In 1999, the sample comprised 100 young people from Kać between the age of 19 and 27 who were not married. However, in the 2021 research, the upper age limit was moved from 27 to 35 because of “extended youth” which is characterized by longer education, later marriage, later starting the family and, thus, later independence from

[5] The questionnaire collected the information on the demographic characteristics of the respondents and their families, the possibilities to establish a professional career and attitude towards work, the possibilities of employment, marriage and family, free time, and finally the attitude towards the place where they live. An emphasis was placed on the qualitative data analysis. For more on methodological characteristics of this type of research, see Stojšin (2021).

[6] One part of the results was published in Stojšin, S. (2021).

parents.[7] In other words, in the second research, the respondents in the village of Kać were young people between the age of 19 and 35, who were not married.

Both research studies were conducted in the village of Kać, which is one of rare places with the steadiliy increasing population numbers after the Second World War – in 1948, the number of inhabitants was 4,406 and it rose to the estimated 12,683 in 2021 (Statistical Office, 2014)[8]. This rise in the number of inhabitants is a consequence of a low but positive birth rate and migration of the population. The birth rate played a more important role than migrations in the period from 1961 to 1971, when the total increase by 1,061 people was the result of 554 births and 507 migrations. In the period between 1971 and 1981, migrations affected the change in the number of inhabitants more (+1168) than the birth rate (+682) (Stojšin, 2021). In the period of wars between 1991 and 2002, there was another increase in the number of people who migrated there (+1,460) and the birth rate was much less significant than before (215) (Stojšin, 2021: 1364).

Despite the positive birth rate and migration of young people, there is pronounced aging of the population. Thus, in 1991, there were 22% people between the age of 0 and 14, and 24% were older than 50. According to the last Census from 2011, the share of the population between 0 and 14 years of age decreased to 16.5%, while the share of the population older than 50 years increased to 35.8% (Stojšin, 2021). The changes in the age structure of the population of Kać were caused, among others things, by the changes in the marital structure of the population. Namely, in comparison with the Census from 2002, the share of married people decreased by 3.5% in 2011, while the number of those who were never been married decreased by 3.6%. The number of widows and widowers also increased significantly: in 2002 there were 3.6% of them, while in the next Census in 2011 there were 9.6%. According to the Census of 2011, in Kać, there were 27.8% single people, 58.7% were married, 9.6% people were widowed and 3.7% were divorced (Statistical Office).

ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

Among the numerous data collected in both research studies in the analysis of the attitudes towards entering marriage and starting a family, we analyzed limiting social conditions and the conditions of the local community which could affect (not) entering marriage and (not) starting a family. Both research studies found that young people rarely thought about entering marriage and starting a family.

[7] Bobić and associates also say that young people should be defined as a population between the age of 19 and 35, because the period of dependence on the original family has been extended. Young people are becoming independent later in life (10 years later on average in Denmark, Holland, etc.) and only around the age of 35 do they leave their parents, enter marriage, have children, etc. (Bobić, Vesković Anđelković, Kokotović Kanazir, 2016: 25) (after Stojšin, 2021: 1362).

[8] For more, see Stojšin (2021).

a) Difference in the conditions for entering marriage and starting a family

In the first research (1999), more than half of the respondents (58%) said that their parents, who were mainly members of the post-war generations (from 1947 to 1960), had better opportunities to enter marriage and start a family.

– “There used to be better times. They had jobs in state-owned companies, a regular salary and could take loans to build a house.” (M, 23, employed)

– “My parents had better conditions to start a family than us. They had better opportunities to solve their housing problem, employment and a higher living standard.” (F, 22, student)

– “Of course, my parents had better opportunities. At that time everything was much easier; they both worked in state-owned companies, their income was much better, they could start a family on their salaries without any problem, which meant they did not have to think about how they would feed their family, provide for them, pay for basic things.” (F, 23, employed)

Young women were much less happy with the conditions for starting a family than young men, mainly claiming that their parents had much better opportunities. Therefore, only 24% respondents thought they had better opportunities to start a family because their parents provided them with one floor in the family home, which they themselves could never build – this being the answer characteristic of young men. In other words, male respondents thought they had better conditions than their parents, most likely because these parents provided them with a living space by building an extra floor in the family house, which was mostly characteristic of the majority of inhabitants of Kać who moved there after the Second World War, mainly into German houses, while in the 1970s and 1980s they built their own multi-storey houses. This is something mentioned by the respondents during their interviews in both research studies. The assumption is that precisely the available living space is the reason why 25% respondents (88% young men and 12% young women) said that they would remain living with their parents after getting married. Still, more than half of the respondents (53%) wanted to live separately from their parents, in their own house or flat (as many as 68% young women and 32% young men wanting to live on their own). Besides the fact that a quarter of the respondents (25%) said they would live with their parents, as many as 41% respondents expected financial aid from their parents after they entered marriage.

The situation was somewhat different in 2021. The majority of the respondents (78%) did not expect financial aid from their parents, while 14% thought that their parents could help them. Only 8% respondents believed that it was their parents’ duty to help them when they became independent and started their own family. There were no differences in the answers in terms of gender.

However, explaining who had better conditions to enter marriage and start a family – young people or their parents (mainly the members of the generations born between

1965 and 1975), the respondents gave very similar reasons to those in the research 22 years ago. More than half of the respondents (59%) believed that their parents had better conditions whereas 35% said that today's conditions were better than at the time when their parents were young. Six respondents could not assess when these conditions were better.

Looking at the respondents' gender, both male (66% of the total number in the sample) and female respondents (56% of the total number in the sample) believed that their parents had better conditions. Most frequently listed reasons were a safe job and regular income like in the first research, but some of the answers in the second research emphasized the political security of the country. The male respondents explained their claims in the following way:

– "I think my parents had better conditions to start a family because the political situation in the country was better." (25, M, employed, high school)

– "Our parents had better conditions because they had a higher income, a more stable job, they all worked in state-owned companies. They did not worry about the job, whether they would lose it tomorrow and how they would feed their family. The political situation today is, if I may put it this way, rather bad… " (23, M, employed, high school)

– "My parents had better conditions both for living and starting a family, they had safe jobs, regular income… There is no doubt that it was a better life. I am 35 and I still don't have a regular job. I have been doing many different jobs for a few months. How can I start a family, what can I live on?" (35, M, unemployed, college)

– "Our parents had better conditions because they had safe jobs. No one can say that today unless they are members of a political party. I am looking for a job that would provide me at least with something so I can become independent, but every job I got was just for a trial period, then employers said they would see about it, or I worked as a slave for a very small salary. The same happened to my girlfriend, so who is going to support us?" (33, M, currently unemployed, high school)

The female respondents offered similar explanations:

- "My parents had better conditions because they had steady jobs, they did not have to worry about whether they would lose their jobs and finance in general." (28, F, student, does not plan to get married)

- "My parents had better conditions, they had better opportunities to buy their own real estate. We don't have that today." (31, F, employed, faculty)

- "Our parents had better conditions primarily because they had more options to find a job they were educated for. I am 29 and I have done several jobs, the last job I had was a year ago. My parents had safe jobs and better living conditions." (29, F, occasionally employed, high school)

- "My parents had much better conditions because marriage and family at their time were much more stable, they were not too ambitios to be educated and to work on themselves." (20, F, occasionally employed, high school)
- "Our parents had better conditions because the working hours were shorter, from 7am until 2pm, or from 8am until 3pm. Today working hours do not allow you to do any activities except work." (33, F, employed, college)

A number of the respondents (35%) responded that they had better conditions than their parents, primarily because of good economic situation that their parents provided for them. Here are a few typical answers:

- "Personally, I think I have better conditions because my parents originally came from poor villages and I am in a better situation. I expect my parents to help me when I get married, but to a small extent." (23, F, unemployed, high school)
- "I have better conditions because I can choose when and who I will marry, who I will live with, unlike my parents." (25, F, occasionally employed, high school)
- "I think I have better conditions to start a family because today we have much more commodities than in the period of inflation and sanctions. I do not expect financial help from my parents because I think I should find a job and be financially independent. (21, F, student)
- "I have better conditions to start a family because of the support my parents give me, especially the financial support they did not get from their own parents." (19, M, student, high school, expects occasional financial help from his parents when he gets married)
- "I have better conditions. Now I am a student, but when I graduate, I will get a job for which I was educated and I will have means for living." (19, M, student)

One set of questions referred to potential limiting conditions when entering marriage and starting a family, or more precisely, the intention was to find the answer to the question about what worried young people most when they thought about marriage. Although part of these "negative" attitudes towards the conditions that limit the respondents in entering marriage was already seen in the previous answers, in this set of questions new potential problems appeared in addition to financial means and employment.

In the first research, financial means and the economic situation were singled out as the most worrying factor for young people when they thought about marriage, and a typical answer was:

- "I'm mostly worried about money. I don't know if I will be able to provide for my children the same that my parents provided for me." (21, F, student)

That is what the respondents spoke about most frequently. Speaking and thinking about marriage was mainly the characteristic of female respondents, because 19% of young men did not think about entering marriage and starting a family at all, while the share of young women in that respect was much smaller (10%). Thus, we got the following results: 29% of the entire sample did not think about it, 17% answered that they most often thought about love, 6% thought about boredom which would occur in marriage and 7% thought about marriage in general and what it brought along. The most important topic in the first research was that of finance; as many as 41% of the total number of the respondents said they mainly thought about the economic situation. Older respondents thought about marriage and starting a family to a greater extent. In the answers of both employed and unemployed respondents it was evident that money was the most frequent topic when they thought and talked about marriage.

- "The most frequent topic of conversation is how and where to live and from what means. I cannot put myself in a situation to have my children starving and being on the street. My boyfriend works occasionally, but that is nothing significant." (27, F, employed)
- "We talk about the possibilities to support a family and lead a civilized life." (28, M, employed)
- "Of course, we mainly talk about money. It doesn't sound very romantic but the present time call for it. If love is strong, it will lead to marriage, but money is what dictates life." (23, M, unemployed)

Twenty-two years later, young people were again worried about the same things. Namely, the results were so similar that in some questions there were no differences among answers at all. The results have shown that 53% respondents in the more recent research mostly talked about money, which is a somewhat higher percentage than in the previous research.

However, almost one third of the respondents (31%) did not talk about marriage at all and the answers did not differ between genders. Namely, 39% respondents listed several topics or areas concerning marriage that they talked about, stating that they talked about money and becoming independent from their parents, as well as about the characteristics of their future partner. As many as 22% of the total number of respondents said they mostly talked about whether they would choose the right partner while 8% said they talked exclusively about money.

The answers to the question what worried them most when they thought about marriage corresponded to the answers given in the previous question. Thus, 35% respondents, mainly younger people who did not think about entering marriage soon, said that they did not worry about anything yet.

Among the answers to this question, we can emphasize that 25% respondents were mostly worried because of the future partner, i.e., whether they would marry the right person, they thought about possible mistrust, disappointment, divorce, vices that the partner had or might have etc. This concern for the characteristics of the marital partner were equally present among younger and older respondents. They stated that they worried whether the marriage would be harmonious or if they would quarrel. This is a completely new topic in comparison to the previous research:

- "I keep thinking if I will find the right partner, I think about the vices that the girl could have, about the future in general, but I really worry about vices most." (32, M, employed temporarily, high school)
- "I am very worried if I will find the right person. I often think about the choice of the future partner, if my choice will be adequate." (27, M, employed, high school, thinks about getting married)
- "I most often think about the person I would marry, what she would be like, if we would have a harmonious life, whether she would be the right person or if I would make a mistake. This worries me a lot, whether I will choose the right person. I think it's very difficult today." (19, M, student)
- "I most often talk and think about a harmonious marriage full of love, because I am afraid of getting divorced. I think about what a potential divorce might bring, problems and constant fights with the partner. I don't know if we will get along." (23, F, unemployed, high school)
- "When I think about marriage, I most often think about distrust, I am afraid that I will not be able to trust my partner. On the other hand, I am concerned about the lack of freedom, uncertainty, possible disappointment in my partner and children. I don't know… I worry about it a lot." (25, F, occasionally employed, high school)
- "We most often talk about the plans for the future, our worldviews, our desires and how to accomplish them. I worry very much whether I will marry the right person." (29, F, occasionally employed, high school)
- "We talk about how different marriage now is from what it was like in the past. It is a big problem to find the right person I could start a family with and have a successful marriage. I worry about the choice of the right person, the vices he might have…" (20, F, occasionally employed, high school)

Money was still a big problem for young people and 34% of them mentioned it in their answers singling it out as the only concern or one of the concerns alongside the concern in relation to living conditions in general (children, housing, employment, partner). In the majority of their answers the respondents said that they were worried about several different things, but money was in the core of these problems:

- "We most often talk about whether we will choose the right person as the marital partner and if we will have financial security and housing." (25, F, unemployed, high school)
- "We most often talk about whether we will be able to live away from our parents, about separate housing, about the possibility of having a better job which will allow us to support our family." (29, M, employed, high school)

- “We most often talk about life, money and a way to solve the housing problem and live away from our parents’ home.” (23, M, employed, high school)
- “I most often think about the possibilities of survival, uncertain future, because nothing is certain.” (35, M, unemployed, college, expects financial aid from his parents when he gets married)
- “We most often talk about children, joint real estate, possibility of living together, about the relationship between my partner and me. I am afraid he will be insincere, I have a great fear of not having children, because a marriage without children is not a marriage.” (31, F, employed, faculty)
- “When we talk about marriage, we talk about whether we should get married. I think about my age and then I think that it would be better to get married at an older age. I think the biggest problem is financial means, the place where we will live. I will definitely not live with his mum. I think many issues need to be considered.” (19, F, student)
- “I mainly think about the reasons why I will not get married. People expect me to, but in this kind of situation I definitely don’t want to get married. I am thinking about how to tell everyone who expects me to get married that I don’t want to.” (28, F, student)
- “I am mostly worried whether my husband and I will manage to coordinate our private life and work. I think the most important thing is to provide a decent life and financial stability for my family.” (21, F, student)

Having in mind all these answers, it is somewhat understandable that only 20 respondents (7 female and 13 male) thought about getting married soon, which is only 1/5 of the total number of the respondents. Most young people in Kać today (75%) do not think about entering marriage soon or at all (5%). Taking into consideration the average age of our respondents (28.6), it seems that the number of marriages will continue to drop in the future.

The decision to enter marriage is also influenced by a satisfactory choice of a partner and in Kać young men seemed to be much happier with the possibility of choosing a partner than young women. Namely, 75% of the total male respondents said that they could find a satisfactory partner in Kać, while only 35% of the total number of female respondents thought they had a satisfactory choice of partner in their own village.

In the 1999 research, the majority of the respondents said that they would not like their marital partner to be from Kać (39%) but from a different place, which indicated potential internal migrations. Only 16% said that they wanted to marry someone from their own village, while 45% respondents thought that it was not important at all. However, at that time, just like today, young men from Kać thought that they had a satisfactory choice of partner in Kać, whereas young women were not happy with the choices. More girls than boys wanted to leave Kać and live elsewhere with their partner who was not from this village.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the results has shown that, in addition to demographic factors, which are primarily characteristic of the population with a regressive type of age structure where the number of people between the age of 20 and 30 is on the decline, the changes in the marital behaviour are primarily affected by socio-economic, as well as psychological factors. Socio-economic factors such as unemployment or an insecure job, lack of money and unresolved housing issues have a negative effect on the independence of young people and their moving away from their parents' home where they are provided such security. On the other hand, the parents who built big family houses in the village try to keep their children, mainly sons, within their households and, due to the above-mentioned circumstances, they actually succeed in this attempt. It is clear that young people cannot "bear the financial burden of leaving the family household and financing their own household" (Marković Krstić, 2021: 245), so younger respondents today mainly expect financial aid from their parents.

In addition to socio-economic factors, which are crucial in both research periods in forming the attitude towards marriage and starting a family, psychological factors in another, more recent research study emerged as very significant. In the research from 1999, these factors could not be singled out from the respondents' answers. Today the respondents assert that they are concerned about vices of potential partners (vices are mentioned in as many as 65 questionnaires in different contexts), possible divorce, not getting along with the partner, which was rarely mentioned in the research 22 years ago. Therefore, social changes that have occurred in our society in the last 20 years and affected the system of values in a negative way, as well as the emergence of different deviant types of behaviour, have also had consequence on the young people's attitudes towards marriage.

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Мария В. Субботина[1]
Российский университет дружбы народов
Факультет гуманитарных и социальных наук
Кафедра социологии
Москва (Россия)

ГЕРОИЗМ И СОЦИАЛЬНОЕ БЛАГОПОЛУЧИЕ КАК ПРЕДМЕТ ИНТЕРЕСА СОЦИОЛОГИЧЕСКОЙ НАУКИ[2]

Аннотация. Социологическая наука, благодаря разнообразию теоретических концепций и эмпирических методик, зачастую может найти ответы на самые сложные вопросы, с которыми сталкивается общество. При этом нельзя отрицать существование таких феноменов общественной жизни, которые до сих пор в полной мере не были охвачены вниманием ученых-социологов. Одним из таких феноменов считается героизм. Несмотря на то, что существует множество концептуальных трактовок героизма, удивительно мало социологических исследований стремятся прояснить данный феномен на теоретическом и эмпирическом уровнях. Это тем более странно, учитывая, что героизм – очевидно мультидисциплинарное понятие, интересующее представителей самых разных дисциплин – философов, культурологов, психологов и др. Для того, чтобы начать восполнять нехватку социологической информации касательно феномена героизма, нами была поставлена цель реконструировать образы героев, доминирующие у различных поколений россиян. Это связано с тем, что исследование совокупности героических образов общества дает возможность определить его ценности и нравственные ориентиры: герои являются воплощением идеальных качеств, примером для подражания, задают образцы поведения и этические нормы. Более того, уже не первый год исследователи рассматривают феномен героизма как один из ключевых факторов, оказывающих влияние на социальное благополучие. Для

[1] mariya.subbotina.1995@mail.ru

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достижения поставленной цели, нами была разработана собственная классификация типов героев, которая, в дальнейшем, может помочь другим исследователям данного феномена. Также, в статье представлены результаты проведенного нами онлайн-опроса (опрошены респонденты 4 возрастных групп: 14-19 лет, 20-29 лет, 30-49 лет и 50-69 лет (по 200 человек в каждой группе, всего 800 человек)), в ходе которого нам удалось выявить и сравнить доминирующие героические образцы у представителей различных поколений.

Ключевые слова: героизм, благополучие, онлайн-опрос, поколенческие различия

Феномен героизма по праву считается одним из самых неоднозначных и многогранных. Любое общество на всех этапах развития нуждается в героях: в нашей жизни должно происходить нечто героическое, что нарушает привычный порядок вещей и дает людям моральные ориентиры и примеры высокого служения (Хейзинга, 2004). Люди всегда обращали внимание на выдающихся личностей: герои появляются во всех культурах, на протяжении не одного тысячелетия, являются своего рода референтной группой для наших решений и действий. Герой как некий универсальный социальный феномен на протяжении истории оказывает влияние на благополучие общества (Троцук, Субботина, 2019), выступая моральным ориентиром и, в некоторой степени, движущей силой социального развития (Efthimiou, Allison, Franco, eds., 2018). Также, доминирование определенного типа героя является одним из средств репрезентации культурной системы. Доминирующий в сознании общества тип героической личности, как правило, напрямую связан с доминирующим этосом (Плахов, 2008).

Исследование совокупности героических образов общества – способ определить его ценности и нравственные ориентиры: герои являются воплощением идеальных качеств, примером для подражания, задают образцы поведения и этические нормы. Эпохи и герои меняются, но стремление человека к идеалу, к примеру для подражания, который превосходит его возможности, остается неизменным. Образ/личность героя – всегда совокупность тех качеств, которыми хотел бы обладать практически любой человек, поэтому выяснение, кто для человека является героем, позволяет узнать его жизненные приоритеты и стереотипы, понять насколько благополучной является его жизнь. К сожалению, сегодня критерии героического предельно размыты, вернее отражают, как правило, ценности определенного сообщества, но не общества в целом. Впрочем, сохраняются героические поступки неоспоримой универсальной значимости, например, подвиги в экстремальных ситуациях, а также понятие социального служения и, соответственно, «социальных героев» – эти люди совершают значимые поступки на своем рабочем месте во имя идеи или просто потому, что не умеют или не хотят жить по-другому (нередко это работники образования, медицины, культуры).

Актуальность изучения социальных представлений о герое и героизме в целом и через воздействие на них кинематографа в частности обусловлена тем, что массовая культура в целом и кино в частности оказывают значительное влияние на сознание людей и их понимание смысла жизни, счастья, добра и зла. Современная массовая культура нередко искажает тот смысл, что ранее вкладывался в понятие «герой». Учитывая этот факт, и, проведя анализ различных определений героизма, нами была составлена авторская условная типология героев (Табл.1), Троцук, Субботина, 2018).

Таблица 1.Типы героев.

Военный героизм Герой- воин	**В чрезвычайной ситуации** Герой-спасатель	**Помощь людям** Герой-благотворитель	**Преодоление себя** Герой-вдохновитель	**Тяга к приключениям** Герой-авантюрист	**Демонстративный** Герой-демонстратор
Обезвреживание врага	Спасение из пожара	Благотворительность	Преодоление страхов	Приключения ради адреналина	Опасные трюки на видео
Самопожертвование на поле боя	Предотвращение аварии	Усыновление ребенка	Отказ от зависти, негативного отношения к окружающим	Приключения как образ жизни	Перформансы с нанесением себе физических увечий
Партизанская деятельность	Спасение Утопающего	Трудовой Героизм	Отшельничество		Научные эксперименты
Способность сохранить военную тайну под пытками					
Отказ Сдаться					

Данную классификацию удобно использовать при проведении эмпирических исследований, так как в ней систематизированы наиболее часто встречающиеся и узнаваемые типы героев.

При этом, она имеет ряд ограничений, в частности, это условность выделенных типов и то, что типы могут пересекаться и наслаиваться, например, герой-благотворитель может выступать и в качестве героя-вдохновителя (по сути, любое проявление героизма в некоторой степени можно отнести к типу «герой-вдохновитель»), а герой-авантюрист может оказаться героем-демонстратором.

Последние типы имеют подтипы: герой-авантюрист может быть как человеком, расширяющим пределы возможностей (например, альпинист), так и неадекватным человеком, рискующим своей жизнью, чтобы произвести впечатление на окружающих (например, подростки, прыгающие с крыш поездов); герой-демонстратор может быть, с одной стороны, активистом, привлекающим внимание к острой социальной проблеме, научным экспериментатором, исследующим на себе действие новой вакцины, или лжегероем, который мимикрирует под героя ради личной выгоды. При этом понятие «личная выгода» очень условно: с одной стороны, человек может монетизировать свой героизм (особенно в наше время развитых технологий, получив рекламный контракт, так как к нему приковано внимание большого количества людей), с другой стороны, люди продолжают совершать героические поступки и без личной выгоды, т.е. одним из критериев реального героизма должно выступать бескорыстие. В данной классификации подразумеваются положительные проявления типов героизма, которые не ориентированы на монетизацию и прочую личную выгоду.

Таким образом, для того, чтобы реконструировать образ героя и киногероя для каждой поколенческой группы, и на этой основе сопоставить представления россиян о героизме, в 2020 году нами был проведен массовый онлайн-опрос: опрошены респонденты 4 возрастных групп: 14-19 лет, 20-29 лет, 30-49 лет и 50-69 лет (по 200 человек, всего 800 человек).

Согласно результатам опроса, под героизмом респонденты, в первую очередь, понимают «самопожертвование, способность к подвигу» (59%) и «самоотверженность, мужество, храбрость» (57%), далее идет «стремление в любой ситуации бороться за справедливость, защищать слабых» (41%). Наименее популярным определением героизма оказалось «вершина добродетели, идеальный тип поведения, на который должен ориентироваться каждый человек» (18%). Интересен разброс ответов самой младшей и самой старшей групп: данное определение выбрали 19% респондентов в возрасте 14-19 лет и всего 9% респондентов в возрасте 50-69 лет. Вариант «общее положительное качество личности, концентрация физических, психических, духовных и нравственных сил» назвал практически каждый четвертый (24%), но наибольшие различия наблюдаются между группой 20-29-летних (29%) и 50-69-летних (17%).

Респондентам был предложен набор определений, с которыми нужно было выразить свое согласие/несогласие (Табл.2).

Таблица 2. Согласие с определениями (%)

Сегодня настоящих героев можно увидеть только в кино	20,6
Герой должен рисковать собой, чтобы считаться героем	45,2
Герой – это собирательный образ, отражающий главные черты своего поколения	59,1
Героями можно назвать тех, кто честно и усердно выполняет свою работу	61,7
Человека нельзя считать героем, если он афиширует свои подвиги (совершает их напоказ)	66,3
Герой не может поступать несправедливо по отношению к другим	69,1
Герой не тот, кто выполняет свой служебный долг, а тот, для кого героический поступок не является само собой разумеющимся	72,4
Героизм – это проявление любви к своей родине, своему народу	73,4
Героизм - многогранное понятие: герой для одних может быть злодеем для других	75,3
Большинство людей способны на героические поступки – нужен лишь правильный настрой и соответствующие обстоятельства	75,8
Любой человек может стать героем, если его правильно воспитать	77,9
Героизм не обязательно связан с риском, это может быть помощь другим людям, например, благотворительность.	78,3
Героизм – это проявление любви: человек способен на героические поступки ради тех, кого любит (родители, супруг/супруга, дети)	84,2
Героические поступки как преодоление себя могут сделать человека счастливым	84,3
Герой никогда не руководствуется собственной выгодой	85,2
Героические поступки во благо других могут сделать человека счастливым	88,9

Наибольшее одобрение опрошенных («ядро» героизма) вызвали следующие утверждения: «Героические поступки во благо других могут сделать человека счастливым» (89%); «Герой никогда не руководствуется собственной выгодой» (85%); «Героические поступки как преодоление себя могут сделать человека счастливым» (84%), причем данное утверждение нашло больший отклик у женщин (87% против 81%); «Героизм – это проявление любви: человек способен на героические поступки ради тех, кого любит (родители, супруг/супруга, дети)» (84%). Получается, что представления о героизме прямо связаны с понятиями счастья и благополучия (борьбы за них).

Далее идут следующие утверждения: «Героизм не обязательно связан с риском, это может быть помощь другим людям, например, благотворительность» (78%); данное утверждение чаще поддерживали женщины (83% против 74%), по нему прослеживается серьезный разрыв между самой старшей и самой младшей группами (61% 50-69-летних и 90% 14-19-летних.

Такая же доля опрошенных считает, что «Любой человек может стать героем, если его правильно воспитать» (78%), но чаще это утверждение поддерживали 20-29-летние (83%). Далее по убыванию идут следующие трактовки героизма: «Большинство людей способны на героические поступки – нужен лишь правильный настрой и соответствующие обстоятельства» (76%) (реже представители старшего поколения (65%)); «Героизм – многогранное понятие: герой для одних может быть злодеем для других» (75%) (реже соглашались представители старшей группы (68%)); «Героизм – это проявление любви к своей родине, своему народу» (73%) (чаще представители старшего поколения (82%), а не самого молодого (64%)); «Герой не тот, кто выполняет свой служебный долг, а тот, для кого героический поступок не является чем-то само собой разумеющимся» (72%); «Герой не может поступать несправедливо по отношению к другим» (69%) (чаще 50-69-летние (81%), чем 14-19- и 20-29-летние (63% и 62%)); «Человека нельзя считать героем, если он афиширует свои подвиги (совершает их напоказ)» (66%) (чаще мужчины – 74% против 59%, и старшие поколения – 30-49- (77%) и 50-69-летние (80%), чем молодые – 14-19- (52%) и 20-29-летние (57%).

Завершают список характеристик героя следующие высказывания: «Героями можно назвать тех, кто честно и усердно выполняет свою работу» (62%) (чаще самая младшая группа – 70% против 52% в самой старшей); «Герой – это собирательный образ, отражающий главные черты своего поколения» (59%) (чаще самая младшая группа – 65% против 41% в самой старшей); «Герой должен рисковать собой, чтобы считаться героем» (45%) (чаще мужчины – 52% против 39%). Самым непопулярным утверждением стало «Сегодня настоящих героев можно увидеть только в кино»: с ним согласился каждый пятый (21%), реже всего представители самой младшей группы (11%) и женщины (16% против 25% мужчин).

Своеобразный рейтинг поступков, которые респонденты считают героическими, получился следующим:

1. Спасение человека из пожара (91%) + спасение утопающего (88%; реже мужчины – 82% против 93%);
2. Самопожертвование на поле боя (71%; 14-19-летние – 64%, 20-29-летние – 61%, 30-49-летние – 76%, 50-69-летние – 84%) + способность сохранить военную тайну под пытками (66%) + предотвращение автомобильной аварии ценой собственной жизни (66%);
3. Предотвращение автомобильной аварии без гибели (58%) + трудовой героизм (самоотверженный труд)(54%; чаще старшее поколение – 60%) + победа над врагом без его гибели (53%; реже мужчины – 47% против 60% – и 50-69-летние – 45%) + волонтерская деятельность (51%; реже мужчины – 42% против 60% – и 50-69-летние – 45% против 67% подростков);
4. Жертвование средств на благотворительность (46%; реже мужчины – 36% против 56%, чаще младшие поколения – 14-19-летние – 69% и 20-29-летние

– 56%, чем старшие – 30-49-летние – 36%, 50-69-летние – 22%) + преодоление собственных страхов (44%; реже мужчины – 37% против 51% – и представители старшего поколения – 29%) + партизанская борьба (41%; реже представители младших поколений – каждый третий) + усыновление ребенка (40%; реже мужчины – 34% против 47%) и старшее поколение – 30%);

5. Убийство врага на войне (27%);

6. Отказ от зависти и/или негативного отношения к окружающим (25%; чаще самая младшая группа – 35% против каждого десятого в старшей).

Остальные варианты ответов набрали доли ниже статистической погрешности, что объясняется их социальной изолированностью и бессмысленным риском: отшельничество (5%) и аскетизм (3,4%), перформансы с нанесением себе физических увечий ради привлечения внимания к острым социальным проблемам (4%, всего 0,5% в самой старшей группе), опасные трюки ради собственного адреналина, без публичной огласки (4%, всего 0,5% в самой старшей группе) и опасные трюки для записи видео (2,6%; чаще 30-49-летние – 4,5%).

Для всех поколений самым важным качеством героя оказалась «сила духа», далее ответы несколько расходятся: на второе место женщины и молодежь (14-19 лет и 20-29 лет) ставят честность и справедливость, в то время как мужчины и старшие группы (30-49 лет и 50-69 лет) – самоотверженность. Респонденты 20-29 лет больше ценят ум и ответственность, самая младшая группа – харизму и хитрость. Старшие группы выше, чем молодежь оценивают надежность, чувство юмора и авантюризм, однако менее значимым считают умение вдохновлять.

Условный рейтинг качеств героя выглядит следующим образом:

1. Сила духа (77%)

2. Справедливость (62%) + самоотверженность (61%)

3. Ответственность + честность (по 56%)

4. Надежность (49%)

5. Ум (40%)

6. Скромность (28%)

7. Физическая сила (19%) + умение вдохновлять (16%) + жизнерадостность (11%)

8. Харизма и чувство юмора (по 8%) + хитрость (7%) + авантюризм (5%).

В анкету был включен открытый вопрос о том, как респонденты понимают словосочетание «повседневный героизм», который часто встречается в работах западных ученых (Franco, Blau, Zimbardo, 2011). Распределение ответов показало, что у молодых поколений прослеживаются три трактовки «повседневного героизма»: неприметные ежедневные хорошие поступки людей (уступить место в транспорте, перевести пожилого человека через дорогу, дать деньги на благотворительность); выполнение своей работы людьми, чья профессиональная деятельность связана с риском для жизни (МЧС, военные, врачи); преодоление себя, стремление стать лучше. При этом респонденты 20-29 лет чаще называет врачей «повседневными героями». Респонденты 30-49 лет чаще затруднялись с ответом на данный вопрос, но в целом относят к повседневному героизму и ежедневные хорошие поступки, и честное выполнение трудовых обязанностей, хотя первый вариант встречается в их ответах реже, чем у более молодых респондентов. Представители самой старшей группы в подавляющем большинстве относят к повседневному героизму честный и усердный труд на своем рабочем месте.

Респондентам было предложено завершить предложение «Герой никогда не будет…». Основными ответами стали: врать, выставлять свои поступки напоказ, обижать слабых, действовать ради выгоды, бояться. Представители группы 30-49 лет чаще отмечали, что герой никогда не будет один и никогда не будет забыт. У респондентов из самой старшей группы чаще встречались ответы, что герой не будет выставлять свои поступки напоказ.

Завершая предложение «Любой человек может стать героем, если…», большинство 14-19-летних отметило, что если человек этого хочет или у него правильное воспитание. 20-29-летние чаще отвечали, что для героизма человеку нужны определенные качества (храбрость, сила духа, самоотверженность, честность), а старшие поколения – что подходящая ситуация, нужны обстоятельства, но только при правильном воспитании.

Ответы на вопрос о том, кого бы респонденты поставили в пример современным детям, распределились следующим образом:

1. солдат, участвовавших в Великой Отечественной войне (78%);
2. сотрудников МЧС (69%);
3. простых трудяг, честно выполняющих свою работу (59%);
4. космонавтов (48%);
5. профессиональных военных (38%) + ученых (36%);
6. полицейских и спортсменов (по 28%);
7. успешных бизнесменов (12%);
8. супергероев из кинофильмов, персонажей приключенческих фильмов и музыкантов (по 8%); актеров (6%); политиков (4%); блогеров (3%).

Принципиальных различий в ответах представителей разных поколений не прослеживается, но самая младшая группа чаще выбирала варианты «успешные бизнесмены», «политики», «полицейские», «музыканты», «актеры», а самая старшая – «солдат, участвовавших в Великой Отечественной Войне» и «космонавтов».

Поскольку кинематографические предпочтения оказывают влияние на представления о героизме, в анкету были включены вопросы, связанные с кинематографом (Троцук, Субботина, 2018). Респондентам было предложено назвать пять кинофильмов, в которых, на их взгляд, персонажи совершают героические поступки, и указать конкретного персонажа и поступок, благодаря которому его можно считать героем. Респонденты 14-19 лет нередко называли фильмы про Великую Отечественную войну (36 упоминаний, чаще всего «А зори здесь тихие» (14) и «Т-34» (8). Наиболее популярна в этой группе супергероика (66 упоминаний – «Человек Паук» (9), «Мстители» (18), «Железный человек» (8)) и фэнтези («Гарри Поттер» (9) и «Пираты Карибского моря» (4)).

Респонденты 20-29 лет чаще называли фильмы о Великой Отечественной войне (57 упоминаний), но их фавориты те же: «А зори здесь тихие» (17) и «Т-34» (7). Супергероика также популярна у этой группы (44 упоминания), самые частотные – вновь «Человек Паук» (15), «Мстители» (14), «Гарри Поттер» (7) и отечественный «Экипаж» (9). В отличие от младшей группы, среди ответов которой чаще встречались приключенческие и фэнтезийные фильмы, 20-29-летние назвали больше разноплановых картин, которые заставляют зрителя задуматься («Ход королевы», «Игра в имитацию», «Форест Гамп», «Три билборда на границе Эббинга» и др.).

Респонденты 30-49 лет еще чаще называли фильмы о Великой Отечественной войне (98) – «Они сражались за Родину» (15), «А зори здесь тихие» (15), «В бой идут одни старики» (14), «Семнадцать мгновений весны» (12), «Т-34» (6). Супергеройские фильмы были упомянуты 21 раз, самым популярным оказался «Тор» (6), отечественный «Экипаж» назвали 8 респондентов. 30-49-летние чаще, чем более молодые респонденты, называли боевики, снятые в 1990-е годы, в которых присутствует герой с ярко выраженными маскулинными чертами – «Армагеддон» (9), «Крепкий орешек» и «Терминатор» (по 3).

Самая старшая группа респондентов чаще, чем все остальные, отмечала фильмы, посвященные Великой Отечественной войне (197 упоминаний) – «А зори здесь тихие» (31), «Семнадцать мгновений весны» (21), «Они сражались за Родину» (16), «В бой идут одни старики» (15), а современный фильм «Т-34» был упомянут всего 4 раза. Супергероика была названа 2 раза («Бэтмен» и «Человек Паук»), а отечественный «Экипаж» – 17.

Следует отметить, что фильмы «А зори здесь тихие» и «Экипаж» имеют две версии: первый фильм снимался в 1972 и 2015, а второй – в 1980 и 2016, поэтому нельзя исключать, что респонденты из разных возрастных групп подразумевают разные варианты картин.

Практически во всех случаях респонденты в качестве героя называли главного персонажа фильма, а среди поступков, которые делают протагониста героем, чаще всего упоминалось, что он жертвует собой или чем-то важным ради других, защищает людей/родину/планету.

Персонажей, которые больше всего отталкивают респондентов в кинофильмах, условно можно поделить на две категории: с негативными характеристиками (предсказуемо доминируют) + с нейтральными и чрезмерно положительными (Табл. 3).

Таблица 3. Наиболее отталкивающие характеристики кинogероев

Негативные	Нейтральные и чрезмерно положительные
1. предатели (43%) 2. самовлюбленные, надменные; жестокие; трусы (по 30%) + алчные и меркантильные (29%) 3. льстивые (26%) + чрезмерно глупые (25%) + завистливые (24%) + избалованные (23%) + эгоистичные (22%) + безразличные к чужим проблемам (21%) + циничные (20%) + паникеры (19%) 4. мстительные; властолюбивые (по 17%) + ленивые (14%) + безответственные, плохо выполняют свою работу (13%) + резкие и бесцеремонные (9%)	1. слишком положительные, без изъянов и особенностей (18%) + занудные (16%); 2. тихони, которые не умеют постоять за себя (11%) + инфантильные; апатичные, депрессивные (по 10%); 3. безликие, ничем не примечательные (8%); крайне оптимистичные, рассеянные и несобранные, чрезмерно любопытные (по 6%)

На вопросы «Жизнь какого персонажа Вы бы хотели прожить?» и «На кого бы Вы хотели быть похожи и почему?» респонденты дали огромное количество разнообразных ответов, и чаще всего называли имена персонажей супергеройских фильмов (такие ответы чаще дают представители младших возрастных групп, а старшие респонденты чаще отказывались от выбора конкретных персонажей. Распределение ответов по поколенческим группам выглядит следующим образом:

- 14-19-летние упоминают персонажей фэнтезийных и супергеройских фильмов, у которых есть сверхспособности (Человек Паук – 11%, Железный человек – 9%, Гарри Поттер – 6%, Драко Малфой, хотя по фильму он скорее отрицательный персонаж, – 3%, Гермиона Грейнджер – 3%, Дэдпул – 2%), благодаря которым они проживают интересную и насыщенную жизнь; персонажей, которых никто не воспринимал всерьез, «серых мышек», которые доказали, что чего-то стоят; персонажей, которые обладают такими качествами, как доброта, смелость и уверенность в себе; персонажей, которые помогают другим людям, спасают слабых.
- 20-29-летние, чаще, чем младшая группа, отмечали, что не хотят быть ни на кого похожи и хотят прожить свою жизнь, но все же называли персонажей, которые приносят пользу обществу и преодолели себя, хотя «герои» этой группы перекликаются с теми, кого выбрали подростки. Так, хотят быть

похожи на Железного человека 7%, прожить жизнь Человека Паука – 6% (он позитивный и помогает людям), Гарри Поттера – 3%, девушки хотят прожить жизнь Золушки (2%) или современной «золушки» (Анастейша Стил из «50 оттенков серого» – 2%).

- Среди 30-49-летних многие не хотят быть ни на кого похожи, но мужчины часто называли таких персонажей, как Супермен – 8%, Штирлиц –7%, Бэтмен – 3%, Джеймс Бонд, Железный человек и Индиана Джонс (по 2%), т.е. тех, чья жизнь связана с приключениями, и идеалы маскулинности.
- Представители группы 50-69-летних практически не назвали никаких персонажей, большинство хотят прожить собственную жизнь. Те немногие, кто все же сделал выбор, назвали Штирлица – 7% и Гагарина – 3%.

В последнем вопросе анкеты респонденты отмечали, каких фильмов сейчас не хватает в России:

1. про честных людей(43%) и доброту (41%);
2. про дружбу (36%), вдохновляющих своей жизнью людей и простых тружеников (по 33%), про историю России (30%);
3. про борцов с несправедливостью (24%), патриотизм и военные подвиги (по 23%), про науку (22%) и современное общество (21%);
4. про подростков (18%), детей (15%), пожилых (14%) и российских супергероев (13%).

Таким образом, молодое поколение предпочитает более «мирные» трактовки героизма, чаще указывая те его варианты, что не связаны с риском, например, благотворительность и отказ от зависти и/или негативного отношения к окружающим. Такие же трактовки более характерны для женщин (волонтерство и благотворительность), в то время как мужчины предпочитают более «радикальные» проявления героизма, связанные с риском. Для старшего поколения понятие героизма в большей степени связано с патриотизмом, чем для младших поколений, а они, в свою очередь, более спокойно воспринимают публичность героических поступков. Достаточно популярное понятие «трудовой героизм», характерное для советского периода, находит отклик и у молодого поколения, которое также считает героизмом усердное выполнение человеком своей работы.

Реконструируя образ реального героя согласно разработанной типологии, обозначим сначала общее в ответах респондентов. Представители всех поколенческих групп на первое место ставят героя-спасателя, отмечая, что герой – тот, кто совершает героический поступок не по долгу службы. Главным критерием героического действия выступает самопожертвование: поступок, при котором человек пострадал, считается более героическим, чем аналогичный, но обошедшийся без жертв. Самым часто выбираемым примером героизма оказалось спасение из пожара, а главным качеством героя – сила духа. Причем респонденты всех поколений убеждены, что героический поступок может сделать человека счастливым.

Что касается кинематографических воплощений героизма у разных поколений, то они представлены в Таблице 4: указаны только две группы фильмов – о Великой Отечественной войне и супергероика – как самые часто встречающиеся в ответах респондентов.

Таблица 4. Героические фильмы

	14-19 лет	20-29 лет	30-49 лет	50-69 лет
Соотношение	Фильмы о ВОВ (36) Супергероика (66)	Фильмы о ВОВ (57) Супергероика (44)	Фильмы о ВОВ (98) Супергероика (21)	Фильмы о ВОВ (197) Супергероика (4)
Самые популярные	«Человек Паук» (19) «Мстители» (18) «А зори здесь тихие» (14) «Т-34» (8) «Железный человек» (8)	«А зори здесь тихие» (17) «Человек Паук» (15) «Мстители» (14) «Т-34» (7)	«Они сражались за Родину» (15) «А зори здесь тихие» (15) «В бой идут одни старики» (14) «Семнадцать мгновений весны» (12) «Армагеддон» (9) «Экипаж» (8) «Т-34» (6) «Тор» (6)	«А зори здесь тихие» (31) «Семнадцать мгновений весны» (21) «Экипаж» (17) «Они сражались за Родину» (16) «Т-34» (4)

В названных фильмах доминируют герой-воин и герой-спасатель, но среди персонажей, на кого опрошенные хотели бы быть похожи, у респондентов 14-19 лет также приоритетен герой-вдохновитель и герой-авантюрист, у респондентов 20-29 лет – герой-вдохновитель и герой-благотворитель, у 30-49-летних – герой-спасатель и герой-авантюрист, у 50-69-летних – герой-воин. У респондентов 30-49 и 50-69 лет представления о герое схожи, а герой-воин и герой-спасатель доминируют при выборе и киногероев, и реальных героев, однако 30-49-летние отмечают также авантюриста, хотя и реже, чем спасателя и воина. У 20-29-летних среди реальных героев доминирует герой-спасатель и герой-благотворитель, а среди киногероев – герой-вдохновитель и герой-благотворитель. У респондентов 14-19 лет среди реальных и киногероев доминирует герой-вдохновитель, но часто упоминается и герой-авантюрист.

Таким образом, подавляющее большинство респондентов в качестве реального героя выбирает тип спасателя (с оговоркой, что речь идет не про героизм по долгу службы). Поколенческие различия начинаются со второй позиции условных героических рейтингов: на втором месте у старшего поколения (30-69 лет) герой-воин, у младшего поколения (14-29 лет) – герой-благотворитель (мирная трактовка героизма).

Герой-спасатель, которого выбирает большинство респондентов, являет собой стереотипно-клишированный образ без определенного «лица». Существует огромное количество героических примеров, когда простые люди проявляли чудеса доблести и совершали подвиги, спасая жизни, но такие истории быстро теряются в новостном потоке, сменяясь другими, не менее впечатляющими. Герой-благотворитель, которому отдают предпочтение младшие респонденты, тоже не имеет конкретного «имени» и «лица» – это олицетворение повседневного героизма, представления о котором оказывают положительное влияние на общество, задавая правильные векторы его развития. Чтобы в сознании общества сформировался новый героический этос, необходимо, чтобы перед глазами был конкретный персонаж или их ряд с набором положительных качеств (патриотизм, доброта, образованность, честность и т.д.) и четко считываемым посылом. Например, если говорить об этосе героя-воина, который доминировал в военное и поствоенное время, то большинство представителей старшего поколения без труда назовет имена героев (Зоя Космодемьянская, Алексей Маресьев, маршал Жуков и т.д.).

Подводя итог, отметим, что описанное исследование носит разведывательный характер и не дает исчерпывающих ответов на все вопросы, которые стоят перед социологами касательно темы героизма, но закладывает теоретический и эмпирический фундамент для дальнейших исследований данного феномена. Так как использованная методика позволила получить содержательные и подробные данные, нами было принято решение в ближайшем будущем провести повторный опрос с использованием разработанного инструментария для выявления динамики в представлениях различных поколений россиян о феномене героизма. Это тем более важно в современных реалиях, когда изучение феномена героизма наиболее актуально для российского общества.

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Srđan Lj. Šljukić[1]
University of Novi Sad,
Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Sociology
Novi Sad (Serbia)

Marica N. Šljukić[2]
University of Novi Sad,
Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Sociology
Novi Sad (Serbia)

ĐORĐE NATOŠEVIĆ ON THE STATE OF THE SERBIAN PEOPLE[3]

Abstract: Đorđe Natošević (1821–1887) was a physician, an educator and President of Matica srpska. Although in the most of his books and papers he talked about the problems of the Serbian schools, Đ. Natošević saw his mission as much wider. In the text entitled *Why Our People in Austria Perishes*, he tried to understand the general state of the Serbian people in his own era, as well as to offer an explanation for such a state. In this paper the claims from the text mentioned are presented and critically evaluated. Since Đ. Natošević worked at the time when sociology had not been constituted yet as a science, and since his text has got some elements of the sociological analysis, the authors believe that he should be seen as one of the forerunners of the Serbian sociology.

Keywords: Hapsburg monarchy, Đorđe Natošević, forerunners, sociology, Serbian people.

1 srdjan.sljukic@ff.uns.ac.rs
2 marica.sljukic@ff.uns.ac.rs
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INTRODUCTION

Serbian sociology has a long and praiseworthy tradition and there is a large number of outstanding individuals who have contributed to its establishment and development, such as Mirko Kosić (1892-1956), Đorđe Tasić (1892-1943), Slobodan Jovanović (1869-1958) and Sreten Vukosavljević (1881-1960). At the very beginning of its regular annual scientific gathering in 2011, the Serbian Sociological Society dedicated the very topic of the gathering („A Hundred Years of Sociology in Serbia") and the extensive (four-volume) special edition of the *Sociološki pregled / Sociological Review* deriving from it (*Sociološki pregled*, 2012) to the initiators and founders among Serbs. These volumes of the journal included the papers focusing on the forerunners of Serbian sociology, dedicated to the individuals who had dealt with social matters, whereas, speaking of education, they came from different social and even natural sciences, but sometimes had no academic education at all: Svetozar Marković (1846-1875), Valtazar Bogišić (1834-1908), Jovan Cvijić (1865-1927) and Mihailo Avramović (1864-1945).[4] Without these forerunners, there would have been neither subsequent founders nor Serbian sociology in general. In this paper, the authors present and evaluate the contribution of one of the so far neglected forerunners of Serbian sociology, Đorđe Natošević (1821-1887), a physician, educational worker and President of Matica. In the majority of his published texts Đ. Natošević focused on the issues of education or, more precisely, the functioning of schools and the school system among the Serbs in Austria, as well as those in the Principality of Serbia. However, one of his longer texts, entitled *Why Our People in Austria Perishes* and written in response to the question posed by Matica srpska, had much greater and broader ambitions in social (sociological) terms, i.e., he wanted to show the overall social state of the Serbian people in the Habsburg Monarchy, as well as find and point to the causes of such state. The analysis of this text is the subject of this paper, where we will try to point to its theoretical, methodological and other sociological aspects. As far as we know, so far there have been no attempts to perceive Đ. Natošević's work (also) as sociological and to rank him among the forerunners of Serbian sociology. Having this fact in mind, as well as that for proper understanding the contribution of an individual to sociological knowledge it is necessary to understand his/her social origin and social frameworks of action, we will first deal with Đ. Natošević's biography and then go on to the text analysis and finally sum up our analysis and proposals for further research.

TEACHER "DAD"

Đ. Natošević was born in Stari Slankamen (Srem) in 1821 to father Pavle and mother Sofija. After him, his parents had six more children, but only Đorđe and the youngest Petar survived. Petar was to become a respectable merchant in Novi Sad. Đorđe

[4] Although no contributions are dedicated to him in the above-mentioned edition of *Sociološki pregled*, Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864) is also ranked among the forerunners of Serbian sociology (Mitrović, 1998).

finished primary school in his birthplace, in the German language, while he attended the grammar school in Sremski Karlovci (first six grades), and then in Segedin and Pest (Hungary). In Eperjes (today Prešov, Slovakia) he began studying law and then transferred to medicine, which he also studied in Pest and Vienna, and got the university degree in 1850. During his studies he met and socialized with famous Serbs such as Vuk Karadžić, Branko Radičević, Bogoboj Atancković and Mihailo Obrenović. He lived in the same house in Vienna with Mihailo Obrenović. At the time of revolutionary and war events in 1848/1849, Đorđe came to the region of Šajkaš to treat the wounded (Pevulja, 2021a; Monašević, 1887).

After completing his studies, he came to Novi Sad and immediately started his (private) medical practice. He soon became a respectable doctor and one of his patients was Bishop Platon Atanacković, who encouraged him to take up educational and literary work. Probably under the influence of Bishop Platon, who saw his own successor in Natošević in respect of pedagogical activity, in 1853 Đ. Natošević made a great turning point in his life by leaving medical practice and becoming first the teacher and then the school master in the Serbian Orthodox Grammar School in Novi Sad. Four years later (1857) he was appointed the counsellor and superintendent of the Serbian primary schools within the Viceroyalty in Timisoara. When Austria abolished the Voivodeship (Dukedom) of Serbia and Tamiški Banat (1861), he became the member of the School Council in the Hungarian Viceroyalty in Budim (Pevulja, 2021a; Monašević, 1887; Graorac, 1999).

In 1867, at the invitation by Prince Mihailo Obrenović, Natošević arrived in the Principality of Serbia and began working on the improvement of the school system as an official in the Ministry of Education. After the assassination of Prince Mihailo (1868), he returned to Novi Sad (1869), where he first worked as the head of primary schools in the town. As an eminent figure, he participated in the work of the Serbian National-Church Assembly in 1864 and 1869. Finally, in 1871, he was appointed the head official of the Serbian schools in the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. He performed that duty as many as sixteen years, until his death in 1887 in Karlovac. Đ. Natošević was a full member of the Serbian Learned Society and a correspondent member of the Serbian Medical Society, while he performed his activity in Matica srpska also ion the function of its President in the period 1881-1887. He was buried at the Assumption Cemetery in Novi Sad (Pevulja, 2021a; Monašević, 1887).

A physician by vocation, Natošević dedicated almost his entire career and life to the matters of national education, focusing on the improvement of the school system both among the Serbs in Austria and among those in the Principality of Serbia. Having become the master of the Serbian Orthodox Grammar School, he introduced the subject "gymnastic exercise". Moreover, he was the one who introduced art and music in the curriculum, while he also improved the teaching of religious instruction. He asked for introducing content from the fields of fruit and vegetable cultivation and cattle breeding in textbooks. As the school superintendent in the Voivodeship of Serbia and

Tamiški Banat, and later in the Metropolitanate of Karlovci, he particularly took care of improving the teachers' education, considering them the basis of a good and successful school system. In these affairs he cooperated with Nikola Đ. Vukićević (1830-1910), a long-serving master of Preparandija (Sombor-based branch of the Serbian School for Teachers), who subsequently succeeded him in the position of the main official of the Serbian schools in the Metropolitanate of Karlovci. In 1858 he initiated the school journal (*Školski list*), the first Serbian pedagogical journal, aimed primarily at improving the teachers' work. Along with the journal, during a short period, the first Serbian children's newspaper was published under the name *Friend of Serbian Youth* (*Prijatelj srpske mladeži*), in which, at Natošević's initiative, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj published his first poems for children. During his stay in the Principality of Serbia at the invitation of Prince Mihailo Obrenović, Natošević had the task to supervise the work of the primary schools. As an educated absolutist, Prince Mihailo strived towards the improvement of the school system and for that purpose he commissioned the most-experienced pedagogue among the Serbs. After reviewing the school work in the districts of Belgrade, Kragujevac, Smederevo and Požarevac. Natošević wrote extensive reports about the work organization in these schools, the teachers' social status, the school buildings, the staff etc. These reports were rather critically oriented and, apart from the description of the (poor) state in the primary schools, they contained proposals for improving such state. Soon after the assassination of Prince Mihailo, Natošević was dismissed from the Ministry of Education and Church Affairs because "his employment agreement had expired" (Pevulja, 2021a; Vujisić Živković, 2015).

Đ. Natošević is the author of over three hundred publications, including thirty books. Among them, especially important are his *Spelling Book for Serbian Primary Schools* (1870) and *Readers for the 1st and 2nd Grades* (1870. и 1872), in which Vuk Karadžić's orthography was applied for the first time in Serbian textbooks. Natošević pedagogical positions can be seen most clearly in two manuals: *A Short Guide for Serbian Folk Teachers* (1857 and 1861) and *Instructions for teaching literary science" to teachers of national colleges in the Austrian Empire* (1858). At Natošević's initiative, Vojislav Bakić began studying pedagogy in Germany – later he founded the Department of Pedagogy at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. Apart from his extensive and diverse educational work, Natošević also collected pieces of folk wisdom (particularly proverbs and riddles) and published them in the *Annals of Matica srpska*. He also initiated the well-known edition of Matica srpska, "Books for the People" (Bogosavljević, 1996; Vujisić Živković, 2015; Pevulja, 2021a).

Extremely admired and respected in all Serbian territories, Natošević was called "Dad" by Serbian teachers because of his authority and fatherly attitude. M. Šević considered him "the greatest school figure among the Serb" (Šević according to Graorac, 1999, p. 216), while K. Monašević states that "(...) although Doctor Đorđe Natošević never visited Bosnia and Herzegovina, his spirit was present in all the Serbian schools there" (Monašević, 1887).

WHY DOES OUR PEOPLE IN AUSTRIA PERISH?

Concerned about the destiny of its people, in 1863 Matica srpska called a competition for treatises entitled *Why Our People in Austria Perishes*, promising to reward the winner with ten ducats. Đ. Natošević was the one who wrote the winning treatise on fifty pages and it was first published in the *Annals of Matica srpska* in 1865. During the following two years (1866/1867) Natošević's treatise was printed as a separate publication three more times (Pevulja, 2021б). Last time it was published on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of Đ. Natošević's birth, i.e., in 2021, with the accompanying texts written by D. Pevulja. In the text below, we will always cite the pages of the latest edition.

The question of the competition itself ("Why Our People in Austria Perishes") imposed going beyond the field of the narrowest activities of the competitors, and that is why Đ. Natošević, although education (and thus the schools) had a very important role in his entire treatise, he also had to go beyond his common framework of activities and interests and step into a much broader social domain in order to answer the question posed by Matica srpska (Natošević, 2021). As we will see, in his text he covered a large number of social problems (phenomena) in all three spheres of the society: cultural, economic and political. This fact constitutes the first basis for our claim that Natošević should be considered one of the forerunners of Serbian sociology.

Another basis for our claim is that in his treatise Natošević indisputably applied a scientific approach, i.e., that of experiential sciences. He describes in detail every phenomenon he finds important, while also attempting to explain its current state, listing certain causes. Although there is not a single heading in this text, it was written quite systematically. The reader may easily follow how Natošević describes the types of failure, their causes etc. The fact that he did not use sociological terminology in his paper is easy to explain. Simply speaking, at the time when this treatise was written and published, sociology had not yet been established as a science. Here we will only mention that the main works of *Émile Durkheim* (1858-1917), who is considered the founder of sociology as a separate science, were not published until the last decade of the 19th century, while the first sociological journal, *Durkheim's* journal *L'Année sociologique*, was first published in 1898. Natošević's treatise is characterized by an exceptionally critical tone, which was completely in the spirit of Matica's question, stating in itself that "the Serbian people in Austria perishes", while he only asks for the causes of this phenomenon to be stated.

Natošević based the insights listed in the treatise on his own great experience. As a school superintendent, he had the opportunity to visit regularly the villages and towns where the Serbs lived and to acquire "first-hand" experience with many aspects and specific features of social life. In terms of methodology, we may say that, he applied a sort of non-systematic observation with participation. The data he obtained and presented in the text came from the period when he supervised the work of the Serbian schools in Austria, but were only used later for scientific purposes, i.e., for writing a treatise discussed here. It is also evident that Natošević was quite aware that social problems could not be discussed "by rote", without any experience about them. Therefore, among other things, he says the following:

> "He who does not know the moral state of the municipalities should go there on Sundays or red-letter days, in the morning or in the afternoon, to see the meetings in church, at school, in the inn and during celebrations, and hear speeches, get acquainted with the feelings and desires. Then, listening to his own good or bad heart and soul, he can join either the young people's dance (...) or the older people's group, have a look at the (...), ask about games, see the competitions (...) and also peer into the nursery." (*Ibid*: 9-10)

The evidently qualitative character of Natošević's method does not mean that he did not appreciate quantitative data available at the time and possible to be reached: "Everywhere numbers (should be – added by S. and M. Šljukić) collected that best open our eyes" (*Ibid*: 52). In other words, he believed that quantitative data (statistics etc.) showed the most precise picture of a phenomenon that was studied. In his text, A special place in his text is given to the comparative method, or the comparison of the Serbs and their social life with other ethnic entities in Austria (Germans, Hungarians, Slovaks and others). To Natošević, scientific knowledge was by no means a purpose of its own, but it should serve to improve and advance the social state of the people (*Ibid*: 52). It can also be seen from his assessment of the question posed by Matica srpska as "a great (...) and very important (...) question of life for this people" (*Ibid*: 7).

At the very beginning, Natošević defines types of failure and causes of perishment of the Serbs in Austria: "We are failing morally and materially, and we are perishing because few Serbs are born and because we become estranged" (*Ibid*: 7). Further in the text he presents his position exactly in this order and through the analysis, giving argument for it.

Moral perishment occurs in three places: at home, in church and in the municipality. The cause of perishment is "neglect and obtuseness" of the corresponding leaders. In a large number of them he observed the lack of pride or any principledness. Instead of taking care of the younger ones and of the future, the leaders only tend to fulfil their own "likes and passions". They are too frequently careless when it comes to religiousness; they make false testimonies, swear falsely, forge signatures, take church and municipality money, buy and sell titles, "trade with justice" (i.e., they are corrupted – added by S. and M. Šljukić) and persecute those who insist on respecting the law (*Ibid*: 7-8). Natošević emphasizes that such leaders exist in other nations, but there is the largest number of them in our country (*Ibid*: 9, 11).

The consequence of the leaders' behaviour is "the utter licentiousness of the younger ones" at home, in church and in the municipality. "Nobody pays attention nor takes care of what the younger ones are doing, and no one sets good examples to them; that is why they are becoming worse and worse. Therefore, even very young children are spoiled and wilful; young boys are loose and impertinent; young girls are lazy and gaudy, women are debauched and boastful – there is paganism and demoralization everywhere" (*Ibid*: 9). Such state would be even worse if it were not for the remnants of the "innate feeling of religiousness, justice, truth and honesty" (*Ibid*: 9). We can see that Natošević, approaching the problem in an analytical manner (home, church, municipality; leaders and others), ascribes the responsibility for moral perishment to those with the largest social power (leaders), i.e., he thinks that power also presupposes certain responsibility for the state in the entire society.

Speaking of material perishment, he expresses his position about the social structure of the Serbian people in Austria of the time, distinguishing the following social strata: 1) spahis and rich men, 2) merchants and artisans, and 3) simple people (i.e., villages – added by S. and M. Šljukić; *Ibid*: 11). A very similar social structure of the Serbs in Vojvodina under Austria-Hungary had been described a little earlier by Vuk Karadžić, who used similar terms as well (Šljukić & Šljukić, 2012).

Natošević does not pay special attention to spahis (i.e., the ones he classifies and Serbian noblemen) and "other rich men". His key objection to them is that they do not spend their assets and wealth for "beneficial and patriotic purposes", such as education and travelling around the world, in order to learn something from other people and nations, but only on "playing cards, drinking and gypsy music". Such behaviour of spahis and other rich men makes them perish materially, and their wealth flows into the pockets of the Jews, i.e., creditors who gave them loans for financing their excessive expenses (Natošević, 2021: 11).

Natošević's objection to Serbian merchants is that they want to become rich "overnight", that they do not approach their business seriously enough and that they do not invest efforts in it. As soon as they get a larger sum of money, they immediately spend it in a non-productive way, on luxurious goods and entertainment. In contrast to them, Natošević gives the example of Jews, because "a Jewish merchant is "(....) diligent and not ashamed of work, and he can find something useful to do at any time and in any place" (*Ibid*: 12). The Jews' work ethics and their rational use of money are the patterns that Serbian merchants might follow. Serbian artisans have similar problems because they do not want to improve their crafts, but as soon as they start working, they look for ways to trade their craft products, but in such trade, they have no opportunities because there are better and more experienced merchants. Instead of joining together and have better results in the market, Serbian artisans "backstab one another" and "have entertainment with abandon" on patron saint's day, name days, when a baby is born, at weddings, when they stand godfathers, or at funerals and memorial services (*Ibid*: 13, 15). Here we can see that Natošević realized the significance of small producers, in this case artisans, forming associations, Cooperatives, which he actually speaks about here, had only begun their formation elsewhere in the world (Šljukić, 2009).

According to Natošević, underdevelopment and weaknesses of our trade and crafts had grave economic consequences. Our extraordinary carving stone, coal, wood, grain, fruits, seedlings, wine, brandy, linen, tow (hemp), silk, wax, wool and leather are being wasted "without any name or price" or they are sold to foreigners at a low price. We buy from others and pay a high price for bad goods: "wish-wash alcohol", "rotten cotton" and "odds and ends". The backwardness of our economy is proved by the fact that we do not have a single steam engine, "that it works for us and for our cattle" (Natošević, 2021: 13-15). Even at that time, Natošević obviously perceived the significance of industry in the era when it almost did not exist either in the Principality of Serbia or among the Serbs in Austria (Šljukić, 2018).

The main cause for such state among the leaders, spahis, rich men, merchants and artisans, according to Natošević, is "the lack of education", i.e., the lack of good and necessary education. Other nations are not particularly educated either, but the little education they have is enough to win when competing with the Serbs (Natošević, 2021: 15-16). The lack of education is the main cause for the perishment of our peasants ("simple people"). They also spend plenty of money in a non-productive way, on various celebrations, patron saint's days, funerals and weddings. Peasants also have too many free days ("patron saint's days and red-letter days"), when they only eat and drink in the company of others. This is made worse by "bad and disastrous customs", such as treating others to drinks and food when something is purchased or sold, or organized help when something is done or built: "(…) more money is wasted on drinks and food than if triple wages were paid for hiring such labour" (*Ibid*: 16-17). Everyone steals from our peasant: his wife ("because she must not walk around without anything to wear or without threads to sew her clothes"); he pays dearly to celebrate his son's going to do the military service: he is robbed by the priest and skinned by the public notary, the lawyer and the judge, as well as by the creditor; this happens to our peasant because he is uneducated and obtuse", he does not know his rights or duties, nor does he want to learn them (*Ibid*: 17). Taxes ("levies") are high and they overburden the Serbian peasant, but other nations also pay taxes (Germans, Hungarians, Slovaks) without perishing (*Ibid*: 18). Material perishment of the peasants is definitely compounded by changed needs. Earlier, the peasant family used to meet its needs mostly by its own production (food, clothes, furniture), while now it has to buy almost all of these (and of poorer quality). Moreover, children today start drinking and smoking at an early age, which badly affects their health. The woman "(...) works much less but needs more". Our grandmothers used to be good housewives unlike modern Serbian women, and Vlach, Hungarian or German women" are much harder working and tidier (...) than those in Serbia" (*Ibid*: 18-20).

Natošević says that our peasant is not only immoderate in spending, but also lazy, and "(...) as long as he does not need to do something, he will not move a finger" (*Ibid*: 22). He performs his jobs only when he is forced by the authorities, and even in that case he does them badly. He prefers cattle breeding to farming because there is less work there. He does not keep record of his activities or, if he does, the accounts are inaccurate; his tools are poor, "from the age of Adam". The division of labour ("jobs") in the peasant's cooperative (i.e., family cooperative – added by S. and M. Šljukić) is not developed, which substantially reduces the potential work performance and production. Both peasants' and municipal houses are untidy and poorly kept (*Ibid*: 22-26). Peasants from all other nations are better than ours. While a German accomplishes much by working and saving money and leads a tidy and moderate life, our peasant does not want to learn, he runs away from school, does not want to introduce novelties in his work. The Serbian peasant does not want to follow the example of those who are evidently better than him, but on the contrary, he boasts of "(...) ploughing better than any German (...), but he is just worse off" (*Ibid*: 27).

In Natošević's opinion, moral and material perishment leads to the disappearance of the Serbs as a nation because in such circumstances there are fewer marriages, fewer children are born and more people die prematurely. Many men and women avoid getting married because they are interested only in wealth; girls are often spoilt and no one – merchants, artisans or peasants – will want to marry them; everybody avoids (without any justification) getting married for the second or the third time (*Ibid*: 28-30). There is an increasing number of those (in all social strata) who live in common marriage, and for them it is shameful to have children, and they "poison the foetus and the womb". This is also done by soldiers' wives as soon as their husbands go away; it is the fault of the leaders because they do not take care of them. "Poisoning the foetus and the womb" is also done because of the wrong belief that pregnancy destroys female beauty; fewer children are born because of the drinking habit that badly affects health (*Ibid*: 31). Very many children, but also adults, die prematurely due to the lack of proper care, due to neglect, untidiness, drunkenness and searching for medications from quacks and witch doctors. Women in labour are not given enough attention and they give birth in stables, sheds and cellars. The woman who has just had a baby is made to work hard by her husband only two or three days after the labour, and that is why many of them die prematurely. Many drunken many have a fight, maim or kill someone and do other evil things (*Ibid*: 32-33).

Natošević finds the situation in Krajina (the frontier regions under the military governance – added by S. and M. Šljukić) as somewhat different, because, despite the large number of casualties in the wards, the people there still multiply and do not perish like in the provincial regions under the civilian governance. According to him, in Krajina there are no such moral and material evils like in the provincial regions; the houses, gardens and farms are tidier, villages are cleaner, cattle is better. That is why military governance is better for our people, like in Krajina, than its provincial freedom. This is partly due to the fact that in Krajina there are no spahis and Jews – the former destroying the people morally, and the latter materially (*Ibid*: 34). Although Natošević accuses Jews on several occasions of enrichment at the expense of the Serbs (and not only them) who do not deal with money skilfully, he virtually admires their ability to survive in extremely difficult circumstances. Despite all the persecutions they suffered, their persistent observance of their own laws and orders ("ever since the times of Moses") has made them (...) grow from the Abrahamic people into a great and strong people able "(...) to buy the world" (*Ibid*: 35). In this way, Natošević actually states that the Jews do not owe their wealth only to their trading skills, but also to their moral strength and consistency.

The second reason for the perishment of the Serbs in Austria emphasized by Natošević is estrangement: "Many of us are destroyed by estrangement, by joining other nations or churches. We become Vlachs, Hungarians, Germans, Italians and Turks" (*Ibid*: 35). The Serbs give no resistance to it: we do not inform our closest neighbours about it, let alone foreign countries. While others "rob what is not theirs and tell lies to bring the world to their side", we are unable to use the truth and justice, which are on our side, to our own benefit (*Ibid*: 36-37). We could say that as early as the mid-19th century Natošević observed the problem that will be repeated among the Serbs much later, for example in the conflicts at the end of the 20th century.

Our author also recognizes some other constant features when speaking of estrangement and conflicts in that era, as well as afterwards. The lack of education, but also of pride, in his opinion, was why the Serbs, unlike other nations, became estranged immediately after converting to a different religion. That is the reason why the Serbs also perish politically, which is also contributed to by emphasizing their regional affiliation at the expense of the national affiliation; that is the guilt of our politicians, educated people, clerks and generals. Besides Magyarization, the greatest threat to the Serbs is the aspiration "(...) of our Croatian brothers who, despite not knowing their own name until recently, set out to make us Illyrian or Yugoslav and to stop us being Serbian (...); Dositej Obradović was also Croatian (...) and now they have taken our language as well, claiming that it is theirs (...); we should be erased from the people, and that is how we are guided; our brothers want to steal us together with our language" (*Ibid*: 40-41).

After a detailed description of the poor circumstances of the Serbs in Austria, Natošević wonders that are the chances of revival, but here he also has disastrous projections. One of the factors of revival and social shift, in his opinion, could be the church, but the priests were neglected, the monks were poor, while the monasteries were being ruined. Bishops might help most to improve such situation, both with their moral strength and by helping the exploration of the causes of the perishment of the people and by finding means of preserving the people (*Ibid*: 42-44). Natošević considered schools the second factor of a possible revival, primarily because "(...) the most educated nations were and will be the wealthiest, strongest and most free, while the non-educated ones were nothing but someone else's servants and slaves" (*Ibid*: 44). As a long-serving school superintendent, he had first-hand insight into the state of the Serbian schools in Austria. According to him, our schools are "sad and poor"; our seminaries are "miserable", and out of three schools for teachers, only one was good enough; we had no merchant, artisan and agricultural schools, while primary schools were "sad"; there were no girl schools; the only thing we had were numerous scholarships, but they were not used sufficiently, and they were less efficient than good schools in any case; there were no expert books at all, and nor there were serious newspapers (*Ibid*: 44-50). For this state in the Serbian schools, the greatest responsibility was assumed by leaders, but also by educated Serbs, because they did not deal with "educating the people", but had only their glory in mind (*Ibid*: 49). Natošević criticism included Matica srpska when he says that it should take more care of the people's needs and publish books useful for the people instead of awarding poems and saving money; the books published by Matica srpska were not distributed, but just "gathered dust in the cases and boxes" (*Ibid*: 50-51).

Aware of his rather sharp criticism, Natošević justifies it by saying that it was necessary and writes: "Wherever wounds grave like this are being cured, no matter how gently and sensibly we proceed, we must also cause some pain; that is why I should be forgiven – I have done everything with love" (*Ibid*: 52).

CONCLUSION

A physician by vocation, teacher, grammar school master in Novi Sad, long-serving superintendent of the Serbian schools and President of Matica srpska, Đorđe Natošević wrote, among his numerous texts, the treatise entitled *Why Our People in Austria Perishes*. The paper was awarded at the eponymous competition called by Matica srpska in 1863. Unlike his other texts, in which he deals mostly with the matters of education, in this treatise Natošević covers a large number of social problems in the fields of culture, economy and politics. His treatise also has the characteristics of a sociological analysis because, while using the experience and methods that might be classified as direct (non-systematic) observation, he attempts to describe and explain the discussed phenomena. He does all this in a systematic manner, having in mind the need for the results of his review of the state and the listed causes to be used in order to design measures for the prevention of the failure of the Serbian people in Austria. Natošević distinguishes several social layers among the Serbs, thus actually describing the social structure of the time. He justifies his extreme (sometimes excessive) criticism, particularly towards the social elite ("masters at home, in church and in the municipality") by the seriousness of social problems, stating that he did it "out of love", because he wanted the people to which he belonged "to awaken from" lethargy and reverse unfavourable trends. Because of the above-mentioned, as well as because he lived and worked at the time when sociology had not yet been established as a science either in Serbia or in the world, our opinion is that Đ. Natošević should be considered one of the forerunners of Serbian sociology.

The aim of future research, which would take into account the analyzed work of Đ. Natošević, may be a comparison with the contributions of some other forerunners of Serbian sociology, primarily Svetozar Marković (1846-1875). Natošević and Marković lived in the same era, dealt with the same or similar problems, the former in the Principality of Serbia, the latter in Austria. It would be interesting and useful in multiple ways to discover similarities and differences in their analyses. Moreover, it would be significant to explore the current element of some of Natošević's insights in order to perceive (potential) continuity of the problems faced by the Serbian society. If such continuity was established, it would definitely bring added value to the work and contribution of Đorđe Natošević.

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Irina V. Trotsuk[1]
RUDN University,
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,
Department of Sociology
Moscow (Russia)

HAPPINESS AND JUSTICE - INTERRELATED OR INDEPENDENT INDICATORS OF THE SOCIAL WELL-BEING?[2]

Abstract: Since 2017, the Sociology Chair of the RUDN University has conducted the research project to identify the possibilities of the sociological conceptualization and measurement of happiness. At the first stage of the project, we revealed a contradiction between today's dominant objectivist discourse that reduces happiness to the objectively measured social well-being and everyday interpretations of happiness based on its subjective perception that usually does not go beyond the close social circle. We identified two conditional traditions in the sociological study of well-being, which require different methodological approaches – based either on objective indicators of the quality of life (living conditions, annual vacations, etc.) or on subjective indicators (satisfaction with life, family relationships, work, hobby, assessment of educational opportunities, etc.). The second stage of the project started in 2020 and shifted its focus to the concept of justice – as connecting subjective and objective aspects of social well-being (for instance, if the place of residence is a criterion of life satisfaction, then the 'quality' of the place of residence, including fair urban planning and social differentiation of the urban space, cannot but influence the social well-being). In 2021, we developed a strategy to provide clear conceptual definitions for complex concepts with multiple connotations such as happiness and justice. This strategy consists of two steps: focus on the macro-sociological dimension and identification of objective and subjective indicators. The results of the representative all-Russian online survey enabled making both substantive (dominant interpretations of happiness, self-esteem in

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[1] irina.trotsuk@yandex.ru

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terms of happiness, etc.) and methodological conclusions (pressure of social desirability, gender and generational 'dimensions' of happiness, etc.). In 2022, we conducted the second representative all-Russian online survey to supplement the earlier identified interpretations of happiness with the assessments of justice – in order to provide a more correct interpretation of the social well-being identified in the Russian society. The article presents the results of the second online survey.

Keywords: (social) well-being, generational analysis, value orientations, happiness, (social) justice, (social) injustice, online survey.

Intergenerational dialogue is the basis of all forms of social interaction, which has always been in the focus of social sciences – from both theoretical and empirical perspectives. The Russian scientific tradition tends to use the concept 'generational crisis/conflict' when comparing the social status and value orientations of different generations. In the post-Soviet period, two fields of the generational analysis developed: some authors use the concept of generation to study the reproduction of the social structure (generations are defined as age cohorts) and the life trajectories of different generations; other authors focus on the youth as a special social-demographic group and the main agent of social changes, "including its intellectual and organizational alternatives to the existing worldviews, values and life styles" (Voronkov, 2005, p. 170); namely, the second approach prevails.

The Sociology Chair of the RUDN University represents the second approach – focuses on the student youth: we conduct monitoring studies to compare the value orientations of different 'generations' of the Russian youth and the worldview priorities of students from different countries. As a rule, our surveys focus on educational and professional values, interpersonal interaction (family, friends, close social circle, love relationship, etc.), family and demographic values, political values (participation in elections, interest in politics, assessment of the country's foreign policy, patriotism, trust in social institutions, etc.), religious beliefs, criteria for identifying success in life, etc. In particular, we identified the pragmatic attitude of the student youth to the higher education in terms of career prospects, the strong reliance on the family support, and a high level of anxiety which, however, does not lead to pessimism (see, e.g.: Narbut, Trotsuk, 2017; 2018a; 2018b).

There are generational differences in all above-mentioned and other value orientations, but they do not seem to be as significant for the general social solidarity as different perceptions of such fundamental values as (personal) happiness and (social) (in) justice. In December 2021, we conducted the first representative online survey on happiness (see, e.g.: Trotsuk, 2019a; 2019c; Trotsuk, Grebneva, 2019; Trotsuk, Koroleva, 2020) and, in April 2022, the second survey on justice (based on its interpretations presented

Fig. 1. The most common ideas about happiness (%)

in: Layard, 2005; Prodi, 2017; Rawls, 1999; Sen, 2009; Sztompka, 2017; Trotsuk, 2019b). The surveys were conducted on the online panel of the Tiburon company: the sample of 800 respondents represented four age groups – 14-19-year-olds (teenagers/teens), 20-29-year-olds (youth), 30-49-year-olds (adults), 50-69-year-olds (older generation).

According to the survey data, in the Russian society, the personal interpretation of happiness prevails, i.e., the idea that the person is "a creator of one's own happiness": if he knows how to find joy in life (91%) and people who understand him (82%); does not pursue happiness as something external but looks for it in himself (80%); defines happiness not as a goal but as a way of life (78%) – with a chosen job/profession (77%), life path (77%), and loved ones (76%). Therefore, "most people are as happy as they decide to be" (75%) – with what they have (70%) and without the tormenting envy of others' happiness (70%). And there are no fundamental generational differences (fluctuations are within the limits of the statistical error), and some differences are quite predictable (Fig. 1).

Every second respondent (50%) believes that some people/events/emotions can make us happy, and every tenth respondent (11%, more often after the age of 30) insists that happiness is rather a personal decision/opinion/state, i.e., no one can be made happy. There is a significant generational difference (Fig. 2): in the older group, there is a smaller share of those who believe in the possibility of making a person happy due a larger share of those who are convinced that happiness is a personal decision. This difference can be explained by the objective factor – a decrease in the older generations' income and quality of life, which makes the feeling of happiness a personal choice under such circumstances.

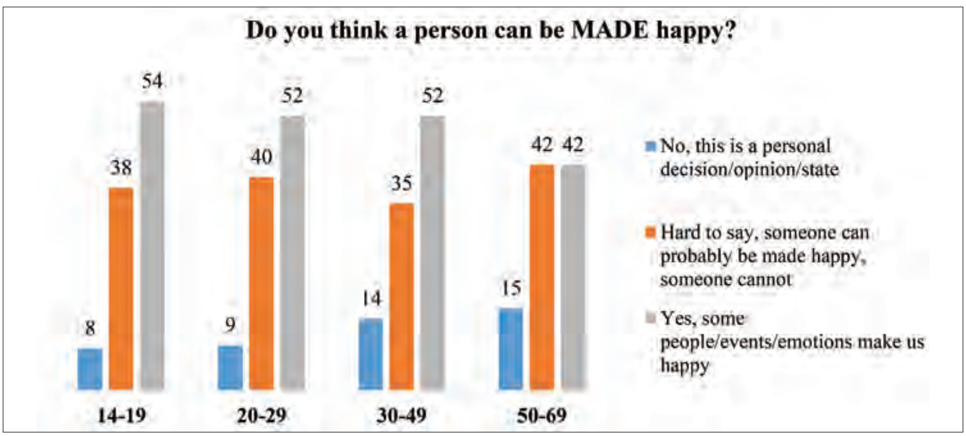


Fig. 2. Ideas about the possibility of making someone happy (%)

With age, there is a decreasing share of those who consider happiness shareable (from 60% of teenagers to 39% of the older respondents) due to an increasing share of those who believe in the impossibility of sharing happiness (from 9-8% of the youth to 17-21% after the age of 30) (Fig. 3).

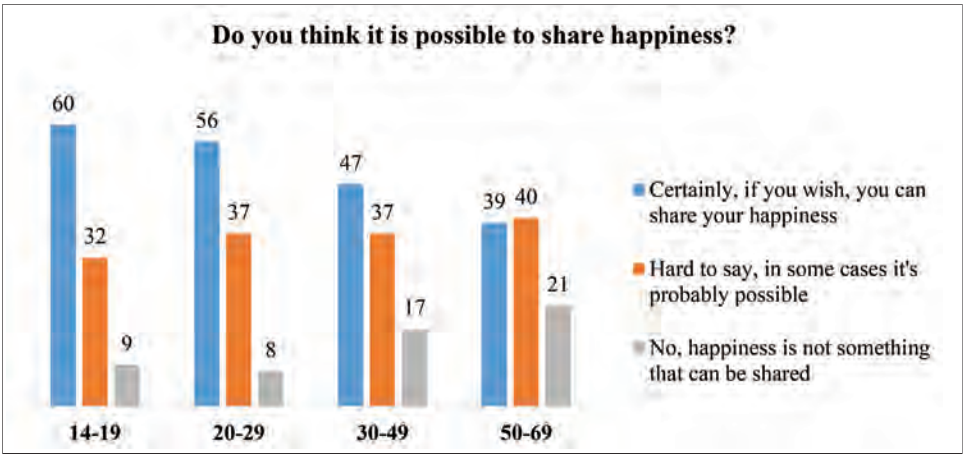
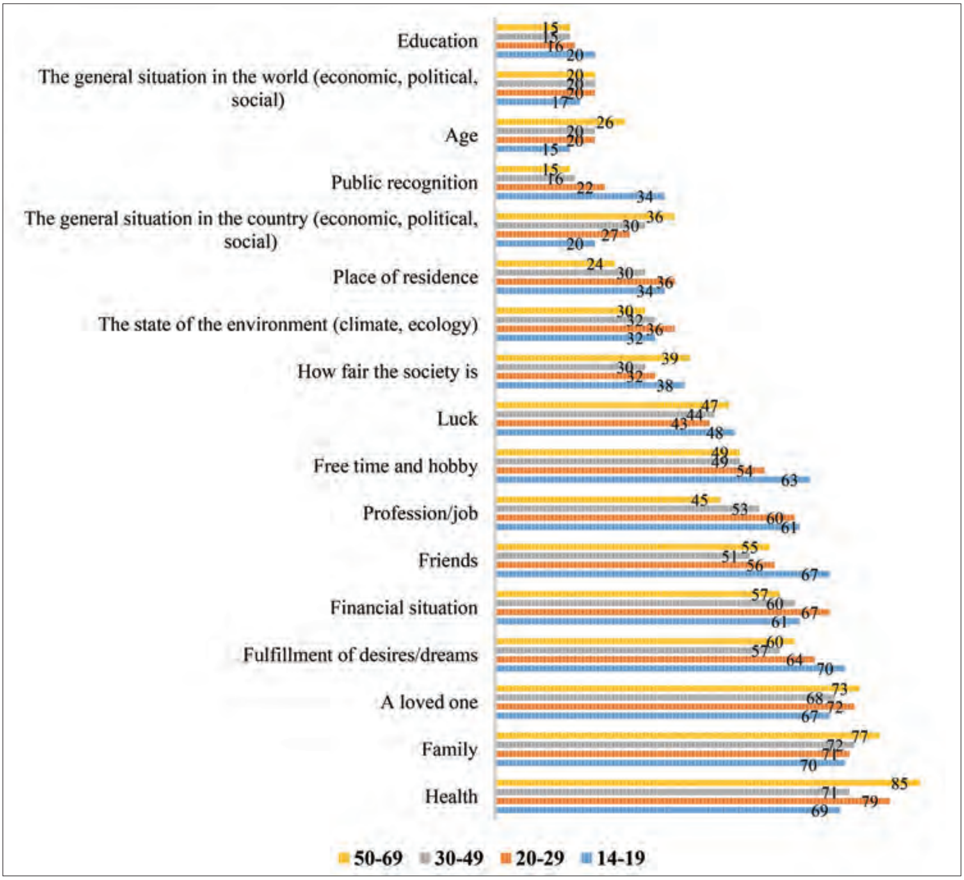


Fig. 3. Ideas about the possibility of sharing happiness (%, age groups)

The answers to the question what determines whether someone is happy or not can be grouped into several segments, and we consider as the most significant factors those mentioned by more than 45% of respondents: 1) health (76%), family (72%) and a loved one (70%); 2) fulfilment of desires/dreams (63%), financial situation (61%), friends (57%), free time/hobby and profession/job (54% and 55%); 3) luck (45%), i.e., 'personal' aspects of life – preferences, well-being and close social circle. Only then comes social justice, i.e., "how fair the society is" (35%), the state of the environment (32%), place of residence (31%) and the general situation in the country (28%), i.e., 'external' aspects of personal life. Finally, almost every fifth respondent mentions the general situation in the world and public recognition, age and education; and the least significant factors of happiness are religion (6%), date of birth (zodiac sign, etc.) (5%), gender and political views (4% each). Generational differences in the factors of personal happiness are insignificant and predictable (Fig. 4).

With age, life limitations determined by the health condition become more pressing, so the importance of good health increases; while teenagers show traditional maximalism and idealism by emphasizing the fulfilment of desires/dreams, having friends, free time and public recognition. With age, the importance of the profession/job, place of residence and public recognition decreases under the pressure of the situation in the country. Social justice seems to be more important in the youngest and oldest groups as probably the most dependent on the external support and circumstances in comparison to the most economically and socially active group of 30-49-year-olds (the least mentioned factors are not presented in Figure 4).



Fi4. 4. Factors of happiness (%)

In general, the distribution of happiness factors corresponds to the hierarchy of life values, at the top of which we see good health (69%), strong family (58%) and the well-being of loved ones (56%), which means having a loved one (54%) and a good financial situation (51%); then come children and inner harmony (43% each), job/profession (38%) and hobby (28%); one in five mentions social justice (18%), global peace (20%) and optimism (19%); the least significant are the faith in God (8%) and public recognition (6%). Generational differences are again insignificant and predictable: the oldest group less often mentions the financial well-being and having a loved one, job/profession and hobby, but emphasizes the well-being of loved ones; after the age of 30, the importance of good health increases; teenagers less often mention a strong family and children but more often public recognition, perhaps because the latter is a more 'realistic' (for teens) factor of happiness (due to the media influence) than the former (Fig. 5).

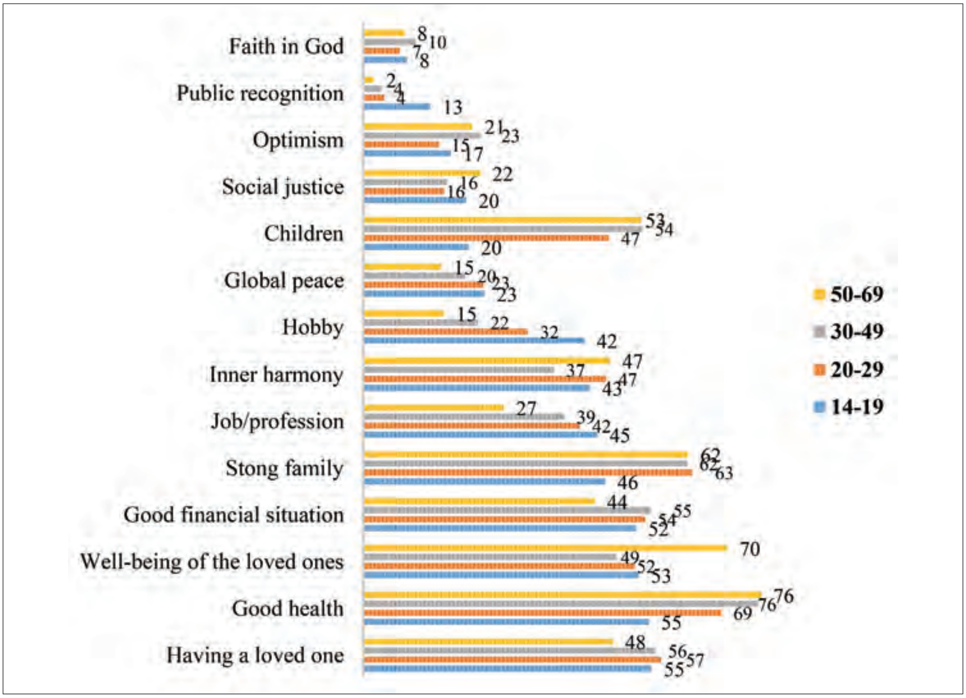


Fig. 5. Hierarchy of value orientations (%)

Despite some differences in the interpretation of happiness and its factors, every second respondent considers himself/herself a happy person, and the distribution of self-assessments in terms of happiness is similar by age if we turn a four-response scale into a dichotomous one – 'happy' (75%) and 'refusing to define oneself as happy' (25%). The majority of the respondents of all ages consider themselves happy, especially in the group of 20-29-year-olds, but after the age of 30, the share increases of those who deny such a self-assessment (every third respondent) (Fig. 6).

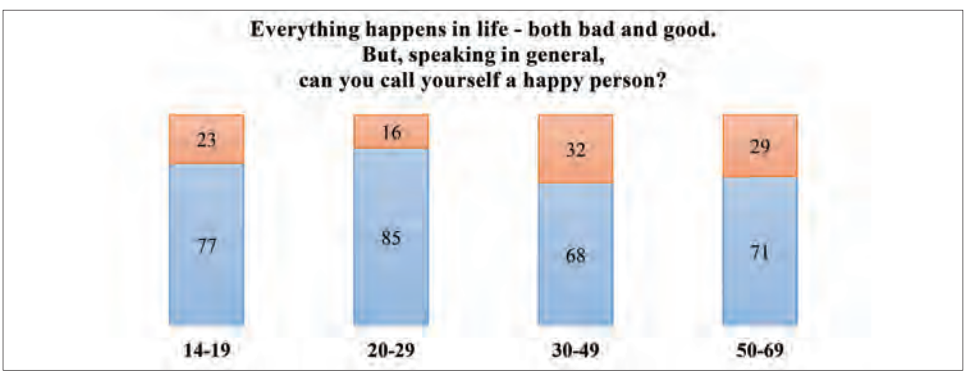


Fig. 6. Self-assessments in terms of happiness (%)

We used two questions to explain the above-mentioned generational differences – about what helps the respondents to feel happy and to feel unhappy. Among the reasons for personal happiness, the family well-being (56%), good health of the loved ones (61%), having a loved one (52%) and enjoying one's life (56%) form the leading group of "happiness factors". This group is followed by the group consisting of good friends (39%), good financial situation (32%), satisfying job/studies/profession (29%), finding joy in children/grandchildren (28%), and creative activities (24%). There are some generational differences (Fig. 7) with the exception of a good financial situation, family well-being and good health (although they are less significant for teenagers): teenagers more often mention creative, interesting activities and good friends, 20-29-year-olds – having a loved one; while for the older generation, good friends, a good financial situation and an interesting job are less significant, which can be explained by the objective limitations the oldest Russians face, i.e., they are truly deprived of many social benefits and tend to "be happy just by being still alive".

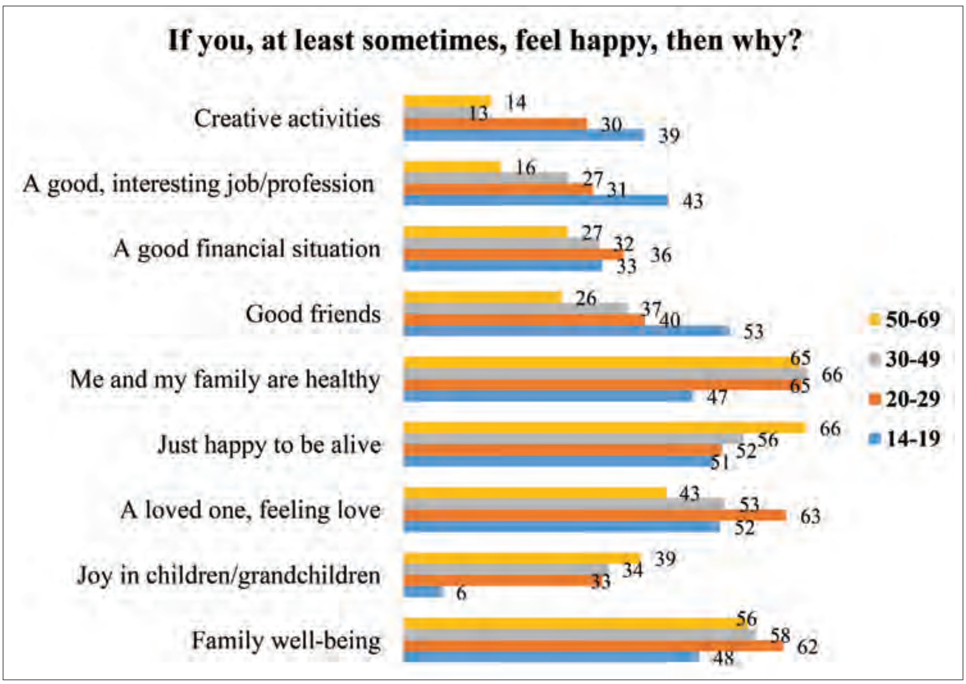


Fig. 7. Reasons to feel happy (%)

What makes the respondents unhappy is not only the lack of the above-listed 'happiness factors': primarily, it is the lack of money (50%) and anxiety about the future (47%), illnesses and poor health (43%), which deprive us of confidence in tomorrow (42%); accumulated fatigue that does not allow to enjoy life (40%) in difficult circumstances (37%), one of which is the feeling of social injustice (37%). Every third respondent mentions the feeling that things are not working out, family problems, an alarming situation in the country and the world, loneliness; every fourth – not having a good job; every fifth – the lack of time for rest.

There are generational differences in the 'factors of personal unhappiness' except for the feeling of social injustice – most of the reasons for being unhappy change with age (Fig. 8). Thus, the older the person, the less he/she cares about the level of income, accumulated fatigue, difficult life circumstances and personal failures, family problems and the lack of time for rest, and the more he/she is concerned about illnesses and poor health (especially taking into account the decreasing demands and pessimistic fatalism of the older Russians). The teenagers seem to stand out by being more worried about the future, exaggerating their accumulated fatigue and difficult circumstances, fears of not succeeding in life, beliefs in being lonely and suffering from the lack of time for rest (which seems to be a typical description of conflicting teens' aspirations and self-esteem). And again, we can see a generational difference in responses at the 30-year milestone: after it, the respondents are less likely to feel unhappy due to the accumulated fatigue, family problems or the lack of time for rest, but are more concerned about the uncertain future.

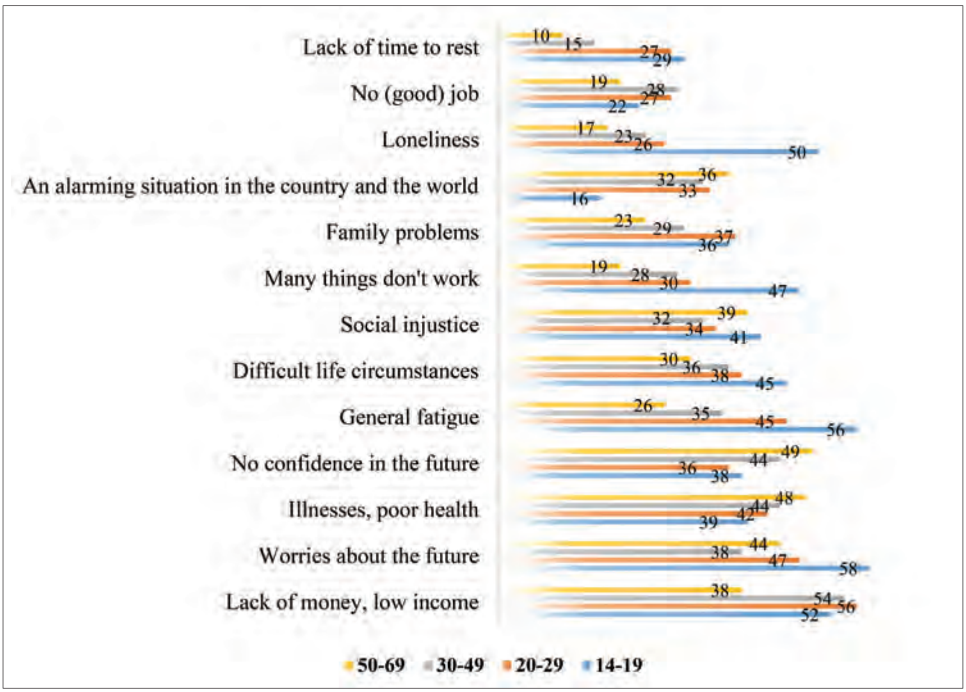


Fig. 8. Reasons to feel unhappy (%)

If the feeling of social injustice is the only factor of unhappiness that is equally significant for all generations, we have to compare generational interpretations of justice and manifestations of injustice. According to the survey data, the respondents define social justice as primarily a legal phenomenon – the equality before the law (71%); more than half of the respondents clarify this interpretation as the equality of rights and the compliance with laws (58% each), equal social opportunities and guarantees of security (56% each), fulfilment by the majority of moral standards (53%), freedom of speech and non-discrimination (50% each), social guarantees (49%); every third respondent insists on social equality and income equality (31% each). Despite quite a unanimous interpretation of social justice as the equality of rights, fulfilment of moral standards and non-discrimination, there are some generational differences (Fig. 9): with age, people are more concerned about the equality before the law and compliance with laws, guarantees of security and social guarantees; and, in contrast, they are less concerned about freedom of speech and income equality. Thus, in many respects, the 30-year milestone serves as a watershed which increases the personal importance of the equality before the law, compliance with laws and guarantees as the elements of social justice.

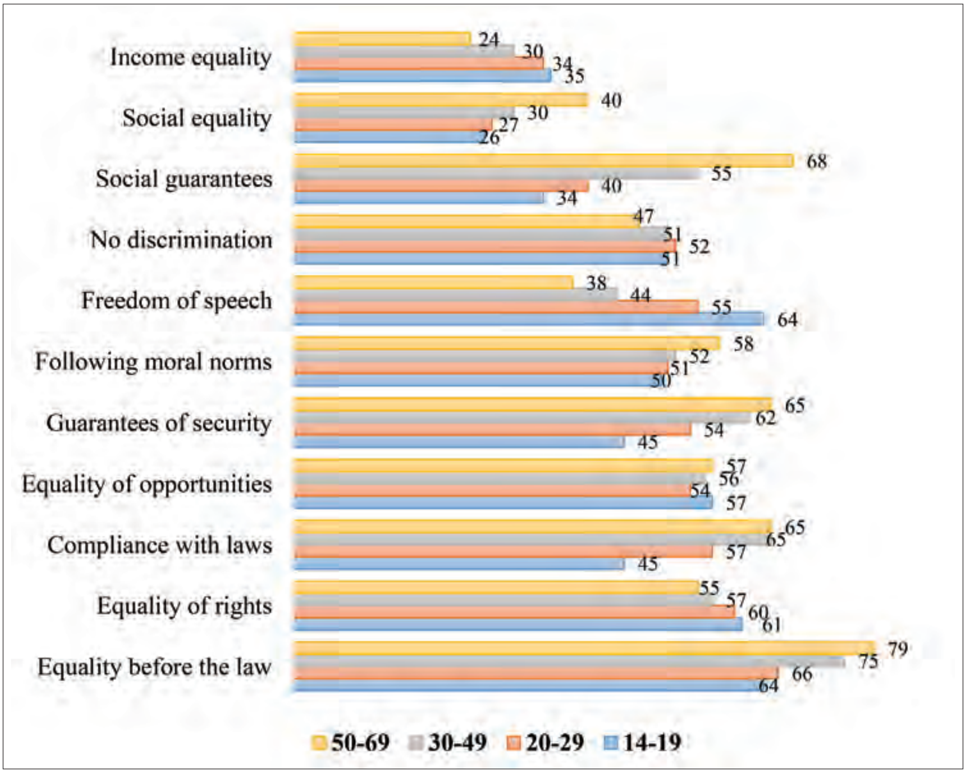


Fig. 9. Interpretations of social justice (%)

However, assessments of life in the contemporary Russian society in terms of social justice did not show significant generational differences: almost every second respondent believes that life is sometimes fair and sometimes not, from 15% to 19% – that life is rather fair ("I think that life is fair" + "I think that life is mostly fair"), every third respondent says that life is rather unfair. We used the following question: "Imagine stairs,

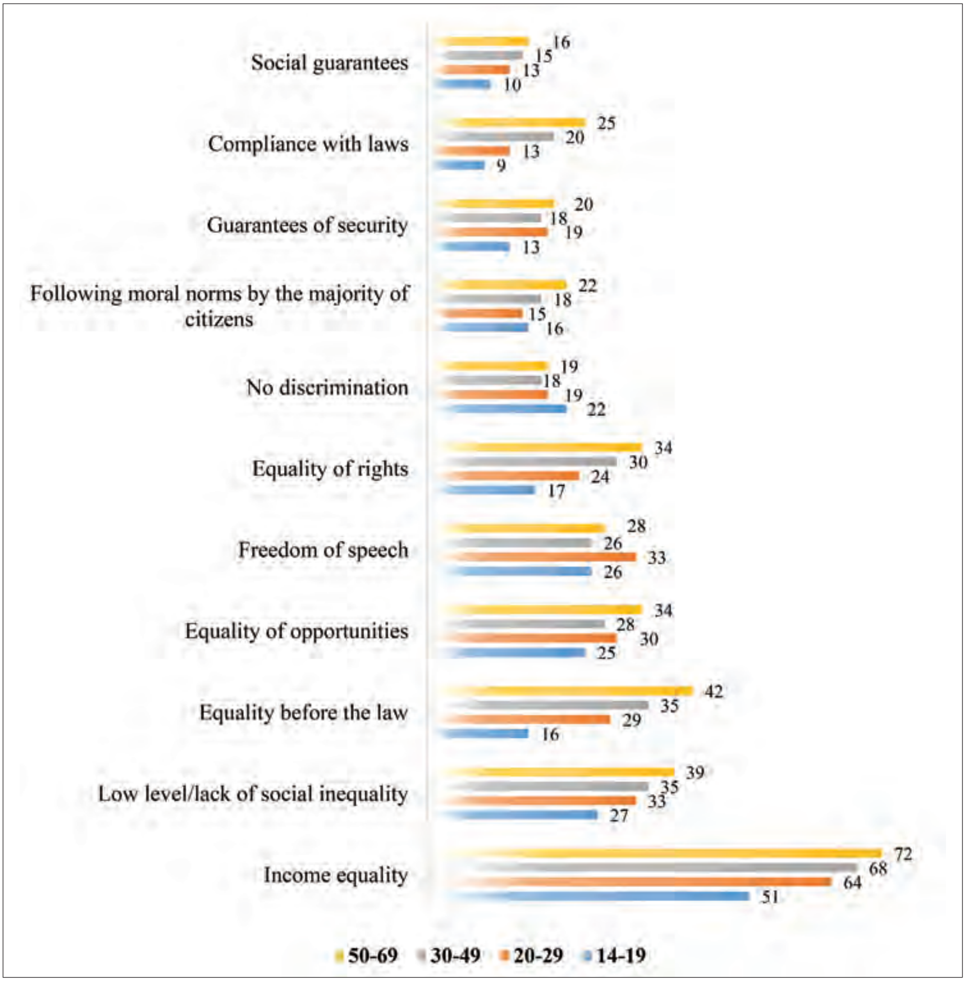


Fig. 10. Elements of social justice that Russia lacks (%)

on which the first step means the most unfair life possible, and the tenth step means the fairest life possible. On which step between the first and the tenth would you place the contemporary Russian society?". Most respondents chose steps between 3 and 7 (with the average of 5), i.e., avoided the most positive and negative assessments. Nevertheless, the sums of three 'steps' at each pole of the scale are indicative: the highest estimates (the achieved social justice) were given by about every tenth respondent (12% before the age of 30, 16% of 30-49-year-olds, 10% – after the age of 50); the lowest estimates (the most unfair social life) were given by 14% under the age of 30, by every fifth respondent in the group of 30-49-year-olds (20%), and by every fourth respondent older than 50 (25%). Such assessments can be considered sustainable social representations, because there are almost no generational differences in the perception of changes in the position of the Russian society on the 'social-justice stairs' under the pandemic: more

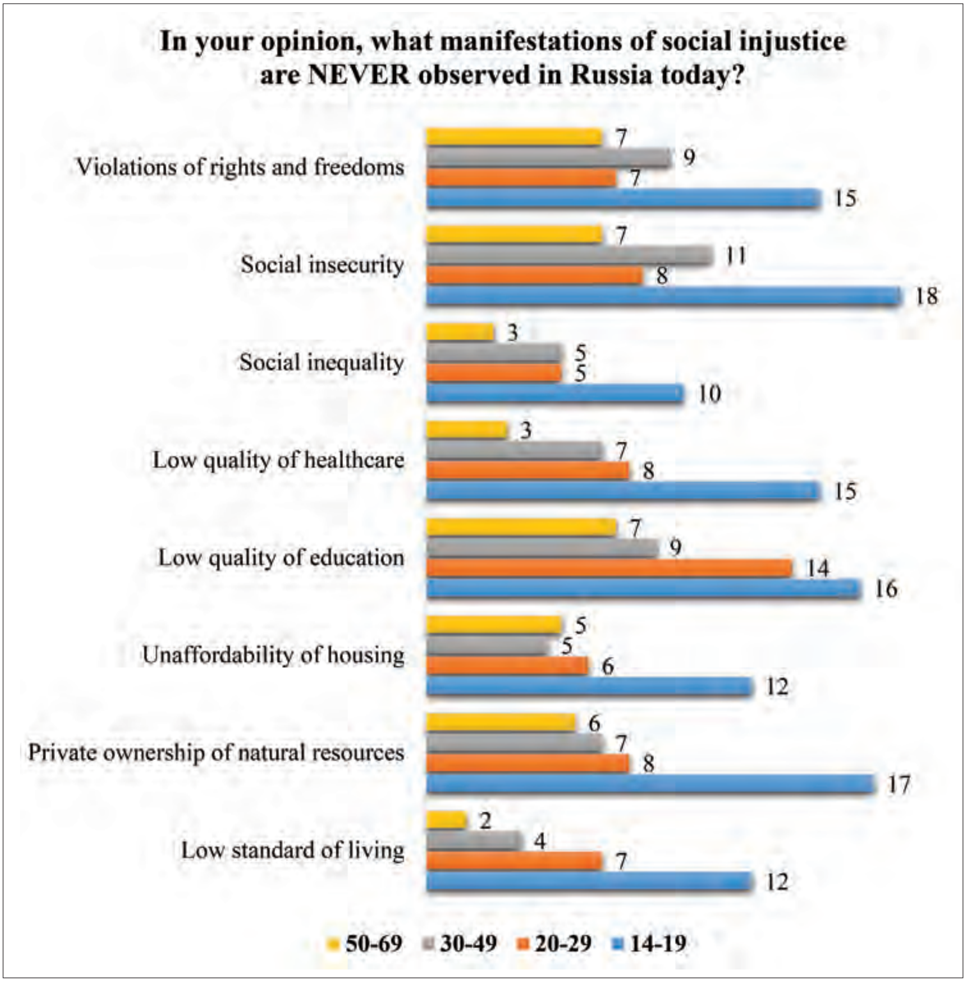


Fig. 11. Elements of social injustice that Russia lacks (%)

than half of the respondents did not notice any changes, every third respondent believes that the situation regarding social justice has worsened, every tenth respondent (15% of teenagers and 5% of the youth) believes that, on the contrary, the situation regarding social justice has improved.

To clarify the criteria for such assessments, we used a question about the elements of social justice in the contemporary Russian society (present in full, in part, or missing). The respondents consider the income inequality as the main violation of social justice in the country; with a significant lag, it is followed by social inequality – before the law, in rights and opportunities, and by the lack of freedom of speech (from 26% to 33%); the least mentioned (less than 19%) manifestations of social injustice are discrimination, immorality, high social risks, non-compliance with laws and the lack of social guarantees. Except for some teenagers' responses that break a kind of a general generational concord, we can say that with age, the share of those who claim the lack of almost all elements of social justice (with the exception of freedom of speech) increases (Fig. 10).

To validate the data, we added a question about those manifestations of social injustice that respondents observe in the contemporary Russian society. The answer "I never observe" is the most indicative: for instance, from 10% to 18% of teenagers claim to have never faced any of the listed manifestations of social injustice (Fig. 11). In general, with the exception of this indicator and of the increasing share of those who mention the low quality of Russian education after the age of 30, the least observed manifestations of social injustice are social insecurity and violations of rights and freedoms (Fig. 11).

Given the more significant differences in the interpretation of social justice and its manifestation in the Russian society than of social injustice, the respondents seem to refer to sustainable social ideas and media representations rather than to express personal opinions based on their life experience. This assumption is confirmed by the distribution of answers to the question whether the Russian society has become less or more socially just in the last 2-3 years (Fig. 12). After the age of 30, the share of the respondents who find it difficult to answer this question decreases; after the age of 20, the share of those who believe that nothing has changed increases; every fifth teenager thinks that the Russian society has become more socially just, but from 1/4 to 1/3 of all other age groups believe that, on the contrary, the situation has changed for the worse.

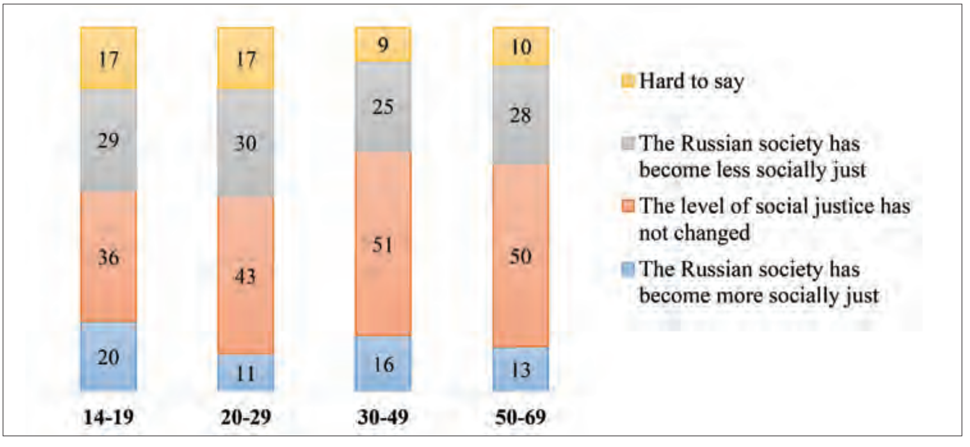


Fig. 12. Changes in the Russian society in terms of social justice (%)

Unlike happiness, which the majority of the respondents consider a rather immeasurable phenomenon/abstract concept (with significant differences at the 30-year milestone) (Fig. 13), social justice is defined as measurable (over 60%) but only compared to the past (over 52%), and there are almost no generational differences (Fig. 14).

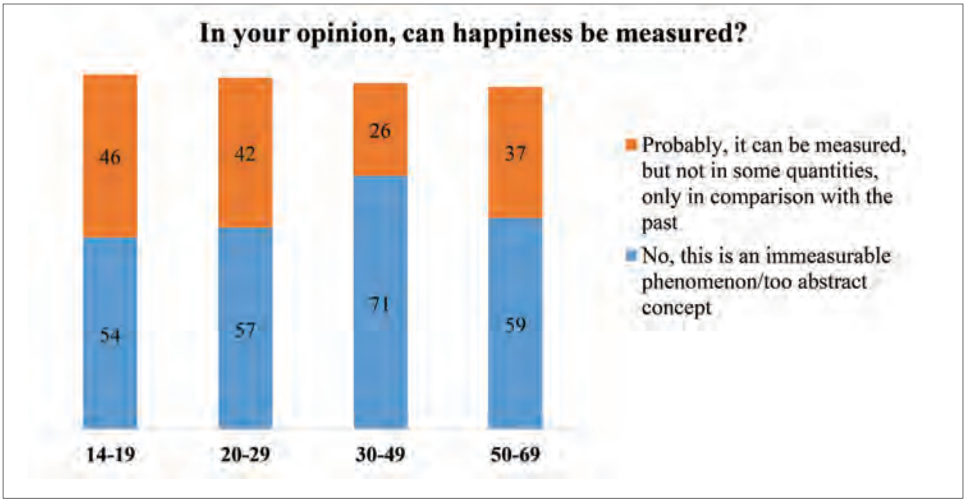


Fig. 13. Estimates of the 'measurability' of happiness (in %)

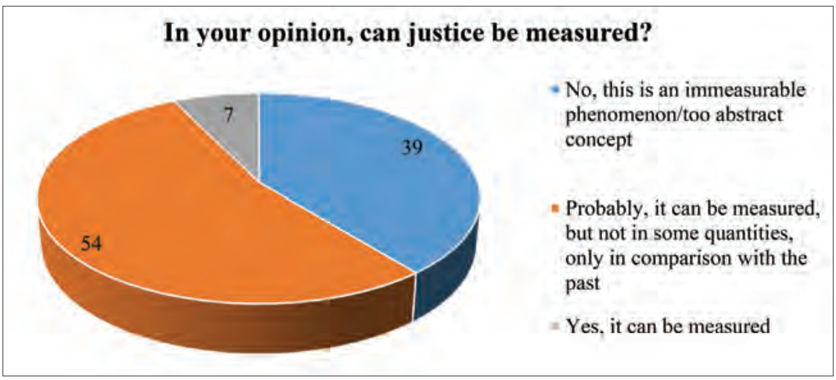


Fig. 14. Estimates of the 'measurability' of justice (in %)

Thus, in the Russian society, a 'personalistic' interpretation of happiness prevails – as something a person is responsible for in order to ensure one's social well-being: one is to define happiness for oneself, to choose a right (leading to happiness) professional trajectory, life path, close social circle and other aspects of private life (personal well-being) – this is a kind of a 'core' in the definition of happiness. Its 'periphery' is more fragmented: there are both additional 'personalistic' interpretations of happiness that reinforce the 'core' (rational choice, state of mind, decision to live according to own opinions and in happiness, etc.), and external factors (social justice, general situation in the country and the world, public recognition, etc.). Moreover, there is a generational consensus on the interpretations of happiness and justice as the two basic foundations of the social well-being, i.e., social solidarity and social order. All generations provide 'personalistic' definitions of happiness, i.e., regardless of age, Russians believe that a person makes a decision to be happy or not. Some generational differences in the interpretations of happiness and its factors are predictable as determined not by the value priorities but by an objective decline in the older generation's quality of life: with age, it is increasingly difficult to find reasons for happiness in the external circumstances; therefore, people focus on their family and social circle, inner harmony and personal responsibility for one's happiness.

Nevertheless, among the factors of happiness, quite 'external' to the personal decision prevail – good health, good family, having a loved one, good financial situation, fulfilment of desires/dreams, good job/profession and free time, although these are also 'personal' aspects of life. The distribution of happiness factors corresponds to the hierarchy of life values headed by good health (one's own and of the loved ones), a reliable social circle (family well-being), having a loved one and good financial situation, i.e., by the factors contributing to the feeling of happiness regardless of the interpretation of happiness. However, with age, the importance of financial situation, love and friendship, job/profession and hobby decreases, while the importance of the well-being of loved ones and good health increases. The majority of the respondents claim to be happy, but after the age of 30 the share of such self-assessments starts to decrease.

Accordingly, the lack of 'happiness factors' is considered as the main reason for feeling unhappy (low income and poor health), but it is supplemented by the anxiety about the uncertain future, which prevents people from enjoying their lives. With the exception of social injustice, there are generational differences in 'unhappiness factors': with age, people become increasingly concerned about low income, accumulated fatigue and illnesses, difficult life circumstances, personal failures and family problems.

In general, when interpreting happiness, Russians prefer 'personalistic' definitions supplemented by the family and close-social-circle ties; when interpreting justice, Russians tend to define it as a legal rather than a moral category, although every second respondent admits the necessity to ensure the common moral standards and non-discrimination. There is a kind of generational concord in the interpretation of social injustice as a factor of personal unhappiness (negatively affecting the social well-being), and some insignificant and predictable differences in other definitions of justice. With age (in general and especially after the age of 30), the importance of the equality before the law and of the compliance with laws, social security and social guarantees increases, while freedom of speech and income equality become less valuable.

However, there are no fundamental generational differences in the assessments of life in the contemporary Russian society in terms of social justice – every second respondent finds it hard to answer the corresponding question, while every third claims the increasing social injustice. The reason is the conviction of the majority of the respondents in the sustainable income inequality, from a quarter to a third of the respondents speak of social inequality (before the law, of rights and opportunities) and of the lack of freedom of speech; with age, the shares increase of those who declare the lack of almost all elements of social justice in the contemporary Russian society.

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