

God. 13, Broj 1, 2023.

ISSN 2217-4958 (ŠTAMPANO IZDANJE)

ISSN 2466-5363 (ONLINE IZDANJE)

C I V I T A S

ČASOPIS ZA DRUŠTVENA ISTRAŽIVANJA



FLV |

FAKULTET ZA
PRAVNE I POSLOVNE STUDIJE
DR LAZAR VRKATIĆ

Naučni časopis CIVITAS publikuje se dva puta godišnje.
ISSN 2217-4958 (Štampano izdanje)
ISSN 2466-5363 (Online izdanje)
COBISS.SR.ID 261516807

IZDAVAČ:

FAKULTET ZA PRAVNE I POSLOVNE STUDIJE DR LAZAR VRKATIĆ
Bulevar oslobođenja 76, NOVI SAD, Vojvodina – Srbija

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ADRESA REDAKCIJE:

Bulevar oslobođenja 76, NOVI SAD, Vojvodina – Srbija
Tel. +381 21 472 7884
E-mail: civitas@fpps.edu.rs

PRIPREMA ZA ŠTAMPU I ŠTAMPA:

„Tampograf”, Novi Sad

TIRAŽ:

200

CIVITAS journal is published twice a year
ISSN 2217-4958 (Printed edition)
ISSN 2466-5363 (Online edition)
COBISS.SR.ID 261516807

PUBLISHER:

FACULTY OF LAW AND BUSINESS STUDIES DR LAZAR VRKATIĆ
76 Bulevar oslobođenja, NOVI SAD, Vojvodina - Serbia

FOR THE PUBLISHER:

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76 Bulevar oslobođenja, NOVI SAD, Vojvodina – Serbia

Tel. +381 21 472 7884

E-mail: civitas@fpps.edu.rs

PREPRESS AND PRINTING:

„Tampograf”, Novi Sad

CIRCULATION:

200

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Do sledećeg broja,

Prof. dr Vladimir Njegomir

U Novom Sadu, 10. jula 2023. godine

Editor's Foreword

Dear Readers, Colleagues, and Authors,

Welcome to the first issue of the CIVITAS Journal for 2023.

For the past 13 years, the CIVITAS journal has published articles focusing on various current developments and topics related to law, security, psychology, philology, and economics, as well as interdisciplinary research involving the above fields.

In 2021, the journal was awarded the M51 ranking by the Serbian Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development, and classified as a leading national journal.

The journal has been indexed in the ERIH PLUS academic journal index for the HSS (Humanities and Social Sciences) society in Europe, in CNKI (China National Knowledge Infrastructure), Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, J-Gate (Indian database for e-journal literature), and CEEOL (Central and Eastern Europe Online Library).

The articles accepted for publication deal with a variety of issues related to social sciences and humanities, ranging from the neurobiological changes in the process of regression therapy treatment, development and verification of the questionnaire for the assessment of self-identity status SID48, the level of development and defining the development criteria of smart cities, compensation for non-material damage, post-communist lustration justice, digital literacy, determinants of entrepreneurship, the concept of individual and religious freedom in More's *Utopia*, as well as the notion of desire in Jacques Lacan and its articulation in the film *Repulsion*.

The information about the journal, instructions for authors and reviewers, editorial board members, and reviewers' names and affiliations are available on the journal website in Serbian and English.

The articles may be submitted via the journal web page <http://civitas.rs/index.php/prijava-rada> or via email to redakcija@civitas.rs

On behalf of the Editorial Board and myself, our sincere thanks to all the authors and contributors for the high quality of the articles in this issue.

Hoping that this issue will inspire further research, we invite all interested researchers to submit their articles for publication in CIVITAS.

Until the next issue,

Prof. dr Vladimir Njegomir,

Editor-in-Chief

Novi Sad, 10 July 2023

SADRŽAJ

Sanja Bunford

NEUROBIOLOŠKE PROMENE U PROCESU TRETMANA REGRESOTERAPIJE	15
NEUROBIOLOGICAL CHANGES IN REGRESSION THERAPY PROCESS	31

Aleksandar Vasić

IZRADA I PROVERA UPITNIKA ZA PROCENU STATUSA JA-IDENTITETA SID48	49
CONSTRUCTION AND PSYCHOMETRIC EVALUATION OF THE EGO-IDENTITY STATUSES QUESTIONNAIRE SID48	70

Otilija Sedlak, Tibor Fazekaš, Aleksandra Marcikić Horvat, Boris Radovanov, Dragan Stojić, Reka Korhec

MERENJE NIVOVA RAZVOJA I DEFINISANJE KRITERIJUMA ZA RANGIRANJE PAMETNIH GRADOVA	92
MEASURING DEVELOPMENT LEVEL AND DEFINING CRITERIA FOR RANKING SMART CITIES..	108

Tanja Kaurin, Dragan Mijović, Aleksandar Bošković, Nikola Milosavljević

DIGITALNA PISMENOST KAO SEGMENT DIGITALNE PSIHOLOGIJE – EMPIRIJSKA PROVERA VEŠTINA	124
DIGITAL LITERACY AS A SEGMENT OF DIGITAL PSYCHOLOGY: EMPIRICAL SKILLS ANALYSIS	157

Petar Marković

POJAM ŽELJE KOD ŽAKA LAKANA I NJENA ARTIKULACIJA U FILMU <i>REPULSION</i> (1965)	189
LACAN'S CONCEPT OF DESIRE AND ITS ARTICULATION IN ROMAN POLANSKI'S FILM <i>REPULSION</i> (1965)	200

Milica Z. Petrović	
NAKNADA NEMATERIJALNE ŠTETE ZBOG NEOSNOVANE OSUDE I NEOSNOVANOG LIŠENJA SLOBODE U SUDSKOJ PRAKSI	212
NON-MATERIAL DAMAGES DUE TO WRONGFUL CONVICTION AND UNLAWFUL IMPRISONMENT IN COURT PRACTICE	230
Vladimir Njegomir	
DETERMINANTE KOJE OPREDELJUJU ZAPOČINJANJE PREDUZETNIČKOG PODUHVA TA ..	249
STARTING AN ENTREPRENEURIAL VENTURE: A STUDY OF DETERMINANTS	272
Tatjana Dumitrašković	
POJAM INDIVIDUALNE I VERSKE SLOBODE U MOROVOJ UTOPIJI	295
THE CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUAL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN MORE'S UTOPIA	307
Tijana Perić Diligenski	
POSTKOMUNISTIČKA LUSTRACIONA PRAVDA	319
POST-COMMUNIST LUSTRATION JUSTICE	330
POZIV I UPUTSVO AUTORIMA	341
INVITATION AND INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS	347
LISTA RECENZENATA	353
LIST OF REVIEWERS	357

Članci

Articles

Sanja Bunford¹

UDC 612.8:615.851
Originalan naučni rad
Primljen: 17. 03. 2023.
Prihvaćen: 13. 04. 2023.

NEUROBIOLOŠKE PROMENE U PROCESU TRETMANA REGRESOTERAPIJE

REZIME: Ovaj rad se bavi pretpostavljenim neurobiološkim promena u procesu tretmana regresoterapije po metodi P. Balinta, a na osnovu kvalitativnog istraživanja višestrukog prolaska kroz traumu u nehipnotičkoj regresoterapiji po metodi P. Balinta koje opisuje proces tretmana sa ciljem sagledavanja potencijala ove metode u isceljenju traume i dovodi ga u vezu sa neurobiološkim procesima. Cilj rada je da rezultate navedenog istraživanja objasni neurobiološkim procesima koji se dešavaju u procesu terapije, a koji su pretpostavljeni neurobiološkom teorijom utemeljenom u naučnim istraživanjima. Rezultati navedenog istraživanja ukazuju na teorijom pretpostavljenu regulaciju amigdale aktivacijom PFC-a u procesu osveščivanja traume u regresiji, na regulisanje emocija i ponašanja, te pokazuju potencijal regresoterapije u isceljenju traume i opravdanost daljeg istraživanja ovog modaliteta.

KLJUČNE REČI: trauma, regresoterapija, neurobiologija traume, psihoterapija, tretmani traume, isceljenje traume, *memory and trauma*

1. Uvod

Danas je poznato da odgovor na stresne stimuluse pokreće i razrađuje sistem stresa koji predstavlja angažovanje složenih mehanizama koji integrišu mozak i telo. Devedesetih godina XX veka, sa neuronaučnom revolucijom i novim tehnikama snimanja mozga (PET a kasnije i fMRI)

¹ bunfordova@gmail.com

omogućeno je bolje razumevanje načina na koji mozak obrađuje informacije, kako se različiti delovi mozga aktiviraju u obradi sećanja, senzacija i emocija i kako mapiraju mreže uma i svesnosti, čime je promenjeno i razumevanje traume (Van der Kolk, 1996). Savremena zapažanja o psihološkoj traumi vraćaju nas Žaneu i njegovom shvatanju da žestoke emocije narušavaju sposobnost razmišljanja, osećanja i delovanja na svrsishodan, jedinstven način i njegovoj spoznaji da se to mora odraziti u biologiji. Njegova ključna ideja, prvi put formulisana 1889. godine, da se traumatska iskustva čuvaju u sećanju na načine različite od običnih događaja, danas je jednako izazovna, kao i to kako se takva sećanja i njihove permutacije mogu uspešno povratiti i savladati da bi se umanjio njihov uticaj nad trenutnim iskustvom (Van der Kolk & Van der Hart, 1989). Žane je smatrao da je kodiranje i pronalaženje sećanja centralni organizacioni princip uma. Tokom života, kategorizacija i integracija sećanja na određena iskustva omogućavaju ljudima da razviju sve veće i fleksibilne šeme značenja koje ih pripremaju da se nose s kasnijim izazovima. Pretpostavio je biološki zasnovanu reakciju na traumu koja rezultira fragmentacijom mentalne kohezije, uzrokujući da biološki, bihevioralni, kognitivni i emocionalni ostaci prošlog iskustva nastave da upravljaju trenutnim ponašanjem (Van der Kolk & Van der Hart, 1989). Savremene definicije su sličnog shvatanja. Npr. Gabor Mate definiše traumu kao „ožiljak“ ili „ranu“ koja predstavlja psiho-fiziološki poremećaj dezintegracije i kontrole nad autentičnim odgovorom organizma na prilagođavanje i, stoga, udaljavanje od autentičnosti i psihofizičkog zdravlja uopšte. „Trauma je psihička rana, koja ostavlja ožiljak, otisak u nervnom sistemu, u telu i u psihi, koja se kasnije višestruko manifestuje na načine koji nisu funkcionalni. Ona ostaje prisutna kao nesvesni mehanizam koji oblikuje način na koji živimo život, zaustavljajući procese emocionalnog rasta i razvoja“ (Mate, 2022).

Identifikacija neuronskih kola uključenih u patofiziologiju PTSP-a, zatim genetski, neuroendokrini, imunološki i psihofiziološki nalazi o mehanizmima razvoja simptoma i održavanja bolesti označavaju promenu paradigme i izuzetan napredak u oblasti traume, kao i kliničke neuronauke uopšte (Liberzon & Abelson, 2016). Danas, teorije neurokognitivne memorije razvoj PTSP-a objašnjavaju na osnovu patološke distorzije memorijskih reprezentacija traumatskog događaja (Brewin & Holmes, 2003; Dalgleish, 2004). Epizodna memorija skladišti sećanje

o prošlim događajima. Na osnovu pronalazjenja informacija, razlikuju se autobiografska reprezentacija (deklarativni ili eksplicitni sistem epizodne memorije), koja pamti činjenice i događaje, i čulno-perceptivna reprezentacija (nedeklarativni ili implicitni sistem epizodne memorije), koja pamti veštine, navike i uslovljavanje (Squire, 1992). Glavni resurs za pronalazjenje informacija o nečijem životu i osnova za naraciju događaja i životnih perioda je autobiografsko pamćenje koje je deklarativni deo epizodne memorije visoko razvijenog i strukturiranog memorijskog sistema koji omogućava da se bogato znanje o prošlim događajima efikasno arhivira. Strukturisana je na hijerarhijski način, hronološki i zavisi od široko rasprostranjene neokortikalne neuronske aktivnosti. Centralnu ulogu u konsolidaciji sećanja i kodiranju informacija, koje su u suprotnosti sa prethodno naučenim, ima hipokampus, čije funkcije pod visokim nivoima stresa opadaju i mogu biti i trajno atrofirane. Senzorno-perceptivna reprezentacija događaja obezbeđuje pronalazjenje čulnih informacija koje se suštinski razlikuje od pronalazjenja autobiografskih informacija. Kontekstualne činjenice pohranjene u autobiografskoj memoriji preuzimaju se kao verbalno dostupno znanje, dok se pronalazjenje čulnih informacija percipira kao iskustvo same informacije (Neuner et al., 2008). Studije neuroimadžinga sugerišu da su čulno-perceptivne reprezentacije prošlih događaja uskladištene u strukturi za vizuelno-prostornu obradu i emocije koju aktiviraju limbičke strukture, posebno zadnje cingularne, uključujući okolni korteks i okcipitalni i parijetalni korteks, kao i strukturi za pripremu za akciju koju aktivira motorni korteks (Bremner, 2002). Amigdala igra ključnu ulogu u kodiranju i pronalazjenju veoma uzbuđujućih događaja. Povišeno uzbuđenje podržava kodiranje trajnih čulno-perceptivnih predstava situacije (Kensinger, 2004). Povećana aktivnost amigdale dovodi do preteranog senzorno-perceptivnog predstavljanja događaja koji se mogu lako aktivirati, jer mnogi znaci životne sredine podsećaju na stavke u strukturi straha. Aktiviranje samo nekoliko elemenata je dovoljno da aktivira celu strukturu, a ovu aktivaciju je teško kontrolisati. Ekstremni stres izaziva preterano čulno-perceptivno predstavljanje traumatskog događaja i narušava funkcionisanje hipokampusa i razradu autobiografske reprezentacije. Kao rezultat toga, traumatski događaj nije jasno predstavljen kao konkretan događaj i često nije jasno pozicioniran u životnom periodu. Prisećanje traumatskog sećanja nije utemeljeno narativnim i prostor-

no-vremenskim kontekstualnim sidrištima koja obično iskustvo vezuju za stvarnost i žrtvi je veoma teško da ispriča događaj. Traumatskim pamćenjem više dominiraju senzorni elementi, veoma uznemirujući, dok su naracije više fragmentovane (Neuner et al., 2008). Izloženost stresu značajno narušava izvršne funkcije visoko evoluiranog prefrontalnog asocijacijskog korteksa (PFC), dok istovremeno jača primitivne emocionalne odgovore amigdale i toničko pokretanje noradrenergičkog lokusa koeruleusa, tri regiona mozga koji su blisko povezani (Arnsten et al., 2015). PTSP pacijenti pokazuju smanjenu aktivnost u medijalnom prefrontalnom regionu, ali povećanu aktivnost amigdale. Pored toga, aktivnost amigdale je u negativnoj korelaciji sa medijalnom prefrontalnom aktivnošću i u pozitivnoj korelaciji sa ozbiljnošću simptoma. Bouton i saradnici tvrde da izumiranje straha zavisi od aktivnosti medijalnih prefrontalnih područja, a ne od promene asocijacija zavisnih od amigdale (Bouton, 1993; Bouton & King, 1983, po Craske et al., 2008). Trajno izumiranje straha zahteva konsolidaciju memorije u prefrontalnim područjima, koja uključuje sintezu proteina. Putevi od prefrontalnog korteksa do amigdale omogućavaju modifikaciju odgovora na strah, u zavisnosti od procene stimulusa u trenutnom kontekstu životne sredine (Neuner et al., 2008). Dokazi sugerišu da prenošenje osećanja u reči aktivira prefrontalni korteks (PFC) i potiskuje odgovor amigdale i na taj način pomaže u ublažavanju emocionalnog stresa. Podaci daju podršku opštoj ulozi ventromedijalnog PFC-a u regulisanju aktivnosti amigdale (Foland-Ross et al., 2010). Na ovu činjenicu oslanjaju se savremeni pristupi narativnog izlaganja (CBT).

Regresoterapija posmatra traumu kao zapis u memoriji, koji nastaje kao posledica događaja u kojem postoji suženje svesti i psihička bol (povreda) i u kojem su uslovljene fiziološke i psihološke automatske reakcije koje se ponavljaju u vidu nefunkcionalnih obrazaca ponašanja i osećanja. U tehnici regresoterapije nefunkcionalni obrazac ili patnja u vezi sa kojom je klijent na terapiji povezuje se sa osećajima u telu, tj. informacijama iz čulno perceptivne memorije koje klijent osvesti i izgovori. Ovim aktiviramo implicitnu memoriju, odnosno fiziološki limbičke strukture. Informacije služe kao asocijacija na životne događaje u kojima su nefunkcionalni obrasci uslovljeni ili ponovljeni. Uvek se traži događaj u kom je asocijacija uslovljena – primarni engram, odnosno zapis u pamćenju koji sadrži bol i suženje svesti. Događaj se obično pojavljuje najpre u fragmentima da

bi se sa svakim prolaskom upotpunjavao svojim kontekstom i narativno izrazio. Definisanjem početka, kraja i vremena odigravanja događaja u istoriji klijenta, on se pozicionira u njegovu životnu mapu u prošlost. Daje se pažnja povezivanju obrazaca iz događaja koje klijent opisuje i sadašnjih nefunkcionalnih obrazaca. Sa povećanjem naracija regulišu se emocije (što je u skladu sa neurobiološkim dokazima). Aktivacijom mPFC-a izazvanog ponavljanom narativnom stimulacijom jača se izumiranje straha u asocijativnom kontekstu, reguliše aktivnost amigdale i intenzitet emocija, a smeštanjem traume u autobiografsku prošlost klijenta proširuje se svest o tome da ako se ponovo jave asocijativno uslovljene reakcije, one mogu biti prepoznate, povezane sa događajem u prošlosti, koji se sada nalazi u autobiografskoj memoriji, i doživljene kao iskustvo iz prošlosti, a ne sadašnja pretnja. Ovim se otvara mogućnost isprobavanja novih načina funkcionisanja. Regresija se, po pravilu, ne prekida dokle god su emocije intenzivne, odnosno naracija nepotpuna, jer je pretpostavka da bismo u suprotnom klijenta ostavili retraumatizovanog i emotivno ekscitiranog. Na kraju regresije rade se tehnike integracije i konsolidacije doživljenog iskustva koje, kao takvo, postaje svesni deo istorije klijenta.

2. Problem i cilj istraživanja

Problem istraživanja je razumevanje procesa regresoterapije i sagledavanje njenog potencijala u isceljenju traume kroz povezivanje promena u procesu i neurobioloških procesa utemeljenih saznanjima neurobiologije.

Cilj istraživanja je da opišemo proces višestrukog prolaska kroz traumu u nehipnotičkoj regresoterapiji i uporedimo ga sa teorijom utemeljenom u istraživanjima kako bismo otvorili put razumevanju principa funkcionisanja tehnike i uporedili ih sa naučno utemeljenim saznanjima, te utvrdili njen potencijal u isceljenju traume, kao i da doprinesemo boljem razumevanju traume.

3. Metoda

U radu su analizirani rezultati istraživanja sprovedenog u periodu 2021–2022. godine, koje prati i opisuje promene u procesu višestrukog prolaska kroz traumu u terapiji, dovodi ga u vezu sa teorijom utemeljenom u

neurobiološkim istraživanjima, a sa ciljem razumevanja principa funkcionisanja tehnike i utvrđivanja potencijala regresoterapije u isceljenju traume.

3.1. Varijable

Definisano je četrdeset devet varijabli, tri nezavisne i četrdeset šest zavisnih, koje su operacionalizovane i za koje je konstruisan merni instrument u kojem je definisan način merenja ovih pojava. Varijable su prikazane u delu *Rezultati*, u okviru tabele deskriptivne statistike.

3.2. Uzorak

Istraživanje je rađeno na transkriptu regresoterapijske seanse iz prakse autora korišćenom uz odobrenje klijenta za upotrebu i objavu podataka u naučne svrhe i uz zaštitu identiteta.

3.3. Postupak

U istraživanju je mereno ponašanje ispoljeno kroz govor koji je zabeležen u transkriptu terapije. Zaključci su izvedeni iz merenja konkretnih pojava u transkriptu, a odluka o konstruktima koji su operacionalizovani i mereni doneta je na osnovu pojava uočenih fenomenološkom IFA analizom narativa i proizišli su iz samog narativa, a vođeni osnovnim fokusom istraživača na proces terapije i proces koji se dešava u klijentu. Merenja su vršena u prvom, drugom i četvrtom prolasku kroz događaj u regresoterapiji. Treći prolazak je bio prolazak u mislima, zbog čega ga nije bilo moguće meriti i nije uključen u istraživanje. Varijable su raspoređene po fokusnim celinama u vezi sa praćenjem podataka, a radi lakšeg snalaženja. Fokus je bio na detektovanju i praćenju pokazatelja promene aktivacije PFC-a i regulaciji amigdale koja je pretpostavljena neurobiološkom teorijom, kao i na samo značenje narativa koji fenomenološki i epistemološki opisuju uticaj traume na klijenta. Korišćenje statističke obrade podataka i njihovo upoređivanje obezbedilo je bolje razumevanje procesa koji se dešavaju u terapiji, ali i u samom klijentu. Korišćene su frekvencije i procenti deskriptivne statistike, kojima je opisan uzorak i stepen izraženosti mernih varijabli, a koji su predstavljeni *Excel* tabelama i grafikonima u delu *Rezultati*.

Pokazatelji aktivacije PFC-a odnose se na koherentnost narativa, otpore i uvide u procesu. Praćeni su količinama informacija o događaju (organizovane celine sećanja deklarativne memorije), fragmentacijom narativa (veličina narativnih celina), otporima svesnosti, količinom narativnih slika i njihovim preklapanjem kroz ponavljanje događaja, količinu uvida u nefunkcionalne obrasce koji su posledica traume i koji su osvešćeni u narativu. Takođe, praćeno je osvešćivanje klijenta uvidima kroz povezivanje nefunkcionalnih obrazaca iz traume i njihovih manifestacija u sadašnjem životu klijenta, koji predstavljaju uticaj traume na klijenta, zatim otpori definisani ispoljenim mehanizmima odbrane i gramatička upotreba vremena koje klijent koristi u narativu, kao pokazatelja investicije klijenta u to da bude „prisutan“ sada i ovde u regresiji, odnosno otpora da se investira u terapiju, tj. u svesnost. Praćeni pokazatelji regulacije amigdale su emocije i osećaji. Ostali praćeni pokazatelji su upotreba gramatičkog vremena (prošlost i sadašnjost) u narativu radi utvrđivanja veze sa procesom, sa podizanjem svesti i otporima da se bude u „sada i ovde“, kao i značenje opisa u narativu koji se odnose na stanje i radnju, radi razumevanja njihovog značenja u procesu regresoterapije. Meren je i kvalitet terapijskog odnosa koji se prati kroz upoređivanje terapeutovih intervencija i klijentovih otpora terapiji, kao i upoređivanje intenziteta kojim terapeut i klijent iniciraju uvide koji neće biti prikazani u ovom radu.

4. Rezultati istraživanja



TEMA KOJU PRATIMO	VARIJABLE	I PROLAZAK	II PROLAZAK	IV PROLAZAK	UK SVI PROLASC	MERA po prolasku	jed mere	SPSS OZNAKA
KOHERENTNOST NARATIVA	narativne slike	14	28	20		broj slika	pojava	SL
	broj preklapljenih slika	2	61	68		broj preklapljenih slika	pojava	PRSL
	broj preklapanja	1	17	17		broj pojave da su slike prekloljene	pojava	BRPRSL
	nedostaje slika		2	6	6	broj slika koje fale a postojale su u prethodnom prolasku	pojava	NEDSL
	narativna celina	1.96	6.89	21.13		veličina celine narativa	br.redova	CE
	fragmentacija narativa	38	19	4		broj celina narativa	pojava	FRN
UVIDI	uvidi povezani samostalno od strane klijent	4	6	0	10	broj uvida koje je klijent samostalno povezao	pojava	UKL
	uvidi inicirani od terapeut	5	5	3	13	broj uvida koje je inicirao terapeut	pojava	UT
	uvidi inicirani od klijenta, učvršćeni povezivanjem terapeut	1	2	0	3	broj uvida iniciranih od klijenta i pojačanih od terapeuta	pojava	UKLT
	ukupni uvidi	10	13	3	26	ukupan broj uvida	pojava	
OTPORI	potiskivanje	29	17	4	50	broj količine otpora	pojava	POT
	regresija	5	0	1	6	broj količine otpora	pojava	RGR
	intelektualizacija	4	0	0	4	broj količine otpora	pojava	INT
	racionalizacija	3	2	0	5	broj količine otpora	pojava	RAC
	ukupni otpori u procesu terapije	41	19	15	65	broj količine otpora	pojava	UKOT

EMOCIJE	strah	2	0	0	2	broj količine imenovane emocije	pojava	strah
	tuga	3	13	1	17	broj imenovane emocije	pojava	tuga
	ljubav	5	2	0	7	broj imenovane emocije	pojava	ljubav
	ljutnja	0	11	8	19	broj imenovane emocije	pojava	ljutnja
	bes	0	9	3	12	broj imenovane emocije	pojava	bes
	mržnja	0	1	1	2	broj imenovane emocije	pojava	mržnja
	patnja	0	3	1	4	broj imenovane emocije	pojava	patnja
	apatija	0	0	1	1	broj imenovane emocije	pojava	apatija
	sve emocije	10	39	15	66	broj imenovane emocije		
OSEĆAJI	separacija	17	9	2	28	broj imenovano g osećaja	pojava	separ
	zbunjenost	1	13	1	15	broj imenovano g osećaja	pojava	zbun
	nemoć	8	40	6	54	broj imenovano g osećaja	pojava	nemoć
	moć	0	3	2	5	broj imenovano g osećaja	pojava	moć
	tupost	1	20	8	29	broj imenovano g osećaja	pojava	tupost
	beznadežnost	0	5	2	7	broj imenovano g osećaja	pojava	bol
	bol	11	43	12	66	broj imenovano g osećaja	pojava	zašt
	zaštićenost	6	17	4	27	broj imenovano g osećaja	pojava	beznad
	svi osećaji	44	150	37	231	broj imenovano g osećaja	pojava	

GRAMATIKA	proslost	45	59	47	151	broj količine prošlog vremena	pojava	PRO
	sadašnjost	55	98	37	190	broj sadašnjeg vremena	pojava	SAD
	prvo lice	52	83	52	187	broj upotrebe 1.l.	pojava	PRVOL
	drugo lice	8	27	12	47	broj upotrebe 2.l.	pojava	DRUGOL
	treće lice	4	2	2	8	broj upotrebe 3.l.	pojava	TREČEL
ZNAČENJE	radnja	17	28	10	55	broj opisa radnje	pojava	RAD
	stanje	18	27	6	51	broj opisa stanja	pojava	STA
INTERVENCIJE	vraćanje u događaj	38	19	4	61	broj opisa radnje	pojava	IVD
	povezivanje obrazaca	4	6	3	13	broj opisa radnje	pojava	IPO
	rezimiranje	0	1	1	2	broj opisa radnje	pojava	IR
	integracija selfa				7	broj opisa radnje	pojava	IS
	ukupne intervencije	42	26	5		broj opisa radnje	pojava	IUK
RELACIJA	zaključci nastali upoređivanjem navedenih podataka							
KLIJENT								
PROCES								

5. Diskusija

Koherentnost narativa – preklapanje narativnih slika u procesu regresoterapije pokazuje nam povezivanje i slaganje više narativnih slika u celine, tj. povezivanje fragmenata sećanja u veće celine koje čine delove konkretnog događaja i ukazuju na povezivanje ovih slika u koherentnu autobiografsku priču, odnosno predstavlja proces organizacije memorije, tj. sećanja pod aktivnošću PFC-a koji raste sa svakim prolaskom u procesu. Najveći broj narativnih slika ukazuje da se upravo u drugom prolasku dešava najveće osveščivanje informacija vezanih za događaj. Slike koje se gube u procesu pokazuju hijerarhijsko strukturiranje sećanja, koje je odlika deklarativne memorije, a kojima relevantnost slika vezanih za događaj opada. Hijerarhijsko strukturiranje ukazuje na konstruisanje autobiografskog sećanja koje raste kroz prolasku u procesu regresoterapije.

Narativna celina predstavlja neprekinutu naraciju klijenta između dve intervencije terapeuta. Prekid govora klijenta ukazuje na otpor svesnosti, odnosno regresiji sa ciljem izbegavanja negativnih osećanja. Veća količina kraćih narativnih celina ukazuje na veće otpore klijenta i aktivniju amigdalnu, a takođe na fragmentaciju sećanja i manju svesnost. Kroz proces regresoterapije kontinuirano se smanjuje broj narativnih celina i povećava dužina narativnih celina od prvog do poslednjeg prolaska, što ukazuje na defragmentaciju sećanja, njegovu konsolidaciju i sve veću sposobnost klijenta da prevaziđe otpore i svesno pristupi sećanjima, kao i na uticaj povećane aktivacije PFC-a koji reuliše amigdalnu.

Uvidi – pored onih koji se u procesu regresoterapije odnose na informacije o samom događaju, klijent uviđa i povezanost sadašnjih nefunkcionalnih obrazaca ponašanja s obrascima koji postoje u kontekstu traume a koji su u tom trenutku bili u funkciji preživljavanja traume. Sama pojava ovih obrazaca potvrđuje teoriju kontekstualne uslovljenosti obrazaca i njihovu povezanost sa današnjim problemima klijenta kroz asocijacije u sadašnjem kontekstu. Ovi uvidi obezbeđuju klijentu svesnost da su kontekst iz traume i sadašnji kontekst u stvari različiti i omogućuju mu da svesno donese odluku o drugačijem razumevanju realnosti i drugačijem ponašanju, odnosno da izabere nove funkcionalne načine reagovanja kada se ove asocijacije dese.

Uvidi su odraz svesnosti i pojavljuju se već u prvom prolasku kroz događaj u regresiji. U procesu regresije, najveće osveščivanje uvida imamo u drugom prolasku, a najmanje u poslednjem. Ukupna količina uvida raste sa svakim prolaskom kroz proces, što pokazuje rezultat svesnosti i aktivnosti PFC-a.

Otpori – značajan pad ispoljenih mehanizama odbrane, koji smo uočili u procesu, u svakom prolasku kroz događaj u regresiji ukazuje na smanjenje eksitacije (regulaciju amigdale) i sve veću aktivnost PFC-a sa svakim prolaskom kroz događaj. Klijent je u rezimiranju prolazaka potvrdio da mu je svaki naredni prolazak emotivno lakši od prethodnog.

Emocije koje su imenovane od strane klijenta u regresiji predstavljaju emocije koje su uslovljene u kontekstu traume i koje se asocijativno mogu aktivirati u životu klijenta kao nefunkcionalne u sadašnjem kontekstu. One mogu biti asocijativno povezane sa određenim obras-

cima ponašanja, osećajima, slikama, drugim čulnim informacijama i situacijama koje su, takođe, kontekstualno uslovljene u traumi. Njihova pojava u transkriptu predstavlja svesnost, a njihov intenzitet predstavlja intenzitet njihove uslovljenosti traumom, a ne trenutna osećanja klijenta. To potvrđuje i razlika u klijentovom opisu „težine“ prolaska kroz događaj koji se ne podudara sa intenzitetom pojave imenovanih emocija u prolascima. Emocije se u procesu terapije najviše ispoljavaju u svesti u drugom prolasku kroz događaj, nakon kojeg se, kroz proces, njihov intenzitet smanjuje u poslednjem prolasku. Smanjenje intenziteta emocija u poslednjem prolasku predstavlja, u stvari, pokazatelj regulacije amigdale. Iako je Pavlovljevo mišljenje da se asocijacija naučena tokom uslovljavanja straha ne briše tokom izumiranja, već da ostaje netaknuta kako se razvija novo, sekundarno učenje (npr, Bouton, 1993; Bouton & King, 1983, po Craske et al., 2008), te da uslovljena reakcija može da iskrsne ponovo, njegova eksperimentalna istraživanja su rađena na životinjama, a ne na ljudima čija se svest i ostale kognitivne sposobnosti ipak razlikuju od životinja. Naša je pretpostavka da bi razuslovljavanje uslovljenih reakcija kod ljudi moglo da bude upravo u vezi sa svesnošću i aktivacijom PFC-a, što ostavljamo kao implikaciju za buduća istraživanja.

Osećaji – aktivnost limbičkog sistema se manifestuje osećajima u telu, odnosno podacima perceptivne obrade pomoću čula i skladišti se u implicitnoj, tj. perceptivnoj memoriji. Imenovanje ovih osećaja predstavlja i njihovo osveščivanje. Opisi osećaja u naraciji klijenta predstavljaju osveščene osećaje koji su uslovljeni traumom. Oni su povezani sa emocijama u transkriptu, tj. uslovljeni traumom i uslovljeno povezani. Asocijativni lanac povezuje sve emocije i osećaje koji se pojavljuju u transkriptu uslovljenošću u kontekstu traume. Kao i kod emocija, osveščivanje osećaja je najzastupljenije u drugom prolasku nakon čega intenzitet pojavljivanja opada u poslednjem prolasku.

Gramatika – promena upotrebe gramatičkog lica i vremena u naraciji, pretpostavljajući da sve upotrebe lica, osim prvog lica, predstavljaju otpor klijenta da se investira i bude u događaju i da sadašnje vreme u narativu označava da klijent proživljava događaj u sadašnjosti, dovodeći ga u svesnost, dok prošlo vreme ukazuje na sećanje, odnosno autobiografsku reprezentaciju konsolidovanog sećanja. Rezultati ukazuju da

veći intenzitet pojave ima sadašnjost nego prošlost i to pokazuje dubinu regresije i klijentove sposobnosti da pristupi prošlosti u sadašnjosti kako bi je osvestio. Najveći intenzitet oba gramatička vremena je u drugom prolasku. Podatak da u prvom i drugom prolasku klijent više koristi sadašnje vreme, a da je u poslednjem prolasku veća upotreba prošlog vremena pokazatelj je konsolidacije sećanja u autobiografskoj memoriji u poslednjem prolasku, gde se narativ odnosi više na sećanje a manje na doživljavanje traume, što pretpostavlja aktivan PFC. U ukupnom procesu prolaska kroz događaje, kao i u svakom prolasku ponaosob, najzastupljenije je prvo lice u samoopisu, što pokazuje sposobnost klijenta da se investira u događaj kako bi ga osvestio. Njegova spremnost raste nakon drugog prolaska kroz sve manju upotrebu drugog i trećeg lica. Klijent najviše upotrebljava treće lice u prvom prolasku kroz događaj kada su najjači i otpori svesnosti i najreaktivnija amigdala. Smanjenje upotrebe svih gramatičkih lica u samoopisu u poslednjem prolasku u odnosu na najveći domet, a uzevši u obzir i podatke o povećanju veličine narativnih celina, preklapljenih narativnih slika i informacija uopšte, predstavlja smanjenje opisivanja sebe u traumi i povećanje opisa traumatskog događaja, kao rezultat informacija konsolidovanih u autobiografskoj memoriji, a to je veliki korak u prelasku uslovljenog „ja jesam traumatizovan“ u „traumatski događaj je deo moje prošlosti“ način sagledavanja traume, odnosno pokazatelj razrešenja traume koja više ne izaziva patnju, već svesna sećanja koja omogućuju razlikovanje konteksta.

Opisi radnje i stanja – podaci nam ne pokazuju mnogo povezanosti i gotovo nimalo pojedinačne razlike u upotrebi. Najveći intenzitet većine varijabli u drugom prolasku je u skladu sa najjačim intenzitetom samog drugog prolaska u vezi sa većinom ostalih podataka dobijenih rezultatima. Odnos opisa radnje i stanja u narativu je u korist opisa stanja, ali se u poslednjem prolasku menja, odnosno zastupljeniji su opisi radnje od opisa stanja. Ako to dovedemo u vezu sa prethodnim rezultatima, sličnošću rezultata možemo da napravimo paralele između opisa stanja, upotrebe sadašnjeg vremena i intenziteta osvešćenih emocija, dok bismo opise radnji mogli da povežemo sa osveščivanjem nefunkcionalnih obrazaca, odnosno sa osveščivanjem uvida. Mogli bismo, dakle, da primetimo da se paralelno dešavaju osveščivanje uvida i povećavanje

opisa radnji, dok se sa upotrebom sadašnjeg vremena povećava intenzitet osveščivanja emocija i opisa stanja. Ovo može, ali i ne mora da bude povezano i predstavlja moguću temu budućeg istraživanja.

U prvom prolasku događaja u procesu regresoterapije sećanja su fragmentisana, nepovezana i neorganizovana hronološki, vrednosno i značenjski. Ovaj prolazak je emotivno težak (u konkretnom uzorku najteži), klijent ima najviše otpore svesnosti i najmanje svesti o informacijama, osećanjima, uslovljenim asocijacijama. Najmanja je i sposobnost regulacije osećanja, u smislu da su najjače fiziološke reakcije. Ovo su pokazatelji hiperaktivnosti amigdale i hipoaktivnosti PFC-a. U drugom prolasku kroz događaj u regresiji dešava se najveći angažman klijenta u osveščivanju. Regresija, odnosno „bivanje u događaju iz prošlosti sada i ovde u trenutku terapije“ je najintenzivnije. Doživljavanje je najintenzivnije, osveščivanje je najintenzivnije. Najviše osveščivanje informacija o događaju, emocijama, osećajima dešava se upravo u drugom prolasku. Povećava se broj slika i one počinju da se preklapaju i organizuju, smanjuje se fragmentacija sećanja, uvećavaju se narativne celine. Povećava se broj uvida koji je najintenzivniji u ovom prolasku. Klijentova svesnost se povećava i počinje regulacija emocija. Opadaju klijentovi otpori terapiji i drugi prolazak je za klijenta manje emotivno težak od prvog, a detaljniji, kada je reč o informacijama. Relacija između klijenta i terapeuta je najснаžnija. U drugom prolasku je, prema ovim pokazateljima, povećan nivo aktivacija PFC-a i regulisana (smanjena) aktivnost amigdale. U poslednjem prolasku sećanja su defragmentirana, organizovana u koherentne celine i događaj u narativu predstavlja autobiografsko sećanje na prošlost, ima svoje mesto sa početkom i krajem u istoriji klijenta. Klijent više prepričava radnju, manje stanja, upotrebljava više prošlo vreme u odnosu na sadašnje, jenjava intenzitet osvešćenih emocija i osećanja. Otpori terapiji su minimalni, a osveščivanje uvida se smanjuje, što znači da su za uvide ključni prolasci u dubljoj regresiji, odnosno prethodni prolasci. U poslednjem prolasku klijent više nije „sada i ovde“, nego opisuje „tada i tamo“. Autobiografsko sećanje je integrisano, aktivan je PFC, smanjena je aktivnost limbičkog sistema i regulisana su osećanja klijenta.

U traumi je svest sužena i pamtimo uglavnom perceptivne i svesno neobrađene informacije. Savremena neurobiološka saznanja nam ukazuju na to da bi važan cilj lečenja PTSP-a trebalo da bude jačanje regulacije PFC, omogućavajući pacijentu da bolje reguliše svoje emoci-

je, misli i postupke. Aktivniji PFC bi trebalo da pomogne pacijentima da ugase reakcije straha (putem PFC regulacije amigdale), da se smire i smanje hiperpobuđenost (npr. putem PFC regulacije moždanog stabla) i smanje flešbekove i nametljiva sećanja (preko PFC regulacija zadnjeg korteksa i hipokampus). Terapija izloženosti može delovati delimično stvaranjem bezbednog konteksta u kome PFC može sve više da se budi (pokreće kognitivnu aktivaciju i svesnost) i da reguliše amigdalu razbijajući začarani krug primitivnih reakcija mozga i gaseći traumatski odgovor (Arnsten et al., 2015). U regresiji, u kontekstu sigurnog okruženja, osvešćuju se u traumi neobrađene informacije i povezuju sa kontekstom, formirajući svesno eksplicitno autobiografsko sećanje i stavljajući ga u kontekst prošlih iskustava koja su počela i završila se u tom prošlom iskustvu. Višestrukim prolaskom kroz traumatični događaj, kroz naraciju, postepeno se aktivira PFC proširivanjem svesti o događaju, regulišu se amigdala i emocije, te smanjuje uticaj u traumi kontekstualno uslovljenih asocijacija, što je u potpunosti u skladu sa neurobiološkom teorijom traume. Ovim se razdvaja sadašnji kontekst od prošlosti i konteksta traume i klijent dobija priliku da preispita asocijativne reakcije i utvrdi njihovu funkcionalnost u budućim kontekstima, te odabere funkcionalnije reakcije u budućnosti. Bitno je imati u vidu da se ovi rezultati odnose na uzorak koji je tretiran i da se, zbog terapije koja je usmerena na klijenta, ovaj proces u zavisnosti od klijenta može razlikovati. Potrebno je istraživanje ponoviti na većem uzorku da bi zaključci vezani za tehnike i proces bili potvrđeni. Buduća istraživanja vezana za efekte tretmana u radu sa traumom mogla bi da porede efekte tretmana sa neurobiološkim promenama korišćenjem tehničkih instrumenata za merenje neurobioloških procesa, pored samoopisnih instrumenata koji se uobičajeno upotrebljavaju.

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Sanja Bunford¹

UDC 612.8:615.851
Original scientific article
Received: 17/03/2023
Accepted: 13/04/2023

NEUROBIOLOGICAL CHANGES IN REGRESSION THERAPY PROCESS

ABSTRACT: This paper will examine the assumed neurobiological changes in the regression therapy treatment process. The study is based on qualitative research of multiple traumatic experiences in non-hypnotic regression therapy, as described by P. Balint, whose method focuses on the trauma healing process (with the intention of comprehending the method's potential in healing trauma) and relates it to neurobiological processes. The aim of this paper is to explain the results of the research via neurobiological processes that occur in the process of therapy and are assumed by the neurobiological theory based on scientific research. The results point to the theoretically assumed regulation of the amygdala via PFC activation in the process of becoming aware of trauma in regression, the regulation of emotions and behaviour, and show the potential of regression therapy in healing trauma and the justification of further research into this modality.

KEYWORDS: trauma, regression therapy, trauma neurobiology, psychotherapy, trauma treatments, trauma healing, memory and trauma.

1. Introduction

Today it is a well-known fact that stressful stimuli initiate stress response, which represents the activation of complex mechanisms that

¹ bunfordova@gmail.com

integrate the brain and the body. In the 1990s, the neuroscientific revolution and new brain imaging techniques (PET and later fMRI) allowed for a better understanding of how the brain processes information, how different parts of the brain are activated when processing memory, sensations, and emotions, as well as how these parts form maps of consciousness – which changed the general understanding of trauma (Van der Kolk, 1996). Contemporary observations about psychological trauma take us back to Jeanne and his understanding that violent emotions impair the ability to think, feel, and act in purposeful, unique ways, and his realisation that this must be reflected in biology. First formulated in 1889, his idea that traumatic experiences are stored in memories differently than ordinary events is equally challenging today, including how such memories and their permutations can be successfully retrieved and conquered, with the aim of reducing their influence over current experience (Van der Kolk & Van der Hart, 1989). Jeanne considered the encoding and retrieval of memories to be the central organising principle of the mind. Throughout life, the categorization and integration of particular experiences allows people to develop increasingly large and flexible meaning schemes that prepare them to cope with problems later in life. He hypothesised a biologically based response to trauma that results in fragmentation of mental cohesion and causes biological, behavioural, cognitive, and emotional remnants of past experience to continue to govern current behaviour (Van der Kolk & Van der Hart, 1989). Modern definitions have a similar understanding. For example, Gabor Maté defines trauma as a *scar* or *wound* that represents a psycho-physiological disorder of disintegration and control over the organism's authentic response to adaptation and, therefore, distance from authenticity and psychophysical health in general. "It's a psychic wound that leaves a scar. It leaves an imprint in your nervous system, in your body, in your psyche, and then shows up in multiple ways that are not helpful to you later on. It remains present as an unconscious mechanism that shapes the way we live life, stopping the processes of emotional growth and development" (Maté, 2022).

The identification of neural circuits involved in the pathophysiology of PTSD, followed by genetic, neuroendocrine, immunological, and psychophysiological findings on symptom development mechanisms

and disease maintenance, represents a paradigm shift and remarkable progress in the field of trauma, as well as clinical neuroscience in general (Liberzon & Abelson, 2016). Today, neurocognitive memory theories explain the development of PTSD on the basis of pathological distortion of memory representations related to the traumatic event (Brewin & Holmes, 2003; Dalgleish, 2004). Episodic memory stores memories of past events. Based on information retrieval, there are two types of episodic memory representation: autobiographical representation (declarative or explicit episodic memory), which stores facts and events; and sensory-perceptual representation (non-declarative or implicit episodic memory), which stores skills, habits, and conditioning (Squire, 1992). Autobiographical memory is the main resource for uncovering information about an individual and the basis for narrating events and stages of one's life. It is the declarative part of episodic memory, a highly developed and structured memory system that allows valuable knowledge about past events to be efficiently archived. It is structured chronologically in a hierarchical manner and depends on widespread neocortical neuronal activity. The hippocampus plays a central role in consolidating memories and encoding information that contradicts previously learned information. The functions of the hippocampus decline under high levels of stress and may even be permanently atrophied. The sensory-perceptual representation of events ensures the retrieval of sensory information, which is fundamentally different from the retrieval of autobiographical information. Contextual facts stored in autobiographical memory are retrieved as verbally accessible knowledge, while the retrieval of sensory information is perceived as experiencing the said data (Neuner et al., 2008). Neuroimaging studies suggest that sensory-perceptual representations of past events are stored in visuospatial processing and emotion structures and are activated by limbic structures – especially the posterior cingulate cortex (including the cingulate cortex and occipital and parietal cortices), as well as voluntary movement structures activated by the motor cortex (Bremner, 2002). The amygdala plays a key role in encoding and retrieving highly emotional events. Elevated arousal supports the encoding of permanent sensory-perceptual representations of the situation (Kensinger, 2004). Increased amygdala activity leads to an exaggerated sensory-perceptual representation of

events that can be easily activated, as many environmental cues resemble items in the fear-processing structure. The activation (which is difficult to control) of only a few elements is enough to activate the whole structure. Extreme stress causes excessive sensory-perceptual representation of the traumatic event and impairs the proper functioning of the hippocampus and autobiographical memory representation. Consequently, the traumatic event is not represented as a concrete event and is often not clearly positioned among life stages. The recollection of a traumatic memory is not grounded in the narrative and spatiotemporal contextual anchors that usually tie the experience to reality. This makes it very difficult for the victim to narrate the event. Traumatic memory is primarily dominated by highly disturbing sensory elements, while narratives are mainly fragmented (Neuner et al., 2008). Stress significantly impairs the executive functions of the highly evolved prefrontal association cortex (PFC), while simultaneously enhancing primitive emotional responses of the amygdala and the tonic activation of the locus coeruleus noradrenergic system, three brain regions that are closely connected (Arnsten et al., 2015). PTSD patients show reduced activity in the medial prefrontal region, but increased activity in the amygdala. Additionally, amygdala activity is negatively correlated with medial prefrontal activity and positively correlated with symptom severity. Bouton and peers argue that fear extinction depends on the activity of medial prefrontal areas, rather than changes in amygdala-dependent associations (Bouton, 1993; Bouton & King, 1983, after Craske et al., 2008). Permanent fear extinction requires memory consolidation in prefrontal areas, which involves protein synthesis. Pathways from the prefrontal cortex to the amygdala enable the modification of the fear response, depending on the evaluation of the stimulus in the current environmental context (Neuner et al., 2008). Evidence suggests that putting feelings into words activates the prefrontal cortex (PFC) and suppresses the amygdala response, thereby helping to alleviate emotional distress. The data support a general role of the ventromedial PFC in regulating amygdala activity (Foland-Ross et al., 2010). Modern approaches to narrative exposure (CBT) rely on this fact.

Regression therapy views trauma as an inscription in memory that arises as a consequence of an event in which there is a narrowing of consciousness together with psychological pain (injury). Furthermore,

this *inscription* also conditions physiological and psychological automatic reactions that are repeated in the form of dysfunctional patterns of behaviour and feelings. In regression therapy, the dysfunctional pattern (suffering) related to the reason the client is undergoing therapy is connected with sensations in the body, i.e., the information from sensory-perceptual memory that the client brings to consciousness and pronounces. This activates implicit memory, or physiological limbic structures in particular. The information serves as an association to life events in which dysfunctional patterns are conditioned or repeated. The event that conditions the association is always searched for – a primary engram, that is, a memory inscription that contains pain and narrowing of consciousness. The event usually appears in fragments but is completed with context and expressed narratively with each passage. Defining the beginning, the end, and the time at which the event had affected the client, enables the said client to position themselves in their own past. The main focus is on connecting patterns from the events the client describes and current dysfunctional patterns. As narratives increase, emotions are regulated (which is consistent with neurobiological evidence). Activation of the mPFC triggered by repeated narrative stimulation strengthens the extinction of fear in an associative context and regulates amygdala activity and emotion intensity. Placing the traumatic event in one's autobiographical past makes it possible for the client to recognize associatively conditioned reactions if they reappear, connect the trauma with an event in the past (now located in the autobiographical memory), and experience it as a past event rather than a present threat. This opens up the possibility of trying out new ways of functioning. As a rule, the regression is not interrupted as long as the emotions are intense, that is, while the narration is incomplete because the assumption is that otherwise, we would leave the client retraumatized and emotionally excited. At the end of the regression process, techniques of experience integration and consolidation are performed, thus the experience itself becomes a conscious part of the client's past.

2. *Research Problem and Objective*

The research problem is understanding the process of regression therapy and seeing its potential in healing trauma by linking the changes occurring in the process with neurobiological processes established by neurobiology findings.

The research objective is to describe the process of multiple traumatic experiences in non-hypnotic regression therapy and compare it with the research-based theory in order to facilitate the understanding of the technique's principles, compare them with scientifically based knowledge, and determine its potential in healing trauma, as well as contribute to a better understanding of trauma.

3. *Method*

The paper analyses the results of the research conducted throughout 2021 and 2022, which follows and describes the changes in the process of re-experiencing multiple traumatic events in therapy and relates it to the neurobiological research-based theory, with the aim of understanding the technique's principles and determining the potential of regression therapy in trauma healing.

3.1. *Variables*

There were 49 defined variables, three independent and 46 dependent variables. The variables were operationalized and a measuring instrument that defined the way of measuring these phenomena was constructed. The variables are shown in the Results section, within the descriptive statistics table.

3.2. *Sample*

The research was conducted on a transcript of a regression therapy session from the author's therapy practice, obtained with the client's

approval for the use and publication of confidential data for scientific purposes, along with identity protection.

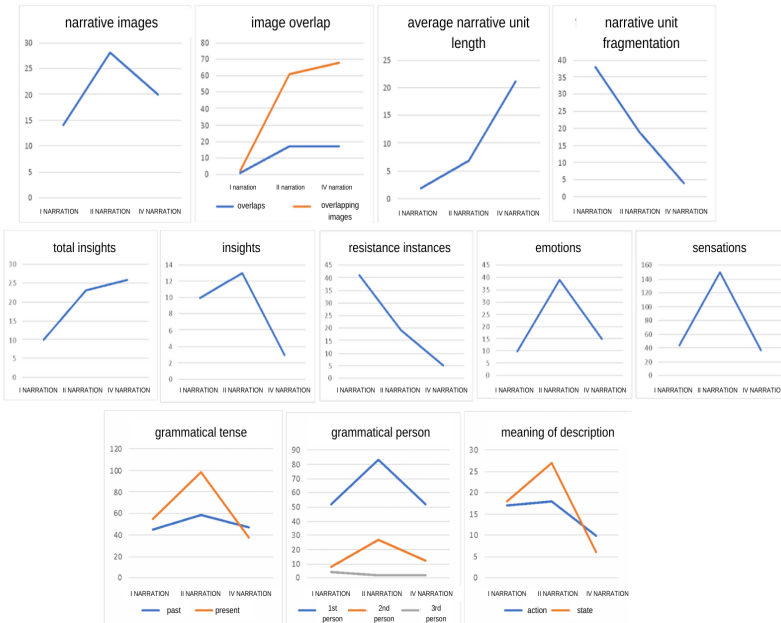
3.3. Procedure

The research measured behaviour expressed through speech, which had previously been recorded in the therapy transcript. Conclusions were derived from measurements of specific phenomena noted in the transcript. The decision about the constructs that were operationalized and measured was made on the basis of the phenomena observed by the phenomenological IFA narrative analysis. The constructs occurred from the narrative itself and were guided by the researcher's focus on the process of therapy and the process that takes place within the client. Measurements were taken in the first, second, and fourth narration of the traumatic event in the process of regression therapy. The client went through the third narration mentally, which rendered it unmeasurable, and it was therefore excluded from the research. In order to achieve easier navigation, the variables are arranged by focal units related to data monitoring. The main focus was on detecting and monitoring changes in PFC activation and amygdala regulation, as assumed by neurobiological theory, as well as the meaning of narratives that phenomenologically and epistemologically describe the impact of trauma on the client. The use of statistical data processing together with data comparison provided a better understanding of the processes that occur in therapy, but also within the client. The sample and the prominence of measured variables were described by descriptive statistics (frequencies and percentages), and are presented in the Results section, in the form of Excel tables and graphs.

Indicators of PFC activation refer to narrative coherence, resistance, and insights into the process. These are followed by the amount of information about the event (organised memory units of declarative memory), narrative fragmentation (the size of the narrative units), resistance to awareness, the number of narrative images and their overlapping through the repetition of events, the amount of insight into dysfunctional patterns that are consequences of trauma and that are brought to consciousness in the narrative. Raising the client's awareness

was monitored by insights into the connection between dysfunctional trauma patterns and their manifestations – representing the impact the trauma had on the client. The resistance defined by the manifested defence mechanisms and the grammatical tense that the client uses in the narrative represents an indicator of the client’s effort to be present, *here and now*, in the regression process, or their aversion towards therapy and awareness. Amygdala regulation indicators that were monitored were emotions and feelings. The choice of the grammatical tense (past and present) was among the observed indicators for the purposes of determining the client’s attitude towards the process, along with awareness and resistance. Moreover, the meaning of narrative descriptions related to states and actions was also monitored, with the aim of understanding their meaning in the regression therapy process. Lastly, the quality of the therapeutic relationship was observed by comparing the therapist’s interventions with the client’s resistance to therapy, as well as by comparing both the therapist’s and the client’s intensity in initiating insights which will not be presented in this paper.

4. Results



NEUROBIOLOGICAL CHANGES IN REGRESSION THERAPY PROCESS

THEME	VARIABLES	I NARRATIVE	II NARRATIVE	IV NARRATIVE	TOTAL NARRATIVES	narrative measurement	measurement unit	SPSS MARK
NARRATIVE COHERENCE	narrative images	14	28	20		No. of images	occurrence	SL
	overlapping images	2	61	68		No. of overlapping images	occurrence	PRSL
	overlaps	1	17	17		No. of occurrences of overlapping images	occurrence	BRPRSL
	missing images		2	6	6	No. of missing images present in the previous narration	occurrence	NEDSL
	narrative unit	1.96	6.89	21.13		narrative unit size	No. of lines	CE
	narrative fragmentation	38	19	4		No. of narrative units	occurrence	FRN
INSIGHTS	insights obtained independently by the client	4	6	0	10	No. of insights obtained independently by the client	occurrence	UKL
	insights initiated by the therapist	5	5	3	13	No. of insights initiated by the therapist	occurrence	UT
	insights initiated by the client, reinforced by the therapist	1	2	0	3	No. of insights initiated by the client and reinforced by the therapist	occurrence	UKLT
	total insights	10	13	3	26	No. of total insights	occurrence	
RESISTANCE	suppressions	29	17	4	50	No. of instances of resistance	occurrence	POT
	regressions	5	0	1	6	No. of instances of resistance	occurrence	RGR
	intellectualisations	4	0	0	4	No. of instances of resistance	occurrence	INT
	rationalisations	3	2	0	5	No. of instances of resistance	occurrence	RAC
	total resistance instances in the therapy process	41	19	15	65	resistance amount	occurrence	UKOT

EMOTIONS	fear	2	0	0	2	No. of instances of the named emotion	occurrence	strah
	sadness	3	13	1	17	No. of named emotions	occurrence	tuga
	love	5	2	0	7	No. of named emotions	occurrence	ljubav
	anger	0	11	8	19	No. of named emotions	occurrence	ljutnja
	rage	0	9	3	12	No. of named emotions	occurrence	bes
	hatred	0	1	1	2	No. of named emotions	occurrence	mržnja
	suffering	0	3	1	4	No. of named emotions	occurrence	patnja
	apathy	0	0	1	1	No. of named emotions	occurrence	apatija
	all emotions	10	39	15	66	No. of named emotions		
FEELINGS	separation	17	9	2	28	No. of named feelings	occurrence	separ
	confusion	1	13	1	15	No. of named feelings	occurrence	zbun
	powerlessness	8	40	6	54	No. of named feelings	occurrence	nemoć
	agency	0	3	2	5	No. of named feelings	occurrence	moć
	dullness	1	20	8	29	No. of named feelings	occurrence	tupost
	hopelessness	0	5	2	7	No. of named feelings	occurrence	bol
	pain	11	43	12	66	No. of named feelings	occurrence	zašt
	protectedness	6	17	4	27	No. of named feelings	occurrence	beznad
	all feelings	44	150	37	231	No. of named feelings	occurrence	

GRAMMAR	past	45	59	47	151	No. of past tense occurrences	occurrence	PRO
	present	55	98	37	190	No. of present tense occurrences	occurrence	SAD
	1st person	52	83	52	187	No. of 1st person occurrences	occurrence	PRVOL
	2nd person	8	27	12	47	No. of 2nd person occurrences	occurrence	DRUGOL
	3rd person	4	2	2	8	No. of 3rd person occurrences	occurrence	TREČEL
MEANING	action	17	28	10	55	No. of action descriptions	occurrence	RAD
	state	18	27	6	51	No. of state descriptions	occurrence	STA
INTERVENTIONS	revisiting the event	38	19	4	61	No. of action descriptions	occurrence	IVD
	identifying patterns	4	6	3	13	No. of action descriptions	occurrence	IPO
	summarising	0	1	1	2	No. of action descriptions	occurrence	IR
	Self-integration				7	No. of action descriptions	occurrence	IS
	total interventions	42	26	5		No. of action descriptions	occurrence	IUK
RELATION	conclusions drawn from a comparative analysis of the presented data							
CLIENT								
PROCESS								

5. Discussion

Narrative coherence – the presence of narrative overlap during regression therapy indicates that multiple narrative images are being connected and consolidated into distinct entities. In other words, memory fragments are incorporated into larger units forming a specific event, which indicates the subsumption of these images into a coherent autobiographical account. This process of reorganisation of memory/ies is driven by the activity of the PFC and it is intensified with each subsequent narration of a traumatic event. Most narrative images examined suggest that the second narration is particularly significant, as it is then when the participants become most highly aware of the information related to the traumatic event. The images that fade during the

process indicate that memories are hierarchically structured, which is characteristic of declarative memory where the images associated with a particular event gradually lose relevance. The hierarchical structuring suggests the formation of an autobiographical memory that further develops through successive narrations of the event in regression therapy.

Narrative unit is the uninterrupted flow of the client's narrative between two therapist interventions. The interruption in the client's speech suggests resistance to the process of attaining awareness, i.e., to regression, as a means to avoid experiencing negative emotions. A higher quantity of shorter narrative units is indicative of heightened client resistance, increased amygdala activity, as well as memory fragmentation and lowered awareness. Through the process of regression therapy, the number of narrative units consistently decreases, while the length of each unit – from the initial to the final narration of a traumatic event – progressively increases. This trend indicates memory defragmentation and consolidation, as well as the client's growing ability to overcome resistance and access memories consciously. It also shows the impact of heightened PFC activation in regulating the amygdala.

Insights – during the regression therapy process, the client obtains insights not only into the specifics of the traumatic event itself but also into the interconnectedness of their current dysfunctional behaviour patterns with the survival mechanisms that developed in response to the traumatic context. The emergence of these patterns itself confirms the theory of them being contextually conditioned and prompted by associations in the client's present environment. These insights enable the client to realise that the context of trauma and the current context are in fact different; they empower the client to make a conscious effort to interpret reality differently and change their behaviour accordingly, i.e., opt for new functional response strategies once these associations arise.

Insights reflect awareness and emerge during the very first narration in regression therapy. Clients experience the highest level of awareness in connection to specific insights during the second narration, while this awareness is at its lowest during the final narration. The cumulative number of insights increases with each new narration, which stems from the impact of awareness and PFC activity.

Resistance – Each new narration of the event saw a noticeable decline in the emergence of defence mechanisms, which suggests a decrease in emotional arousal (regulation of the amygdala) and increasing activity of the PFC with each narration of the event. When summarising these narrations, the client confirmed that each subsequent one was emotionally easier than the previous one.

Emotions identified by the client during the regression process are those conditioned in the context of past traumatic experiences. They might be triggered by different associations encountered in the client's present circumstances where these emotions no longer serve a functional purpose. The associations in question can include certain patterns of behaviour, emotions, imagery, and other sensory information as well as other situations linked to the context of trauma. The presence of these emotions in the transcript indicates the client's awareness of them, while their intensity reflects the degree of their linkage to the trauma, rather than the client's current emotional state. The discrepancy between the client's description of the "heaviness" felt when narrating the entire event and the intensity of individual emotions identified during these narrations confirms this observation. The client becomes the most aware of their emotions during the second narration and, as the therapy progresses, the intensity of these emotions decreases in the final narration. This decline in emotional intensity during the final narration is indicative of amygdala regulation. Pavlov believed that the original association learned during fear conditioning does not get erased during extinction but remains unchanged as new secondary learning develops (e.g., Bouton, 1993; Bouton & King, 1983, cited in Craske et al., 2008), with the possibility of the previously conditioned response reappearing. However, it is important to remember that his experiments were conducted on animals and there are differences in sentience and other cognitive abilities between animals and humans. We assume that the extinction of conditioned reactions in humans might be closely related to consciousness and the activation of the PFC, which we leave as an implication for future research.

Feelings – the activity of the limbic system is manifested in bodily sensations i.e., sensory processing data stored in implicit or perceptual

memory. Bringing these feelings into awareness occurs when the client explicitly names or describes these trauma-conditioned feelings in the narrative. These feelings are (conditionally) linked to the emotions recorded in the transcript, which shows they are conditioned by trauma. All the emotions and feelings present in the transcript are linked together in an associative chain due to being trauma-conditioned. Similar to emotions, the likelihood of becoming aware of one's feelings is the highest in the second narration, after which it decreases during the final narration.

Grammar – shifts in the usage of grammatical person and tense within the client's narrative. We presuppose that (1) any deviation from the first-person perspective indicates the client's reluctance to fully invest themselves and be present in the event, and (2) the use of the present tense suggests that the client is re-experiencing the event and bringing it into their awareness, while the past tense signifies recollection, i.e., the autobiographical representation of a consolidated memory. The results indicate that the presence of the present tense in the narrative has a more profound impact than the past tense, which suggests that the client engages more deeply in regression and gains a better understanding of their past in the present moment. Furthermore, the peak emotional intensity, regardless of the tense used, is reached during the second narration. The client's increased use of the present tense during the first and second narrations, followed by more frequent use of the past tense in the final narration, indicates memory consolidation within the autobiographical memory during the last narration. This shifts the narrative focus from reliving the trauma to recalling it as a memory, which presupposes active involvement of the PFC. In the overall process of narrating a traumatic experience, as well as during each individual narration, the prevalent use of the first-person perspective in self-description demonstrates the client's ability to invest themselves in the event with the purpose of becoming aware of it. The client's readiness to confront traumatic memories increases after the second narration, as evident from their reduced use of the second and third-person perspectives. The third-person viewpoint is predominantly employed in the initial narration when both amygdala reactivity and resistance to awareness are at their peak. The decline in the use of all grammatical

persons in self-descriptions in the final narration compared to the peak of occurrence – while accounting for the data showing an increase in narrative units, overlapping narrative images and information in general – signifies a decrease in descriptions of oneself within the trauma and an increase in descriptions of the traumatic event. This shift is driven by the consolidation of information in autobiographical memory and marks a significant step in transitioning from the conditioned perspective of “I am traumatised” to “the traumatic event is part of my past.” It serves as an indicator of trauma resolution – the trauma no longer induces suffering but activates conscious memories that allow for contextual differentiation.

Descriptions of actions and states – the data indicate minimal correlation and hardly any differences in their separate usage. The peak intensity of most variables aligns with the second narration, which is also in alignment with the strongest intensity of the second narration itself for most other data points. Regarding narrative descriptions of actions and states, there is a leaning towards describing states. However, this trend shifts in the final narration, with descriptions of actions becoming more prevalent. When we examine this in the context of the previous findings from this research, we can draw parallels between descriptions of states, the use of the present tense, and the intensity of emotions the client has become aware of. Similarly, descriptions of actions may be linked to the client’s recognition of their dysfunctional patterns or their newfound insights. Hence, it is observable that the awareness of insights coincides with an increase in descriptions of actions, while the use of the present tense aligns with a heightened awareness of emotions and descriptions of states. These patterns may or may not be related, which leaves room for future research.

The initial narration of the traumatic event is characterised by fragmented and incoherent memories that lack a clear chronological order and clarity in terms of their value and significance. This phase is emotionally difficult (in the examined sample, is the most challenging one) since it is when the client is the most resistant to acknowledging the traumatic memories and the least aware of the information, emotions, and conditioned associations. Furthermore, the client’s capacity for

emotional regulation is at its lowest, which means that the most intense reactions are physiological. These are the indicators of the hyperactivity of the amygdala and the hypoactivity of the PFC. During the second narration, the client is the most engaged in acknowledging the traumatic event. Regression, which involves “reliving the past event in the present moment during therapy,” is the most intense during this phase. The client’s acknowledgement and re-experiencing of the traumatic event are at their most intense. The highest frequency of awareness instances – relating to the information about the event, emotions, and sensations – occurs during the second narration. Mental images increase in number, overlap and group together, while memory fragmentation decreases, and narrative units expand. Insights are at their peak both in terms of quantity and intensity. The client’s awareness intensifies, and they begin to regulate their emotions. Furthermore, the client’s resistance to therapy diminishes, which makes this phase less emotionally challenging than the initial one; simultaneously, the level of detail in the information provided increases. The therapeutic relationship between the client and therapist is at its strongest during this phase. These indicators show an increased activity of the PFC and regulated (reduced) activity of the amygdala in this phase. In the final narration, memories become de-fragmented and are structured into coherent units. The traumatic event in the narrative transforms into an autobiographical memory from the client’s past, with a clear beginning and end within their personal history. The client’s narrative shifts in focus primarily towards actions rather than emotional states, there is more frequent use of the past tense than the present tense, and the intensity of acknowledged emotions and sensations decreases. Resistance to therapy is minimal and the awareness of insights decreases, which indicates that insights are primarily gained during deeper regression, i.e., in previous narrations. In the final narration, the client is no longer in the “here and now” but instead describes events by using “then and there.” Autobiographical memory is integrated, the PFC is active, there is a decrease in the activity of the limbic system, and the client’s emotions are regulated.

During a traumatic experience, consciousness becomes narrowed, and individuals mainly retain perceptual and consciously unprocessed information. Modern neurobiological findings highlight the importance

of improving PFC regulation as a key objective in treating PTSD, as this would enable patients to better manage their emotions, thoughts, and actions. A more active PFC should help patients with extinguishing fear responses (via PFC regulation of the amygdala), with calming down and reducing hyperarousal (e.g., through PFC regulation of the brainstem), and with diminishing flashbacks and intrusive memories (through PFC regulation of the posterior cortex and hippocampus). Exposure therapy may work in part through the creation of a safe context in which the PFC becomes increasingly more active, i.e., activates cognitive function and awareness; this increased PFC engagement regulates the amygdala by breaking the vicious circle of primitive brain reactions and extinguishing the traumatic response (Arnsten et al., 2015). In regression therapy, conducted within a safe environment, previously unprocessed information related to a traumatic experience is brought into the client's consciousness and linked to its relevant context. This process involves forming a conscious and explicit autobiographical memory and placing it within the context of past experiences that began and ended within a particular past event. Multiple narrations of the past traumatic event gradually activate the PFC as one's awareness of the event expands; they also regulate the amygdala and emotions and reduce the influence of associations that trigger trauma-related responses; this is consistent with the neurobiological theory of trauma. This process creates a separation between the present, the past, and the context of the traumatic event; it enables the client to reassess their associative reactions, consider whether these reactions would prove functional in future situations and choose more functional and adaptive responses. It is important to keep in mind that these results pertain to the specific sample in question and that this process can vary depending on the individual due to the client-focused nature of therapy. A replication of this study on a larger sample size is necessary to confirm the conclusions concerning the techniques and processes employed in this research. Future research on the effects of trauma treatment could deal with the comparison of results obtained via technical instruments for measuring neurobiological processes with those derived from conventional self-report instruments.

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Aleksandar Vasić^{1*}

UDC 159.923.2
Originalan naučni rad
Primljen: 23. 12. 2022.
Prihvaćen: 30. 06. 2023.

IZRADA I PROVERA UPITNIKA ZA PROCENU STATUSA JA-IDENTITETA *SID48*

REZIME: Razvojno-strukturalni model statusa Ja-identiteta je empirijski utemeljena razrada Eriksonove teorije psihosocijalnog razvoja ličnosti. Reč je o psihoanalitičkom modelu razvoja Ja koji je podstakao brojna istraživanja i razvoj mernih instrumenata koji su, međutim, nezadovoljavajućih psihometrijskih karakteristika. Stoga je za potrebe istraživanja na uzorcima iz domaće populacije izrađen i proveren upitnik *SID48* koji meri individualne razlike u četiri statusa Ja-identiteta. Na osnovu teorijskih pretpostavki i pojmova, prvo je sačinjen početni uzorak od 200 stavki, a potom i probna verzija upitnika sa 60 stavki kojima su pridružene petostepene skale uređenih stepenovanih kategorija odgovaranja. Opitna verzija upitnika sadržala je četiri skale sa po 15 stavki koje bi trebalo da dovoljno valjano i pouzdano odmere individualne razlike u statusima ostvarenog i preuzetog Ja-identiteta, konfuzije i moratorijuma. Upitnik je primenjen zajedno sa još nekim instrumentima istog tipa na prigodnom uzorku od 458 ispitanika oba pola (60% ispitanica) i uzrasta od 19 do 33 godine. Tako generisani podaci analizirani su u dva navrata radi provere internih psihometrijskih karakteristika. Rezultat je upitnik *SID48* sa četiri skale koje sadrže po 12 stavki. Upitnik *SID48* je vrlo dobre do odlične reprezentativnosti, homogenosti, pouzdanosti i faktorske valjanosti.

KLJUČNE REČI: *Psihosocijalni razvoj, statusi Ja-identiteta, pouzdanost, valjanost, faktorska analiza.*

^{1*}Redovni profesor, Fakultet za pravne i poslovne studije dr Lazar Vrkatić, Novi Sad, Univerzitet Union, Beograd. E. pošta: aleksandarvasic1966@yahoo.com.

1. Uvod

Opšte je mesto da u psihologiji, kao i široj akademskoj zajednici, vlada ambivalentan odnos prema psihoanalizi (Batelman & Holmes, 1995; Bornstein, 2007; Ignjatović, Vasić, Kosanović, Mitrović i Momirović, 1995; Westen & Gabbard, 1999). Na jednoj strani stoji poricanje bilo kakvog naučnog značaja psihoanalitičkih pojmova i pretpostavki koje je zasnovano na manje ili više sumnjivim filozofskim i naučnim razlozima. Na drugoj strani je zastupljeno shvatanje tih pojmova i pretpostavki kao neke vrste dogmatskog učenja i uzdizanje začetnika psihoanalize na pijedestal božanstva. Bilo bi odveć jednostavno konstatovati kako je za ovakva ekstremna stanovišta neka istina negde između. Čini se da je naučno plodotvorniji odnos prema psihoanalitičkim pojmovima i pretpostavkama u sledećem.

Prvo, opredeljivanje za jednu ili drugu stranu previda činjenicu da ima, čak, i psihoanalitičara koji zagovaraju naučno-empirijski, kvantitativan pristup i da znatan broj istraživačkih nalaza govori u prilog nekim pojmovima i pretpostavkama iz psihoanalitičkih teorija (Bornstein, 2007; Fisher & Greenberg, 1996; Westen & Gabbard, 1999). Drugo, ta ekstremna stanovišta odnose se, pre svega, na izvornu psihoanalitičku teoriju koju je razvijao Sigmund Frojd sa saradnicima do 1923. godine, kada je objavljena studija o odnosu između Onog (Id) i Ja (Ego; Freud, 1961). Od tada započinju dalji teorijski razvoji unutar psihoanalize koji, ma koliko bili dosledni nastavci izvorne teorije, svakako zaslužuju da se smatraju relativno zasebnim psihoanalitičkim teorijama (Palombo, Bendiczen, & Koch, 2009; Vasić, 2021). Te novije psihoanalitičke teorije zasnovane su ne samo na kliničkom iskustvu, nego i na rezultatima empirijskih istraživanja (Vasić, 2021).

Jedna od tih psihoanalitičkih teorija je i Eriksonova teorija (1950, 1956, 1968), koja se gotovo po pravilu i standardno udžbenički predstavlja (samo) kao teorija celoživotnog razvoja. Ali to je zapravo teorija razvoja Ja kroz osam stadijuma u ukupnom životnom ciklusu, koja nastoji da opiše i objasni međudelovanja biopsihosocijalnih činilaca tog razvoja. Ključni pojam ove teorije je *Ja-identitet* koji se odnosi na istrajno doživljavanje istovetnosti samoga sebe, kao i na razmenjivanje te istovetnosti sa bliskim značajnim osobama tokom životnog ciklusa

(Erikson, 1956). Ta istovetnost i kontinuitet sačinjeni su iz svesnog osećanja ličnog identiteta, nesvesne težnje za ličnom postojanošću koja počiva na libidinalnim porivima, kao uslovu života bez kojeg se ne može, tihog i istrajnog rada Ja-sinteze i solidarnosti sa grupnim vrednostima (Erikson, 1968). Kritični momenat u razvoju Ja-identiteta je razvojna kriza koja se odigrava tokom mladalaštva. Upravo zato je peti stadijum u psihosocijalnom razvoju ličnosti Erikson nazvao stadijumom relativno doslednog uobličavanja Ja-identiteta nasuprot difuziji/konfuziji Ja. Razvojna kriza u mladalaštvu odnosi se na prelazak iz detinjstva u odraslo doba i razrešava se posvećivanjima životnim ciljevima i ulogama u određenoj zajednici. Ljudske zajednice se razlikuju u trajanju, intenzitetu pritisaka i ritualizacijama/institucionalizacijama ove razvojne krize, odnosno u *psihosocijalnom moratorijumu* tokom kojeg se mladim osobama omogućava da istražuju, probaju, proživljavaju i odlučuju o ljubavi i radu u svojim životima.

Upravo je pojam Ja-identiteta privukao naročitu pažnju mnogih istraživača među kojima su i ovde citirani, verovatno ponajviše od svih psihoanalitičkih pojmova i pretpostavki. Tome su, svakako, doprinele društveno-istorijska aktuelnost problema, na koje ova teorija upućuje i nudi njihova rešenja, kao i neuobičajena blagonaklonost akademske psihologije prema E. Eriksonu i njegovom teoretisanju (Douvan, 1997; Palombo et al., 2009). Za takav status pojma Ja-identiteta svakako je najzaslužniji Džejms Marsija, koji je na osnovu nalaza iz istraživanja za svoju doktorsku disertaciju formulisao model razvoja i strukture Ja-identiteta u mladalaštvu (Kroger & Marcia, 2021; Marcia, 1964, 1966, 1967). U tom modelu se na osnovu dva ključna zamajca razvoja Ja-identiteta, eksploracije i posvećenosti, detaljnije opisuju i objašnjavaju ishodi razvojne krize mladalaštva duž psihosocijalnog kontinuuma (Kroger & Marcia, 2011, 2021). Ti razvojni ishodi su relativno nezavisni statusi u individualnom funkcionisanju mladih u rasponu od uobličenog ili ostvarenog Ja-identiteta do njegove konfuzije/difuzije (Tabela 1).

Tabela 1 – Statusi Ja-identiteta s obzirom na prisutnost eksploracije i posvećenosti (Prema: Kroger & Marcia, 2021, str. 219).

Statusi	Eksploracija (kriza)	Posvećenost
Ostvareni Ja-identitet (<i>OI</i>)	+	+
Moratorijum (<i>MI</i>)	AKTUELNO	NEJASNO
Preuzeti Ja-identitet (<i>PI</i>)	-	+
Konfuzija/difuzija (<i>KI</i>)*	-/+	-

NAPOMENA: (+) – postoji, jasno je, primetno je; (-) – ne postoji, nejasno je, neprimetno je; * - Erikson je prvo koristio izraz *difuzija*, a onda je, iz ne baš jasnih razloga, uveo izraz *konfuzija*. Marsija dosledno koristi izraz *difuzija*. Ovdje će se koristiti istovremeno oba izraza.

Četiri statusa Ja-identiteta u razvojno-strukturalnom modelu definisani su na osnovu toga da li je razvojna kriza (istraživanje ili eksploracija) prevaziđena ili je još uvek u zamahu i da li postoji ili još uvek nije dostignuta dovoljno jasna i stabilna posvećenost vrednostima, normama i očekivanim ponašanjima u aktuelnom sociokulturnom kontekstu. Do psihosocijalnog moratorijuma dominiraju rane, infantilne identifikacije i kompromisna formacija nastala razrešenjem edipalnog konflikta (latencija ili infantilni moratorijum). Stoga mlade osobe do adolescencije (još uvek) ne doživljavaju afektivnu uznemirenost niti kognitivnu težnju ka stabilizovanju poimanja sebe, lično i u mreži interpersonalnih odnosa. Međutim, telesno, a posebno seksualno sazrevanje i ponovno buđenje libida, s jedne strane, te društveni pritisci ka usvajanju sve brojnijih, neretko sukobljenih uloga, sa druge strane, pobuđuju u mladima nesigurnost u samopoimanju i odnosima sa drugima, kao i prapatnu afektivnu nestabilnost. Za one mlade osobe koje zaostaju u moratorijumu, opterećene emocionalnom nestabilnošću i bez jasnijih posvećenosti, kaže se da su u statusu *konfuzije/difuzije Ja-identiteta*. One mlade osobe koje izlaze iz moratorijuma i prevazilaze krizu tako što istrajavaju na infantilnim posvećenostima (dečiji Ja-ideal), ostavši privržene tuđim, najčešće roditeljskim posvećenostima, nalaze se u statusu *preuzetog Ja-identiteta*. Mlade osobe koje aktuelno proživljavaju manje ili više svesnu samoupitanost i aktivno istražuju mogućnosti, ali još uvek nisu dostigle relativno jasnu i stabilnu posvećenost, nalaze se u statusu *moratorijuma*. One mlade osobe koje su proživjele moratorijum

i usvojile lične, jedinstvene posvećenosti, nadrastajući tako infantilne identifikacije, dostižu status *ostvarenog Ja-identiteta*.

Istraživanja podstaknuta razvojno-strukturalnim modelom podrazumevala su i razvoj novih sredstava procene i mernih instrumenata. Stiče se, međutim, utisak da je teorijsko-pojmovni okvir ovog modela znatno uznapredovao u odnosu na Eriksonove opise i zapažanja, a da se na planu procene i merenja statusa Ja-identiteta još uvek tapka u mestu. Dok Marsija istrajno insistira na (polu)strukturiranom intervjuu, dotle su drugi istraživači sačinili instrumente upitničkog tipa, ali takvih psihometrijskih karakteristika da je upitna i njihova primena u istraživačke svrhe (Tabela 2).

Tabela 2 – Neki upitnici za merenje (statusa) Ja-identiteta i njihova pouzdanost.

Naziv instrumenta (tehnička oznaka)	Izvor	α (ili λ_3)*
Proširena verzija Objektivne mere statusa Ja-identiteta (<i>EOMEIS2</i>)**	Adams (1998)	0,61 i 0,64
Inventar stilova identiteta (<i>ISI3</i>)***	Crocetti et al. (2012)	0,64
Skala funkcija identiteta (<i>FIS</i>)****	Crocetti et al. (2012)	0,60
Utreht skala upravljanja identitetskim posvećenostima (<i>U-MICS</i>)*****	Crocetti et al. (2012)	0,76

NAPOMENE: * - koeficijent pouzdanosti tipa interne konzistencije ** – *EOMEIS2* daje više rezultata pomoću kojih se ispitanici na kraju razvrstavaju u četiri statusa. Ovde su navedene prosečne vrednosti za skale u domenu profesije i ideologije; *** – *ISI* postoji u više nacionalnih verzija i namenjen je merenju informativnog, normativnog i difuzno-izbegavajućeg stila identiteta (Berzon-sky, 1989); **** – *FIS* je namenjen merenju funkcija identiteta imenovanih kao osećanje strukture, konzistentnost i usaglašenost posvećenosti, orijentacija ka budućnosti, usmerenost ka ciljevima i osećanje lične kontrole (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Serafini & Adams, 2002); ***** – *U-MICS* meri tri dimenzije identiteta koje su definisane kao posvećenost, dubinska eksploracija i preispitivanje posvećenosti (Crocetti, Schwartz, Fermani, & Meeus, 2010; Meeus, Van de Schoot, Keijsers, Schwartz, & Branje, 2010).

Glavni razlog tome je nepotpuno utemeljenje tih instrumenata na postavkama kvantitativnog, dimenzionog pristupa u izučavanju razlika u individualnom funkcionisanju (Vasić, 2019). Ono osnovno što je manjkavo u tim instrumentima jeste poistovećivanje statusa (Ja-Identiteta) sa ekskluzivnom klasom. Takvo poistovećivanje konsekventno svodi merenje ili procenu na primitivan i grub, te otuda i nedovoljno precizan oblik razvrstavanja u klase. Dok se takav model merenja može smatrati inherentnim tehnikama (polu)projektivnog i (polu)struktuiranog tipa, to svakako nije slučaj sa instrumentima upitničkog tipa. Štaviše, razvoj upitnika išao je ruku pod ruku s razvojem višemernog dimenzionog pristupa i njemu svojstvenim, složenijim modelima merenja, kao što je, na primer, faktorsko-analički model.

Drugi problem predstavlja i sam pojam statusa. Svaki nalaz i mišljenje u psihološkoj praksi i istraživanjima počivaju na rezultatima merenja i procene radi utvrđivanja relativnog položaja (statusa) individue ili grupe individua, kada je reč o jednom ili više aspekata individualnog funkcionisanja. Pri tome, taj položaj ili status je bar dvostruko relativan – u odnosu jedne individue prema drugim individuama (interindividualne razlike) u nekom vremenskom odsečku i u odnosima između ponovljenih merenja jedne individue u različitim vremenskim odsečcima (intraindividualne razlike; Vasić, 2019, 2021). Stoga, nema nikakvog razloga da isto ne važi i kada je reč o statusima Ja-identiteta.

Još jedna važna postavka psihologije individualnih razlika koja nije eksplicitno artikulisana kao polazište u izradi navedenih instrumenata odnosi se na razliku između manifestnog, u smislu opazivih ili merljivih individualnih razlika, i latentnog, odnosno golom oku ili merenju tek posredno dostupnih generatora te manifestne raznolikosti. Primenom odgovarajućih multivarijantnih matematičko-statističkih modela iz te kakofonije manifestnih razlika u osećanjima, mišljenjima i ponašanjima mogu se izolovati i definisati latentne dimenzije koje stoje iza različitih ishoda u razvoju Ja-identiteta.

Tipičan primer nedovoljno ili neadekvatno utemeljenog instrumenta je verovatno najčešće korišćeni upitnik *OMEIS* (Adams, 1998) za kojeg stoji znatan trud da se pojasni i razradi njegova teorijska zaledina. Činjenica je da je ovaj upitnik dodatno podstakao na istraživanja statu-

sa Ja-identiteta prema Marsijinom modelu. Ali taj instrument je takvih psihometrijskih karakteristika da je njegova primena, bar na uzorcima iz domaće populacije, više nego upitna (Tovarović, 2014). Najvažniji razlog za to je da su u njegovoj izradi izostala dosledna izvođenja pojmova i pretpostavki Marsijinog modela u duhu kvantitativnog, dimenzionog pristupa psihologije individualnih razlika. Za to je odgovoran i sam Marsija, insistirajući na kategorijalnom pristupu, iako i on čini skromne iskorake tvrdeći, recimo, da su statusi Ja-identiteta više rasplnute nego isključive kategorije – ma šta god to značilo. Stoga je učinjen pokušaj da se za potrebe istraživanja na uzorcima iz domaće populacije sačini i proveri novi instrument upitničkog tipa namenjen merenju statusa Ja-identiteta uporedno boljih metrijskih karakteristika. Cilj ovog izveštaja je da se izlože osnovni rezultati provere reprezentativnosti, homogenosti, pouzdanosti i faktorske valjanosti novog upitnika. Dodatno, kao kontrolna provera teorijske utemeljenosti upitnika, analizirana je i raspodela dimenzija statusa Ja-identiteta u strukturi psihosocijalnog kontinuuma razvojnih ishoda u mladalaštvu.

2. Metod

2.1. Uzorak ispitanika

Istraživanje je sprovedeno na prigodnom uzorku ispitanika iz studentske populacije, koji je sačinjen po principu lavine. Uzorak je činilo 458 ispitanika uzrasta od 19 do 33 godine, od čega je 60% ispitanica i 40% ispitanika. S obzirom na uzrast ispitanika, može se konstatovati da je reč o mladim osobama koje su starijeg adolescentnog doba ili nastajuće odraslosti (Arnett, 2000) kada bi se, po pretpostavci, mogla očekivati relativno stabilna struktura psihosocijalnog kontinuuma. Primena upitnika obavljena je grupno, u prostorijama ustanova u kojima su ispitanici pohađali nastavu. U toku istraživanja nisu registrovani događaji koji bi doveli u pitanje valjanost podataka.

2.2. Izrada upitnika SID48

Eksperimentalna verzija upitnika za merenje statusa Ja-identiteta sačinjena je iz početne mase od 200 stavki. Tu inicijalnu kolekciju produkovalo je 20 studenata master studija Poslovne psihologije na Fakultetu za pravne i poslovne studije dr Lazar Vrkić u Novom Sadu, nakon detaljnog upoznavanja sa Marsijinim razvojno-strukturalnim modelom. Iz te početne mase sačinjena je opitna verzija upitnika sa 60 stavki koje su raspoređene u četiri skale za merenje statusa Ja-identiteta, dok se skale u upitniku nižu, redom, od ostvarenog Ja-identiteta preko moratorijuma i preuzetog Ja-identiteta do konfuzije/difuzije Ja-identiteta. Ova redukcija obavljena je na osnovu teorijske i sadržinske valjanosti svake stavke – da stavka odgovara pojmu odgovarajućeg statusa, da odražava jedan od ključnih zamajaca razvoja Ja-identiteta (kriza/eksplozija ili posvećenost) i odnos prema sebi i drugima, profesiji i ideologiji. Na početku upitnika nalazi se uvodna instrukcija o nameni instrumenta i načinu odgovaranja. Stavkama su pridružene uniformne petostepene kategorije odgovaranja u rasponu od potpunog neslaganja do potpunog slaganja sa svakom tvrdnjom. Odgovori ispitanika su kodirani tako da veći stepen slaganja indikuje i veći stepen izraženosti merenog svojstva. Probna verzija upitnika za merenje statusa Ja-identiteta sa 60 stavki primenjena je zajedno sa još nekim instrumentima istog tipa, ali drugih predmeta merenja.

2.3. Analize podataka

Rezultati na stavkama prvo su normalizovani (Tuckey, 1977), a zatim i standardizovani tako da su vrednosti prva dva momenta u raspedeli tih rezultata jednake nuli i jedinici. U analizama internih metrijskih karakteristika stavki i skala primenjen je *Syntax*-algoritam (Knežević i Momirović, 1996), koji emituje veći broj procena među kojima su i reprezentativnost, homogenost, pouzdanost i valjanost (Momirović, Wolf i Popović, 1999). Obavljena je i eksploratorna faktorska analiza, radi provere faktorske valjanosti novog upitnika. Iako postojanje relativno solidne teorijske zaleđine možda nalaže primenu konfirmatorne faktorske analize (od gore prema dole), činjenica je da je ovde reč o novom uzorku varijabli, što prvo nalaže eksploratornu faktorsku analizu (od

dole prema gore). U ekstrakciji je primenjena analiza glavnih komponentata (Hotelling, 1933), a u određivanju broja značajnih dimenzija korišćeni su kriterijum jedinice (Guttman, 1954; Kaiser, 1961), kriterijum osuline ili plazine (Cattell, 1966) i njegova statistička razrada poznata kao paralelna analiza (Horn, 1965; O'Connor, 2000). S obzirom na to da su u analizi strukture prostora merenja upitnika očekivana bar četiri faktora sa pretpostavljenim međuodnosima, u njihovoj rotaciji je primenjeno kosouglo rešenje *Promax* (Hendrickson & White, 1964). Pomoću multidimenzionalnog skaliranja (Davison & Sireci, 2000; Rencher & Christensen, 2012) učinjen je dodatni pokušaj provere položaja statusa Ja-identiteta duž kontinuuma psihosocijalnog razvoja. Iako je učinjeno dosta napora u usavršavanju ovog analitičkog postupka, činjenica je da je to pre svega postupak grafičke prirode (Rencher & Christensen, 2012) i u tom smislu je ovde i primenjen – kao dodatno slikovno razgledanje odnosa među statusima Ja-identiteta.

3. Rezultati

S obzirom na to da eksperimentalna verzija novog upitnika za merenje statusa Ja-identiteta sadrži 60 stavki a njegova finalna forma još 48 stavki, ukupna količina ishodovanih rezultata je preobimna za izveštaj ograničenog obima. Stoga je učinjen odabir dovoljno informativnih rezultata na osnovu kojih se sa zadovoljavajućom sigurnošću može zaključivati o osnovnim internim metrijskim karakteristikama ovog instrumenta. U prvom delu izloženi su rezultati koji govore o nekim internim metrijskim karakteristikama skala iz novog upitnika. U drugom delu izloženi su rezultati provere faktorske valjanosti upitnika, a u trećem delu rezultati koji govore o odnosima između mera statusa Ja-identiteta koje taj instrument emituje.

3.1. Metrijske karakteristike skala

U Tabeli 3 nalaze se procene nekih metrijskih karakteristika skala sa 15 stavki iz eksperimentalne verzije upitnika. U Tabeli 4 su iste procene, ali sada redukovanih skala sa po 12 stavki iz finalne verzije upitnika

imenovanog kao *SID48* (*S* – prvo slovo pojma *status*; *I* – od lične zame-nice na engleskom jeziku u jednini; *D* – od pojma *dimenzija*; *48* – broj stavki u upitniku).

Tabela 3 – Neke interne metrijske karakteristike početnih skala sa 15 stavki.

Skale	<i>m</i>	ψ	α (ili λ_2)	β	h_1	h_2
Ostvareni Ja-identitet (<i>OI</i>)	15	,92	,79	,77	,20	,74
Moratorijum (<i>MI</i>)	15	,87	,78	,78	,19	,67
Preuzeti Ja-identitet (<i>PI</i>)	15	,94	,84	,85	,26	,71
Konfuzija/difuzija (<i>KI</i>)	15	,96	,86	,87	,30	,73

NAPOMENA: *m* – broj stavki u skalama; ψ – reprezentativnost procenjena preko jedne mere adekvatnosti uzorkovanja varijabli; α – Gutman – Kronbahova procena pouzdanosti tipa interne konzistencije; β – pouzdanost prve glavne komponente skala; h_1 – homogenost kao prosečna interkorelacija stavki unutar skala; h_2 – Momirovićev koeficijent homogenosti.

Tri od četiri skale iz probne verzije upitnika su odlične a jedna vrlo dobre reprezentativnosti. Po procenama dve vrste pouzdanosti, koje su međusobno usaglašene, kao odlične izdvajaju se skale statusa preuzetog Ja-identiteta i konfuzije. Nešto niže, ali za istraživačke svrhe prihvatljive pouzdanosti, jesu skale ostvarenog Ja-identiteta i moratorijuma. Slično je i kada je reč o izloženim procenama homogenosti skala. Radi postizanja još boljih metrijskih karakteristika, ali i radi toga da se upitnik učini ekonomičnijim za primenu, razmotreni su doprinosi pojedinih stavki i izvršena je dodatna redukcija skala.

Tabela 4 – Neke interne metrijske karakteristike redukovanih skala sa 12 stavki.

Skale	m	ψ	α (ili λ_3)	β	h_1	h_2
Ostvareni Ja-identitet (<i>OI</i>)	12	,93	,82	,83	,28	,80
Moratorijum (<i>MI</i>)	12	,86	,77	,77	,22	,71
Preuzeti Ja-identitet (<i>PI</i>)	12	,93	,83	,84	,30	,78
Konfuzija/difuzija (<i>KI</i>)	12	,96	,87	,87	,35	,85

NAPOMENA: m – broj stavki u skalama; ψ – reprezentativnost procenjena preko jedne mere adekvatnosti uzorkovanja varijabli; α – Gutman – Kronbahova procena pouzdanosti tipa interne konzistencije; β – pouzdanost prve glavne komponente skala; h_1 – homogenost kao prosečna interkorelacija stavki unutar skala; h_2 – Momirovićev koeficijent homogenosti.

Kada je reč o reprezentativnosti redukovanih skala, situacija je uglavnom ista sa neznatnim promenama na drugom decimalnom mestu. Pouzdanost redukovane skale statusa ostvarenog Ja-identiteta je znatnije povećana, dok je pouzdanost ostalih skala uglavnom ostala ista. Najviše poboljšanja redukovanjem skala ostvareno je kada je reč o procenama njihove homogenosti. Na osnovu toga, može se konstatovati da su skale upitnika *SID48* vrlo dobre do odlične homogenosti, reprezentativnosti i pouzdanosti.

3.2. Faktorska valjanost

Kriterijumi za određivanje broja značajnih faktora su relativno neusaglašeni. Kriterijum jedinice ukazivao je na 11 značajnih komponenta, što je skoro tri puta više od očekivanog, teorijskog broja. Na drugoj strani, kriterijum osuline/plazine i paralelna analiza usaglašeno ukazuju na sedam značajnih dimenzija, što je gotovo dva puta više od očekivanog broja. Stoga je, zbog neusaglašenosti kriterijuma, primenjena strategija koja predstavlja oponašanje takozvane grafičke rotacije. Sukcesivno je ekstrahovano od sedam do četiri glavne komponente (dakle, četiri

ekstrakcije) i u svakom slučaju primenjena je *Promax*-rotacija (dakle, četiri rotacije). U razmatranju dobijenih faktorskih rešenja analizirane su matrice sklopa i interkorelacija *Promax*-faktora. Sedmofaktorsko rešenje sadrži jedan neinterpretabilan faktor koji zasićuje četiri stavke od kojih svaka indikuje po jedan status Ja-identiteta. Dva para faktora iz ovog rešenja nastala su razdvajanjem stavki koje bi trebalo da indikuju moratorijum, odnosno ostvareni Ja-identitet (faktorska fisija), dok su preostala dva faktora očekivane dimenzije statusa preuzetog Ja-identiteta i konfuzije/difuzije. Rešenja sa šest i pet faktora donose sukcesivno stapanje raspolučenih faktora ostvarenog Ja-identiteta i moratorijuma (faktorska fuzija) da bi se, konačno, ta struktura stabilizovala u četvorfaktorskom rešenju. To rešenje, koje odgovara teorijskom očekivanju, ukratko je u izvodima, zajedno sa strukturama prvih glavnih komponenta četiri skale statusa Ja-identiteta, izloženo u tabelama 5–8.

Tabela 5 – Izvod iz matrice sklopa prvog *Promax*-faktora i struktura prve glavne komponente skale.

Stavke	<i>PF1</i>	<i>IGK</i>
46. Retko se desi da učestvuje u organizovanju druženja sa prijateljima.	,73	,49
48. Umara ga razmišljanje o budućnosti koja se nalazi pred njim.	,38	,65
49. U slobodnom vremenu često nema pojma šta da radi.	,41	,68
51. Iako nezadovoljan školom ili poslom, ne trudi se da nađe nešto bolje.	,59	,72
52. Njegove emocionalne veze sa drugima su površne i prolazne.	,36	,63
53. Rasprave o budućnosti ga ne interesuju i ne učestvuje u tome.	,71	,53
54. Često se pita zašto je ovde.	,38	,72
55. Nema bliskih prijatelja, samo voli da provodi vreme sa ljudima.	,63	,53
56. Ima utisak da su sva društvena dešavanja i promene kao loš film.	,46	,54
57. Nije siguran u to šta zaista želi u životu po bilo kom pitanju.	,40	,75
58. Ne razmišlja o braku ili vezi jer nema pojma šta će mu to u životu.	,42	,62
60. Misli da još uvek nije pronašao sebe niti razmišlja o tome.	,35	,74

NAPOMENA: Redni broj stavki je iz početne verzije upitnika sa 60 stavki; *IPF* – prvi *Promax*-faktor; *IGK* – Struktura prve glavne komponente finalne verzije skale sa 12 stavki.

Prvim *Promax*-faktorom značajno su zasićene sve stavke koje su zamišljene kao indikacije konfuzije Ja-identiteta. Takođe, sve ove stavke imaju značajne projekcije na svoj prvi glavni predmet merenja po Hotellingovom modelu. Mlade osobe koje imaju povišene rezultate na ovoj dimenziji manifestuju besciljnost, apatičnost, nekvalitetne interpersonalne odnose i nestrukturirano slobodno vreme. To sve jasno govori o izostanku eksploracije i posvećenosti, te će se ova dimenzija tako i definisati – kao dimenzija individualnih razlika u *statusu konfuzije Ja-identiteta*.

Tabela 6 – Izvod iz matrice sklopa drugog *Promax*-faktora i struktura prve glavne komponente skale.

Stavke	2PF	1GK
1. Ima nekoliko najboljih prijatelja.	,07	,35
2. Provodi vreme u aktivnostima i učenju stvari koje ga interesuju.	,60	,51
3. Ima jasnu viziju svoje budućnosti.	,75	,75
4. Ima vrlo bliske i stabilne odnose sa drugima.	,37	,65
6. Zna šta želi da postigne u svom životu.	,66	,72
7. Može da ostvari i održi stabilan emotivni odnos sa drugom osobom.	,49	,63
9. Zna šta je za njega najbitnija stvar u životu.	,44	,66
10. Bira prijatelje na osnovu određenih vrednosti.	,46	,36
12. Za svoje postupke odgovoran je samo on, a ne neko drugi.	,19	,51
13. Misli da zna kako da odabere partnera za sebe.	,66	,66
14. Odabrao je jedan ili više hobija i njima se redovno bavi.	,60	,34
15. Njegove vrednosti i ciljevi su jasno određeni.	,82	,75

NAPOMENA: Redni broj stavki je iz početne verzije upitnika sa 60 stavki; 2PF – drugi *Promax*-faktor; 1GK – Struktura prve glavne komponente finalne verzije skale sa 12 stavki.

Drugim *Promax*-faktorom značajno su zasićene sve stavke iz skale ostvarenog Ja-identiteta osim jedne. Zapravo, ta stavka nije bila značajno zasićena nijednim faktorom iz četvorofaktorskog rešenja. Ipak, kao što se može videti, ta stavka ima značajan koeficijent korelacije sa prvom

glavnom komponentom te skale, te je iz tog razloga zadržana u finalnoj verziji upitnika. Ispitanici sa visokim rezultatima na ovoj dimenziji jasno pokazuju da su prevazišli krizu (istraživanje) i da su postigli posvećenosti koje nastoje i da ostvare. Očigledno, ovde je reč o dimenziji koja sažima individualne razlike u *statusu ostvarenog Ja-identiteta*.

Tabela 7 – Izvod iz matrice sklopa trećeg *Promax*-faktora i struktura prve glavne komponente skale.

Stavke	3PF	1GK
31. Razmišlja o odnosima žene/muškarci u skladu sa porodičnim shvatanjima.	,50	,52
32. Ponosan je što će nastaviti tradiciju porodice.	,61	,69
33. Što manje misli, a više radi ono što se očekuje, bolje mu je...	,52	,57
34. Uglavnom se slaže sa mišljenjem i stavovima vršnjaka.	,50	,49
36. Tradicionalne vrednosti društva imaju veliki značaj za njega.	,66	,62
38. Roditelji ga vaspitavali da je važno ići u crkvu i to potpuno poštuje.	,69	,66
39. Kada donosi odluke veoma mu je važno i mišljenje roditelja.	,60	,63
40. Oseća potrebu da ispuni očekivanja roditelja jer su mnogo uložili u njega.	,56	,61
41. U kući se uvek držalo do običaja i siguran je da će tako nastaviti.	,80	,79
42. Uvek se trudi da se ponaša onako kako se to očekuje od njega.	,68	,66
43. Za devojk/ momka birao bi uvek osobu za koju svi misle da je dobra.	,48	,46
44. Misli da je deci i mladima danas potreban snažan autoritet i stroga disciplina.	,44	,42

NAPOMENA: Redni broj stavki je iz početne verzije upitnika sa 60 stavki; 3PF – treći *Promax*-faktor; 1GK – Struktura prve glavne komponente finalne verzije skale sa 12 stavki.

Treći *Promax*-faktor značajno zasićuje sve stavke koje su sačinjene s namerom da indikuju status preuzetog *Ja-identiteta*. Takva pregnantna struktura primetna je i kada je reč o prvoj glavnoj komponenti odgovarajuće skale. Ispitanici sa povišenim rezultatima na ovoj dimenziji ostaju prožeti ranim, infantilnim identifikacijama, što se odražava na samopoi-

manja i transponuje na interpersonalne odnose i profesionalna i ideološka opredeljenja. Stoga, van svake sumnje, ova dimenzija može da se definiše kao dimenzija individualnih razlika u *statusu preuzetog Ja-identiteta*.

Tabela 8 – Izvod iz matrice sklopa četvrtog *Promax*-faktora i struktura prve glavne komponente skale.

Stavke	4PF	1GK
16. Ima tek okvirnu ideju o životnom partneru.	,73	,57
17. Ima razne hobije, ali ne može da kaže koji je najinteresantniji.	,38	,53
18. Misli da zna čime bi se bavio, ali još uvek razmišlja i preispituje se.	,41	,64
19. Puno razmišlja i još uvek nije siguran o ulogama žene/ muškarca u braku.	,59	,65
22. Ima mnogo prijatelja, ali ne zna koji je od njih zaista najbolji.	,36	,59
23. Voli da čita skoro sve ali ne može da izdvoji jednog pisca ili određeni žanr.	,71	,40
24. Otvoren je za različite poglede na svet i nada se da će jednoga dana pronaći svoj.	,38	,46
25. Za sada nije pronašao svoju srodnu dušu, ali ima neke ideje o tome.	,63	,48
26. Još uvek nastoji da shvati koja su njegova politička uverenja.	,46	,41
27. Postoji više zanimanja kojima bi mogao da se bavi ali ne zna koje je najbolje.	,40	,60
28. Još uvek pokušava da otkrije šta za njega znači prijateljstvo.	,42	,60
30. Život je jedna velika i nepredvidiva potraga za sobom.	,35	,43

NAPOMENA: Redni broj stavki je iz početne verzije upitnika sa 60 stavki; 4PF – četvrti *Promax*-faktor; 1GK – Struktura prve glavne komponente finalne verzije skale sa 12 stavki.

Četvrti *Promax*-faktor sažima sve stavke iz skale namenjene merenju individualnih razlika u *moratorijumu*. Sve ove stavke, takođe, imaju značajne i relativno visoke projekcije na prvi glavni predmet merenja te skale. Sadržinom, stavke ukazuju na još uvek prisutnu krizu (istraživa-nje), ali i još uvek nedostignute posvećenosti. Dakle, reč je o dimenziji koja odgovara četvrtom elementu iz Marsijinog razvojno-strukturalnog modela Ja-identiteta.

3.3. Struktura kontinuuma psihosocijalnog razvoja

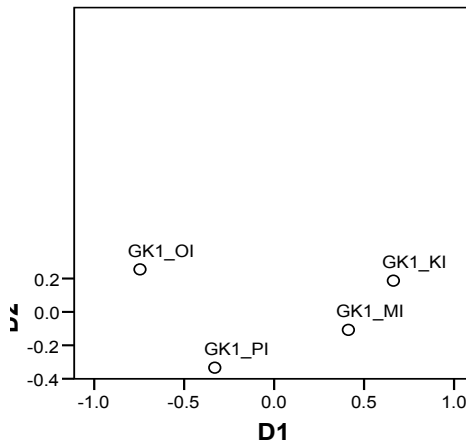
Na početku, u razvojno-strukturalnom modelu Ja-identiteta, pretpostavljalo se da ostvareni Ja-identitet i moratorijum u razvoju Ja-identiteta stoje međusobno bliže, na jednoj strani psihosocijalnog kontinuuma, dok preuzeti Ja-identitet i konfuzija/difuzija stoje blisko, na drugoj strani kontinuuma. Ukratko, koristeći skraćenice za statute, kontinuum bi izgledao ovako: *OI – MI – PI – KI*. Međutim, u nekim kasnijim istraživanjima ishodovani su rezultati koji su ukazivali na drugačiju strukturu. Naime, ispostavilo se da ovi nalazi upućuju na to da su na jednoj strani kontinuuma međusobno bliži ostvareni i preuzeti Ja-identitet, a na drugoj strani kontinuuma moratorijum i konfuzija/difuzija – dakle, *OI – PI – MI – KI*. Bez namere da se razreši ova dilema, a s namerom da se proveriti teorijska utemeljenost upitnika *SID48*, struktura psihosocijalnog kontinuuma ovde je sagledana iz tri ugla: preko interkorelacija dimenzija u četvorofaktorskom rešenju, na osnovu strukture dimenzije u faktorskom prostoru drugog reda i razgledanjem slikovnog rešenja multidimenzionalnog skaliranja. U Tabeli 9 izložene su interkorelacije četiri *Promax*-faktora i prva glavna komponenta koja je izolovana u faktorskom prostoru drugog reda.

Tabela 9 – Interkorelacije četiri *Promax*-faktora prvog reda i prva glavna komponenta u drugom faktorskom redu.

Promax-faktori	<i>PF1</i>	<i>PF2</i>	<i>PF3</i>	<i>GK21</i>
1. Konfuzija/difuzija (<i>KI</i>)				,85
2. Ostvareni Ja-identitet (<i>OI</i>)	-,52			-,80
3. Preuzeti Ja-identitet (<i>PI</i>)	-,10	,20		-,20
4. Moratorijum (<i>MI</i>)	,43	-,29	,12	,68

Ostvareni i preuzeti Ja-identitet su u negativnim korelacijama sa konfuzijom i moratorijumom. Pritom, najviša negativna korelacija je između ostvarenog Ja-identiteta i konfuzije/difuzije. Na drugoj strani, najviša je pozitivna korelacija između moratorijuma i konfuzije Ja-identiteta. Tu su i nešto niže pozitivne korelacije između ostvarenog Ja-identiteta na jednoj i moratorijuma i preuzetog Ja-identiteta na drugoj strani.

Isto, ali preglednije, govore i koeficijenti strukture prve glavne komponente koja je izolovana u drugom faktorskom redu. Iz teorijskih razloga je jasno da ova dimenzija ne može da se shvati kao nekakav opšti status Ja-identiteta ili sam Ja-identitet. Ta dimenzija jednostavno predstavlja sažeti, kvantitativni prikaz međuodnosa faktora prvog reda, odnosno statusa Ja-identiteta. To je bipolarna dimenzija duž koje se, počev od njenog negativnog pola prema pozitivnom polu, nižu dimenzije ostvarenog, preuzetog Ja-identiteta, moratorijuma i konfuzije/difuzije. Konačno, kao što se može videti na Slici 1, isto govore i rezultati multi-dimenzionalnog skaliranja u kojem su polazne varijable bile prve glavne komponente skala iz upitnika *SID48*.



Slika 1 – Grafički prikaz rezultata multidimenzionalnog skaliranja. *GK1* – prve glavne komponente skala iz upitnika *SID48*; *OI* – ostvareni Ja-identitet; *PI* – preuzeti Ja-identitet; *MI* – moratorijum; *KI* – konfuzija/difuzija; *D1* i *D2* – dimenzije u dvodimenzionalnom rešenju.

4. Diskusija i zaključci

Razvojno-strukturalni model statusa Ja-identiteta, kao empirijski utemeljena razrada ključnog pojma i pretpostavki iz Eriksonove teorije psihosocijalnog razvoja ličnosti, predstavlja nemerljiv doprinos opisanju i razumevanju razvojnih pojava i ishoda u mladalaštvu. Međutim, nastojanja da se taj model unapredi i dalje usavršava počivaju na istraživanjima u kojima se, najblaže rečeno, koriste merni instrumenti sumnjivih psihometrijskih karakteristika. Stoga je za potrebe istraživanja razvojnih karakteristika mladih iz domaće populacije sačinjen i psihometrijski proveren nov instrument upitničkog tipa.

Na osnovu rezultata analiza internih psihometrijskih karakteristika, može se konstatovati da novi upitnik *SID48* sadrži stavke i skale koje su vrlo dobre do odlične homogenosti, reprezentativnosti, pouzdanosti i valjanosti. Eksploratornom faktorskom analizom u prostoru merenja *SID48* definisana su četiri faktora, koji sažimaju individualne razlike u statusima ostvarenog Ja-identiteta, preuzetog Ja-identiteta, moratorijuma i konfuzije/difuzije u razvoju Ja-identiteta. Činjenica je da je ovaj deo rezultata ishodovan postupno i iz više pokušaja može biti posledica bar dve stvari. Pojam Ja-identiteta referira na onaj aspekt individualnog funkcionisanja koji se može shvatiti suprasistemski – dakle, nadređeno u odnosu na niže locirane psihičke sisteme koji stoje u osnovi individualnog funkcionisanja. Otuda i međuzavisnost tog suprasistema i niže lociranih psihičkih sistema, te i teži put do definisanja njegove strukture. Drugi razlog je metodološke prirode i povezan je sa prethodnim. Naime, ovde je primenjena strategija od dole prema gore (eksploratorna faktorska analiza), te bi, možda, zbog složenosti predmeta merenja kao i jasne strukturalne hipoteze bila primerenija strategija od gore prema dole (konfirmatorna faktorska analiza). Pored strožeg testiranja razvojno-strukturalnog modela putem konfirmatorne faktorske analize, naredna istraživanja svakako treba posvetiti i proveriti konkurentne, konvergentne i diskriminantne valjanosti upitnika *SID48*.

Provera lokacije definisanih dimenzija statusa Ja-identiteta dala je rezultate koji pružaju dovoljno osnova za zaključak da je upitnik *SID48* teorijski valjano utemeljen. Naime, redosled dimenzija statusa Ja-identiteta, definisanih pomoću upitnika *SID48*, približan je izvornoj verziji

modela i istovetan nalazima iz nekih kasnijih istraživanja. Redosled dimenzija *OI – PI – MI – KI* smatra se očekivanim, kada je reč o uzorcima ispitanika iz kolektivističkih (autoritarnih?) zajednica (Kroger & Marcia, 2021). Ako se uzme zdravo za gotovo da je naša zajednica kolektivističkog (autoritarnog?) karaktera, onda ovakav nalaz dodatno potkrepljuje zaključak o zadovoljavajućoj teorijskoj utemeljenosti novog instrumenta za merenje statusa Ja-identiteta.

Dakle, upitnik *SID48* je teorijski solidno utemeljen, kao što je i njegova izrada jasno izvedena u duhu kvantitativnog, dimenzionog pristupa psihologije individualnih razlika. To je, takođe, upitnik koji sadrži stavke i skale vrlo dobre do odlične reprezentativnosti, homogenosti, pouzdanosti i faktorske valjanosti i koji je, sasvim sigurno, u psihometrijskom smislu bolji od postojećih instrumenata za merenje (statusa) Ja-identiteta.

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Aleksandar Vasić^{1*}

UDC 159.923.2

Original scientific article

Received: 23/12/2022

Accepted: 30/06/2023

CONSTRUCTION AND PSYCHOMETRIC EVALUATION OF THE EGO-IDENTITY STATUSES QUESTIONNAIRE *SID48*

ABSTRACT: The developmental-structural model of the status of self-identity is an empirically based elaboration of Erikson's theory of psychosocial personality development. This psychoanalytical model has inspired many studies and the development of measuring instruments, which, however, have unsatisfactory psychometric characteristics. Therefore, for the purposes of the research, the *SID48* questionnaire, which measures individual differences in four self-identity statuses, was constructed and later tested on national samples. Based on theoretical assumptions and concepts, we first created an initial sample of 200 items, and then a 60-item test version of the questionnaire, with five-level scales of graded answer categories attached. The experimental version of the questionnaire consists of four scales with 15 items each, which should measure the individual differences in the statuses of achieved and assumed self-identity, confusion, and moratorium with sufficient reliability and validity. The questionnaire was applied together with other instruments of the same type on a convenient sample of 458 respondents of both genders (60% female) and aged 19 to 33 years. The data generated in this way were analyzed on two occasions in order to check the internal psychometric characteristics. The result is the *SID48* questionnaire with four scales containing 12 items each. The *SID48* questionnaire has very good to excellent representativeness, homogeneity, reliability, and factorial validity.

^{1*}Full Professor, Faculty of Law and Business Studies Dr Lazar Vrkatić Novi Sad, Union University Belgrade. email: aleksandarvasic1966@yahoo.com.

KEYWORDS: *psychosocial development, self-identity statuses, reliability, validity, factor analysis*

1. Introduction

It is a well-known fact that psychology as a discipline, as well as academia in general, has an ambivalent attitude towards psychoanalysis (Bateman & Holmes, 1995; Bornstein, 2007; Ignjatović, Vasić, Kosanović, Mitrović and Momirović, 1995; Westen & Gabbard, 1999). On the one hand, psychoanalytic concepts and assumptions are denied any scientific merit, based on more or less dubious philosophical and scientific reasons. On the other hand, these concepts and assumptions have been given a dogmatic status and their creator raised to the pedestal of divinity. It would be too simple to state that the truth lies somewhere in between such extreme views. A more scientifically fruitful approach to psychoanalytic concepts and assumptions would be the following.

First, choosing one side or the other overlooks the fact that there are psychoanalysts who advocate a scientific, empirical, and quantitative approach and that a significant number of research findings support concepts and assumptions from psychoanalytic theories (Bornstein, 2007; Fisher & Greenberg, 1996; Westen & Gabbard, 1999). Second, these extreme viewpoints refer, first of all, to the original psychoanalytic theory developed by Sigmund Freud and his collaborators until 1923, when a study on the relationship between the Id and the Ego was published (Freud, 1961). Since then, further theoretical developments within psychoanalysis began, which, no matter how consistent continuations of the original theory, certainly deserve to be considered as relatively separate psychoanalytic theories (Palombo, Bendiczen, & Koch, 2009; Vasić, 2021). Those psychoanalytic theories were based not only on clinical experience but also on the results of empirical research (Vasić, 2021).

One of these psychoanalytical theories is Erikson's theory (1950, 1956, 1968), which is as a rule presented as a textbook example of a theory of lifelong development. But it is actually a theory of the development of the Self through eight stages in the total life cycle, which

seeks to describe and explain the interactions of the biopsychosocial factors of that development. The key concept of this theory is self-identity, which refers to the persistent experience of self-identity, as well as the exchange of this identity with significant others throughout the life cycle (Erikson, 1956). This sameness and continuity are made from the conscious feeling of personal identity, the unconscious striving for personal stability that rests on libidinal urges, as a condition of life that cannot be lived without, the quiet and persistent work of self-synthesis and solidarity with group values (Erikson, 1968). A critical moment in the development of self-identity is the developmental crisis that takes place during adolescence. This is precisely why Erikson called the fifth stage in the psychosocial development of the personality the stage of relatively consistent shaping of the self-identity as opposed to the diffusion/confusion of the self. The developmental crisis in youth refers to the transition from childhood to adulthood and is resolved by dedication to life goals and roles in a certain community. Human communities differ in the duration, intensity of pressures, and ritualisations/institutionalizations of this development crisis, i.e., in the psychosocial moratorium during which young people are allowed to explore, try, experience, and decide on love and work in their lives.

Self-identity has likely been the focus of researchers (some of them cited here) more than any psychoanalytic concept. This was certainly due to the social and historical relevance of the issues this theory deals with, as well as the unusual sympathy of academic psychology towards Erikson and his theories (Douvan, 1997; Palombo et al., 2009). This is mostly due to the work of James Marcia, who, based on research findings for his doctoral dissertation, formulated a model of the development and structure of self-identity in youth (Kroger & Marcia, 2021; Marcia, 1964, 1966, 1967). In that model, based on the two key drivers of self-identity development, exploration, and commitment, the outcomes of the developmental crisis of youth along the psychosocial continuum are described and explained in more detail (Kroger & Marcia, 2011, 2021). Those developmental outcomes are relatively independent statuses in the individual functioning of young people, ranging from a shaped or achieved self-identity to its confusion/diffusion (Table 1).

Table 1 – Self-identity statuses, in terms of Exploration and Commitment (Cf. Kroger & Marcia, 2021, p. 219).

Statuses	Exploration (crisis)	Commitment
Achieved self-identity (<i>OI</i>)	+	+
Moratorium (<i>MI</i>)	Current	Vague
Assumed self-identity (<i>PI</i>)	-	+
Identity Confusion/Diffusion (<i>KI</i>)*	-/+	-

Note: (+) – existent, clear, observable; (-) – non-existent, vague, unobservable; * - Erikson first used the term *diffusion*, and then later, unaccountably, started using the term *confusion*. Marcia uses *diffusion* consistently. In this study we will be using both terms.

The four statuses of self-identity in the developmental-structural model are defined in terms of whether the developmental crisis (research or exploration) has been overcome or is still in the swing and whether there is or has not yet been achieved a sufficiently clear and stable commitment to values, norms and expected behaviours in the current sociocultural context. Until the psychosocial moratorium, infantile identifications and the compromise formation resulting from the resolution of the Oedipal conflict dominate (latency or infantile moratorium). Therefore, until adolescence, young people do not (yet) experience affective anxiety or cognitive aspiration to stabilize their self-concept, personally and in the network of interpersonal relationships. However, physical and especially sexual maturation and the reawakening of libido, on the one hand, and social pressures towards the adoption of more and more often conflicting roles, on the other hand, arouse in young people insecurity in their self-concept and relationships with others, as well as accompanying affective instability. Those young people who fall behind in the moratorium, burdened with emotional instability and without clear commitments, are said to be in a state of *Identity confusion/diffusion*. Those young people who come out of the moratorium and overcome the crisis by persevering on infantile commitments (the child's self-ideal), remaining attached to other people's, usually parental commitments, find themselves in the status of *Assumed self-identity (foreclosure)*. Young people who are currently experiencing more or less conscious self-questioning and are actively exploring possibilities but have not yet reached a relatively clear and stable commitment, are in a *Moratorium*.

Those young people who have lived through the moratorium and adopted personal, unique commitments, thus outgrowing infantile identifications, reach the status of *Achieved self-identity*.

Research inspired by the developmental-structural model also involved the development of new assessment tools and measuring instruments. It seems, however, that the theoretical-conceptual framework of this model has improved significantly compared to Erikson's descriptions and observations, whereas the self-identity evaluation and measurement procedures have not progressed. While Marcia insists on a (semi)structured interview, other researchers have created questionnaire-type instruments, but their psychometric characteristics are such that their application for research purposes is also questionable (Table 2).

Table 2 – Selected self-identity questionnaires and their reliability

Instrument Name (Abbreviation)	Source	α (or λ_3)*
Extended version of the objective measure of ego identity status (<i>EOMEIS2</i>)**	Adams (1998)	0,61 and 0,64
Identity Styles Inventory (<i>ISI3</i>)***	Crocetti et al. (2012)	0,64
Functions of Identity Scale (<i>FIS</i>)****	Crocetti et al. (2012)	0,60
Utrecht-Management of identity commitments scale (<i>U-MICS</i>)*****	Crocetti et al. (2012)	0,76

Note: * - reliability coefficient of the internal consistency type ** - EOMEIS2 gives several results by means of which respondents are classified into four statuses. Average values for the scales in the domain of profession and ideology are listed here; *** - There are several national versions of ISI; it measures informative, normative and diffuse-avoidant identity style (Berzonsky, 1989); **** - FIS is intended to measure identity functions named as a sense of structure, consistency and conformity of commitment, orientation towards the future, orientation towards goals and a sense of personal control (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Serafini & Adams, 2002); ***** - The U-MICS measures three dimensions of identity that are defined as commitment, in-depth exploration and reconsideration of commitment (Crocetti, Schwartz, Fermani, & Meeus, 2010; Meeus, Van de Schoot, Keijsers, Schwartz, & Branje, 2010).

The main reason is that those instruments are only partially constructed on the principles of a quantitative, dimensional approach in the study of differences in individual functioning (Vasić, 2019). What is lacking in those instruments is the identification of status (self-identity) with an exclusive class. Such identification consequently reduces measurement or assessment to a primitive and rough, and hence insufficiently precise form of classification. While such a measurement model can be considered inherent in (semi)projective and (semi)structured techniques, this is certainly not the case with questionnaire-type instruments. Moreover, the development of the questionnaire went hand in hand with the development of the multidimensional dimensional approach and its inherent, more complex measurement models, such as, for example, the factor-analytical model.

Another problem is the very concept of status. Every finding and opinion in psychological practice and research is based on the results of measurement and assessment in order to determine the relative position (status) of an individual or a group of individuals. At the same time, that position or status is at least doubly relative – in the relationship of one individual to other individuals (inter-individual differences) during a certain period and in the relationships between repeated measurements of one individual in different time periods (intraindividual differences; Vasić, 2019, 2021). Therefore, there is no reason why the same should not be true when it comes to self-identity statuses.

Another important tenet of the psychology of individual differences (not explicitly articulated as a starting point in the development of the aforementioned instruments) refers to the difference between the manifest, in the sense of observable or measurable individual differences, and the latent, i.e., only indirectly accessible generators of that manifest diversity. Applying appropriate multivariate mathematical-statistical models from that cacophony of manifest differences in feelings, opinions, and behaviours can isolate and define latent dimensions behind different outcomes in the development of self-identity.

A typical example of an insufficiently or inadequately grounded instrument is probably the most widely used questionnaire OMEIS (Adams, 1998). Considerable efforts were made to clarify and elaborate its theoretical background. The fact is that this questionnaire additionally

encouraged research into the status of self-identity according to Marcia's model. But that instrument has such psychometric characteristics that its application, at least on samples from the domestic population, is more than questionable (Tovarović, 2014). The most important reason for this is that consistent interpretations of the concepts and assumptions of Marcia's model in the spirit of the quantitative, dimensional approach to the psychology of individual differences were missing. Marcia himself is responsible for this, insisting on a categorical approach, although he too makes modest strides by claiming, for instance, that self-identity statuses are more fuzzy than exclusive categories – whatever that means. Therefore, an attempt was made to create and test a new questionnaire-type instrument intended for measuring self-identity status with comparatively better metric characteristics on samples from the domestic population for research purposes. The aim of this report is to present the basic results of checking the representativeness, homogeneity, reliability, and factorial validity of the new questionnaire. Additionally, as a control check of the theoretical foundation of the questionnaire, the distribution of the dimensions of the self-identity status in the structure of the psychosocial continuum of developmental outcomes in youth was analysed.

2. Methodology

2.1. Sample of Participants

The research was conducted on a convenient sample of respondents from the student population, which was created according to the avalanche principle. The sample consisted of 458 respondents aged 19 to 33, of which 60% were female and 40% male. With regard to the age of the respondents, it can be stated that these are young people who are in their early adolescence or emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000), when, by assumption, a relatively stable structure of the psychosocial continuum could be expected. The application of the questionnaire was carried out in groups, in the institutions where the respondents attend classes. During the research, no events were registered that would question the validity of the data.

2.2. *SID48* Questionnaire Construction

The experimental version of the questionnaire for measuring the status of self-identity was made from an initial mass of 200 items. That initial collection was produced by 20 master's students in Business Psychology at the Faculty of Law and Business Studies Dr. Lazar Vrkiatić in Novi Sad, after a detailed introduction to Marcia's developmental-structural model. From that initial mass, a test version of the questionnaire was created with 60 items, which are distributed in four scales for measuring the status of self-identity, while the scales in the questionnaire go down, in order, from achieved self-identity through moratorium and assumed self-identity to self-identity confusion/diffusion. This reduction was carried out on the basis of the theoretical and content validity of each item - that the item corresponds to the notion of appropriate status, that it reflects one of the key drivers of self-identity development (crisis/exploration or commitment), and the attitude towards oneself and others, profession, and ideology. At the beginning of the questionnaire, there is an introductory instruction on the purpose of the instrument and how to answer. Items were assigned uniform five-point response categories ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree with each statement. Respondents' answers were coded so that a greater degree of agreement indicates a greater degree of expressiveness of the measured property. A trial version of the questionnaire for measuring the status of self-identity with 60 items was applied together with some other instruments of the same type but with different measurement items.

2.3. Data Analysis

The scores on the items were first normalized (Tuckey, 1977), and then standardized so that the values of the first two moments in the distribution of those scores are equal to zero and one. In the analysis of internal metric characteristics of items and scales, the Syntax algorithm (Knežević and Momirović, 1996) was applied, which emits a large number of assessments, including representativeness, homogeneity, reliability, and validity (Momirović, Wolf and Popović, 1999). An exploratory factor analysis was also performed to check the factorial validity of the

new questionnaire. Although the existence of a relatively solid theoretical background may require the application of confirmatory factor analysis (from top to bottom), the fact is that this is a new sample of variables, which first requires exploratory factor analysis (from bottom to top). Principal component analysis (Hotelling, 1933) was used in the extraction, and the unit criterion (Guttman, 1954; Kaiser, 1961), the slope/plain criterion (Cattell, 1966), and its statistical elaboration known as parallel analysis were used to determine the number of significant dimensions (Horn, 1965; O'Connor, 2000). Given that in the analysis of the structure of the measurement space of the questionnaire, at least four factors with assumed interrelationships are expected, in their rotation, the Promax oblique solution was applied (Hendrickson & White, 1964). By means of multidimensional scaling (Davison & Sireci, 2000; Rencher & Christensen, 2012) an additional attempt was made to check the position of the self-identity status along the continuum of psychosocial development. Although a lot of effort has been made in perfecting this analytical procedure, the fact is that it is primarily a procedure of a graphic nature (Rencher & Christensen, 2012) and in that sense, it is also applied here - as an additional pictorial examination of the relationship between self-identity statuses.

3. Results

Given that the experimental version of the new questionnaire for measuring self-identity status contains 60 items and its final form another 48 items, the total amount of obtained results is too extensive for a report of limited scope. Therefore, a selection of sufficiently informative results was made, on the basis of which one can conclude with satisfactory certainty about the basic internal metric characteristics of this instrument. The first part presents the results that show some internal metric characteristics of the scales from the new questionnaire. In the second part, the results of the factor validity check of the questionnaire are presented, and in the third part, the results that show the relationships between the measures of self-identity status emitted by that instrument.

3.1. Metric Characteristic of Scales

Table 3 provides estimates of some metric characteristics of the 15-item scales from the experimental version of the questionnaire. Table 4 shows the same assessments, but now reduced scales with 12 items each from the final version of the questionnaire named SID48 (S – Status; I – 1st person singular; D – Dimension; 48 - number of items in the questionnaire).

Table 3 – Some internal metric characteristics of experimental 15-item scales

Scales	<i>m</i>	ψ	α (or λ_3)	β	h_1	h_2
Achieved self-identity (<i>OI</i>)	15	,92	,79	,77	,20	,74
Moratorium (<i>MI</i>)	15	,87	,78	,78	,19	,67
Assumed self-identity (<i>PI</i>)	15	,94	,84	,85	,26	,71
Confusion/Diffusion (<i>KI</i>)	15	,96	,86	,87	,30	,73

Note: *m* – number of items in the scales; ψ – representativeness assessed through a measure of sampling adequacy of variables; α - Gutman - Cronbach reliability assessment of internal consistency type; β – reliability of the first principal component of the scales; h_1 – homogeneity as average intercorrelation of items within scales; h_2 – Momirović homogeneity coefficient.

Three of the four scales from the trial version of the questionnaire are excellent and one has very good representativeness. According to the assessments of two types of reliability, which are mutually agreed upon, the scales of the status of assumed self-identity and confusion stand out as excellent. Somewhat lower, but with acceptable reliability for research purposes, are the scales of achieved self-identity and moratorium. It is similar when it comes to the exposed assessments of the homogeneity of the scales. In order to achieve even better metric characteristics, but also to make the questionnaire more economical to use, the contributions of individual items were considered, and an additional reduction of the scales was carried out.

Table 4 – Some internal metric characteristics of reduced 12-item scales.

Scales	<i>m</i>	ψ	α (or λ_3)	β	h_1	h_2
Achieved self-identity (<i>OI</i>)	12	,93	,82	,83	,28	,80
Moratorium (<i>MI</i>)	12	,86	,77	,77	,22	,71
Assumed self-identity (<i>PI</i>)	12	,93	,83	,84	,30	,78
Confusion/diffusion (<i>KI</i>)	12	,96	,87	,87	,35	,85

NOTE: *m* – number of items in the scales; ψ – representativeness assessed through a measure of sampling adequacy of variables; α - Gutman - Cronbach reliability assessment of internal consistency type; β – reliability of the first principal component of the scales; h_1 – homogeneity as average intercorrelation of items within scales; h_2 – Momirović homogeneity coefficient.

When it comes to the representativeness of the reduced scales, the situation is mostly the same with minor changes in the second decimal place. The reliability of the reduced scale of the status of achieved self-identity has increased significantly, while the reliability of the other scales has mostly remained the same. The greatest improvement by reducing the scales was achieved when it comes to assessments of their homogeneity. Based on this, it can be concluded that the scales of the SID48 questionnaire have very good to excellent homogeneity, representativeness, and reliability.

3.2. Factor Validity

The criteria for determining the number of significant factors are relatively inconsistent. The unity criterion indicated 11 significant components, which is almost three times more than the expected, theoretical number. On the other hand, the slope/plain criterion and the parallel analysis unanimously indicate seven significant dimensions, which is almost twice the expected number. Therefore, due to the inconsistency of the criteria, a strategy was applied that represents the imitation of the so-called graphic rotation. Seven to four principal components were successively extracted (thus four extractions) and in each case, Promax-rotation was applied (thus four rotations). In considering the obtained factorial

solutions, the assembly matrices and intercorrelation of Promax factors were analysed. The seven-factor solution contains one uninterpretable factor that saturates four items, each of which indicates one self-identity status. Two pairs of factors from this solution were created by separating the items that should indicate a moratorium, that is, achieved self-identity (factor fission), while the remaining two factors are the expected dimensions of the assumed status of self-identity and confusion/diffusion. The six- and five-factor solutions bring about a successive fusion of the fragmented factors of achieved self-identity and moratorium (factor fusion) in order to finally stabilize that structure in a four-factor solution. That solution, which corresponds to the theoretical expectation, is briefly presented in the excerpts, together with the structures of the first main components of the four scales of the self-identity status, as shown in tables 5-8.

Table 5 – Extract from the assembly matrix of the first Promax factor and the structure of the first principal component of the scale

Items	PF1	1GK
46. Rarely takes part in organizing get-togethers with friends	,73	,49
48. Finds thinking about the future tiring.	,38	,65
49. Often has no idea what to do in his/her free time.	,41	,68
51. Despite dissatisfaction with school or job, he/she does not try to change it.	,59	,72
52. Emotional bonds with others are superficial and transitory.	,36	,63
53. Disinterested in discussions about the future; does not participate in them.	,71	,53
54. Often wonders why he/she is here.	,38	,72
55. Has no close friends, just likes spending time with people.	,63	,53
56. Feels that social changes and developments are like a bad movie.	,46	,54
57. Unsure what he/she wants out of life in every aspect.	,40	75
58. Does not consider marriage or relationships because he/she does not see their purpose.	,42	,62
60. Thinks that he/she has not found him/herself yet but does not give it any thought.	,35	,74

Note: The item no. refers to the initial 60-item version; *1PF* – 1st *Promax*-factor; *1GK* – Structure of the first principal component of the final 12-item scale.

The first Promax factor significantly saturated all items that were conceived as indications of self-identity confusion. Also, all these items have significant projections on their first main measurement item according to the Hotelling model. Young people who have elevated results on this dimension manifest aimlessness, apathy, low-quality interpersonal relationships, and unstructured free time. All this clearly speaks of the absence of exploration and commitment, and this dimension will be defined as such – as the dimension of individual differences in the status of *self-identity confusion*.

Table 6 – Extract from the assembly matrix of the second Promax factor and the structure of the first principal component of the scale

Items	2PF	1GK
1. Has several best friends.	,07	,35
2. Spends time doing and learning things he/she is interested in.	,60	,51
3. Has a clear vision of his/her future.	,75	,75
4. Has close and stable relationships with others.	,37	,65
6. Knows what he/she wants to accomplish in life.	,66	,72
7. Able to establish and maintain a stable emotional bond.	,49	,63
9. Knows what is most important for him/her.	,44	,66
10. Chooses friends based on certain values.	,46	,36
12. Only he/she is responsible for his/her actions.	,19	,51
13. Thinks he/she is capable of choosing the right partner.	,66	,66
14. Has one or more hobbies and engages in them regularly.	,60	,34
15. Has clearly defined values and goals.	,82	,75

Note: The item no. refers to the initial 60-item version; 2PF – 2nd Promax-factor; 1GK – Structure of the first principal component of the final 12-item scale.

The second Promax factor significantly saturated all the items from the achieved self-identity scale except for one. In fact, that item was not significantly saturated with any factor from the four-factor solution. However, as can be seen, that item has a significant correlation coefficient with the first main component of that scale, and for that reason it was retained in the final version of the questionnaire. Respondents with high scores on this dimension clearly demonstrate that they have overcome the crisis (research) and have achieved the commitments they strive to achieve. Obviously, this is a dimension that sums up individual differences in the status of *achieved self-identity*.

Table 7 – Extract from the assembly matrix of the third Promax factor and the structure of the first principal component of the scale

Items	3PF	1GK
31. Understands male-female relationships according to family attitudes	,50	,52
32. Proud to continue family tradition.	,61	,69
33. He/she will be better off the less he/she thinks and the more he/she does as he/she is expected to.	,52	,57
34. Generally agrees with opinions and attitudes of his/her peers.	,50	,49
36. Traditional values are very important to him/her.	,66	,62
38. Brought up to consider that going to church is very important.	,69	,66
39. Highly values parents' opinion when making decisions.	,60	,63
40. Feels the need to fulfil parents' expectations because they invested a lot in him/her.	,56	,61
41. Family customs and traditions have always been and will be very important for him/her.	,80	,79
42. Always tries to behave as expected of him/her.	,68	,66
43. Would always choose a good person as a partner.	,48	,46
44. Thinks that children and young people need authority figures and strict discipline.	,44	,42

Note: The item no. refers to the initial 60-item version; 3PF – 3rd Promax-factor; 1GK – Structure of the first principal component of the final 12-item scale.

The third Promax factor significantly saturates all items that were created with the intention of indicating the status of the assumed self-identity. Such a pregnant structure is also noticeable when it comes to the first main component of the corresponding scale. Respondents with elevated results on this dimension remain imbued with early, infantile identifications, which is reflected in self-concepts and transposed to interpersonal relationships and professional and ideological commitments. Therefore, beyond any doubt, this dimension can be defined as the dimension of individual differences in the status of *assumed self-identity*.

Table 8 – Extract from the assembly matrix of the fourth Promax factor and the structure of the first principal component of the scale

Items	4PF	1GK
16. Has only a vague idea of what he/she wants in a life partner.	,73	,57
17. Has various hobbies but cannot choose a favourite one.	,38	,53
18. Thinks he/she knows what he/she would like to do for a living but is still considering.	,41	,64
19. Ponders the role of man/woman in a marriage.	,59	,65
22. Has many friends but cannot identify his/her best friend.	,36	,59
23. Likes to read a lot but cannot identify a favourite author or genre.	,71	,40
24. Open to different worldviews and hopes to find his/her own someday.	,38	,46
25. Has not found his/her soulmate yet but has some ideas.	,63	,48
26. Has not identified his/her political beliefs yet.	,46	,41
27. There are many jobs he/she could do but cannot say which is the best.	,40	,60
28. Has not discovered what friendship means to him/her yet.	,42	,60
30. Life is a grand and unpredictable quest for self.	,35	,43

Note: The item no. refers to the initial 60-item version; 4PF – 4th Promax-factor; 1GK – Structure of the first principal component of the final 12-item scale.

The fourth Promax factor summarizes all items from the scale intended to measure individual differences in *moratorium*. All these items also have significant and relatively high projections on the first main measurement item of that scale. By content, the items indicate a still present crisis (research), but also still unreached commitments. This is the dimension that corresponds to the fourth element from Marcia's developmental-structural model of self-identity.

3.3. Psychosocial Development Continuum Structure

Initially, the developmental-structural model of self-identity assumed that achieved self-identity and moratorium in self-identity development stand closer to each other, on one side of the psychosocial continuum, while assumed self-identity and confusion/diffusion stand close, on the other side of the continuum. Briefly, using status abbreviations, the continuum would look like this: OI - MI - PI - KI. However, in some later research, results were obtained that indicated a different structure. Namely, it turned out that these findings indicate that on one side of the continuum achieved and assumed self-identity are closer to each other, and on the other side of the continuum moratorium and confusion/diffusion – therefore, OI - PI - MI - KI. Without the intention of solving this dilemma, but with the intention of checking the theoretical foundation of the SID48 questionnaire, the structure of the psychosocial continuum is viewed here from three angles: through the intercorrelations of the dimensions in the four-factor solution, based on the dimension structure in the second-order factor space and by looking at the pictorial solution of multidimensional scaling. Table 9 shows the intercorrelations of the four Promax factors and the first principal component that is isolated in the factor space of the second order.

Table 9 – Intercorrelations of the four Promax factors and the first principal component of the second-order factor space.

Promax factors	PF1	PF2	PF3	GK21
1. Confusion/diffusion (<i>KI</i>)				,85
2. Achieved self-identity (<i>OI</i>)	-,52			-,80
3. Assumed self-identity (<i>PI</i>)	-,10	,20		-,20
4. Moratorium (<i>MI</i>)	,43	-,29	,12	,68

Achieved and assumed self-identity are negatively correlated with confusion and moratorium. At the same time, the highest negative correlation is between achieved self-identity and confusion/diffusion. On the other hand, the highest positive correlation is between moratorium and self-identity confusion. There are also slightly lower positive correlations between the achieved self-identity on the one hand and the moratorium and assumed self-identity on the other.

The coefficients of the structure of the first main component, which is isolated in the second-factor order, suggest the same, but more clearly. For theoretical reasons, it is clear that this dimension cannot be understood as some kind of general status of self-identity or self-identity itself. That dimension simply represents a concise, quantitative representation of the interrelationship of first-order factors, that is, the status of self-identity. It is a bipolar dimension along which, starting from its negative pole towards the positive pole, the dimensions of achieved, assumed self-identity, moratorium, and confusion/diffusion are lowered. Finally, as can be seen in Figure 1, the same is true of the results of the multidimensional scaling, in which the initial variables were the first principal components of the scales from the SID48 questionnaire.

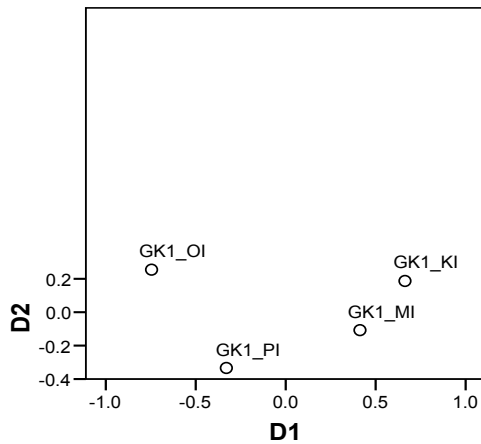


Figure 1 – Multidimensional Scaling Results. *GK1* – the first principal component of the SID48 scales; *OI* – achieved self-identity; *PI* – assumed self-identity; *MI* – moratorium; *KI* – confusion/diffusion; *D1* and *D2* – dimensions in a two-dimensional model.

4. Discussion and Concluding Remarks

The developmental-structural model of self-identity status, as an empirically based elaboration of key concepts and assumptions from Erikson's theory of psychosocial personality development, represents an immeasurable contribution to the description and understanding of developmental phenomena and outcomes in youth. However, efforts to further improve that model are based on research that uses, to put it mildly, measuring instruments of dubious psychometric characteristics. Therefore, for the purposes of researching the developmental characteristics of young people from Serbia, a new questionnaire-type instrument was created and psychometrically verified.

Based on the results of the analysis of internal psychometric characteristics, it can be stated that the new SID48 questionnaire contains items and scales that are very good to excellent in terms of homogeneity,

representativeness, reliability, and validity. Exploratory factor analysis in the measurement space of SID48 defined four factors, which summarize individual differences in the statuses of achieved self-identity, assumed self-identity, moratorium, and confusion/diffusion in the development of self-identity. The fact that this part of the results was obtained gradually and from several attempts can be the result of at least two things. The concept of self-identity refers to that aspect of individual functioning that can be understood suprasystemically - that is, superior to the lower located psychological systems that underlie individual functioning. Hence the interdependence of that suprasystem and the lower located psychic systems, and the more difficult path to defining its structure. The second reason is of a methodological nature and is related to the previous one. Namely, a bottom-up strategy (exploratory factor analysis) was applied here, and perhaps, due to the complexity of the measurement subject as well as a clear structural hypothesis, a top-down strategy (confirmatory factor analysis) would be more appropriate. In addition to stricter testing of the developmental-structural model through confirmatory factor analysis, further research should certainly be devoted to and check the concurrent, convergent, and discriminant validity of the SID48 questionnaire.

Checking the location of defined dimensions of self-identity status gave results that provide sufficient grounds for the conclusion that the SID48 questionnaire is theoretically valid. Namely, the order of dimensions of self-identity status, defined by the SID48 questionnaire, is close to the original version of the model and identical to the findings from some later research. The order of dimensions OI - PI - MI - KI is considered expected, when it comes to samples of respondents from collectivist (authoritarian?) communities (Kroger & Marcia, 2021). If it is taken for granted that our community is of a collectivist (authoritarian?) character, then this finding additionally supports the conclusion about the satisfactory theoretical foundation of the new instrument for measuring the status of self-identity.

Thus, the SID48 questionnaire is theoretically solidly grounded, as well as its creation is clearly carried out in the spirit of a quantitative, dimensional approach to the psychology of individual differences. It is

also a questionnaire that contains items and scales with very good to excellent representativeness, homogeneity, reliability, and factorial validity and which is certainly psychometrically better than existing instruments for measuring (status) self-identity.

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Otilija Sedlak¹

Tibor Fazekaš²

Aleksandra Marcikić Horvat³

Boris Radovanov⁴

Dragan Stojić⁵

Reka Korhec⁶

UDC 330.341:711.45

Originalni naučni rad

Primljen: 22. 08. 2023.

Prihvaćen: 20. 09. 2023.

MERENJE NIVOVA RAZVOJA I DEFINISANJE KRITERIJUMA ZA RANGIRANJE PAMETNIH GRADOVA

REZIME: Razmatra se formulacija konceptualnog okvira sa ciljem analize održivog razvoja i rangiranja gradova. Ovaj okvir oslanja se na specifične standardne kriterijume i metrike pametnih gradova. Cilj istraživanja jeste da se definišu razlike u odgovarajućim karakteristikama i faktorima putem merenja pojedinačnih pokazatelja, kao i različitih faktora za pojedinačne kriterijume srednjih i malih gradova. Na osnovu utvrđene

¹ Redovni profesor, Ekonomski fakultet u Subotici, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Subotica, Srbija, e-mail: otilija.sedlak@ef.uns.ac.rs, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7430-7027>

² Sekretar, Komunalna inspekcija grada Subotice, Subotica, Srbija, e-mail: ftibi@gmail.com, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0008-2891-9285>

³ Vanredni profesor, Ekonomski fakultet u Subotici, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Subotica, Srbija, e-mail: aleksandra.marcikic.horvat@ef.uns.ac.rs, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4199-4238>

⁴ Vanredni profesor, Ekonomski fakultet u Subotici, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Subotica, Srbija, e-mail: boris.radovanov@ef.uns.ac.rs, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4728-7286>

⁵ Vanredni profesor, Ekonomski fakultet u Subotici, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Subotica, Srbija, e-mail: dragan.stojic@ef.uns.ac.rs, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4067-570X>

⁶ Saradnik u nastavi, Ekonomski fakultet u Subotici, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu, Subotica, Srbija, e-mail: reka.korhec@ef.uns.ac.rs, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-7343-9990>

situacije u vezi sa različitim faktorima, smernice i perspektive za dalji razvoj se određuju kroz izgrađeni model. Izmerene vrednosti pojedinačnih faktora predstavljaju bazu podataka na osnovu koje se gradovi mogu rangirati. Takođe, identifikuju se prednosti i nedostaci, određuje se njihova raznovrsnost i definišu se komparativne prednosti u regionu, a sve u cilju povećanja održivosti.

KLJUČNE REČI: pametni gradovi, razvoj, održivost, rangiranje, kriterijumi.

1. Uvod

S obzirom na multidisciplinarnost istraživačkog predmeta, neophodno je analizirati različite kriterijume i metode merenja koje su dosad primenjivane. Cilj je da se utvrdi konceptualni okvir koji definiše standardne i merljive pokazatelje koji imaju uticaj na razvoj i održivost pametnih gradova. Praćenje i uzimanje u obzir mišljenja stručnjaka će omogućiti istraživanju da se temelji na principima održivog razvoja i da doprinese kreiranju pametnog grada.

Svaki grad poseduje svoje jedinstvene ekonomske, društvene i administrativne karakteristike, kao i različite prioritete. U razvoju konceptualnog modela planira se uključivanje osnovnih i standardizovanih kriterijuma (indikatora) koji će omogućiti gradovima međusobno upoređivanje, kao i upoređivanje sa gradovima u Evropi. Pored tehnoloških promena, proces evropske integracije igra ključnu ulogu u smanjenju ekonomskih razlika, socijalnih i ekoloških standarda, doprinoseći stvaranju zajedničkog tržišta.

Utvrđivanjem vrednosti komponenata putem faktora ili indikatora stvoriće se osnov za rangiranje gradova u našem okruženju. Ovo će postaviti temelje za usklađivanje konkurentnosti i održivog razvoja u regionu. Tehnološki faktori i njihov razvoj igraju suštinsku ulogu u procesu transformacije grada u pametan grad. Međutim, važno je napomenuti da je neophodan, ali ne i dovoljan uslov za razvoj pametnih gradova ispravno funkcionisanje infrastrukture, mobilnih i virtuelnih tehnologija, te digitalnih mreža. Da bi grad postao pametan, mora da ispunjava

zahteve koji se odnose na institucionalne i ljudske faktore. Institucionalni faktori obuhvataju adekvatno upravljanje, politike i regulative, dok ljudski faktor uključuje različite oblike i nivoe obrazovanja.

2. Pregled literature

Batagan (2011) je razvio sistem indikatora pametnog grada u četiri grupe indikatora: obrazovanje, zdravlje, transport i javna uprava. Drugi autori, poput Chourabi et al. (2012), identifikovali su komponente koje obuhvataju upravljanje, tehnologiju, gradske vlasti, politike, ljudsku zajednicu, infrastrukturu i životnu sredinu. Carlia, Dotolia, Pellegrino i Ranieri (2013) postavili su okvir koji kombinuje objektivne (fizička infrastruktura, javni prostori, životna sredina) i subjektivne (zadovoljstvo građana i blagostanje) indikatore za klasifikaciju razvoja pametnog grada. Firnkorn (2015) je istraživao kratkoročni i dugoročni razvoj pametnih gradova, sugerišući početni fokus na prikupljanje podataka i dostupnost, a kasnije naglašavanje integracije strategije i prilagodljivosti. Moreno (2015) je istakao dostupnost tehnologije, dizajn usluga, integraciju IKT-a, otvorenost, prilagodljivost i saradničku organizaciju, kao determinante razvoja pametnih gradova. Canteneur (2015) je istakao socijalno usmereni razvoj pametnog grada Beča, uzimajući u obzir energetske efikasnost, očuvanje životne sredine i kvalitet života.

Sassen i Kourtit (2021) su identifikovali domene sa značajnim socioekonomskim koristima od politika pametnih gradova: tranziciju u oblasti životne sredine i zdravlja, tranziciju u oblasti resursa i energije, sociodemografsku i prostornu tranziciju, kulturnu i zajedničku tranziciju. Strüver i saradnici (2021) su istakli da pametnost treba da bude povezana sa socijalnom pravdom i održivošću.

Fraunhofer institut u Štutgartu je 2016. godine pokrenuo inicijativu „Morgenstadt“ (grad sutra) kako bi istražio potencijale urbanih sistema za transformaciju u održive pametne gradove (Fraunhofer Society, 2016). Institut je sproveo projekte „CityLabs“ sa gradovima, kako bi izveo indikatore razvoja i korektivne mere. Devet ključnih sektora – mobilnost, zgrade, snabdevanje vodom, gradske vlasti, energija, finan-

sije, IKT, logistika i fleksibilnost – formulisalo je osnovu za ocenu 28 indikatora grupisanih u kategorije: kvalitet života, zaštita životne sredine, inovacije i fleksibilnost. To je dovelo do „Morgenstadt City Index“, onlajn dokumentacije koja prikazuje vrednosti razvojnih indikatora za odabrane pametne gradove.

ABUD u Budimpešti (Advanced Building and Urban Design) pokrenuo je 2017. godine projekat „SmartCEPS“ (Smart City Evaluation Platform and Service), finansiran od strane programa Eurostars-2 i EU Horizon 2020. Ovaj projekat pruža evropskim gradovima usluge samoprocene i konsultacija u vezi sa pametnim i održivim urbanim razvojem putem onlajn platforme (ABUD, 2017).

3. Istraživanje i metodologija

Pouzdanost metoda analize konkurentnosti gradova zavisi od izbora gradova i objektivne analize putem odgovarajućih indikatora. Da bi se postiglo efikasno rangiranje gradova, treba uzeti u obzir tri ključna aspekta:

- cilj rangiranja – oblikovan je prema ciljnoj publici, prostornom obuhvatu i analiziranim indikatorima;
- metodologiju rangiranja – obradu podataka, metode obrade i ograničenja treba pažljivo razmotriti;
- prikaz rezultata – način na koji se rezultati analize vrednuju, tumače i dele ima značajan uticaj na donošenje odluka.

Rangiranje gradova predstavlja moćan alat za identifikaciju njihovih snaga i slabosti, pružajući korisne informacije lokalnim vlastima i potencijalnim investitorima. Važno je, međutim, uzeti u obzir da objektivnost ulaska građana može predstavljati potencijalnu brigu u vezi sa pouzdanošću. Ova zabrinutost može se ublažiti pažljivim kreiranjem ankete i pažljivim odabirom učesnika. Tumačenje rezultata može biti izazovno, posebno kada se gradovi razlikuju po veličini i statusu. Ključne komponente pametnih gradova obuhvataju tehnologiju, ljude i institucije. Tabela 1 prikazuje osnovne komponente pametnog grada, koje su poslužile kao polazna tačka za dalju analizu.

Tabela 1: Osnovne komponente pametnog grada

Tehnološki faktor	Ljudski faktori	Institucionalni faktori
Fizička infrastruktura Pametne tehnologije Mobilne tehnologije Virtuelne tehnologije Digitalne mreže	Ljudska infrastruktura Socijalni kapital	Upravljanje Politika Regulativa/ direktive

Izvor: Rad autora, 2023

Istraživanje o statusu i rangiranju pametnih gradova temelji se na definisanim kriterijumima, prema kojima se vrši merenje, prikupljaju statistički podaci i sprovode ankete, kako bi se ocenio nivo zadovoljstva građana unapred definisanim elementima.

Naše istraživanje donosi novi pristup razumevanju pametnih gradova. Razmatramo kako etablirane, tako i nove faktore u proceni pametnosti gradova i zadovoljstva građana. Identifikujemo ključne indikatore koji se odnose na karakteristike pametnog grada i prikupljamo mišljenje stručnjaka o njihovoj važnosti. Stručnjaci, takođe, predlažu nove relevantne karakteristike. Ove deskriptivne karakteristike se upoređuju sa numeričkim indikatorima i kvantitativnim mišljenjima građana. Prosečne vrednosti karakteristika se računaju pomoću ponderisane ocene indikatora iz ankete (ocene od 1 do 10). Ovaj metod povećava pouzdanost rangiranja pametnih gradova i ocenjivanje zadovoljstva građana. Naše istraživanje uključuje sveobuhvatne karakteristike iz postojeće literature, praktične analize i istraživanja o pametnim naseljima. Identifikovali smo set od 116 merljivih indikatora, koji se mogu proširiti dodatnim istraživanjem. Značaj se određuje po stanovniku.

Mišljenja stručnjaka o karakteristikama gradova su podeljena u šest grupa:

- 1: Značaj opštih karakteristika grada,
- 2: Značaj strategijskih pravaca za ostvarivanje koncepta pametnih gradova,

- 3: Značaj principa formiranja strategije upravljanja za unapređenje životne sredine u gradu,
- 4: Značaj rešavanja ekoloških problema u gradovima,
- 5: Značaj mera gradske uprave za unapređenje uslova za život,
- 6: Značaj elemenata gradskog saobraćaja.

Na osnovu ovih grupa, definisali smo ukupno 92 pitanja koja odražavaju mišljenje stručnjaka o ključnim karakteristikama gradova u kontekstu postizanja određenog nivoa pametnosti. Pitanja koja se odnose na određene karakteristike mogu se naći u više grupa kako bi se razmatrala iz različitih perspektiva, što omogućava procenu pouzdanosti i validnosti ankete kroz kvantitativne metode poput koeficijenta korelacije, koeficijenta regresije i Kronbahovog koeficijenta.

Mogućnost prikupljanja statističkih podataka usmerila je izbor karakteristika gradova za empirijsko istraživanje u ovom radu, čiji je cilj predstaviti inovativan pristup formiranju kompozitnog indeksa koji reflektuje postignuti nivo razvoja u kontekstu pametnih gradova.

3.1. Metodologija formiranja kompozitnog indeksa

Neka n gradova G_i , $i = 1, 2, \dots, n$ budu istraživani, za koje treba izračunati kompozitne indekse kako bi se odrazio nivo postignutog razvoja svojstva pametnog grada. Takođe, imamo dostupne podatke o m karakteristika K_{ij} , $j = 1, 2, \dots, m$ za svaki grad. Kako bismo postigli usporedive rezultate, izvršavamo standardizaciju vrednosti indikatora prema sledećem postupku:

Srednja vrednost j -te karakteristike za skup gradova $i = 1, \dots, n$:

$$\bar{K}_j = \frac{1}{n} \sum_i K_j, \forall j$$

Standardna devijacija j -te karakteristike:

$$\sigma_j = \sqrt{\frac{1}{n} \sum_i (K_j - \bar{K}_j)^2}, \forall j$$

Standardizovana vrednost j-te karakteristike za i-ti grad:

$$S_j = \frac{K_j - \overline{K_j}}{\sigma_j}$$

Standardizovane vrednosti mere razliku u standardnim devijacijama između datih podataka i srednje vrednosti. Što je veća standardizovana vrednost to ukazuje na bolji položaj datog grada u odnosu na ostale gradove u istom skupu.

Da bismo dodatno objasnili rangiranje gradova prema pojedinačno merenim indikatorima, standardizovane vrednosti se dalje normalizuju na intervalu od 50 do 100. Interval normalizacije je postavljen u rasponu od 50–100 kako bi težine uticale čak i na karakteristike s najmanjim vrednostima. Grad koji ima najslabiju poziciju po datoj karakteristici dobija 50 poena, dok grad koji je najbolji po toj karakteristici dobija 100 poena. Poeni drugih gradova za tu karakteristiku j se računaju prema sledećem izrazu:

$$Q_j = 50 + \frac{S_j - \min_i(S_j)}{\max_i(S_j) - \min_i(S_j)} \cdot 50, \forall j$$

Kompetentni indeks gradova računamo na dva načina:

- 1) na tradicionalan način⁷, kao zbir poena koje su dobile pojedinačne karakteristike:

$$M_i = \sum_j A_j Q_j, \forall i$$

- 2) na modifikovan način, kako je predloženo u ovom istraživanju, uključujući značajnost određenih karakteristika putem težina koje su dobijene na osnovu mišljenja stručnjaka:

$$I_i = \sum_j Q_j, \forall i$$

gde A_j označava vrednost težine, tj. prosečne ekspertne ocene značaja pojedinačnih karakteristika koje se zatim množe sa vrednostima pojedinačnih karakteristika.

⁷ Vidite kod Bosch et al. (2017), ABUD (2017), Carlia et al. (2013), Batagan (2011), Giffinger et al. (2007)

Pretpostavljamo da ukljućivanjem stepena znaćaja određenih karakteristika dobijamo pouzdanije i verodostojnije indekse kompetencije pojedinaćnih gradova na naćin koji bolje odraćava stanje i perspektive gradova u njihovim naporima i aspiracijama na putu ka idealnom poloćaju „savremenog pametnog grada“.

Ocene iz anketa koriste se kao tećine za numerićke vrednosti karakteristika u izraćunavanju indeksa konkurencije gradova.

4. Rezultati i diskusija

U anketi su ućestvovala 92 strućnjaka, a dobijeno je 84 ispravno popunjenih upitnika. Od 84 ispitanika, 41 je bilo ženskog a 43 mućskog pola. Prosećna starost ispitanika bila je 37,74 ($\pm 14,13$) godina. Dućina radnog iskustva ispitanika iznosila je prosećno 15,89 ($\pm 13,89$) godina. Od svih ispitanika samo su dva bila nezaposlena, dok su ostali bili zaposleni na nepuno ili puno radno vreme.

U preliminarnom delu ankete strućnjaci su izneli stavove i interesovanje graćdana i gradske vlasti prema pitanjima kvaliteta ųivota u gradu uopće. Odgovori su dati prema Likertovoj skali (MakLeod, 2014): 1 - vrlo slabo, 2 - slabo, 3 - srednje, 4 - dovoljno i 5 - potpuno. Rezultati pokazuju da postoji opća nezainteresovanost za ova pitanja: od svih datih odgovora, ćak 41% ima ocenu dva, a prosećne ocene u svim pitanjima su izmeću 2 (slabo interesovanje) i 3 (srednje interesovanje). Rezultati, porećani po prosećnoj oceni, prikazani su u Tabeli 2.

Tabela 2: Odgovori stručnjaka

Br.	Pitanje	Prosek	St.devijacija
1	Koliko su građani zainteresovani za kvalitet života kao deo razvoja svog grada kao pametnog grada?	2,85	1,05
2	Koliko su građani zainteresovani za opšta pitanja vezana za razvoj grada?	2,77	0,88
3	Da li su građani dovoljno uključeni u opšte transportne probleme u svom gradu?	2,55	0,86
4	Da li su gradske vlasti dovoljno angažovane u unapređenju javnog gradskog putničkog prevoza?	2,30	0,90
5	Po vašem mišljenju, da li su građanske inicijative dovoljno prisutne kako bi se unapredio javni gradski putnički prevoz kao deo razvoja pametnog grada?	2,20	0,85

Izvor: Rad autora, 2023

Stručnjaci su ocenjivali karakteristike pametnih gradova, koristeći Likertovu skalu od 1 do 10 u okviru šest različitih grupa problema. Ukupna prosečna ocena iznosila je 7,54. Analizirajući pojedinačne odgovore stručnjaka, raspon ocena kretao se od najniže vrednosti 3,41 do najviše vrednosti 9,80. Međutim, raspodela ovih ocena pokazala je nenormalnu ravnost ($K = 3,11$) i značajnu negativnu asimetriju ($S = -0,95$), što odstupa od normalne raspodele (Jarque-Bera statistika $JB = 12,66$, $p = 0,002$). Kako bismo identifikovali ekstremne vrednosti, primenjen je neparametarski pristup korišćenjem praga za ekstremne vrednosti ispod 3,26 i iznad 12,01. Ovom analizom nisu pronađene ekstremne vrednosti unutar ovog opsega.

Unutrašnja doslednost ankete je procenjivana putem Kronbahovog α koeficijenta u tri kriterijuma: grupisana pitanja, pitanja vezana za javne usluge (kao što su obrazovanje, zdravstvo, komunalne usluge, sigurnost, zaštita od požara i čistoća) i pojedinačne grupe pitanja. Dalje, primenom metode glavnih komponenti identifikovane su grupe pitanja koja se mogu sažeti pod jednim faktorom. Rezultati su ukazivali na to da dodeljene ocene ankete pokazuju odgovarajući nivo doslednosti, čineći ih prikladnim za dalju analizu. Više vrednosti Kronbahovog α koeficijenta

ficijenta odgovarale su poboljšanoj unutrašnjoj doslednosti. Prihvatljiv prag za unutrašnju doslednost je 0,6, vrednosti od 0,8 ili više smatraju se dobrim, dok one koje prelaze 0,9 označavaju odličnu unutrašnju doslednost. Specifične vrednosti α koeficijenata, kategorizovane po grupama pitanja, ukazuju na odličan ili dobar nivo unutrašnje doslednosti za svaku grupu.

Za svako pitanje u svakoj grupi izračunate su medijane, srednje vrednosti i standardne devijacije ocena dodeljenih od strane stručnjaka. Sva pitanja po grupama su rangirana prema srednjoj oceni, od najvažnijeg pitanja, prema mišljenju stručnjaka, do najmanje važnog. Normalizovane vrednosti ocena kretale su se između 0,82 i 0,94 za grupe koje su korišćene kao težine u izračunavanju modifikovanog indeksa kompetencije gradova.

4.1. Uporedna analiza rezultata ankete po grupama pitanja

Prilikom posmatranja odgovora svih ispitanih stručnjaka na sva pitanja prosečna ocena od 7,54 dobijena je na skali od 1 do 10. Medijana, prosečne ocene i standardne devijacije odgovora stručnjaka po grupama pitanja prikazane su u Tabeli 4.

Tabela 4: Ocene stručnjaka o važnosti pojedinačnih grupa indikatora

Rang	Značaj indikatora razvoja pametnih gradova	Medijana	Prosek	St. dev.
1	Grupa 5	8,00	7,85	2,14
2	Grupa 4	8,00	7,81	2,08
3	Grupa 6	8,00	7,77	2,22
4	Grupa 3	8,00	7,59	2,36
5	Grupa 2	8,00	7,25	2,38
6	Grupa 1	8,00	7,14	2,27
	Prosečna vrednost indikatora za sva pitanja	8,00	7,54	2,26

Izvor: Rad autora, 2023

Komparativna analiza statističke značajnosti razlika između aritmetičkih sredina ocena dodeljenih pojedinačnim grupama pomoću t-testa dala je rezultate prikazane u Tabeli 5.

Tabela 5: T-test statističke značajnosti razlika između aritmetičkih sredina

Grupa	5	4	6	3	2	1
5		t = 0,482 p = 0,630	t = 0,942 p = 0,346	t = 3,063 p = 0,002 *	t = 6,789 p < 0,001 *	t = 9,676 p < 0,001 *
4			t = 0,417 p = 0,676	t = 2,259 p = 0,024 *	t = 5,625 p < 0,001 *	t = 7,703 p < 0,001 *
6				t = 1,797 p = 0,073	t = 5,073 p < 0,001 *	t = 7,085 p < 0,001 *
3					t = 3,285 p = 0,001 *	t = 5,071 p < 0,001 *
2						t = 1,206 p = 0,228
1						

Izvor: Rad autora, 2023

U gornjoj tabeli, vrednosti $p < 0,05$ pokazuju da ne postoji statistički značajna razlika između srednjih vrednosti. Simbol * označava polja koja se odnose na par grupa pitanja između kojih nema statistički značajne razlike u srednjim vrednostima. Prema ovim rezultatima, grupe pitanja mogu se klasifikovati u tri klastera:

- **Prvi klaster** sa najvišim prosečnim ocenama uključuje grupe 5, 4 i 6;
- **Drugi klaster** sa srednjim prosečnim ocenama uključuje grupu 3;
- **Treći klaster** sa najnižim prosečnim ocenama uključuje grupe 2 i 1.

Za istraživanje razvoja odabranih evropskih pametnih gradova prikupljeni su osnovni atributi, statistike i ankete iz baze podataka Eurostat (Evropski statistički zavod, 2021) i dostupnih dokumenata (Paredes Muse, Frazer i Fidler, 2020) (CEN-CENELEC, 2020) (Mourshed, Bucchiarone i Khandokar, 2016). Podaci obuhvataju nivo EU, nacionalni nivo i regionalni nivo klasifikovan po NUTS.

Metodologija je uključivala 28 glavnih gradova EU i podatke o stanovništvu na dan 31. decembar 2018. godine. Podaci se odnose na različite aspekte uključujući veličinu gradova, korišćenje urbanih površina, populaciju i demografske karakteristike, uslove za život, socijalnu isključenost, stopu kriminala, ekonomske aktivnosti i ekonomske račune gradova i domaćinstava, strukturalnu poslovnu statistiku, razvoj digitalne ekonomije i digitalnog društva, zaštitu intelektualne svojine, tržište rada, obrazovanje, naučna istraživanja i tehnološki razvoj, ekologiju, zaštitu životne sredine i upravljanje otpadom, kulturu i turizam, urbani transport, zdravstvenu zaštitu i rezultate anketa o zadovoljstvu stanovništva.

Skup podataka obuhvata 26 setova, 125 fascikli i 342 varijable iz 2018. godine. Većina podataka potiče sa sajta EU, a praznine su popunjene nacionalnim/gradskim statistikama ili procenama za 2018. godinu, uzimajući u obzir istorijske trendove.

Promenljive, uključene u analizu, mogu se podeliti u dve osnovne grupe – prva grupa sadrži osnovne, najvažnije indikatore koji se odnose na analizirane merene promenljive, dok druga grupa sadrži indikatore dobijene iz anketa građana glavnih gradova EU u vezi sa njihovim stavovima o kvalitetu života i karakteristikama grada u kojem žive. Rezultati ankete služe kao kontrolne vrednosti, dok su odabrane merene promenljive uključene u bazu podataka za izračunavanje kompozitnog indeksa, kao sažetog indikatora za upoređivanje i rangiranje glavnih gradova EU u pogledu konkurentnosti i nivoa „pametnosti“ razvoja.

Baza podataka uključuje ukupno 48 promenljivih koje odražavaju karakteristike ispitivanih gradova. Kako bi se organizovali podaci, ove promenljive su klasifikovane u podgrupe:

- stanovništvo,
- uslovi za život,
- zaposlenost,
- ekonomski razvoj,
- obrazovanje,
- zdravstvena i socijalna zaštita,
- kultura,
- turizam,

- ekologija,
- informacione i komunikacione tehnologije i
- urbani transport (Stojić, Ćirić, Sedlak i Marcikić Horvat, 2020).

Da bi karakteristike bile uporedive, podaci su normalizovani u opsegu 0–100. Neka je K_j j-ta karakteristika za grad i. Tada normalizovane vrednosti j-te karakteristike za set gradova G_i daju:

$$N_j = \frac{K_j - \min_i(K_j)}{\max_i(K_j) - \min_i(K_j)} \cdot 100, \forall i, j$$

Normalizovane vrednosti karakteristika su postavljene na nulu, ako su minimalne, i na 100, ako su maksimalne. Kada uporedimo normalizovane vrednosti karakteristika, koje su prosečne za gradove, primećujemo da od svih ispitivanih atributa najviše normalizovane vrednosti pripadaju grupi Uslovi za život. Konkretno, udeo stanovništva sa pristupom javnoj gradskoj kanalizaciji i udeo stanovništva sa pristupom javnom vodovodnom sistemu prelaze nivo od 85/100 u proseku za sve gradove. Na drugom mestu su indikatori zaposlenosti, gde je učešće zaposlenih mladih oko 71/100, a učešće zaposlenog stanovništva oko 61/100. Najniža normalizovana vrednost, iznenađujuće, odnosi se na izdvajanje za istraživanje i razvoj u obrazovnim ustanovama po stanovniku u evrima (oko 23/100).

4.2. Rezultati ankete stanovnika glavnih gradova EU

Kreirani su upitnici za ankete u kojima su prikupljeni podaci o stavovima stanovnika glavnih gradova EU o kvalitetu života u njihovim gradovima. Takođe, korišćena je tabela rangova dodeljenih pojedinačnim stavkama iz ankete glavnih gradova EU. Podaci o rezultatima ankete objavljeni su na internet stranici EU za godine 2004, 2006, 2009, 2012. i 2015. godine. Neka pitanja iz ankete se ponavljaju iz godine u godinu, neka se izostavljaju, dodatna pitanja se formulišu, a neka se daju u modifikovanom obliku. U obradi podataka, uzeli smo u obzir rezultate za 2015. godinu.

Odgovori na postavljena pitanja mogu se grupisati u pet tipova. Tabele prikazuju prosečne poene po grupama pitanja iz ankete. Izostavljeni su „Stanovništvo“ i „Informacione i komunikacione tehnologije“, zamenjeni sa „Gradska uprava“ i „Bezbednost“. Veći broj poena označava bolji kvalitet indikatora. Posebno se ističu Mogućnost pronalazjenja odgovarajućeg stana po pristupačnoj ceni (31,50) i Mogućnost pronalazjenja odgovarajućeg posla (43,57) sa najnižim ocenama. Ispitanici su najbolje ocenili Visok nivo zadovoljstva uslovima za život u ovom gradu (80,79) i Kvalitet života u ovom gradu (77,45).

Kod rangiranja glavnih gradova EU, pomoću izračunavanja kompozitnog indeksa, postoje dva metoda: zbir originalnih bodova atributa ili ponderisane vrednosti iz ekspertskih anketa. Prema obema metodologijama, najviša vrednost kompozitnog indeksa dodeljena je Stokholmu a najniža Zagrebu. Uvođenjem pondera, kao pokazatelja važnosti pojedinačnih atributa, redosled analiziranih gradova na određenim pozicijama se menja. Prilagođene vrednosti pokazuju poboljšanje za Prag, Helsinki, Dablin, Nikoziju i Bukurešt, što znači da su u tim gradovima, za koje stručnjaci pridaju veći značaj, indikatori relativno bolji. U drugim gradovima prilagođene vrednosti ostaju nepromenjene ili se smanjuju. Kao rezultat ovih promena, nakon uvođenja pondera važnosti atributa, relativna pozicija na listi gradova poboljšana je za Talin, Berlin, Ljubljanu, Bratislavu, Viljnus i Bukurešt.

5. Zaključak

Sistematski smo analizirali komponente pametnih gradova iz različite literature i izvora, istražujući ključne aspekte u prvom poglavlju. Na osnovu istraživanja, literature i praktičnih primena, identifikovali smo sveobuhvatan skup karakteristika. Ove karakteristike su ključne za rangiranje gradova i definisanje kompozitnih indeksa. Naš pristup uključuje predlog kompozitnih indeksa i rangiranje glavnih gradova EU na osnovu različitih karakteristika i nivoa zadovoljstva građana. Ovi indeksi efikasno ocenjuju „pametnost“ gradova. Buduća istraživanja mogla bi da prošire ili pojednostave ove karakteristike. Stručna mišljenja su nam pomogla da grupišemo 92 pitanja za ocenjivanje u šest kate-

gorija, kako bismo formirali kompozitni indeks. Ovaj indeks odražava razvoj pametnih gradova. Naš metod rangiranja pruža efikasan način za ocenu gradova, što pomaže lokalnim vlastima u optimizaciji rešenja za normalno funkcionisanje. Putem stručnih anketa, utvrdili smo važnost karakteristika grada, strateških pravaca, strategija upravljanja, ekoloških briga, mera administracije, urbanih transporta i dr. Proces obuhvata komparativnu analizu, organizaciju rezultata, formiranje baze podataka i metodologiju kompozitnog indeksa.

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Otilija Sedlak¹

Tibor Fazekaš²

Aleksandra Marcikić Horvat³

Boris Radovanov⁴

Dragan Stojić⁵

Reka Korhec⁶

UDC 330.341:711.45

Original scientific article

Received: 22/08/2023

Accepted: 20/09/2023

MEASURING DEVELOPMENT LEVEL AND DEFINING CRITERIA FOR RANKING SMART CITIES

ABSTRACT: The authors have developed a conceptual framework aimed at analyzing sustainable development and city ranking. This framework relies on specific standardised criteria and smart city metrics. The aim of this research is to accentuate the differences in the corresponding characteristics and factors by measuring individual indicators, different

¹ Full Professor, Faculty of Economics in Subotica, University of Novi Sad, Subotica, Serbia, e-mail: otilija.sedlak@ef.uns.ac.rs, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7430-7027>

² Secretary, Communal Inspection of the City Administration of the City of Subotica, Subotica, Serbia, e-mail: ftibi@gmail.com, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0008-2891-9285>

³ Associate Professor, Faculty of Economics in Subotica, University of Novi Sad, Subotica, Serbia, e-mail: aleksandra.marcikic.horvat@ef.uns.ac.rs, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4199-4238>

⁴ Associate Professor, Faculty of Economics in Subotica, University of Novi Sad, Subotica, Serbia, e-mail: boris.radovanov@ef.uns.ac.rs, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4728-7286>

⁵ Associate Professor, Faculty of Economics in Subotica, University of Novi Sad, Subotica, Serbia, e-mail: dragan.stojic@ef.uns.ac.rs, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4067-570X>

⁶ Teaching Assistant, Faculty of Economics in Subotica, University of Novi Sad, Subotica, Serbia, e-mail: reka.korhec@ef.uns.ac.rs, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-7343-9990>

factors for individual criteria for medium and small towns. Guidelines and perspectives for further development will be determined through the built model. The measured values of individual factors will represent a database, on the basis of which cities can be ranked, i.e. identify advantages and disadvantages, determine their diversity, as well as comparative advantages in the region, in order to increase sustainability.

KEYWORDS: smart cities, development, sustainability, ranking, criteria.

1. Introduction

Given the multidisciplinary nature of the research subject, it is necessary to analyse the various criteria and methods of measurement applied so far, in order to determine the conceptual framework of standard and measurable indicators that have an impact on the emergence and survival of smart cities. Monitoring and respecting the opinions of experts will enable the research to have a well-founded basis for the creation and sustainable development of a smart city. Each city has its own unique economic, social and administrative characteristics, as well as different priorities. The developed conceptual model will contain basic, standardized criteria (indicators) that will enable cities to compare themselves. In addition to technological changes, the process of European integration is the one that reduces economic differences, differences in social and environmental standards, and thus provides a common market. By determining the values of components, through the values of their factors or indicators, the basis for ranking cities in our environment will be made. This will create preconditions for combining competitiveness and sustainable development in the region. Technological factors and their development are of key importance for the growth of the city into a smart city. A necessary, but not a sufficient condition for the development of smart cities is the correct functioning of infrastructure, mobile and virtual technologies and digital networks. In order for the city to become smart, it must also meet the condition that is related to both institutional and human factors. Institutional factors include adequate governance, policies and regulations, and the human factor encompasses different forms and levels of education.

2. Literature Review

Batagan (2011) developed a smart city indicator system across four indicator groups: education, health, transportation, and public administration. Other authors, such as Chourabi et al. (2012), identified components encompassing management, technology, city authorities, policies, human community, infrastructure, and environment. Carlia et al. (2013) laid out a framework that combined objective (physical infrastructure, public spaces, environment) and subjective (citizen satisfaction and well-being) indicators for smart city development classification. Firnkorn (2015) explored short and long-term smart city development, suggesting an initial focus on data collection and availability, and later emphasizing strategy integration and adaptability. Moreno (2015) emphasized technology availability, service design, ICT integration, openness, adaptability, and collaborative organization as determinants of smart city development. Canteneur (2015) highlighted Vienna's social-focused smart city development, considering energy efficiency, environmental preservation, and quality of life.

Sassen and Kourtit (2021) outlined fields with high socio-economic benefits from smart city policies: environmental and health transition, resource and energy transition, socio-demographic and spatial transition, cultural and community transition. Strüver et al. (2021) emphasized smartness tied to social justice and sustainability.

In 2016, the German Institute for Industrial Engineering in Stuttgart, Fraunhofer, initiated the "Morgenstadt" (city of tomorrow) initiative to explore urban systems' potentials for transforming into sustainable smart cities (Fraunhofer Society, 2016). The institute engaged in "CityLabs" projects with cities to derive development indicators and corrective actions. Nine critical sectors—mobility, buildings, water supply, city authorities, energy, finance, ICT, logistics, and flexibility—formulated the basis for assessing 28 indicators, grouped into quality of life, environmental protection, innovation, and flexibility categories. This led to the "Morgenstadt City Index," an online documentation showcasing values of development indicators for selected smart cities.

Budapest's ABUD (Advanced Building and Urban Design) launched the SmartCEPS (Smart City Evaluation Platform and Service) project in 2017,

funded by the Eurostars-2 and EU Horizon 2020 programs. This project offers services for self-assessment and consultation to European cities on smart and sustainable city issues through an online platform (ABUD, 2017).

3. Research and Methodology

The reliability of city competitiveness analysis methods hinges on city selection and objective analysis via appropriate indicators. To achieve effective city ranking, three crucial aspects must be considered:

- ranking goal - which is shaped by the target audience, spatial scope, and analysed indicators;
- ranking methodology - data collection, processing methods, and limitations should be carefully addressed;
- presentation of results - how analysis results are evaluated, interpreted, and shared has a significant decision-making impact.

Ranking cities is a powerful tool to uncover strengths and weaknesses, helping local governments and potential investors. It offers straightforward guidance for optimizing city functionality. However, objectivity of citizens' input can be potentially unreliable, which can be mitigated through careful survey content and participant selection. Interpreting results across cities of varying sizes and statuses poses a challenge.

Key smart city components encompass technology, people and institutions. Table 1 shows the basic components of a smart city that served as a starting point in our analysis.

Table 1: Basic components of a smart city

Technological factors	Human factors	Institutional factors
Physical infrastructure Smart technologies Mobile technologies Virtual technologies Digital networks	Human infrastructure Social capital	Management Politics Regulations / directives

Source: Authors' calculations,, 2023

Research on the status and ranking of smart cities relies on defined criteria, on which measurements were made, statistical data collected and surveys conducted regarding the degree of satisfaction with these predefined items.

Our research introduces a novel approach to understanding smart cities. We consider both established and new factors in evaluating their level of smartness and citizen satisfaction. We identify key indicators related to smart city attributes and gather expert opinions on their significance. Experts also suggest new relevant characteristics. These descriptive traits are matched with numerical indicators and quantified citizen opinions. We calculate average characteristic scores using indicator weights from the survey (rated 1 to 10). This method enhances the reliability of smart city rankings and citizen satisfaction evaluations. Our study incorporates comprehensive features from existing literature, practical analysis, and research on smart settlements. We have identified a set of 116 measurable indicators, expandable with more research. Importance is determined per capita.

Expert opinions on the characteristics of cities are divided into six groups:

- 1: The importance of general characteristics of the city
- 2: The importance of strategic directions for the realization of the concept of smart cities
- 3: The importance of the principle of forming a management strategy for improving the environment in the city
- 4: The importance of solving environmental problems in cities
- 5: The importance of city administration measures for improving living conditions
- 6: The importance of elements of urban traffic

According to these groups, we have defined a total of 92 questions, which reflect the opinion of experts on the most important features of cities, from the point of view of reaching a certain degree of smartness. Questions related to some characteristics can be found in several groups, in order to shed light on the problem from several different points of view, and at the same time it allows to assess the reliability and validity of the survey, according to a certain quantitative procedure (correlation coefficient, regression coefficient and Cronbach's α -coefficient).

The possibilities of obtaining statistical data have determined a set of characteristics of cities for empirical research in this paper, which aim to present the proposed innovative approach to the formation of a composite index that reflects the achieved level of development within the concept of smart cities.

3.1. Methodology of composite index formation

Let n cities G_i , $i=1,2,\dots,n$ be investigated, for which composite indices should be calculated so they reflect the degree of achieved development of the smart city property, and let data on m characteristics K_{ij} , $j=1,2,\dots,m$ be available for each city. In order to create comparable results, the standardization of the indicator values was performed, according to the following procedure:

Average value of the j -th characteristics for the set of cities $i=1,\dots,n$:

$$\overline{K}_j = \frac{1}{n} \sum_i K_{ij}, \forall j$$

Standard deviation of the j -th characteristics:

$$\sigma_j = \sqrt{\frac{1}{n} \sum_i (K_{ij} - \overline{K}_j)^2}, \forall j$$

Standardized value of the j -th characteristics for the i -th city:

$$S_{ij} = \frac{K_{ij} - \overline{K}_j}{\sigma_j}$$

Standardized values measure the difference in standard deviations between the given data and the average value. The higher the standardized value, the better the position of a given city in a city set.

In order to further clarify the cities' ranks according to individual measured indicators, the obtained standardized values are further normalized in the interval from 50 to 100. The normalization interval is set to 50-100 range so that possible weights also affect the characteristics with the lowest values. The city that has the weakest position for a given

characteristic is awarded 50 points, and the city that is of the highest quality according to a given characteristic receives 100 points; the points numbers of other cities and for the given characteristic j are calculated according to:

$$Q_j = 50 + \frac{S_j - \min_i(S_j)}{\max_i(S_j) - \min_i(S_j)} \cdot 50, \forall j$$

We calculate *The competence index of cities* in two ways:

1. in the traditional way⁷, as the sum of points obtained by individual characteristics:

$$I_i = \sum_j Q_j, \forall i$$

2. in a modified way, as suggested in this paper, by including the importance of certain characteristics in the form of weights, derived from the experts' opinions:

$$M_i = \sum_j A_j Q_j, \forall i$$

Where A_j denotes the weight value, ie. average expert assessments of the importance of individual characteristics (as shown in section 3.1 of this paper), which are then multiplied by the values of individual characteristics.

We hypothesise that by including the degree of importance of certain characteristics, more reliable and credible indices of competence of individual cities are obtained, in the way which better reflects the state and perspectives of cities in their efforts and aspirations on the way to an ideal position of "perfect smart city".

The scores from the surveys are used as weights for the numerical values of the characteristics in the calculations of the competitiveness index of cities.

4. Results and Discussions

A total of 92 experts participated in the survey, and 84 correctly completed survey questionnaires were obtained. Of the 84 respondents,

⁷ See e.g. Bosch et al. (2017), ABUD (2017), Carlia et al. (2013), Batagan (2011), Giffinger et al. (2007)

41 were female and 43 male. The mean age of the subjects was 37.74 (\pm 14.13) years. The length of work experience of the respondents averaged 15.89 (\pm 13.89) years. Of all respondents, only two were unemployed, and the rest were part-time or full-time employees.

In the preliminary part of the survey, the experts stated about the attitude and interest of citizens and city authorities towards issues of quality of life in the city in general. The answers were given according to the Likert scale (McLeod, 2014): 1 - slightly, 2 - weak, 3 - medium, 4 - sufficient and 5 - complete. Results show that there is a general disinterest in these questions: out of all given answers, as many as 41% have a grade of two, and the average grades in all questions are between 2 (low interest) and 3 (medium interest). The results, sorted by average grade, are shown in the following table (Table 2).

Table 2: Experts' responses

No.	Question	Average	St.deviation
1	How interested are the citizens in the quality of life as a part of the development of their city as a smart city?	2.85	1.05
2	How interested are the citizens in general issues concerning city development?	2.77	0.88
3	Are the citizens sufficiently engaged with general transport issues in their city?	2.55	0,86
4	Are the city authorities sufficiently engaged in improving public urban passenger transport?	2.30	0.90
5	In your opinion, are civic initiatives sufficiently present in order to improve public urban passenger transport as part of the smart city development?	2.20	0.85

Source: Authors' calculations, 2023

Experts evaluated smart city characteristics using a Likert scale of 1 to 10 across six distinct problem groups. The combined average rating stood at 7.54. Analyzing individual expert responses, the range spanned from a low of 3.41 to a high of 9.80. However, the distribution of these scores exhibited non-normal flatness ($K=3.11$) and notable negative skewness ($S=-0.95$), thereby deviating from a normal distribution (Jarque-Bera statistics $JB=12.66$, $p=0.002$). To identify extreme values, a non-parametric approach was adopted, employing an extreme value threshold below 3.26 and above 12.01. This assessment did not uncover any extreme values within this range.

The internal consistency of the survey underwent assessment through Cronbach's α coefficient across three criteria: grouped questions, questions related to public services (such as education, health, utilities, security, fire protection, and cleanliness), and individual question groups. Further employing the principal components method, clusters of questions that could be summarized under one factor were identified. The findings indicated that the assigned survey grades exhibited a suitable level of consistency, rendering them appropriate for subsequent analysis. Higher values of the Cronbach's α coefficient corresponded to enhanced internal consistency. An *acceptable* threshold for internal consistency is 0.6, values of 0.8 or above are considered *good*, while those surpassing 0.9 signify *excellent* internal consistency. The specific values of α coefficients, categorized by groups of questions, indicate *excellent* or *good* levels of internal consistency for each group.

For each question in each group, the medians, mean values, and standard deviations of the scores assigned by the experts were calculated. All items by groups are ranked according to the average grade, from the most important question in the opinion of experts, to the least important. The normalized values of grades ranged between 0.82 and 0.94 for groups, which were used as weights in the derivation of the modified index of competence of cities.

4.1. Comparative analysis of survey results by groups of questions

When observing the answers of all surveyed experts to all questions, an average score of 7.54 was obtained, on a scale from 1 to 10. The medians, average scores and standard deviations of the answers of experts by groups of questions are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Experts' assessments on the importance of individual groups of indicators

Rank	The importance of smart city development indicators	Median	Average	St. dev.
1	Group 5	8.00	7.85	2.14
2	Group 4	8.00	7.81	2.08
3	Group 6	8.00	7.77	2.22
4	Group 3	8.00	7.59	2.36
5	Group 2	8.00	7.25	2.38
6	Group 1	8.00	7.14	2.27
	Average indicator value for all questions	8.00	7.54	2.26

Source: Authors' calculations, 2023

A comparative analysis of the statistical significance of the differences between the arithmetic means of the scores assigned to individual groups, using the t-test, gave the results shown in Table 5.

Table 5: T-test of the significance of differences between arithmetic means

Group	5	4	6	3	2	1
5		t=0.482 p=0.630	t=0.942 p=0.346	t=3.063 p=0.002 *	t=6.789 p<0.001 *	t=9.676 p<0.001 *
4			t=0.417 p=0.676	t=2.259 p=0.024 *	t=5.625 p<0.001 *	t=7.703 p<0.001 *
6				t=1.797 p=0.073	t=5.073 p<0.001 *	t=7.085 p<0.001 *
3					t=3.285 p=0.001 *	t=5.071 p<0.001 *
2						t=1.206 p=0.228
1						

Source: Authors' calculations, 2023

In the above table, the values of $p < 0.05$ show the nonexistence of a statistically significant difference between the mean values. The symbol * indicates fields that refer to a pair of groups of questions between whose mean values there is no statistically significant difference. According to these results, groups of questions can be classified into three clusters:

- **First cluster** with the highest average grades includes Group 5, 4 and 6;
- **Second cluster** with medium average grades includes these Group 3;
- **Third cluster** with the lowest average grades includes Group 2 and 1.

For researching the development of chosen European smart cities, basic attributes, stats, and surveys from the Eurostat database (European Statistical Office, 2021) and available documents (Paredes Muse, Frazer, & Fidler, 2020) (CEN-CENELEC, 2020) (Mourshed, Bucchiar-

one, & Khandokar, 2016) were collected. Data cover EU, national, and NUTS-classified regional levels. Methodology included 28 EU capitals, inhabitants on Dec 31, 2018, and data refer to the size of cities, use of urban areas, population and demographic, living conditions, social exclusion and crime rate, economic activities and economic accounts of cities and households, structural business statistics, development digital economy and digital society, protection of intellectual property, labor market, education, scientific research and technological development, ecology, environmental protection and waste management, culture and tourism, urban transport, health care and the results of population satisfaction surveys. Data sets encompass 26 sets, 125 folders, and 342 variables from 2018. Most data from EU site; gaps filled from national/city stats or 2018 estimates with historical trends.

The variables included in the analysis can be divided into two basic groups: the first group contains basic, most important indicators related to the analysed measured variables, while the second contains indicators derived from surveys of EU capitals' citizens regarding their attitudes on quality of life and characteristics of the city they live in. The results of the survey served us as control values, and the selected measured variables are included in the database for calculating the composite index, as a summary indicator for comparing and ranking EU capitals, in terms of competitiveness and 'smartness' level of development.

The database includes a total of 48 variables, which reflect the characteristics of the examined cities. The variables are classified into the subgroups:

- population,
- living conditions,
- employment,
- economic development,
- education,
- health and social care,
- culture,
- tourism,
- ecology,

- information and communication technologies and
- urban transport (Stojić, Ćirić, Sedlak, & Marcikić Horvat, 2020).

In order for characteristics to be comparable, the data were normalized within the range 0-100. Let K_{ij} be the j -th characteristics for the city i . Then the normalised values of the j -th characteristics for the set of cities G_i is given:

$$N_j = \frac{K_j - \min_i(K_j)}{\max_i(K_j) - \min_i(K_j)} \cdot 100, \forall i, j$$

Normalized values are equal to zero if minimal and 100 if maximal. A comparative analysis of normalized values of characteristics averaged over cities, shows that of all the examined attributes, the highest normalised values belong to group *Living conditions*, namely Share of population with access to public city sewerage network and Share of population with access to public drinking water supply network is at a level over 85/100 on average for all cities. At the second highest level are *employment indicators* (Share of employed young people around 71/100, Share of employed population around 61/100). The lowest normalised value is, surprisingly, *Research and development expenditures in educational institutions per capita* in euros (around 23/100).

4.2. Results of residents of EU capitals' survey

Survey questionnaires were created in which the data on the attitudes of residents of EU capitals regarding the quality of life in their cities was collected. There is also used a *table of ranks awarded to individual items* from the survey of EU capitals. Data on the results of the survey are published on the EU website for years 2004, 2006, 2009, 2012 and 2015. Some survey questions are repeated from year to year, some are omitted, additional questions are formulated, and some are given in a modified form. In processing the data, we took into account the results for year 2015.

The answers to the questions asked can be grouped into five types. Tables display average points by survey question groups. Omitted are

'Population' and 'Information and communication technologies,' replaced with 'City Administration' and 'Security.' More points signify higher indicator quality. Notably, 'Possibility of finding a suitable apartment at an affordable price' (31.50) and 'Possibility of finding a suitable apartment at an affordable price' (43.57) scored lowest. Respondents favored 'High level of satisfaction with living conditions in this city' (80.79) and 'The quality of life in this city' (77.45) most.

EU capitals rank using composite index calculation. There are two methods: sum of original attribute points, or weighted values from expert surveys. According to both methodologies, the composite index of the highest value was assigned to Stockholm, and the lowest value to Zagreb. By introducing weights as an indicator of the importance of individual attributes, the order of the analysed cities in certain positions is modified. The adjusted values show an improvement for Prague, Helsinki, Dublin, Nicosia and Bucharest, which means that in those cities, those indicators are relatively better, to which experts attach a greater degree of importance. In other cities, the adjusted values are unchanged or reduced. As a result of these changes, after the introduction of the weight of attribute importance, the relative position on the ranking list of cities has improved for Tallinn, Berlin, Ljubljana, Bratislava, Vilnius and Bucharest.

5. Conclusion

We've systematized smart city components from various literature and institutions, presenting key aspects in the first chapter. Drawing from research, literature, and practical applications, we've established a comprehensive set of characteristics. These attributes aid in city ranking and composite index definition. Our approach proposes composite indices and rankings for EU capitals based on different attributes and citizens' satisfaction levels. These indices efficiently rank cities based on 'smartness'. Ongoing research could expand or streamline these features. Expert opinions helped group 92 evaluation questions into 6 categories for the composite index formulation. This index reflects smart city development. Our ranking method provides an effective way to assess cities,

aiding local authorities in optimizing solutions for normal functioning. Through expert surveys, we determined the importance of city characteristics, strategic directions, management strategies, environmental concerns, administration measures, urban transport, and more. The process includes comparative analysis, result organization, database formation, and composite index methodology.

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Tanja Kaurin¹

Dragan Mijović^{2**}

Aleksandar Bošković^{3***}

Nikola Milosavljević^{4****}

UDC 159.9:[37:004

Originalan naučni rad

Primljen: 22. 05. 2023.

Prihvaćen: 30. 05. 2023.

DIGITALNA PISMENOST KAO SEGMENT DIGITALNE PSIHOLOGIJE – EMPIRIJSKA PROVERA VEŠTINA

REZIME: Savremeno tržište zahteva nove veštine i znanja od svršenih studenata, što svakako obuhvata i digitalnu pismenost, kao segment šireg pojma digitalne psihologije. U ovom pogledu nema dovoljno istraživanja o digitalnoj pismenosti studenata, pogotovo u Srbiji. Cilj ovog rada bio je da izmeri digitalnu pismenost studenata i njihovu svest o sopstvenim digitalnim veštinama u pogledu upotrebe informacionih i komunikacionih tehnologija. Stoga je kreirano istraživanje u formi upitnika tehnikom stratifikovanog slučajnog uzorkovanja, kojim je obuhvaćeno 136 studenata. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju prosečan nivo digitalne pismenosti studenata. Između studentkinja i studenata nema značajne razlike, u pogledu opšte digitalne pismenosti. Međutim, studenti su pokazali viši nivo informatičke pismenosti i veštine korišćenja podataka u odnosu na studentkinje.

KLJUČNE REČI: *Digitalna pismenost, digitalna psihologija, komunikacija, bezbednost, rešavanje problema*

^{1*} e-mail: mtanja@gmail.com

^{2**} Docent, Fakultet za pravne i poslovne studije dr Lazar Vrkatić, Novi Sad, Union Univerzitet, Beograd, e-mail: mijovicd@yahoo.co.uk

^{3***} Docent, Fakultet za pravne i poslovne studije dr Lazar Vrkatić, Novi Sad, Union Univerzitet, Beograd, e-mail: aleksandar.boskovic@flv.edu.rs

^{4****} Asistent, Fakultet za specijalnu edukaciju i rehabilitaciju, Univerzitet u Beogradu, e-mail: nmilosavlje@gmail.com

1. Uvod

Ubrzan razvoj informatike i digitalne tehnologije ima dubok uticaj na sve aspekte ljudskog života. Osim negativnih posledica, poput određenih vidova zavisnosti, socijalnog otuđenja i bezbednosnih pretnji, ovaj tehnološki razvoj donosi i mnogo pozitivnih posledica u mnogim oblastima, uključujući i oblasti obrazovanja i rada (Singh, A. K. & Singh, P. K., 2019). Tendencija korišćenja onlajn ili digitalnih medija, kao zamene za ličnu i oflajn interakciju, sa izraženim kognitivnim, emocionalnim i bihejvioralnim posledicama na pojedinca i njegov socijalni život, naročito je došla do izražaja tokom pandemije korona virusa (Kaurin & Mijović, 2021). Zahvaljujući ovom uticaju i suštinskim promenama koje nosi, „ušli smo u novu eru u oblasti psihologije“ (Ancis, 2020, str. 9), koja je polje rada digitalne psihologije.

Dokora, svršeni studenti su imali znanja i veštine koje se ne bi smatrale dovoljnim za današnje tržište rada koje se zasniva na ekonomiji znanja i da bi kao profesionalci bili odgovorni za svoj rad, koristeći sve prednosti informaciono-komunikacionih tehnologija. Danas se od njih traži da pored osnovnih stručnih znanja imaju i znanja i veštine digitalne pismenosti. Organizacija za ekonomsku saradnju i razvoj (OECD) definiše ih kao neophodne da bi mladi ljudi postali efikasni radnici u današnjem društvu (Ananiadou & Claro, 2009). Veštine digitalne pismenosti, koje su tema mnogih radova (Van-Laar et al., 2017; Fullan & Langworthy, 2013; Anderson, 2010; Schwab, 2016), jesu: komunikacija, kritičko razmišljanje, kreativnost, saradnja, rešavanje problema i tehnološke kompetencije. Van-Lar, u svom radu (Van-Laar et al., 2017), definiše veštine digitalne pismenosti kao: tehničke veštine, upravljanje informacijama, komunikaciju, saradnju, kreativnost, kritičko razmišljanje i rešavanje problema; sve veštine su u kontekstu digitalnih tehnologija i digitalne psihologije.

Bitnu ulogu u promovisanju i razvoju veština digitalne pismenosti kod univerzitetskih studenata imaju institucije visokog obrazovanja. Međutim, i dalje postoji jaz između veština koje se stiču u visokom obrazovanju i onoga što je potrebno proizvodnom sektoru. Zbog toga je istraživanje veština digitalne pismenosti sticanih na univerzitetima i

onih koje zahteva tržište rada izuzetno važno za obrazovna istraživanja. Pomenuti jaz je izraženiji u zemljama u razvoju, a istovremeno zadržava njihovu pripremu za puni ulazak u ekonomiju znanja (Alfaki, 2016). Stoga su veštine digitalne pismenosti nova tema u obrazovnim istraživanjima.

2. Digitalna psihologija i digitalna pismenost

Pojam **digitalne psihologije**, u najopštijem smislu, obuhvata oblast proučavanja ljudskog uma i ponašanja u kontekstu interakcije čoveka sa digitalnom tehnologijom. Reč je o relativno novoj naučnoj oblasti koja ima za cilj da razume odnos i međusobni uticaj između ljudi i tehnologije u nastajanju, kao što su digitalni uređaji, internet, virtuelna stvarnost, proširena stvarnost i veštačka inteligencija (Singh, A. K. & Singh, P. K., 2019). Možemo je definisati kao primenjenu psihološku disciplinu koja proučava uticaj novih komunikacionih tehnologija na ljudsko ponašanje i subjektivnost, kao i komunikaciju između korisnika digitalne tehnologije (Harlei, Morgan, & Frith, 2018); odnosno, kao naučnu disciplinu koja se bavi razumevanjem psiholoških procesa koji su povezani sa svim aspektima interakcije između tehnologije i ponašanja ljudi (Ancis, 2020). Zasniva se na interdisciplinarnom pristupu, koji uključuje računarske nauke, inženjerstvo i psihologiju. Termin *digitalna psihologija* obuhvata i problematiku različitih oblasti učenja, aplikacija za učenje i digitalne pismenosti, koje se posmatraju kroz prizmu psihologije, kao nauke o ponašanju (Ancis, 2020; Attrill-Smith, Fullwood, Keep, & Kuss, 2019).

Digitalna pismenost, kao segment digitalne psihologije (Ancis, 2020; Attrill-Smith, Fullwood, Keep, & Kuss, 2019), označava veštine koje su potrebne za život, učenje i rad u društvu, u kom se komunikacija i pristup informacijama sve više odvijaju putem digitalnih tehnologija poput internet platformi, društvenih medija i mobilnih uređaja. Ona se odnosi na sposobnost pojedinca da pronalazi, procenjuje i sastavlja jasne informacije putem pisanja i drugih medija na različitim digitalnim platformama. Digitalna pismenost se procenjuje gramatikom pojedinca, kompozicijom, veštinama kucanja i sposobnošću proizvodnje

teksta, slika, audio-zapisa i dizajna pomoću tehnologije. Radna grupa za digitalnu pismenost Američkog udruženja biblioteka nudi sledeću definiciju: „Digitalna pismenost je sposobnost korišćenja informacionih i komunikacionih tehnologija za pronalaženje, procenu, stvaranje i komunikaciju informacija, zahtevajući i kognitivne (psihološke) i tehničke veštine“ (Visser, 2013). Profesor pismenosti i tehnologije na Državnom univerzitetu Severne Karoline, Hiller Spiers, digitalnu pismenost posmatra kao tri segmenta: 1) pronalaženje i konzumiranje digitalnog sadržaja; 2) kreiranje digitalnih sadržaja i 3) komuniciranje ili deljenje. Metodolog istraživanja i digitalni sociolog sa Instituta za tehnologiju u Illinoisu, Yuli Hsieh, navodi da je digitalna pismenost „sposobnost pristupa, obrade, razumevanja i stvaranja informacija ili medijskog sadržaja u digitalnom okruženju“ (Hsieh, 2012). Mada je digitalna pismenost u početku bila fokusirana na digitalne veštine i personalne računare, pojava interneta i korišćenje društvenih medija doveli su do prebacivanja fokusa na mobilne uređaje. Slično drugim proširenim definicijama pismenosti, koje prepoznaju kulturne i istorijske načine pravljenja značenja, (Rowell & Pahl, 2020) digitalna pismenost ne zamenjuje tradicionalne oblike pismenosti, umesto toga se nadograđuje i proširuje veštine koje čine temelj tradicionalnih oblika pismenosti. Digitalnu pismenost treba smatrati delom puta ka znanju (Reedy & Parker, 2018).

Digitalna pismenost podrazumeva pouzdanu, kritičnu i odgovornu upotrebu i bavljenje digitalnim tehnologijama za učenje, na poslu i za učešće u društvu (European Council, 2018). Komisija u okviru Evropske komisije je objavila Evropski okvir digitalnih kompetencija za građane sa ciljem da doprinese boljem razumevanju i razvoju digitalne pismenosti u Evropi. Okvir digitalne pismenosti sastoji se od kompetencija podeljenih u sledećih pet oblasti: informatička pismenost i veština korišćenja podataka, komunikacija i saradnja, stvaranje digitalnog sadržaja, bezbednost i rešavanje problema.

2.1. Informatička pismenost i veština korišćenja podataka

Informatička pismenost i veština korišćenja podataka podrazumevaju: artikulisanje potrebe za informacijama; pronalaženje i preuzimanje digitalnih podataka, informacija i sadržaja; suđenje o relevantnosti

izvora i njegovog sadržaja i čuvanje, upravljanje i organizovanje digitalnih podataka, informacija i sadržaja.

Informatička pismenost i veština korišćenja podataka obuhvataju: pregledanje, pretraživanje i filtriranje podataka, informacija i digitalnog sadržaja; procenu podataka, informacija i digitalnog sadržaja i upravljanje podacima, informacijama i digitalnim sadržajem.

Pregledanje, pretraživanje i filtriranje podataka, informacija i digitalnog sadržaja odnosi se na: artikulisanje potreba za informacijama; traženje i pristupanje podacima, informacijama i sadržajima u digitalnom okruženju i kretanje između njih i kreiranje i ažuriranje ličnih strategija pretraživanja.

Procena podataka, informacija i digitalnog sadržaja obuhvata analiziranje, upoređivanje i kritičko procenjivanje verodostojnosti i pouzdanost izvora podataka, informacija i digitalnog sadržaja i analiziranje, tumačenje i kritičko procenjivanje samih podataka, informacija i digitalnog sadržaja. Upravljanje podacima, informacijama i digitalnim sadržajem uključuje organizovanje, čuvanje i preuzimanje podataka, informacija i sadržaja u digitalnim okruženjima i njihovo organizovanje i obradu u strukturiranom okruženju

2.2. Komunikacija i saradnja

Komunikacija i saradnja objedinjuju interakciju, komunikaciju i saradnju putem digitalnih tehnologija, uz svesnost o kulturnoj i generacijskoj raznolikosti; učestvovanje u društvu putem javnih i privatnih digitalnih usluga i participativnog građanstva i upravljanje digitalnim identitetom i reputacijom.

Komunikacija i saradnja podrazumevaju interakciju, deljenje, uključivanje u društvo i saradnju putem digitalnih tehnologija, pravila ponašanja na mreži i upravljanje digitalnim identitetom. Interakcija putem digitalnih tehnologija obuhvata komunikaciju putem različitih digitalnih tehnologija i razumevanje odgovarajućih sredstava digitalne komunikacije za dati kontekst.

Deljenje putem digitalnih tehnologija se odnosi na deljenje podataka, informacija i digitalnih sadržaja sa drugima putem odgovarajućih

digitalnih tehnologija; delovanje kao posrednik i znanje o praksi referenciranja i atributiranja.

Uključivanje u društvo putem digitalnih tehnologija sadrži učestvovanje u društvu korišćenjem javnih i privatnih digitalnih usluga i traženje mogućnosti za osnaživanje i učestvovanje u društvu putem odgovarajućih digitalnih tehnologija.

Saradnja putem digitalnih tehnologija uključuje korišćenje digitalnih alata i tehnologija za kolaborativne procese i za zajedničku izgradnju i stvaranje resursa i znanja.

Pravila ponašanja na mreži objedinjuju: svesnost o normama i načinima ponašanja tokom korišćenja digitalnih tehnologija i interakcije u digitalnom okruženju; prilagođavanje komunikacionih strategija određenoj publici i svest o kulturnoj i generacijskoj raznolikosti u digitalnom okruženju.

Upravljanje digitalnim identitetom podrazumeva stvaranje i upravljanje sa jednim ili više digitalnih identiteta radi zaštite nečije reputacije u radu sa podacima koji se proizvode kroz nekoliko digitalnih alata, okruženja i usluga.

2.3. Stvaranje digitalnog sadržaja

Stvaranje digitalnog sadržaja se odnosi na kreiranje i uređivanje digitalnog sadržaja; poboljšavanje i integrisanje podataka i sadržaja u postojeće znanje, uz razumevanje načina primene autorskih prava i licenci i poznavanje načina davanja razumljivih uputstava za računarski sistem.

Stvaranje digitalnog sadržaja obuhvata stvaranje digitalnog sadržaja, razvoj digitalnog sadržaja, integrisanje i preradu digitalnog sadržaja, autorska prava i licence i programiranje.

Razvoj digitalnog sadržaja predstavlja stvaranje i uređivanje digitalnih sadržaja u različitim formatima radi izražavanja putem digitalnih sredstava.

Integrisanje i prerada digitalnog sadržaja uključuju modifikovanje, doradivanje, poboljšavanje i integrisanje informacija i sadržaja u po-

stojeće znanje kako bi se stvorio novi, originalan i relevantan sadržaj i proširilo znanje. Pored toga, bitno je razumevanje načina na koji se autorska prava i licence odnose na podatke, informacije i digitalni sadržaj.

Programiranje podrazumeva planiranje i razvoj niza razumljivih uputstava za računski sistem za rešavanje datog problema ili izvršavanje određenog zadatka.

2.4. Bezbednost

Bezbednost se odnosi na: zaštitu uređaja, sadržaja, ličnih podataka i privatnosti u digitalnom okruženju; zaštitu fizičkog i psihološkog zdravlja; svest o značaju digitalnih tehnologija za socijalno blagostanje i socijalnu inkluziju i uticaj digitalnih tehnologija na životnu sredinu. Stoga, bezbednost obuhvata zaštitu uređaja, ličnih podataka i privatnosti, zdravlja i blagostanja i životne sredine.

Zaštita uređaja se odnosi na zaštitu samih uređaja i digitalnog sadržaja na njima, na razumevanje rizika i pretnji u digitalnom okruženju, na poznavanje mera bezbednosti i zaštite uz uzmanje u obzir pouzdanosti i privatnosti.

Zaštita ličnih podataka i privatnosti u digitalnom okruženju obuhvata i razumevanje načina korišćenja i deljenja informacija koje mogu lično da identifikuju osobu, uz istovremenu zaštitu sebe i drugih od štete i razumevanje načina na koji digitalne usluge koriste politiku privatnosti da bi informisale o načinu korišćenja ličnih podataka.

Zaštita zdravlja i blagostanja uključuje: izbegavanje rizika i pretnji po fizičko i psihološko zdravlje tokom korišćenja digitalnih tehnologija; zaštitu sebe i drugih od mogućih opasnosti u digitalnom okruženju i svest o uticaju digitalnih tehnologija na socijalno blagostanje i socijalnu inkluziju.

Zaštita životne sredine u ovom kontekstu podrazumeva svest o uticaju korišćenja digitalnih tehnologija na životnu sredinu.

2.5. Rešavanje problema

Rešavanje problema predstavlja identifikovanje potreba i problema i rešavanje konceptualnih problema i problemskih situacija u digitalnom okruženju; korišćenje digitalnih alata za inoviranje procesa i proizvoda; i praćenje digitalne evolucije.

Rešavanje problema obuhvata rešavanje tehničkih problema, utvrđivanje potreba i tehnoloških odgovora, kreativno korišćenje digitalnih tehnologija i utvrđivanje praznina u digitalnoj kompetenciji.

Rešavanje tehničkih problema podrazumeva identifikovanje tehničkih problema prilikom rukovanja uređajima i korišćenja digitalnih okruženja i njihovo rešavanje i prilagođavanje i podešavanje digitalnih okruženja ličnim potrebama.

Kreativno korišćenje digitalnih tehnologija se odnosi na korišćenje digitalnih alata i tehnologija za stvaranje znanja i inoviranje procesa i proizvoda i njihovo pojedinačno i kolektivno angažovanje u kognitivnoj obradi radi razumevanja i rešavanja konceptualnih problema i problemskih situacija u digitalnom okruženju.

Utvrđivanje praznina u digitalnoj kompetenciji objedinjuje lociranje mesta, gde sopstvenu digitalnu kompetenciju treba poboljšati ili ažurirati, podršku drugima svojim razvojem digitalnih kompetencija i traženje mogućnosti za samorazvoj i praćenje i praćenje toka digitalne evolucije.

3. Cilj istraživanja

Osnovni cilj ovog istraživanja, s jedne strane, jeste objektivna provera stepena digitalne pismenosti studenata, a, s druge strane, registrovanje njihove subjektivne procene vlastitog poznavanja informatičkih pojmova. Pored toga, ispitano je i postojanje razlika između studenata i studentkinja u objektivnom znanju i subjektivnoj proceni znanja.

4. Metod istraživanja

4.1. Uzorak

Prigodan uzorak činilo je 136 studenata uzrasta od 20 do 38 godina ($M = 22.23$ godina; $SD = 2.29$; 60% muškog pola) Fakulteta za pravne i poslovne studije dr Lazar Vrkić u Novom Sadu. Podaci su prikupljeni u grupama, u kojima studenti pohađaju nastavu, tako što su ispitanici pojedinačno popunjavali upitnik i test znanja na računaru.

4.2. Instrumenti i varijable

Za potrebe ovog istraživanja posebno je konstruisan test za proveru veština digitalne pismenosti, operacionalizovan preko poznavanja informatičkih pojmova.

Test poznavanja informatičkih pojmova sastoji se od 43 pitanja kojima je obuhvaćeno pet različitih domena digitalne pismenosti: informatička pismenost i veština korišćenja podataka; komunikacija i saradnja; stvaranje digitalnih sadržaja; sigurnost i rešavanje problema (prilog: Test informisanosti – oblast informatika). Sva pitanja su kreirana u formi zadatka višestrukog izbora sa četiri ponuđena odgovora, od kojih je samo jedan odgovor tačan. Svaki tačan odgovor se bodovao jednim poenom, a ukupan skor se računao prostim sabiranjem tačnih odgovora na testu. Vreme izrade testa nije bilo vremenski ograničeno.

Pored testa znanja, prikupljeni su i podaci o polu i starosnoj dobi. Od ispitanika je, takođe, zatraženo da na petostepenoj Likertovoj skali procene svoj nivo *poznavanja informatičkih pojmova* (1 – izuzetno loše; 5 – izuzetno dobro), kao i da navedu svoju *procenu očekivanog postignuća na testu znanja* u vidu broja tačnih odgovora koji očekuju da će imati na testu (između 0 i 43). Kao kontrolne varijable, registrovali smo broj godina nastave iz informatičkih grupa predmeta koje su imali i vannastavno pohađanje informatičkih kurseva.

5. Rezultati

Pouzdanost testa poznavanja informatičkih pojmova (Kronbahova α) iznosi .84, dobijena je takođe zadovoljavajuća diskriminativnost testa (skorovi se kreću u rasponu od 10 do 43). U Tabeli 13 može se videti za svako pitanje procenat ispitanika koji su dali tačan odgovor.

Tabela 1. *Deskriptivne mere očekivanog i stvarnog postignuća na testu, samoprocena poznavanja informatičkih pojmova i godine slušanja nastave iz grupe informatičkih predmeta*

	M	SD	Teorijski raspon	Empirijski raspon
Očekivano postignuće na testu	26.48	8.50	0 – 43	10 – 43
Postignuće na testu	21.97	7.08	0 – 43	5 – 42
Procena poznavanja informatičkih pojmova	3.10	0.66	1 – 5	1 – 5
Broj godina nastave iz informatike	4.62	2.91	-	0 – 15

Registrovana je opšta tendencija precenjivanja vlastitog postignuća, ispitanici su u proseku procenili da će tačno odgovoriti na približno 26 pitanja, dok su, u stvari, u proseku tačno odgovorili na 22 pitanja. Skoro svi ispitanici (95,6%) su tokom školovanja imali nastavu iz informatičke grupe predmeta. Sa druge strane, svega 7,4% ispitanika je pohađalo neku vrstu informatičkih kurseva.

Studenti koji su imali nastavu iz informatičke grupe predmeta veći broj godina nisu ostvarili veće postignuće na testu poznavanja informatičkih pojmova ($r = .11$, $p = .212$). Korelacija između samoprocene nivoa poznavanja informatičkih pojmova i očekivanog postignuća na testu znanja iznosi $r = .48$ ($p < .01$). Međutim, dobijeno je da je stvarno postignuće na testu povezano samo sa procenom poznavanja informa-

tičkih pojmova ($r = .25, p < .01$), ali ne i sa očekivanim postignućem na testu ($r = .12, p = .169$). Studenti sa višim postignućem na testu nisu očekivali da će ostvariti veće postignuće u odnosu na studente sa manjim postignućem. Sa druge strane, studenti sa većim brojem tačnih odgovora na testu znanja jesu svoje poznavanje informatičkih pojmova procenili kao bolje.

Tabela 2. *Razlike između studentkinja i studenata*

	Muški M (SD)	Ženski M (SD)	t statistik	Interval poverenja	
Očekivano postignuće na testu	27.70 (8.70)	24.64 (7.91)	2.06*	0.12	6.00
Postignuće na testu	22.59 (7.06)	21.04 (7.06)	1.254	-0.90	4.01
Procena poznavanja informatičkih pojmova	3.09 (0.75)	3.11 (0.51)	-0.22	-0.26	0.21
Broj godina nastave iz informatike	4.30 (2.69)	5.11 (3.17)	-1.59	-1.83	0.199

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

Kao što se može videti u Tabeli 2, kod studenata je registrovana veća tendencija precenjivanja vlastitog postignuća na testu poznavanja informatičkih pojmova u odnosu na studentkinje. Registrovan je mali efekat pola (Koenovo $d = 0.36$). Nisu dobijene razlike između studentkinja i studenata u objektivnom postignuću na testu, proceni poznavanja informatičkih pojmova, kao ni u dužini nastave iz grupe informatičkih predmeta.

Na testu informatičke pismenosti i veštine korišćenja podataka prosečan broj tačnih odgovora studenata je bio 45%, odnosno studenti su u proseku tačno odgovorili na 4.02 od ukupno devet pitanja.

Tabela 3. *Deskriptivne mere stvarnog postignuća na testu informatičke pismenosti i veštine korišćenja podataka*

	M	CD	Teorijski raspon	Empirijski raspon
Postignuće na testu	4.02	1.84	0 - 9	0 - 9

Studenti koji su imali nastavu iz informatičke grupe predmeta veći broj godina nisu ostvarili veće postignuće na testu informatičke pismenosti i veštine korišćenja podataka ($r = .12, p = .17$). Dobijeno je da je ostvareno postignuće na testu informatičke pismenosti i veštine korišćenja podataka povezano sa procenom poznavanja informatičkih pojmova ($r = .23, p < .01$), ali ne i sa očekivanim postignućem na testu ($r = .07, p = .451$).

Dobijena je statistički značajna razlika između studentkinja i studenata u ostvarenom postignuću na testu informatičke pismenosti i veštine korišćenja podataka. Studenti su u proseku tačno odgovorili na 4.36 a studentinje na 3.52 od ukupno devet pitanja.

Tabela 4. *Razlike između studentkinja i studenata na testu informatičke pismenosti i veštine korišćenja podataka*

	Muški M (SD)	Ženski M (SD)	t statistik	Interval poverenja	
Postignuće na testu	4.36 (1.79)	3.52 (1.82)	2.651	0.21	1.47

* $p < .05$

Na testu komunikacije i saradnje prosečan broj tačnih odgovora studenata je bio 54%, odnosno studenti su u proseku tačno odgovorili na 6.47 od ukupno 12 pitanja.

Tabela 5. *Deskriptivne mere stvarnog postignuća na testu komunikacije i saradnje*

	M	SD	Teorijski raspon	Empirijski raspon
Postignuće na testu	6.47	2.30	0 – 12	1 – 12

Studenti koji su imali nastavu iz informatičke grupe predmeta veći broj godina nisu ostvarili veće postignuće na testu komunikacije i saradnje ($r = .05, p = .58$). Nije dobijena povezanost ostvarenog postignuća na testu komunikacije i saradnje sa procenom poznavanja informatičkih pojmova ($r = .14, p = .12$), niti sa očekivanim postignućem na testu ($r = .17, p < .05$).

Nije dobijena statistički značajna razlika između studentkinja i studenata u ostvarenom postignuću na testu komunikacije i saradnje. Studenti su u proseku tačno odgovorili na 6.58 a studentinje na 6.31 od ukupno 12 pitanja.

Tabela 6. *Razlike između studentkinja i studenata na testu komunikacije i saradnje*

	Muški M (SD)	Ženski M (SD)	t statistik	Interval poverenja	
Postignuće na testu	6.58 (2.34)	6.31 (2.25)	0.656	-0.53	1.07

* $p < .05$

Na testu stvaranja digitalnog sadržaja prosečan broj tačnih odgovora studenata je bio 57%, odnosno studenti su u proseku tačno odgovorili na 4.01 od ukupno sedam pitanja.

Tabela 7. *Deskriptivne mere stvarnog postignuća na testu stvaranja digitalnog sadržaja*

	M	SD	Teorijski raspon	Empirijski raspon
Postignuće na testu	4.01	1.49	0 – 7	1 – 7

Studenti koji su imali nastavu iz informatičke grupe predmeta veći broj godina nisu ostvarili veće postignuće na testu stvaranja digitalnog sadržaja ($r = .13, p = .14$). Nije dobijena povezanost ostvarenog postignuća na testu stvaranja digitalnog sadržaja sa procenom poznavanja informatičkih pojmova ($r = .16, p = .07$), niti sa očekivanim postignućem na testu ($r = .003, p = .97$).

Nije dobijena statistički značajna razlika između studentkinja i studenata u ostvarenom postignuću na testu stvaranja digitalnog sadržaja. Studenti su u proseku tačno odgovorili na 4.07 a studentinje na 3.93 od ukupno sedam pitanja.

Tabela 8. *Razlike između studentkinja i studenata na testu stvaranja digitalnog sadržaja*

	Muški M (CĐ)	Ženski M (SD)	t statistik	Interval poverenja	
Postignuće na testu	4.07 (1.44)	3.93 (1.58)	0.564	-0.37	0.67

* $p < .05$

Na testu sigurnosti prosečan broj tačnih odgovora studenata je bio 49%, odnosno studenti su u proseku tačno odgovorili na 4.38 od ukupno devet pitanja.

Tabela 9. *Deskriptivne mere stvarnog postignuća na testu sigurnosti*

	M	SD	Teorijski raspon	Empirijski raspon
Postignuće na testu	4.38	2.28	0 – 9	0 – 9

Studenti koji su imali nastavu iz informatičke grupe predmeta veći broj godina nisu ostvarili veće postignuće na testu sigurnosti ($r = .11, p = .20$). Dobijeno je da je ostvareno postignuće na testu sigurnosti povezano sa procenom poznavanja informatičkih pojmova ($r = .26, p < .05$), ali ne i sa očekivanim postignućem na testu ($r = .06, p = .46$).

Nije dobijena statistički značajna razlika između studentkinja i studenata u ostvarenom postignuću na testu sigurnosti. Studenti su u proseku tačno odgovorili na 4.40 a studentinje na 4.35 od ukupno devet pitanja.

Tabela 10. *Razlike između studentkinja i studenata na testu sigurnosti*

	Muški M (SD)	Ženski M (SD)	t statistik	Interval poverenja	
Postignuće na testu	4.40 (2.18)	4.35 (2.43)	0.108	-0.75	0.84

* $p < .05$

Na testu rešavanja problema prosečan broj tačnih odgovora studenata je bio 51%, odnosno studenti su u proseku tačno odgovorili na 3.08 od ukupno šest pitanja.

Tabela 11. *Deskriptivne mere stvarnog postignuća na testu rešavanja problema*

	M	SD	Teorijski raspon	Empirijski raspon
Postignuće na testu	3.08	1.30	0 – 6	0 – 6

Studenti koji su imali nastavu iz informatičke grupe predmeta veći broj godina nisu ostvarili veće postignuće na testu rešavanja problema ($r = .003, p = .97$). Nije dobijena povezanost ostvarenog postignuća na testu rešavanja problema sa procenom poznavanja informatičkih pojmova ($r = .13, p = .15$), niti sa očekivanim postignućem na testu ($r = .15, p = .09$).

Nije dobijena statistički značajna razlika između studentkinja i studenata u ostvarenom postignuću na testu rešavanja problema. Studenti su u proseku tačno odgovorili na 3.19 a studentkinje na 2.93 od ukupno devet pitanja.

Tabela 12. *Razlike između studentkinja i studenata na testu rešavanja problema*

	Muški M (SD)	Ženski M (SD)	t statistik	Interval poverenja	
Postignuće na testu	3.19 (1.16)	2.93 (1.48)	1.137	-0.19	0.71

* $p < .05$

Tabela 13. *Procenat ispitanika koji su dali tačan odgovor za svako pitanje na testu znanja*

Redni broj	Pitanje na testu poznavanja informatičkih pojmova	Procenat studenata koji je dao tačan odgovor na pitanje
1	Poznatiji internet pretraživači su	11.10%
33	Šta od navedenog najbolje opisuje termin Etičko hakovanje?	14.10%
39	Akronim MOOC se odnosi na :	19.30%
43	Najnovija verzija MS Office je Office 365	19.30%
18	Obično su računari u poslovnim objektima umreženi kako bi svi zaposleni mogli da koriste zajedničke resurse. Kako se naziva ovaj način povezivanja računara?	22.20%
15	Koji je od navedenih uređaja i ulazni i izlazni?	23.00%
19	Šta od navedenog predstavlja privatnu mrežu kojoj imaju pravo pristupa i korisnici izvan organizacije?	25.20%
35	Šta od navedenog može biti pretnja za sigurnost pri otvaranju e-mail priloga?	25.90%
32	Šta je od navedenog primer sajber kriminala?	30.40%
17	Prilikom slanja e-mail-a dodajemo adresu u BCC ukoliko želimo da:	34.80%
31	Pravo korišćenja (ENd User Licence Agreement) korisniku obezbeđuje:	34.80%
38	Prednost e-uprave (e-gouvernement) je:	34.80%
24	Majrosoft vord je program tipa vizivig (eng. wusiwug) što znači:	37.80%
41	Podacima koji se nalaze u 'oblaku' (cloud) krajnji korisnici pristupaju preko:	41.50%

20	Koja je od sledećih izjava vezanih za internet tačna?	42.20%
2	Kada u pretraživač ukucate ključnu reč pojavljuje se pomoć u vidu liste kombinacija reči koje su vezane za Vašu pretragu. To su:	43.00%
23	Koja od sledećih izjava opisuje shareware?	43.00%
25	Koja od navedenih izjava opisuje dobar pristup za bezbednost informacija na nivou organizacije?	45.90%
37	Fajlovi koji su obrisani sa hard diska i uklonjeni iz kantice (Recycle Bin) su bezbedno uklonjeni sa računara i nemoguće je povratiti ih.	47.40%
29	Šta bi od navedenog trebalo uraditi da bi se zaštitili podaci od gubitaka u slučaju oštećenja glavnog fajla?	49.60%
34	Šta od navedenog najbolje opisuje termin Etičko hakovanje?	49.60%
13	Šta od navedenog predstavlja hardversku komponentu računara?	51.10%
6	Koji način povezivanja na Internet se i dalje koristi?	51.90%
5	Kada se ovaj simbol nalazi u donjem levom uglu ikone programa predstavlja	53.30%
12	Operativni sistem je:	54.80%
9	Tekst otkucan u Wordu se memoriše	55.60%
21	Šta od navedenog predstavlja tekstualnu komunikaciju između dvoje ili više ljudi putem interneta?	56.30%
40	Upotreba društvenih mreža za marketinške svrhe je :	56.30%
28	Zašto je za svaku organizaciju važna politika kreiranja jakih lozinki?	60%

36	Šta od navedenog NIJE odlika elektronskog poslovanja (e-business) ?	62.20%
22	Komunikacija preko internet servisa je:	65.20%
26	Šta od navedenog predstavlja važno pravilo kada su u pitanju lozinke?	65.90%
4	Koliko fajlova/foldera vidimo na priloženoj slici	68.90%
27	Koji je od navedenih načina najbolji za zaštitu računara od virusa ?	70.40%
42	Gugl disk (Google drive) omogućava korisnicima da:	71.90%
11	Šta se može koristiti kao memorijski prostor za skladištenje željenih podataka?	72.60%
16	E-mail adresa može izgledati ovako:	75.60%
30	Šta od navedenog može dovesti do ulaska virusa u računar?	75.60%
7	Ovo je izgled padajućeg menija koji se dobija	84.40%
8	Word dokument može biti prilog (attachment) u e-mail poruci	86.70%
3	Info koje na internetu dobijamo pretragom su	87.40%
10	Jedan od programa u kome je moguće uraditi tabelarne kalkulacije je	87.40%
14	Šta od navedenog utiče na poboljšanje performansi računara?	88.90%

6. Zaključci i diskusija

Istraživanje u ovom radu imalo je za cilj procenu digitalne pismenosti studenata, kao jednog od bazičnih segmenata psihologije učenja i, u širem smislu, digitalne psihologije i registrovanje njihove subjektivne procene vlastitog poznavanja informatičkih pojmova. Takođe, ispitano je i postojanje razlika između studenata i studentkinja u objektivnom

znanju i subjektivnoj proceni znanja. Skoro svi ispitanici su tokom školovanja imali nastavu iz informatičke grupe predmeta, ali je mali broj njih pohađao i neku vrstu informatičkih kurseva. Iz dobijenih rezultata mogu se izvući sledeći zaključci:

- **Postoji opšta tendencija precenjivanja vlastitih veština digitalne pismenosti i to veća kod studenata nego kod studentkinja.** Ovaj rezultat se može tumačiti u odnosu na pojam samoefikasnosti (engleski: self-efficacy), koji se odnosi na samopouzdanje ispitanika i lična očekivanja u vezi sa krajnjim učinkom. Rohatgi, Scherer i Hatlevik (2016) su na norveškom uzorku pronašli pozitivnu vezu između samoefikasnosti u oblasti informacione i komunikacione tehnologije (IKT) i povećanja sposobnosti pojedinca da koristi računare za istraživanje, kreiranje i komunikaciju (CIL). U našem slučaju to bi značilo da je precenjivanje vlastitih veština digitalne pismenosti odraz korišćenja računara od strane ispitanika u većem i učestalijem obimu u svakodnevnim aktivnostima;

- **Između studentkinja i studenata nema značajne razlike u pogledu digitalne pismenosti, izuzev u segmentu informatičke pismenosti i veštine korišćenja podataka i to u korist studenata.** Istraživanja, takođe, pokazuju da uverenja o samoefikasnosti mogu biti u vezi sa polom i kulturom, kao i da pol, samoefikasnost i socioekonomski uslovi igraju važnu ulogu u razumevanju informacione pismenosti (prema: Hatlevika, O. E., Throndsenb, I., Loic, M., Gudmundsdottirb, 2018). Iako devojčice postižu podjednake rezultate ili čak i bolje od dečaka u raznim domenima sklone su da prijavljuju nižu samoefikasnost (Schunk, Meece, & Pintrich, 2014), kao i u našem slučaju;

- **Studenti koji su imali nastavu iz informatičke grupe predmeta veći broj godina nisu ostvarili veće postignuće na testu poznavanja informatičkih pojmova.** Ovo se može objasniti rezultatima studija koje su ispitivale uticaj upotrebe IKT⁵ u školi na ishode učenja učenika i na učinke digitalne kompetencije. Postignuća se nisu po-

⁵ IKT - informacione i komunikacione tehnologije

većavala s povećanjem upotrebe računara u vezi sa školskim programom; štaviše, javljala se negativna povezanost (OECD, 2011). Ni druge studije nisu pokazale značajnu vezu između digitalne kompetencije i upotrebe računara u školi (Hatlevik, Gudmundsdottir, & Loi, 2015). Sa druge strane, otkriveno je da su intenzitet korišćenja računara van škole i samoefikasnost učenika u vezi sa korišćenjem računara pozitivno povezani (Meelisen i Drent, 2008; po: Hatlevika, O.E., Throndsenb, I., Loic, M., Gudmundsdottirb, 2018);

- **Stvarno postignuće na testu digitalnih veština povezano je samo sa procenom poznavanja informatičkih pojmova, ali ne i sa očekivanim postignućem na testu.** Rezultati ranijih istraživanja otkrivaju jasnu razliku između IKT samoefikasnosti (samoprocene ispitanika u vezi sa poznavanjem informacionih i komunikacionih tehnologija i samopouzdanja koje iz toga proističe u vezi sa krajnjim učinkom) i objektivne kompjuterske i informacione pismenosti (po: Fraillon, Ainlei, Schulz, Friedman, & Gebhardt, 2014), što je slučaj sa našim rezultatima;

- **Studenti su pokazali prosečan nivo digitalne pismenosti.** Pošto uzorak ispitanika pripada generaciji koju nazivaju⁶ „mileni-jumci“ i „internet generacija“, kako bi se naglasila njihova familijarnost sa korišćenjem digitalne tehnologije u svim aspektima života, očekivano je bolje postignuće; međutim, i druge studije pokazuju da su ovakve generalizacije neopravdane (Attrill-Smith, A., Fullwood, C., Keep, M., & Kuss, D.J., 2019). Da li prosečno postignuće znači da su (ne)dovoljno spremni za tržište rada, za korišćenje savremenih obrazovnih i radnih alata u digitalnom okruženju? Suprotno pretpostavkama o entuzijazmu mladih ljudi i uverenju da lako i bez otpora usvajaju i prilagođavaju tehnologije iz jednog konteksta svog života (npr. svakodnevnog) u drugi (npr. akademske studije), istraživanja pokazuju da nisu nužno usmereni na povećanu integraciju sa digitalnom tehnologijom u obrazovne i radne svrhe (Corrin, L., Apps, T., Beckman, K. & Bennett, S., 2019). Mnogi mladi ljudi izražavaju sklonost ka odvajanju ličnog

⁶ U književnosti, medijima, akademskim krugovima.

(društvene mreže) od korišćenja digitalne tehnologije u obrazovne svrhe na štetu obrazovnih potreba, ali postoje i dokazi da neki mladi ljudi preferiraju integraciju tehnologija u različitim kontekstima kako bi poboljšali ličnu udobnost (Prescott, J., Wilson, S., & Becket, G., 2013; po: Corrin, L., Apps, T., Beckman, K. & Bennett, S., 2019).

Da li su rezultati ovog istraživanja (prosečan nivo digitalne pismenosti uprkos višegodišnjoj nastavi iz informatičke grupe predmeta i prećenjivanje vlastitih sposobnosti u ovoj oblasti) posledice neusaglašenosti prevaziđenih oblika obrazovanja sa novim obrazovnim tendencijama, koje se zasnivaju na napretku digitalne tehnologije? Visoko obrazovanje ima važnu ulogu u pripremi mladih za sticanje znanja i veština za obavljanje poslova u akademskom okruženju, uključujući digitalnu pismenost. Kao i velika britanska studija iz 2017. godine⁷ (Nevman & Beetham, 2017; po: Hatlevika, O.E., Thronsdensb, I., Loic, M., Gudmundsdottirb, 2018), i naše istraživanje je pokazalo da postoji potreba za većom pedagoškom podrškom mladima da razvijaju veštine digitalne pismenosti ne samo za akademske sredine, već i za prelazak u radno okruženje.

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⁷ Studija je uključivala 22.000 studenata širom Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva; pokazala je da samo 50 posto njih smatra da ih je univerzitet dovoljno pripremio za radno mesto, u smislu poznavanja digitalnih veština.

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Prilog: Test informisanosti – oblast informatika

Pred Vama se nalazi test poznavanja informatičkih pojmova. Popunjavanje je anonimno, a rezultati će biti korišćeni isključivo u naučno-istraživačke svrhe. Molimo Vas da test rešavate samostalno. Hvala na učešću.

Podaci o ispitaniku

▪ **Pol:**

- 1) muški
- 2) ženski

▪ **Starosna dob:**

Napišite koliko imate godina _____

▣ **Procenite svoj nivo poznavanja informatičkih pojmova zao-
kruživanjem odgovarajućeg broja na skali od 1 do 5 gde je:**

- 1 - *izuzetno loše;*
- 2 - *ispod proseka;*
- 3 - *prosečno;*
- 4 - *iznad proseka;*
- 5 - *izuzetno dobro.*

▣ **Test koji sledi sadrži 43 pitanja. Koliko tačnih odgovora
očekujete da ćete imati na testu?**

Upišite broj od 0 do 43: _____

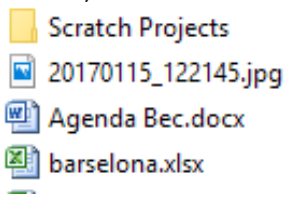

§ **Da li ste tokom školovanja imali nastavu iz informatičke grupe predmeta?**

- 1) Da. *Upišite koliko godina:* _____
- 2) Ne.

§ **Da li ste pohađali neku vrstu informatičkih kurseva?**

- 1) Da. *Navedite nazive kurseva ili sertifikata koje posedujete*
- 2) Ne.

TEST (zaokružite tačan odgovor)

1. **Poznatiji Internet pretraživači su:**
 - A. Google i Explorer.
 - B. Google i Bing.**
 - C. Yahoo i Outlook.
 - D. Apple i Microsoft.
2. **Kada u pretraživaču kucate ključnu reč pojavljuje se pomoć u vidu liste kombinacija reči koje su vezane za Vašu pretragu. To su:**
 - A. Reči koje ste već pretraživali, pa ih je računar memorisao.
 - B. Plaćene reklame koje imaju za cilj da Vas odvedu do njihovog proizvoda.
 - C. Reči koje su najbližnje traženom upitu i trenutno najpopularnije u pretraživaču.**
 - D. Kombinacija svega navedenog.
3. **Informacije koje na internetu dobijamo pretragom su:**
 - A. Uvek tačne.
 - B. Tačne samo na sajtovima koji se nalaze među prvima na listi.
 - C. Tačne samo na sponzorisanim sajtovima.
 - D. Tačne samo kod proverenih izvora.**
4. **Koliko fajlova/foldera vidimo na priloženoj slici?**
 - A. 1 fajl i 3 foldera
 - B. 1 folder i 3 fajla**
 - C. 4 fajla
 - D. Nemoguće je precizno odgovoriti bez klika na njih.
5. **Kada se ovaj simbol  nalazi u donjem levom uglu ikone programa, predstavlja:**
 - A. Back-door.
 - B. Speed-dial.
 - C. Quick-launch.
 - D. Short-cut.**

11. Šta se može koristiti kao memorijski prostor za skladištenje željenih podataka?

- A. Hard disk.
- B. USB disk.
- C. Memorijska kartica.
- D. Sve navedeno.**

12. Operativni sistem je:

- A. Softver koji može da primi informacije iz baze podataka.
- B. Hardver koji može da skenira i konvertuje fotografiju u digitalni fajl.
- C. Softver koji kontroliše korišćenje i raspodelu hardvera.**
- D. Hardver koji može da snima i šalje fotografije putem interneta.

13. Šta od navedenog predstavlja hardversku komponentu računara?

- A. Antivirus program.
- B. Aplikacija za tabelarni prikaz.
- C. Miš.**
- D. World Wide Web.

14. Šta od navedenog utiče na poboljšanje performansi računara?

- A. Korišćenje velikog monitora.
- B. Povećanje broja aplikacija za rad.
- C. Korišćenje bržeg štampača.
- D. Povećanje veličine RAM memorije.**

15. Koji je od navedenih uređaja i ulazni i izlazni?

- A. Touchscreen**
- B. Tastatura.
- C. Štampač.
- D. Skener.

16. E-mail adresa može izgledati ovako:
- A. Ime123.gmail.com
 - B. Ime123@yahoo.com**
 - C. Ime123@gmail
 - D. Sve navedeno
17. Prilikom slanja e-mail dodajemo adresu u BCC ukoliko želimo da:
- A. Kriptujemo našu poruku samo za tog primaoca.
 - B. Ukažemo na urgentnost poruke.
 - C. Pošaljemo kopiju poruke skrivajući to od ostalih primaoca.**
 - D. Pošaljemo kopiju poruke bez skrivanja od ostalih primaoca.
18. Obično su računari u poslovnim objektima umreženi kako bi svi zaposleni mogli da koriste zajedničke resurse. Kako se naziva ovaj način povezivanja računara?
- A. Internet.
 - B. Intranet.**
 - C. World Wide Web.
 - D. Mrežni port.
19. Šta od navedenog predstavlja privatnu mrežu kojoj imaju pravo pristupa i korisnici izvan organizacije?
- A. Intranet.
 - B. WorldNet
 - C. E-mail.
 - D. Extranet**
20. Koja je od sledećih izjava vezanih za internet tačna?
- A. Internet je globalna mreža koja povezuje veliki broj računara.**
 - B. Internet je isto što i www.
 - C. Internet je vizuelno predstavljanje linkovanih dokumenata.
 - D. Internet je mrežni operativni sistem.

21. Šta od navedenog predstavlja tekstualnu komunikaciju između dvoje ili više ljudi putem interneta?
- A. Podcasting.
 - B. RSS - Really Simple Syndication.
 - C. VoIP - Voice over Internet Protocol
 - D. Instant poruke.**
22. Komunikacija preko internet servisa je:
- A. Namenjena isključivo poslovnim korisnicima.
 - B. U upotrebi isključivo za privatne svrhe.
 - C. Prihvatljiva za poslovne i privatne svrhe.**
 - D. Nemoguća. Internet servisi nisu namenjeni za komunikaciju.
23. Koja je od sledećih izjava opisuje shareware?
- A. Potpuno besplatan softver koji je dostupan samo na internetu.
 - B. Komercijalni softver koji se mora platiti.
 - C. Sofver koji je besplatan samo određeni period nakon koga se mora plaćati nadoknada za njegovo korišćenje**
 - D. Softver zaštićen autorskim pravima - dozvoljeno neograničeno korišćenje i distribucija.
24. Microsoft Word je program tipa vizivig (eng. *wysiwyg*) što znači:
- A. Vidljiv je kod i moguće ga je menjati.
 - B. Tokom same obrade tekst se prikazuje upravo onako kako će izgledati kada se odštampa.**
 - C. Moguće mu je dodavati nove mogućnosti koristeći makroe.
 - D. Pisan je u *Visual Basic* jeziku.
25. Koja od navedenih izjava opisuje dobar pristup za bezbednost informacija na nivou organizacije?
- A. Ne postoje procedure za izveštavanje o sigurnosnim propustima.
 - B. Šifre zaposlenih se ne menjaju redovno.
 - C. Važni podaci su dostupni svima.
 - D. Redovno pravljenje kopije (*backup*) podataka.**

26. Šta od navedenog predstavlja važno pravilo kada su u pitanju lozinke?
- A. Šifre se menjaju redovno.
 - B. Šifre se nikad ne menjaju.
 - C. Šifre sadrže manje od 4 karaktera.
 - D. Šifre sadrže manje od 4 broja.
27. Koji je od navedenih načina najbolji za zaštitu računara od virusa?
- A. Dovoljno je proveravati da li su prilozi u mejlu zaraženi virusom.
 - B. Redovno ažuriranje antivirus softvera.
 - C. Redovno ažuriranje operativnog sistema.
 - D. Preuzimati fajlove sa interneta preko administratorskog naloga.
28. Zašto je za svaku organizaciju važna politika kreiranja jakih lozinki?
- A. Obezbeđuje deljenje fajlova preko mreže kompanije
 - B. Obezbeđuje lakši pristup priključivanja računara na mrežu.
 - C. Zaštita fajlova od neovlašćenog korišćenja.
 - D. Obezbeđuje lakše pronalaženje fajlova na računaru.
29. Šta bi od navedenog trebalo uraditi da bi se zaštitili podaci od gubitaka u slučaju oštećenja glavnog fajla?
- A. Redovno ažuriranje operativnog sistema i svih aplikacija.
 - B. Instalirati program za bezbednost šifri.
 - C. Redovno čuvanje fajlova na drugom računaru ili mediju
 - D. Instalirati firewall.
30. Šta od navedenog može dovesti do ulaska virusa u računar?
- A. Preuzimanje fajlova sa interneta
 - B. Povezivanje novog štampača na računar.
 - C. Upotreba programa za skeniranje virusa na računaru.
 - D. Podešavanje monitora na slabiju rezoluciju.

31. **Pravo korišćenja (End User License Agreement) korisniku obezbeđuje:**
- A. Potpuno vlasništvo nad softverom.
 - B. Ekskluzivno pravo da kopira i prodaje softver drugim korisnicima.
 - C. Pravo da modifikuje softver.
 - D. Pravo da instalira i koristi softver na određenom broju računara.**
32. **Šta je od navedenog primer sajber kriminala?**
- A. Dešifrovanje (decryption).
 - B. Pecanje (Phishing)**
 - C. Viša sila.
 - D. Etičko hakovanje.
33. **Šta od navedenog najbolje opisuje termin Etičko hakovanje?**
- A. Navođenje grupe ljudi da izvrše neovlašćene radnje.
 - B. Navođenje ljudi da otkriju poverljive informacije.
 - C. Pretnja poverljivim podacima od strane internog osoblja.
 - D. Ovlašćeno testiranje za utvrđivanje eventualnih sigurnosnih sistemskih problema.**
34. **Šta od navedenog ukazuje na bezbedan veb sajt?**
- A. .org
 - B. .edu
 - C. https**
 - D. www
35. **Šta od navedenog može biti pretnja za sigurnost pri otvaranju e-mail priloga?**
- A. Fajl koji sadrži digitalni potpis.
 - B. Fajl koji može da obriše kolačiće (cookies) po otvaranju poruke.
 - C. Fajl koji zahteva jednokratnu šifru.
 - D. Fajl koji sadrži makro naredbe.**

- 36. Šta od navedenog NIJE odlika elektronskog poslovanja (e-business)?**
- A. Roba se može reklamirati i cene se mogu upoređivati.
 - B. Postoji fizički kontakt između kupca i prodavca.**
 - C. Transakcije se brzo obavljaju.
 - D. Usluge su dostupne 24 časa dnevno.
- 37. Fajlovi koji su obrisani sa hard-diska i uklonjeni iz kantice (Recycle Bin) su bezbedno uklonjeni sa računara i nemoguće je povratiti ih.**
- A. Tačno.
 - B. Netačno.**
 - C. Zavisi od tipa fajla.
 - D. Zavisi od vrste softvera.
- 38. Prednost e-uprave (e-gouvernement) je:**
- A. Ubrzavanje procesa administrativnih postupaka.
 - B. Lakši pristup administrativnim informacijama.
 - C. Transparentnost ogranaka administracije.
 - D. Sve navedeno.**
- 39. Akronim MOOC se odnosi na:**
- A. Masovne otvorene internet kurseve.**
 - B. Međunarodne online offshore kompanije.
 - C. Milionske open-office kalkulacije
 - D. Digitalnu valutu.
- 40. Upotreba društvenih mreža za marketinške svrhe je:**
- A. Primenjiva samo za mala preduzeća
 - B. Neozbiljna i nije preporučljiva.
 - C. Jeftina i može dati dobre rezultate.**
 - D. Skupa i neisplativa.

- 41. Podacima koji se nalaze u „oblaku“ (*cloud*) krajnji korisnici pristupaju preko:**
- A. Veb pregledača.
 - B. Mejla.
 - C. Enkripcije.
 - D. Svega navedenog.
- 42. Gugl disk (*Google Drive*) omogućava korisnicima da:**
- A. Skladište i dele podatke.
 - B. Skladište podatke bez mogućnosti deljenja.
 - C. Skladište fotografije uz naplatu.
 - D. Sarađuju na izradi Google dokumenata.
- 43. Najnovija verzija MS Office je Office 365.**
- A. Nije tačno, pod tim nazivom nema Office paketa.
 - B. Tačno, to je verzija koja je izašla nakon MS Office 2019.
 - C. Office 365 je verzija isključivo za Cloud okruženje.
 - D. Office 365 je prva (najstarija) verzija Office paketa.

Tanja Kaurin¹

Dragan Mijović^{2**}

Aleksandar Bošković^{3***}

Nikola Milosavljević^{4****}

UDC 159.9:[37:004

Original Scientific Article

Received: 22/05/2023

Accepted: 30/05/2023

DIGITAL LITERACY AS A SEGMENT OF DIGITAL PSYCHOLOGY: EMPIRICAL SKILLS ANALYSIS

ABSTRACT: The modern market requires new skills and competencies from graduate students. Digital literacy, as a part of the broader concept of digital psychology, is certainly one of these skills. Few studies have been done about students' digital literacy, especially in Serbia. The aim of this study was to measure students' digital literacy and their awareness of their own digital skills in terms of the use of information and communication technologies. A survey in the form of a questionnaire was created using the technique of stratified random sampling, which included 136 students. The research results show the average level of digital literacy of students. There is no significant difference between male and female students in terms of general digital literacy. However, male students showed higher information literacy and data use skills than female students.

KEYWORDS: digital literacy, digital psychology, communication, security, problem solving

^{1*} Independent Researcher, e-mail: mtanja@gmail.com

^{2**} Assistant Professor, Faculty of Law and Business Studies Novi Sad, Union University Belgrade, e-mail: mijovicd@yahoo.co.uk

^{3***} Assistant Professor, Faculty of Law and Business Studies Novi Sad, Union University Belgrade, e-mail: aleksandar.boskovic@flv.edu.rs

^{4****} Teaching Assistant, Faculty for Special Education and Rehabilitation University of Belgrade, e-mail: nmilosavlje@gmail.com

1. Introduction

The rapid development of information and digital technology has had a profound impact on all aspects of human life. Apart from negative consequences, such as certain types of addiction, social alienation, and security threats, technological development also brings many positive consequences in many fields, such as education and work (Singh, A. K. & Singh, P. K., 2019). The tendency to use online or digital media, as a substitute for personal and offline interaction, with pronounced cognitive, emotional, and behavioural consequences for the individual and his social life, especially came to the fore during the coronavirus pandemic (Kaurin & Mijović, 2021). With this impact and the fundamental changes it has brought, “we have entered a new era in the field of psychology” (Ancis, 2020, p. 9), where cyberpsychology emerges as a new discipline.

Until recently, graduate students possessed knowledge and skills that would be considered inadequate for the modern labour market, based on the knowledge economy, and demanding advanced professional competencies as well as proficient use of information and communication technologies. Today, they must possess digital literacy skills in addition to their professional skills. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) defines them as necessary for young people to become effective workers today (Ananiadou & Claro, 2009). Many researchers (Van-Laar et al., 2017; Fullan & Langworthy, 2013; Anderson, 2010; Schwab, 2016) include communication, critical thinking, creativity, collaboration, problem-solving, and technological competencies among digital literacy skills. Van-Laar defines digital literacy skills as technical skills, information management, communication, collaboration, creativity, critical thinking, and problem-solving, in the context of digital technologies and digital psychology (Van-Laar et al., 2017).

Higher education institutions play an important role in promoting and developing digital literacy skills among university students. However, there is still a gap between the skills acquired in higher education and those needed in the manufacturing sector. Therefore, research into the digital literacy skills acquired in universities and those required by the labour market is extremely important for educational research. The

gap is more pronounced in developing countries, and this delays their preparations for full entry into the knowledge economy (Alfaki, 2016). Hence digital literacy skills have become an emerging topic in educational research.

2. Cyberpsychology and digital literacy

Cyberpsychology, in the most general sense, refers to the field of study of the human mind and behaviour in the context of human interaction with digital technology. It is a relatively new discipline that aims to understand the relationship and mutual influence between humans and emerging technologies such as digital devices, the Internet, virtual reality, augmented reality, and artificial intelligence (Singh, A. K. & Singh, P. K., 2019). It can be defined as a branch of applied psychology that studies the impact of new communication technologies on human behavior and subjectivity, as well as communication between users of digital technology (Harley, Morgan, & Frith, 2018). Cyberpsychology is also defined as a discipline that aims to understand the psychological processes associated with all aspects of the interaction between technology and human behaviour (Ancis, 2020). It is based on an interdisciplinary approach, combining computer science, engineering, and psychology. Cyberpsychology also refers to the topics related to different areas of learning, learning applications, and digital literacy, seen through the lens of psychology as a behavioural science (Ancis, 2020; Attrill-Smith, Fullwood, Keep, & Kuss, 2019).

Digital literacy, as a part of digital psychology (Ancis, 2020; Attrill-Smith, Fullwood, Keep, & Kuss, 2019), refers to the skills people need to live, learn, and work in a society in which communication and access to information are increasingly happening through digital technologies such as internet platforms, social media and mobile devices. It denotes an individual's ability to find, evaluate, and compile clear and accurate information through writing and other media on a variety of digital platforms. The level of digital literacy is assessed by an individual's grammar, composition, typing skills, and ability to produce text, images, audio, and design using technology. The Digital Literacy Task Force of

the American Library Association offers the following definition: “Digital literacy is the ability to use information and communication technologies to find, evaluate, create, and communicate information, requiring both cognitive (psychological) and technical skills” (Visser, 2013). Hiller Spiers, professor of literacy and technology at North Carolina State University, sees digital literacy as consisting of three segments: 1) finding and consuming digital content; 2) creating digital content and 3) communicating or sharing. Research methodologist and digital sociologist at the Illinois Institute of Technology, Yuli Hsieh, states that digital literacy is “the ability to access, process, understand, and create information or media content in a digital environment” (Hsieh, 2012). Although digital literacy initially focused on digital skills and personal computers, the advent of the Internet and the use of social media has led to a shift in focus to mobile devices. Like other expanded definitions of literacy, which acknowledge cultural and historical ways of making meaning, (Rowse & Pahl, 2020) digital literacy does not aim to replace traditional forms of literacy. Instead, it builds on and extends the skills that form the foundation of traditional forms of literacy. Digital literacy should be considered part of the path to knowledge (Reedy & Parker, 2018).

Digital literacy involves the reliable, critical, and responsible use of digital technologies for learning, work, and participation in society (European Council, 2018). The Commission appointed by the European Commission published the European Framework of Digital Competences for Citizens with the aim of contributing to a better understanding and development of digital literacy in Europe. The digital literacy framework consists of competencies divided into the following five areas: information and data literacy, communication and collaboration, digital content creation, security, and problem-solving.

2.1. Computer and Data Literacy

Computer and data literacy include a) articulating the need for information, b) finding and downloading digital data, information, and content, c) evaluating sources’ relevance and content, and d) storing, managing, and organizing digital data, information, and content.

Computer literacy and data literacy include a) viewing, searching, and filtering data, information, and digital content, b) evaluating data, information, and digital content, and c) managing data, information, and digital content.

Browsing, searching, and filtering data, information and digital content refers to a) articulating information needs, b) searching for and accessing data, information and content in the digital environment and moving between them, and c) creating and updating personal search strategies.

Evaluation of data, information and digital content includes analysing, comparing, and critically evaluating the credibility and reliability of data, information and digital content and analysing, interpreting and critically evaluating the data, information and digital content themselves. Data, information and digital content management includes organizing, storing and retrieving data, information and content in digital environments and organizing and processing them in a structured environment.

2.2. Communication and Collaboration

Communication and collaboration bring together interaction, communication, and collaboration through digital technologies, with an awareness of cultural and generational diversity, participation in society using public and private digital services and participatory citizenship, and digital identity and reputation management.

Communication and collaboration involve interaction, sharing, social inclusion, and collaboration through digital technologies, online etiquette, and digital identity management. Interaction through digital technologies involves communication using different digital tools and understanding the appropriate means of digital communication for a given context.

Sharing through digital technologies refers to sharing data, information, and digital content with others through appropriate digital technologies, acting as an intermediary, and being aware of referencing and attribution practices.

Inclusion in society through digital technologies includes participating in society using public and private digital services and seeking opportunities for empowerment and participation in society by using appropriate digital tools.

Collaboration through digital technologies involves the use of digital tools and technologies for collaborative processes and for the joint construction and creation of resources and knowledge.

The rules of online behavior refer to the awareness of norms and ways of behaving when using digital technologies and interacting in a digital environment, adapting communication strategies to specific audiences, and awareness of cultural and generational diversity in the digital environment.

Digital identity management involves the creation and management of one or more digital identities to protect one's reputation when working with data created by using multiple digital tools, environments, and services.

2.3. Digital Content Creation

Digital content creation refers to the creation and editing of digital content, improving and integrating data and content into existing knowledge while understanding how to apply copyrights and licenses and knowing how to provide understandable instructions for a computer system.

Digital content creation includes digital content creation, digital content development, digital content integration and processing, copyright and licensing, and programming.

Digital content development is the creation and editing of digital content in various formats for expression through digital means.

Integrating and processing digital content involves modifying, refining, enhancing, and integrating information and content into existing knowledge in order to create new, original, and relevant content and expand knowledge. In addition, it is important to understand how copyrights and licenses apply to data, information, and digital content.

Programming involves planning and developing a series of understandable instructions for a computer system to solve a problem or perform a specific task.

2.4. Digital security

Security refers to the protection of devices, content, personal data, and privacy in the digital environment, protection of physical and mental health, awareness of the importance of digital technologies for social well-being and social inclusion, and the impact of digital technologies on the environment. Therefore, security includes the protection of devices, personal data and privacy, health and well-being, and the environment.

Device protection refers to the protection of the devices and the digital content stored on them, understanding the risks and threats in the digital environment, and applying security and protection measures while taking into account reliability and privacy.

Personal data and privacy protection in the digital environment refers to the understanding of how personally identifiable information is used and shared, while simultaneously protecting oneself and others from harm, and understanding how digital services use privacy policies to inform how personal data is used.

Health and well-being protection includes avoiding risks and threats to physical and mental health while using digital technologies, protecting oneself and others from possible dangers in the digital environment, and awareness of the impact of digital technologies on social well-being and social inclusion.

Environmental protection in this context is awareness of the impact of the use of digital technologies on the environment.

2.5. Problem-solving

Problem-solving means identifying needs and problems and solving conceptual problems in the digital environment, using digital tools to innovate processes and products, and tracking the digital evolution.

Problem-solving refers to solving technical problems, identifying needs and technology responses, creatively using digital technologies, and identifying digital competency gaps.

Solving technical problems involves identifying and solving technical problems when handling devices or accessing digital environments and adjusting digital environments to personal needs.

Creative use of digital technologies refers to using digital tools and technologies to create knowledge and innovate processes and products and applying them individually and collectively to understand and solve conceptual problems in the digital environment.

Determining gaps in digital competence involves identifying points where one's own digital competence needs to be improved or updated, supporting the digital competences development of others, and looking for opportunities for self-development and tracking and keeping up with the digital evolution.

3. Research Aim

The main aim of this research, on the one hand, is to objectively evaluate the level of students' digital literacy, and, on the other hand, to record their subjective assessment of their knowledge of IT terminology. In addition, we examined whether there are differences between male and female students in objective competences and their subjective assessment of those competences.

4. Research Methodology

4.1. Sample

A suitable sample consisted of 136 students aged 20 to 38 ($M = 22.23$ years; $SD = 2.29$; 60% male) of the Faculty of Law and Business Studies Dr Lazar Vrkatić in Novi Sad. The data was collected in student cohorts, in class. Each respondent was required to fill out a digital questionnaire and take a competence test.

4.2. Instruments and Variables

For the purposes of this research, a digital competences test was specially constructed and operationalized through the knowledge of IT terminology.

The IT terminology test consists of 43 questions that cover five different domains of digital literacy: computer and data literacy, communication and cooperation, digital content creation, security, and problem-solving (see Appendix 1: General knowledge test – Computer science). All the items are multiple-choice questions with four possible answers, only one of which is correct. Each correct answer was scored with one point, and the total score was calculated by simply adding up the correct answers on the test. The test preparation time was not limited.

In addition to the general knowledge test, data on gender and age were also collected. Respondents were also asked to assess their level of *knowledge of IT terminology* on a five-point Likert scale (1 - very bad; 5 - very good), as well as to assess their *expected performance on the knowledge test*, i.e., the number of correct answers they expect to have on the test (between 0 and 43). As control variables, we registered *years of instruction in computer science* and *extracurricular IT courses taken*.

5. Results

The reliability of the IT knowledge test (Cronbach's α) is .84. The discriminativeness was also satisfactory (scores range from 10 to 43). Table 1. shows the percentage of respondents who gave the correct answer for each item.

Table 1. *Descriptive measures of expected and actual test performance, self-assessment of IT terminology knowledge level, and years of instruction in computer science*

	M	SD	Theoretical range	Empirical range
Expected performance	26.48	8.50	0 – 43	10 – 43
Actual performance	21.97	7.08	0 – 43	5 – 42
Self-assessment of IT terminology knowledge level	3.10	0.66	1 – 5	1 – 5
Years of instruction in computer science	4.62	2.91	-	0 – 15

We registered a general tendency to overestimate one's own achievement. On average, the respondents estimated that they would answer approximately 26 questions correctly, whereas they actually answered 22 questions correctly on average. Almost all respondents (95.6%) had instruction in computer science during their schooling. On the other hand, only 7.4% of respondents attended extracurricular IT/computer science courses.

Students who had instruction in computer science longer did not perform better on the IT terminology test ($r = .11$, $p = .212$). The correlation between the self-assessment of the level of knowledge of IT terminology and the expected performance on the knowledge test is $r = .48$ ($p < .01$). However, the actual achievement on the test is related only to the self-assessment of knowledge level ($r = .25$, $p < .01$), but not to the expected performance on the test ($r = .12$, $p = .169$). Students with higher achievement on the test did not expect to have higher achievement compared to students with lower achievement. On the other hand, students with a higher number of correct answers on the knowledge test did assess their knowledge of IT concepts as better.

Table 2. *Differences between male and female students*

	Male M (SD)	Female M (SD)	t statistics	Confidence interval	
Expected performance	27.70 (8.70)	24.64 (7.91)	2.06*	0.12	6.00
Actual performance	22.59 (7.06)	21.04 (7.06)	1.254	-0.90	4.01
Self-assessment of IT terminology knowledge level	3.09 (0.75)	3.11 (0.51)	-0.22	-0.26	0.21
Years of instruction in computer science	4.30 (2.69)	5.11 (3.17)	-1.59	-1.83	0.199

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

Table 2 shows that male students have a greater tendency to overestimate their own achievement on the IT knowledge test than female students. A small gender effect was registered (Cohen's $d = 0.36$). No differences were found between male and female students in the objective achievement of the test, in the assessment of knowledge of IT terminology, or in the length of instruction in computer science.

Students on average answered 4.02 correctly out of a total of nine questions on the computer and data literacy test, i.e., the percentage of correct answers was 45%.

Table 3. *Descriptive measures of actual performance
on the computer and data literacy test*

	M	SD	Theoretical range	Empirical range
Test performance	4.02	1.84	0 - 9	0 - 9

Students who had instruction in computer science for a longer time did not achieve higher scores on the computer and data literacy test ($r = .12, p = .17$). The achievement on the computer and data literacy test is related to the assessment of knowledge of IT terminology ($r = .23, p < .01$), but not with the expected achievement on the test ($r = .07, p = .451$).

A statistically significant difference appears between female and male students in the achievement on the computer and data literacy test. On average, male students answered correctly to 4.36 and female students to 3.52 out of a total of nine questions.

Table 4. *Differences between female and male students on the computer and data literacy test*

	Male M (SD)	Female M (SD)	t statistics	Confidence interval	
Test performance	4.36 (1.79)	3.52 (1.82)	2.651	0.21	1.47

* $p < .05$

Students on average answered 6.47 correctly out of a total of twelve questions on the communication and collaboration test, i.e., the percentage of correct answers was 54%.

Table 5. *Descriptive measures of actual performance on the communication and collaboration test*

	M	SD	Theoretical range	Empirical range
Test performance	6.47	2.30	0 – 12	1 – 12

Students who had instruction in computer science for a longer time did not achieve higher scores on the communication and collaboration test ($r = .05, p = .58$). The achievement on the communication and collaboration test is unrelated to the assessment of knowledge of IT terminology ($r = .14, p = .12$), or with the expected achievement on the test ($r = .17, p < .05$).

There was no statistically significant difference between female and male students in the achievement on the communication and collaboration test. On average, male students answered correctly to 6.58 and female students to 6.31 out of a total of twelve questions.

Table 6. *Differences between female and male students on the communication and collaboration test*

	Male M (SD)	Female M (SD)	t statistics	Confidence interval
Test performance	6.58 (2.34)	6.31 (2.25)	0.656	-0.53 1.07

* $p < .05$

On the digital content creation test, students on average answered 4.01 correctly out of a total of seven questions, i.e., the percentage of correct answers was 57%.

Table 7. *Descriptive measures of actual performance on the digital content creation test*

	M	SD	Theoretical range	Empirical range
Test performance	4.01	1.49	0 – 7	1 – 7

Students who had instruction in computer science for a longer time did not achieve higher scores on the digital content creation test ($r = .13$, $p = .14$). The achievement on the digital content creation test is unrelated to the assessment of knowledge of IT terminology ($r = .16$, $p = .07$), or with the expected achievement on the test ($r = .003$, $p = .97$).

There was no statistically significant difference between female and male students in the achievement on the digital content creation test. On average, male students answered correctly to 4.07 and female students to 3.93 out of a total of seven questions.

Table 8. Differences between female and male students on the digital content creation test

	Male M (SD)	Female M (SD)	t statistics	Confidence interval
Test performance	4.07 (1.44)	3.93 (1.58)	0.564	-0.37 0.67

* $p < .05$

On the security test, students on average answered 4.38 correctly out of a total of nine questions, i.e., the percentage of correct answers was 49%.

Table 9. Descriptive measures of actual performance on the security test

	M	SD	Theoretical range	Empirical range
Test performance	4.38	2.28	0 – 9	0 – 9

Students who had instruction in computer science for a longer time did not achieve higher scores on the security test ($r = .11, p = .20$). The achievement on the security test is correlated to the assessment of knowledge of IT terminology ($r = .26, p < .05$), but not to the expected achievement on the test ($r = .06, p = .46$).

There was no statistically significant difference between female and male students in the achievement on the security test. On average, male students answered correctly to 4.40 and female students to 4.38 out of a total of nine questions.

Table 10. Differences between female and male students on the security test

	Male M (SD)	Female M (SD)	t statistics	Confidence interval
Test performance	4.40 (2.18)	4.35 (2.43)	0.108	-0.75 0.84

* $p < .05$

On the problem-solving test, students on average answered 6.47 correctly out of a total of six questions, i.e., the percentage of correct answers was 51%.

Table 11. *Descriptive measures of actual performance on the problem-solving test*

	M	SD	Theoretical range	Empirical range
Test performance	3.08	1.30	0 – 6	0 – 6

Students who had instruction in computer science for a longer time did not achieve higher scores on the problem-solving test ($r = .003$, $p = .97$). The achievement on the problem-solving test is unrelated to the assessment of knowledge of IT terminology ($r = .13$, $p = .15$), or to the expected achievement on the test ($r = .15$, $p = .09$).

There was no statistically significant difference between female and male students in the achievement on the problem-solving test. On average, male students answered correctly to 3.19 and female students to 2.93 out of a total of six questions.

Table 12. *Differences between female and male students on the problem-solving test*

	Male M (SD)	Female M (SD)	t statistics	Confidence interval
Test performance	3.19 (1.16)	2.93 (1.48)	1.137	-0.19 0.71

* $p < .05$

Table 13. *Percentage of respondents who answered correctly (per item)*

Item no.	IT terminology test item	Correct answers
1	Popular Internet browsers are	11.10%
33	Ethical hacking is best described as	14.10%
39	MOOC denotes	19.30%
43	The latest MS Office version is Office 365	19.30%
18	It is usual to have computers in an organization networked so that all employees can use shared resources. What do we call this type of network?	22.20%
15	Which of the following devices is both input and output?	23.00%
19	Which of the following is a private network that can be accessed by users outside the organization?	25.20%
35	Which of the following may present a security threat when opening an e-mail attachment?	25.90%
32	Which of the following is an example of cybercrime?	30.40%
17	We add an e-mail address in a BCC field if we want to	34.80%
31	End User Licence Agreement provides the user with:	34.80%
38	E-government advantages are	34.80%
24	Microsoft Word is a WYSIWYG program, meaning that:	37.80%
41	End users can access the cloud data via	41.50%
20	Which of the following statements about the Internet is true?	42.20%
2	When you type in a keyword into a search engine, a list of word combinations related to your search appears. They are:	43.00%
23	Which of the following best describes shareware?	43.00%
25	Which of the following statements describes a sound approach to data security in an organization?	45.90%

37	Files deleted from the hard disk and the Recycle Bin are safely removed and cannot be retrieved.	47.40%
29	Which of the following should be done to protect data in the case of main file damage?	49.60%
34	Ethical hacking is best described as	49.60%
13	Which of the following is computer hardware?	51.10%
6	What type of Internet access is still in use?	51.90%
5	When this symbol appears in the lower-left corner of the program icon, it's	53.30%
12	An operating system is:	54.80%
9	A Word text is memorized	55.60%
21	Which of the following is textual communication between two or more people via the Internet?	56.30%
40	Using social networks for marketing purposes is	56.30%
28	Why is a strong password policy important for organizations?	60%
36	Which of the following is NOT a characteristic of e-business?	62.20%
22	Communication via the Internet services is	65.20%
26	Which of the following is a major rule when creating passwords?	65.90%
4	How many files/folders are there in the picture?	68.90%
27	Which of the following is the best way to protect the PC from viruses?	70.40%
42	Google Drive provides users with	71.90%
11	What can you use as memory space to store data?	72.60%
16	An e-mail address can look like this:	75.60%
30	Which of the following can enable a virus to enter the device?	75.60%
7	This is a drop-down menu that appears	84.40%
8	A Word document can be attached to an e-mail message.	86.70%
3	The data obtained by using the search engine are	87.40%
10	One of the programs used for tables and calculations is	87.40%
14	Which of the following can improve computer performance?	88.90%

6. Concluding Remarks and Discussion

The primary aim of this research was to assess students' digital literacy as one of the basic segments of learning psychology of learning and, in a broader sense, cyberpsychology. Another aim was to register students' subjective assessment of their own knowledge of IT terminology. Differences between male and female students in objective knowledge and subjective assessment of knowledge were examined. Nearly all respondents received instruction in computer science during their schooling, but a few of them also attended extracurricular IT courses. The results point to the following conclusions:

- 1) The students exhibit a general tendency to overestimate their own digital literacy skills. This tendency is greater among male students.** This result can be interpreted in relation to the concept of self-efficacy, which refers to the respondents' self-confidence and personal expectations regarding the final performance. Rohatgi, Scherer, and Hatlevik (2016) found a positive relationship between information and communication technology (ICT) self-efficacy and an increase in an individual's ability to use computer skills for research, creation, and communication (CIL) in a Norwegian sample. In our case, this means that the overestimation of one's own digital literacy skills reflects the respondent's more frequent use of computers in everyday activities.
- 2) There is no significant difference between female and male students in terms of overall digital literacy skills, except regarding the segment of information and data literacy, where male students show higher competence.** Research has shown that self-efficacy beliefs can be related to gender and culture and that gender, self-efficacy, and socioeconomic conditions play an important role in understanding information literacy (cf. Hatlevik, O. E., Throndsen, I., Loic, M., Gudmundsdottir, 2018). Although girls perform equally well or better than boys in various domains, they tend to report lower self-efficacy (Schunk, Meece, & Pintrich, 2014), which has been confirmed in this study.

3) Students who received instruction in computer science for a longer time did not have better results on the IT terminology test. This can be explained by the results of studies that examined the impact of ICT use in school on student learning outcomes and on digital competence effects. Achievement did not improve with the increased use of computers in the school curriculum. Conversely, there was a negative correlation between the two (OECD, 2011). Other studies also did not show a significant correlation between digital competence and computer use at school (Hatlevik, Gudmundsdottir, & Loi, 2015). On the other hand, it was found that the intensity of computer use outside of school and students' self-efficacy related to computer use are positively correlated (Meelisen and Drent, 2008, qtd. in Hatlevik, O.E., Throndsen, I., Loic, M., Gudmundsdottir, 2018).

The actual achievement on the digital skills test is only related to the assessment of knowledge of IT concepts, but not to the expected achievement on the test. The results of earlier research reveal a clear difference between ICT self-efficacy (the respondent's self-assessment regarding the ICT knowledge and the resulting self-confidence regarding the final performance) and objective computer and information literacy (cf. Fraillon, Ainley, Schulz, Friedman, & Gebhardt, 2014), which is also the case in this study.

4) Students showed an average level of digital literacy. Since the sample of respondents belongs to the so-called "millennials" and "the Internet generation"⁵, a higher level of performance was expected. However, studies have shown that such generalizations are unjustified (Attrill-Smith, A., Fullwood, C., Keep, M., & Kuss, D.J., 2019). Does the average achievement mean that they are (in) sufficiently prepared for the labor market and for using modern educational and work tools in a digital environment? Contrary to assumptions about the enthusiasm of young people and the belief that they easily adopt and adapt technologies from one context (e.g., everyday life) to another (e.g., academic life), research shows that they are not necessarily focused on increased integration with

⁵ In literature, media, and academia.

digital technology in educational and work purposes (Corrin, L., Apps, T., Beckman, K. & Bennett, S., 2019). Many young people express a tendency to separate the personal aspect (e.g., social networks) from the academic use of digital technology at the expense of educational needs. There is also evidence that some young people prefer the integration of technologies in different contexts to improve personal comfort (Prescott, J., Wilson, S., & Becket, G., 2013, qtd. in Corrin, L., Apps, T., Beckman, K. & Bennett, S., 2019).

The question remains whether the results of this research (average level of digital literacy despite many years of instruction in computer science and overestimating one's abilities in this area) are the consequences of the incompatibility of outdated education methods with new educational trends based on the progress of digital technology. Higher education has an important role in preparing young people to acquire the knowledge and skills to perform tasks in academic settings, one of these skills being digital literacy. Like the large 2017 UK survey⁶ (Nevman & Beetham, 2017, qtd. in Hatlevik, O.E., Throndsen, I., Loic, M., Gudmundsdottir, 2018), our research has shown that young people need better pedagogical support to develop digital literacy skills not only for academic settings but also for the transition to the world of work.

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⁶ The survey included 22,000 UK students; the results showed that only 50 percent thought that universities provide adequate preparation for the world of work in terms of digital literacy skills.

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APPENDIX: GENERAL KNOWLEDGE TEST – COMPUTER SCIENCE

Prilog: Test informisanosti – oblast informatika

Pred Vama se nalazi test poznavanja informatičkih pojmova. Popunjavanje je anonimno, a rezultati će biti korišćeni isključivo u naučno-istraživačke svrhe. Molimo Vas da test rešavate samostalno. Hvala na učešću.

Podaci o ispitaniku

▪ **Pol:**

- 1) muški
- 2) ženski

▪ **Starosna dob:**

Napišite koliko imate godina _____

▣ **Procenite svoj nivo poznavanja informatičkih pojmova zaokruživanjem odgovarajućeg broja na skali od 1 do 5 gde je:**

- 1 - *izuzetno loše;*
- 2 - *ispod proseka;*
- 3 - *prosečno;*
- 4 - *iznad proseka;*
- 5 - *izuzetno dobro.*

▣ **Test koji sledi sadrži 43 pitanja. Koliko tačnih odgovora očekujete da ćete imati na testu?**

Upišite broj od 0 do 43: _____

§ **Da li ste tokom školovanja imali nastavu iz informatičke grupe predmeta?**

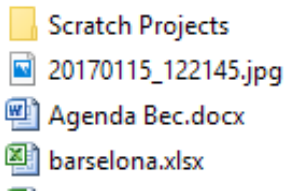

- 1) Da. *Upišite koliko godina:* _____
- 2) Ne.

§ **Da li ste pohađali neku vrstu informatičkih kurseva?**

- 1) Da. *Navedite nazive kurseva ili sertifikata koje posedujete*
- 2) Ne.

TEST (zaokružite tačan odgovor)

1. **Poznatiji Internet pretraživači su:**
 - A. Google i Explorer.
 - B. Google i Bing.**
 - C. Yahoo i Outlook.
 - D. Apple i Microsoft.
2. **Kada u pretraživaču kucate ključnu reč pojavljuje se pomoć u vidu liste kombinacija reči koje su vezane za Vašu pretragu. To su:**
 - A. Reči koje ste već pretraživali, pa ih je računar memorisao.
 - B. Plaćene reklame koje imaju za cilj da Vas odvedu do njihovog proizvoda.
 - C. Reči koje su najbližije traženom upitu i trenutno najpopularnije u pretraživaču.**
 - D. Kombinacija svega navedenog.
3. **Informacije koje na internetu dobijamo pretragom su:**
 - A. Uvek tačne.
 - B. Tačne samo na sajtovima koji se nalaze među prvima na listi.
 - C. Tačne samo na sponzorisanim sajtovima.
 - D. Tačne samo kod proverenih izvora.**
4. **Koliko fajlova/foldera vidimo na priloženoj slici?**

<ol style="list-style-type: none">A. 1 fajl i 3 folderaB. 1 folder i 3 fajlaC. 4 fajlaD. Nemoguće je precizno odgovoriti bez klika na njih.	
---	--
5. **Kada se ovaj simbol  nalazi u donjem levom uglu ikone programa, predstavlja:**
 - A. Back-door.
 - B. Speed-dial.
 - C. Quick-launch.
 - D. Short-cut.**

11. Šta se može koristiti kao memorijski prostor za skladištenje željenih podataka?

- A. Hard disk.
- B. USB disk.
- C. Memorijska kartica.
- D. Sve navedeno.**

12. Operativni sistem je:

- A. Softver koji može da primi informacije iz baze podataka.
- B. Hardver koji može da skenira i konvertuje fotografiju u digitalni fajl.
- C. Softver koji kontroliše korišćenje i raspodelu hardvera.**
- D. Hardver koji može da snima i šalje fotografije putem interneta.

13. Šta od navedenog predstavlja hardversku komponentu računara?

- A. Antivirus program.
- B. Aplikacija za tabelarni prikaz.
- C. Miš.**
- D. World Wide Web.

14. Šta od navedenog utiče na poboljšanje performansi računara?

- A. Korišćenje velikog monitora.
- B. Povećanje broja aplikacija za rad.
- C. Korišćenje bržeg štampača.
- D. Povećanje veličine RAM memorije.**

15. Koji je od navedenih uređaja i ulazni i izlazni?

- A. Touchscreen**
- B. Tastatura.
- C. Štampač.
- D. Skener.

- 16. E-mail adresa može izgledati ovako:**
- A. Ime123.gmail.com
 - B. Ime123@yahoo.com**
 - C. Ime123@gmail
 - D. Sve navedeno
- 17. Prilikom slanja e-mail dodajemo adresu u BCC ukoliko želimo da:**
- A. Kriptujemo našu poruku samo za tog primaoca.
 - B. Ukažemo na urgentnost poruke.
 - C. Pošaljemo kopiju poruke skrivajući to od ostalih primalaca.**
 - D. Pošaljemo kopiju poruke bez skrivanja od ostalih primaoca.
- 18. Obično su računari u poslovnim objektima umreženi kako bi svi zaposleni mogli da koriste zajedničke resurse. Kako se naziva ovaj način povezivanja računara?**
- A. Internet.
 - B. Intranet.**
 - C. World Wide Web.
 - D. Mrežni port.
- 19. Šta od navedenog predstavlja privatnu mrežu kojoj imaju pravo pristupa i korisnici izvan organizacije?**
- A. Intranet.
 - B. WorldNet
 - C. E-mail.
 - D. Extranet**
- 20. Koja je od sledećih izjava vezanih za internet tačna?**
- A. Internet je globalna mreža koja povezuje veliki broj računara.**
 - B. Internet je isto što i www.
 - C. Internet je vizuelno predstavljanje linkovanih dokumenata.
 - D. Internet je mrežni operativni sistem.

21. Šta od navedenog predstavlja tekstualnu komunikaciju između dvoje ili više ljudi putem interneta?
- A. Podcasting.
 - B. RSS - Really Simple Syndication.
 - C. VoIP - Voice over Internet Protocol
 - D. Instant poruke.**
22. Komunikacija preko internet servisa je:
- A. Namenjena isključivo poslovnim korisnicima.
 - B. U upotrebi isključivo za privatne svrhe.
 - C. Prihvatljiva za poslovne i privatne svrhe.**
 - D. Nemoguća. Internet servisi nisu namenjeni za komunikaciju.
23. Koja je od sledećih izjava opisuje shareware?
- A. Potpuno besplatan softver koji je dostupan samo na internetu.
 - B. Komercijalni softver koji se mora platiti.
 - C. Sofver koji je besplatan samo određeni period nakon koga se mora plaćati nadoknada za njegovo korišćenje**
 - D. Softver zaštićen autorskim pravima - dozvoljeno neograničeno korišćenje i distribucija.
24. Microsoft Word je program tipa vizivig (eng. *wysiwyg*) što znači:
- A. Vidljiv je kod i moguće ga je menjati.
 - B. Tokom same obrade tekst se prikazuje upravo onako kako će izgledati kada se odštampa.**
 - C. Moguće mu je dodavati nove mogućnosti koristeći makroe.
 - D. Pisan je u *Visual Basic* jeziku.
25. Koja od navedenih izjava opisuje dobar pristup za bezbednost informacija na nivou organizacije?
- A. Ne postoje procedure za izveštavanje o sigurnosnim propustima.
 - B. Šifre zaposlenih se ne menjaju redovno.
 - C. Važni podaci su dostupni svima.
 - D. Redovno pravljenje kopije (*backup*) podataka.**

26. Šta od navedenog predstavlja važno pravilo kada su u pitanju lozinke?
- A. Šifre se menjaju redovno.
 - B. Šifre se nikad ne menjaju.
 - C. Šifre sadrže manje od 4 karaktera.
 - D. Šifre sadrže manje od 4 broja.
27. Koji je od navedenih načina najbolji za zaštitu računara od virusa?
- A. Dovoljno je proveravati da li su prilozima u mejlu zaraženi virusom.
 - B. Redovno ažuriranje antivirus softvera.
 - C. Redovno ažuriranje operativnog sistema.
 - D. Preuzimati fajlove sa interneta preko administratorskog naloga.
28. Zašto je za svaku organizaciju važna politika kreiranja jakih lozinki?
- A. Obezbeđuje deljenje fajlova preko mreže kompanije
 - B. Obezbeđuje lakši pristup priključivanja računara na mrežu.
 - C. Zaštita fajlova od neovlašćenog korišćenja.
 - D. Obezbeđuje lakše pronalaženje fajlova na računaru.
29. Šta bi od navedenog trebalo uraditi da bi se zaštitili podaci od gubitaka u slučaju oštećenja glavnog fajla?
- A. Redovno ažuriranje operativnog sistema i svih aplikacija.
 - B. Instalirati program za bezbednost šifri.
 - C. Redovno čuvanje fajlova na drugom računaru ili mediju
 - D. Instalirati firewall.
30. Šta od navedenog može dovesti do ulaska virusa u računar?
- A. Preuzimanje fajlova sa interneta
 - B. Povezivanje novog štampača na računar.
 - C. Upotreba programa za skeniranje virusa na računaru.
 - D. Podešavanje monitora na slabiju rezoluciju.

31. **Pravo korišćenja (End User License Agreement) korisniku obezbeđuje:**
- A. Potpuno vlasništvo nad softverom.
 - B. Ekskluzivno pravo da kopira i prodaje softver drugim korisnicima.
 - C. Pravo da modifikuje softver.
 - D. Pravo da instalira i koristi softver na određenom broju računara.**
32. **Šta je od navedenog primer sajber kriminala?**
- A. Dešifrovanje (decryption).
 - B. Pecanje (Phishing)**
 - C. Viša sila.
 - D. Etičko hakovanje.
33. **Šta od navedenog najbolje opisuje termin Etičko hakovanje?**
- A. Navođenje grupe ljudi da izvrše neovlašćene radnje.
 - B. Navođenje ljudi da otkriju poverljive informacije.
 - C. Pretnja poverljivim podacima od strane internog osoblja.
 - D. Ovlašćeno testiranje za utvrđivanje eventualnih sigurnosnih sistemskih problema.**
34. **Šta od navedenog ukazuje na bezbedan veb sajt?**
- A. .org
 - B. .edu
 - C. https**
 - D. www
35. **Šta od navedenog može biti pretnja za sigurnost pri otvaranju e-mail priloga?**
- A. Fajl koji sadrži digitalni potpis.
 - B. Fajl koji može da obriše kolačiće (cookies) po otvaranju poruke.
 - C. Fajl koji zahteva jednokratnu šifru.
 - D. Fajl koji sadrži makro naredbe.**

- 36. Šta od navedenog NIJE odlika elektronskog poslovanja (e-business)?**
- A. Roba se može reklamirati i cene se mogu upoređivati.
 - B. Postoji fizički kontakt između kupca i prodavca.**
 - C. Transakcije se brzo obavljaju.
 - D. Usluge su dostupne 24 časa dnevno.
- 37. Fajlovi koji su obrisani sa hard-diska i uklonjeni iz kantice (Recycle Bin) su bezbedno uklonjeni sa računara i nemoguće je povratiti ih.**
- A. Tačno.
 - B. Netačno.**
 - C. Zavisi od tipa fajla.
 - D. Zavisi od vrste softvera.
- 38. Prednost e-uprave (e-gouvernement) je:**
- A. Ubrzavanje procesa administrativnih postupaka.
 - B. Lakši pristup administrativnim informacijama.
 - C. Transparentnost ogranaka administracije.
 - D. Sve navedeno.**
- 39. Akronim MOOC se odnosi na:**
- A. Masovne otvorene internet kurseve.**
 - B. Međunarodne online offshore kompanije.
 - C. Milionske open-office kalkulacije
 - D. Digitalnu valutu.
- 40. Upotreba društvenih mreža za marketinške svrhe je:**
- A. Primenjiva samo za mala preduzeća
 - B. Neozbiljna i nije preporučljiva.
 - C. Jeftina i može dati dobre rezultate.**
 - D. Skupa i neisplativa.

- 41. Podacima koji se nalaze u „oblaku“ (*cloud*) krajnji korisnici pristupaju preko:**
- A. Veb pregledača.
 - B. Mejla.
 - C. Enkripcije.
 - D. Svega navedenog.
- 42. Gugl disk (*Google Drive*) omogućava korisnicima da:**
- A. Skladište i dele podatke.
 - B. Skladište podatke bez mogućnosti deljenja.
 - C. Skladište fotografije uz naplatu.
 - D. Saraduju na izradi Google dokumenata.
- 43. Najnovija verzija MS Office je Office 365.**
- A. Nije tačno, pod tim nazivom nema Office paketa.
 - B. Tačno, to je verzija koja je izašla nakon MS Office 2019.
 - C. Office 365 je verzija isključivo za Cloud okruženje.
 - D. Office 365 je prva (najstarija) verzija Office paketa.

Petar Marković¹

UDC 159.947.5
Originalan naučni rad
Primljen: 13. 04. 2023.
Prihvaćen: 10. 05. 2023.

POJAM ŽELJE KOD ŽAKA LAKANA I NJENA ARTIKULACIJA U FILMU *REPULSION* (1965)

ABSTRAKT: U ovom radu će biti analiziran koncept želje (fran. *désir*) kroz teorijski okvir francuskog psihijatra i psihoanalitičara Žaka Lakanana. Na Lakanov pojam želje može se posmatrati kao na centar njegove teorijske misli. Međutim, želja o kojoj Lakan govori je nesvesna ne zbog toga što za njega ne postoji svesna želja, već zato što je nesvesno centralno polje psihoanalize. U radu će biti prikazan odnos između želje i zateva (fran. *demand*), ali i onoga što se često nalazi između, a to je zadovoljstvo ili zadovoljenje (fran. *jouissance*). Prema Lakanovom shvatanju, čovekova želja je želja Drugog. Cilj rada je da objasni artikulaciju želje subjekta na primeru studije slučaja – filma „Repulsion“ (1965), reditelja Romana Polanskog, a kroz analizu reprezentacije lika Karol Ledoks i pojma ženske želje, kao i njene artikulacije kroz termin Drugog/drugog.

KLJUČNE REČI: želja, film, Drugo/drugo, Repulsion, nesvesno

1. Uvod

„Želja (fran. *désir*) jeste pojam koji možemo posmatrati kao centar Lakanove misli i ne samo njegove, nego i celokupne psihoanalize“ (Lakan, 2003, str. 275). Da bi se Lakanova „želja“ što bolje razumela, najpre ćemo definisati pojam želje, kao i problem sa kojim se subjekt susreće u simboličkom poretku stvari dok pokušava da iznese „svoju“ želju u polje

¹ MA psiholog, doktorand na Univerzitetu Singidunum, zaposlen u ZU Dom zdravlja Bar, psiholog u Savetovalištu za mlade, e-mail: petarmarkovic05@gmail.com

svesnosti ne bi li je ispunio. Pokušaćemo, dakle, da problematizujemo odnos /simbiozu (borbu) „želje i jezika“.

U psihoanalitičkoj teoriji nesvesno je ono što determiniše pojedinca. Budući da se želja nalazi u nesvesnom, možemo je posmatrati kao ono što pokreće subjekt u celosti da se konstituiše unutar simboličkog poretka. Subjekt je onaj koji se stalno menja, bez obzira na kontekst, i u njemu je uvek želja. Želju možemo posmatrati kao motiv, kao Frojdiv „eros“ – ono što integriše i usmerava. Želja je centar koji je nesvestan, ona je možda i najperzistentniji ljudski fenomen. Čovek gotovo da nema nikakvih šansi u odnosu na sopstvenu želju/lje. Buda je smatrao da je za osećanje sreće neophodno nemati želja. Za Lakana bi nemanje želja bilo nemoguće, jer bi zahtevalo potpunu alijenaciju i dekonstrukciju subjekta od konteksta koji ga obrazuje, pokreće i čini. Živ čovek je uvek onaj koji želi. Čovek se može uporediti sa Sizifom, ali samo u pogledu snažne potrebe da okonča želju. Za Sizifa je to bila kazna bogova koja je ipak donosila zadovoljstvo i davala smisao njegovom postojanju. Kazna je Sizifova želja – želja je čovekova kazna. I jedna i druga u sebi nose zadovoljstvo, bivajući formacije značajnih Drugih u nama.

Prema Lakanovom mišljenju, čovekova želja je uvek želja Drugog. Veliko Drugo, kroz koje se želja supstituiše, ali nikad u celosti ne prezenjuje, obeležava radikalnu Drugost, drugost koja transcendentira iluzornu drugost imaginarnog, jer ne može biti asimilovana kroz identifikaciju. Lakan izjednačava ovu radikalnu drugost sa jezikom i zakonom, stoga je Veliko Drugo upisano u poredak simboličkog (Evans, 2011). Čovek koji se rađa unutar jezika nemoćan je da se odbrani od uticaja Drugog – reči, simbola, izgovorenog, označitelja i označenog. Subjekt, na neki način, asimiluje drugost unutar Drugosti ne bi li akomodirao tu istu drugost i koristio je kao štap za kretanje kroz postojanje, makar onakvo u kojem želja za njega još uvek ima jasno ime.

„Drugog se iznad svega mora smatrati lokusom, lokusom u kome se konstituiše govor“ (Evans, 2011, str. 89). „Drugog se može posmatrati kao lokus unutar koga se formira želja. Međutim, da bi nečija želja bila prepoznata, ona mora biti artikulisana u govoru. Upravo se želja pomoću subjekta izvodi u postojanje (eng. *to bring into existence*)“ (Evans, 2011, str. 96) tako što se imenuje, tj. artikuliše. Ona (želja) se artikuliše

kroz govor, a pošto su želja i govor suštinski nekompatibilni, nesvesno ostaje ono što se ne može spoznati, ono što može biti i sama želja koju govor nikada ne može u potpunosti da artikulira. Želja na različite načine i u različitim oblicima ostaje u fantazmatskom, dok subjekt ima potrebu da je kroz artikulaciju donese u postojanje. Međutim, želja, bilo da je u nesvesnom (fantazam) ili da se otelotvoruje kroz emirijsko (simboličko), ne postoji i ne može postojati bez objekta želje, tj. uzroka svake žudnje. Svako otelotvoravanje objekta žudnje (objekt *malo a*), koje je situirano u Lakanovom realnom (pedsimboličkom), u suštini je njegova zamena koja je u realnosti nepotpuna. Objekt *malo a* uzrok je želje koja izmiče subjektu, što znači da „a“ zapravo leži „s one strane“ želje (Stojnić, 2016).

Da bi se želja razumela, potrebno je da se napravi jasna distinkcija između onoga šta je želja i onoga šta je potreba. Shodno tome, neophodno je osvrnuti se na njihov nastanak, na njihov odnos, kao i na to u kojoj meri je subjektu dato da ih spozna i realizuje. Takođe, potrebno je dati odgovor na pitanje: kakav je odnos želje i potrebe sa onim što Lakan naziva *zahtev*? Kada je subjekt onaj koji postavlja zahtev, a kada je onaj koji odgovara na zahtev Drugog/drugog?

Da bi se shvatila dinamika ovih fenomena unutar Lakanovih registara, neophodno je razmotriti da li je moguće spoznati želju, zadovoljiti potrebu, odgovoriti na zahtev i nositi se sa užitkom (fran. *jouissance*). Autor ovog rada smatra da je upravo želja Drugog ono što konstituiše subjekt aporijom logocentrizma, što će se dalje u radu i obrazložiti na primeru filma Romana Polanskog „Repulsion“ (*Odvratnost*) iz 1965. godine.

2. Želja Drugog kroz film „Repulsion“

Kako bi se pojam želje, njene artikulacije i težnje ka realizaciji sagledao što celovitije, prilikom analize filma „Repulsion“ (*Odvratnost*), konkretno reprezentacije filmske junakinje, korišćeni su izvori koji pojašnjavaju pojmove, kao što su želja, *Drugi*, *simboličko*, *realno*, zatim oni koji se bave Lakanovom psihoanalizom, kao i izvori, tj. literatura iz oblasti teorije filma i filmske kritike.

2.1. O potrebi, zahtevu, želji i uživanju

Potrebno mi je da me ugriješ (zima mi je).

Potrebno mi je da se ugrijem (hladno mi je).

Zahtevam da me ugriješ.

Zahtevam da se ugrijem.

Ugrijavam se.

Ne bih znao šta je moja potreba da nema reči.

Ne bih poverovao u reči da se u ogledalu ne ogledah.

Drugi su me slikama učili o rečima i rečima o slikama.

Izmučen primam zadovoljstvo.

Ostaje želja.

Želja ostaje.

Ostaje ona.

Ona?

U navedenom primeru se može uočiti dinamika želje, te njeno razlikovanje od potrebe, zahteva i uživanja, odnosno kako se unutar subjekta potreba, zahtev i uživanje kreću, ostajući uvek sa „druge strane“ želje.

Za brojne reprezentacije junaka iz oblasti umetnosti želja je nešto sto naslućujemo, premda ni tu nismo do kraja sigurni da smo je u potpunosti razumeli. Primeri, kao što su želja je iza duge; želela je da umre, ali je tokođe želela da živi u Parizu; želja je ubiti staru lihvarku itd. manifestuju želju, ali mi ostajemo uskraćeni za njenu spoznaju, jer da bismo je čuli, ona mora biti artikulisana kroz jezik, čak i onda kada je reč o želji koju treba i sami sebi da saopštimo.

„Potreba je stvar fiziološke potrebe (nagona), biološki instinkt, žudnja koja se pojavljuje shodno nužnostima organizma i čim je zadovoljena, potpuno nestaje (doduše samo privremeno)“ (Evans, 2011, str. 96). Na ovaj način, možemo zaključiti, potreba konstantno cirkuliše unutar procesa „umiranja“ (ispunjenja, povlačenja) i njenog ponovnog „rađanja“ (pojavljivanja) u samom subjektu. „Budući da je rođen u stanju bespomoćnosti, ljudski subjekt nije u stanju da zadovolji sopstvene potrebe i stoga zavisi od Drugog. Kako bi zadobilo pomoć Drugog, odojče mora

vokalno da izrazi svoje potrebe“ (Evans, 2011, str. 96). „Potreba koja se artikulira kroz reč je *zahtev*. Primitivni zahtev, s druge strane, može biti i neartikulirano vrištanje koje služi da se od Drugog zatraži pomoć“ (Kovačević, 2010, str. 30). U prisustvu Drugog, zahtev dobija dvostruku funkciju – kako Drugi simbolizuje ljubav, tako zahtev postaje artikulacija potrebe i zahtev za ljubav. „Drugim može da stavi na raspolaganje objekte koje subjekt zahteva da bi zadovoljio svoje potrebe, ali drugi ne može da pruži apsolutnu ljubav za kojom subjekt žudi. Pošto se potrebe artikulirane zahtevom zadovolje, ostaje nezadovoljena žudnja za ljubavlju i taj nedostatak jeste želja“ (Lakan, 2003, str. 297). Na primer majka (prvi objekat ljubavi), kao predstavnica Drugog, nije onipotentna, što znači da nije sama sebi dovoljna, već da i kod nje postoji nedostatak za kojim traga, u simboličkom poretku. Drugom je potreban Drugi da bi zadovoljio želju koja se uvek upisuje u Drugom. I upravo ovaj primarni zahtev predstavlja zahtev za ljubavlju, odnosno zahtev kojim se pokušava dobiti ono što izmiče, koji traži da mu se pruži ono što nedostaje. „Nezadovoljenjem zahteva za ljubavlju subjekt se ‘odvaja’ od Drugog, od čije je želje zavisio njegov život i u njemu se tada nakon zadovoljenja potreba artikuliranih u zahtevu i nezadovoljenja žudnje za ljubavlju javlja ono što ostaje kad se prvo oduzme od drugog a to je želja“ (Lakan, 1986, str.275). Dijalektika želje počiva na odsutnosti, smeštena je u simboličkom i zbog toga je uvek uslovljena Drugim. Svaki Drugi ima Drugog, što znači da simbolički sistem nije i ne može biti zatvoren sistem. Smeštena između zahteva i potrebe, želja nastavlja da upravlja subjektom. Ona poprma različite forme, ali nikada ne biva celovita. Šetajući kroz različite registre svesnog i imaginarnog – ona izmiče. Čovek, da bi izdržao nemogućnost spoznaje želje, a samim tim i sebe, pribegava mehanizmu projekcije i na taj način pokušava da se oslobodi želje, jer je taj deo u kojem želja nastane kao nepomirljiv konflikt sa nemogućnošću zadovoljenja, čak i kad se na kraju svede na puki objekt, tj. kad postane „dostupna“ kroz drugosti, odnosno nedostupna kroz drugosti. Svaka želja ima samo jedan objekat – objekat „malo a“ (fran. *objet petit a*). Sama želja se može tematizovati u više formata upravo kroz najčešće navođenu Lakanovu misao, prema kojoj je čovekova želja želja Drugog. „Prva ličnost koja će zauzeti mesto Drugog jeste majka, jer dete u početku biva u milosti njene želje. Tek onda kad otac poveže želju sa zakonom, tako

što kastrira majku, subjekat će biti oslobođen od svojevolsnosti majke“ (Lakan, 1986, str. 98).

2.2. U ciklusu pokušaja ispunjena želje subjekta nalazi se i užitek (uživanje) – *jouissance*

Lakan, pak, smatra da sa „one strane“ principa zadovoljstva nastaje užitek (fran. *jouissance*) u kojem zadovoljenje proizilazi iz ograničenja i neuspaha želje. Međutim, kako je nagon subjekta usmeren ka zadovoljenju želje koja je nedostižna, užitek se generiše upravo kroz inhibiciju te želje.

Inhibirana želja vodi do užitka, ali ne i do zadovoljstva. Zadovoljstvo funkcioniše kao „granica“ užitka. „Princip zadovoljstva na ovaj način postaje zakon koji naređuje da uživa što je manje moguće. Istovremeno subjekt pokušava da prestupi zabrane nametnute njegovom užitku, da ide preko principa zadovoljstva“ (Lakan, 1986, str. 86). Međutim, rezultat prestupanja zadovoljstva nije više zadovoljstvo, već bol, zato što postoji samo određena količina zadovoljstva koju subjekt može da podnese, preko ove granice zadovoljstvo postaje bol, a ovo ‘bolno iskustvo’ je upravo ono što Lakan naziva *Jouissance* — *jouissance* je patnja.

2.3. Drugi i u njemu želja

Kako bi se bolje razumeo Lakanov stav da je želja uvek želja Drugog, predstavimo način na koji čovek biva generisan nesvesnom željom, koja je u suštini Drugost u nama, na primeru odnosa majka – otac – dete.

Da bi se jasnije sagledao odnos želje i Drugog, važno je istaći da postoje dva tipa Drugosti unutar kojih se konstituiše subjekt. Subjekt se rađa usred jezika, drugim rečima, čovek se rađa unutar simboličkog poretka koji predstavlja Velikog Drugog (A). Ovakav Drugi se odnosi na anonimni autoritet (apstraktni, konkretni), kao što su Bog, priroda, viša sila, zatim na vladajuće strukture (države, partije, društvo...), pa sve do funkcija znanja i moći poput nauke. Drugi (A) postoji kao sâm simbolički poredak, kao ono što čini „sveobuhvatni duh“ koji uspostavlja intersubjektivne odnose i njihova polja (Stojnić, 2016).

Drugi ne postoji samo u simboličkom poretku, već i u realnom. Drugi je u ovom poretku ono što je nemoguće spoznati. Subjekt konstituiše svoju želju unutar simboličkog poretka, u kom se uvek nalazi Drugi, kao onaj koji ga sačinjava.

Odojče je u očima majčinske figure ono što je objekat kojim se dolazi do ispunjenja želje, ali i u kome se internalizuje ono što Drugi želi, što Lakan objašnjava rečenicom: „Ja ću postati ono što sam već za Drugog bio“. Ovu rečenicu, Lakan koristi prilikom objašnjenja fenomena identifikacije.

Majka je Realno Drugo. Ona je za odojče nespoznatljiva, nju je nemoguće kontrolisati, od nje zavisi život odojčeta (subjekta). Majka je izvor ljubavi, ali i ono opskurno, tajanstveno, nespoznatljivo. Subjekt (dete) pokušava da zadobije ljubav majke, ali istovremeno i da je spozna ne bi li odagnao strah i osigurao svoje postojanje. Putem formiranja sopstvenog identiteta procesom identifikacije koji je determinisan željom, pokušava se odgovoriti na pitanje šta majka /Drugi uspeva da formirajući se postane (biva). Kako subjekt, putem simboličkog nivoa, pokušava da odgovori na pitanje o želji majčinskog Drugog, želja ostaje nepoznata (nesvesna), a nepoznato zamenjeno metaforom oca. *Falus* je ono što otac „poseduje“, a majka ne, pa na ovaj način falus postaje želja majke (Frojd, 2014) Na ovaj način, falus oca (Frojdovska figura), kao simboličko Drugo, jeste nešto što on ima i, zahvaljujući tome, može da upravlja nepredvidivom majčinom željom. „Ženska želja je potčinjena svojoj slici kao nosiocu žive rane, ona može da postoji samo u odnosu prema kastraciji i ne može da transcendiru (frustracija, strah). Od svog deteta ona čini označitelja vlastite želje da poseduje penis (uslov, zamišlja ona, stupanja u Simboličko). Ona mora ili velikodušno da se otvori za reči za ‘Ime Oca’ i zakona ili mora da se bori da svoje dijete zadrži zajedno sa sobom u polutami imaginarnog“ (Malvi, 2019, str. 8–9).

Drugi je žena. Ona nije samo majka subjekta (odojčeta/čoveka), već i same želje. Ako na nedostatak gledamo kao na uzrok da se želja pojavi, onda je i sama želja usmerena na nedostatak. Čini se da ovu želju može ispuniti samo muškarac, jer on nije ljudsko stvorenje sa nedostatkom, te je on taj koji postavlja, predviđa i ispunjava žensku želju. Međutim, žena je ta koja postavlja i uspostavlja želju svim ljudskim subjektima, jer želja je upravo želja Drugog.

3. Studija slučaja: *Odvratnost (Repulsion)* iz 1965.

Kroz ovu studiju slučaja može se uočiti da je junakinja tokom filma prezentovana kao predmet želje muškaraca, ali i sopstvenih internalizovanih želja i videti kako na kraju ona, kao takva, postaje želja Drugog. Jer mesto na kom počiva može biti u nama, ali se javlja pitanje: da li je ta želja naša ili nije? Ona se nalazi u realnom registru, a za Lakana ona je nespoznatljiva kao što je realno ono što je nemoguće i ne može se smestiti ni u imaginarni ni u simbolički poredak. Realno je ono što je nemoguće zamisliti, pa ga zato uvodimo u prostor traume i slobodnog lebdećeg straha; realno, kao mesto traume i apsurdna u kojem se nespoznatljiva želja generiše i ostaje dosledna registru u kom suštinski biva.

Film „Odvratnost“ (*Repulsion*), reditelja Romana Polanskog, žanrovski se može posmatrati kao spoj drame i horora. „Odvratnost“ je priča o Kerol Ledoks (Carol Ledoux), lepoj i privlačnoj devojci koja živi sa starijom sestrom u iznajmljenom stanu, gde ih često posećuje sestrin ljubavnik. Kerol oseća snažno gađenje prema ljubavniku svoje sestre, ali i prema svemu što ima veze sa muškarcima i seksom. Kada sestra (Helen) i njen ljubavnik (Mišel) odu na putovanje, Kerol ostaje sama u stanu i njeno psihičko stanje kreće da se pogoršava.

3.1. Kerol i želja

Film započinje crnilom za koje se kasnije ispostavlja da je zenica Kerolinog oka. Ženski subjekt (Kerol) je zagledan u nešto ili možda ni u šta. Ovakav pogled (kadar) kod gledaoca budi želju da sazna šta je to u šta subjekt (za gledaoca i kameru objekat) gleda. Upravo ovaj kadar filma kao da nagoveštava Kerolinu neintegrisanost u simboličkom poretku. Dok njen pogled ostaje zagledan, preko detalja oka klize imena glumaca i onih koji su učestvovali u izradi filma (Drugi). Kerol se u odnosu sa drugim subjektima pojavljuje kroz patološku stidljivost, izbegavanje i potiskivanje koje je polako uvodi u ludilo. Njena infantilnost može se razumeti kao zastoj u najranijim etapama formiranja subjekta, tj. uspostavljanja odnosa tek rođenog subjekta i jezika. „Kerolin odnos prema spoljnom svetu je zatvoren“ (Kovačević, 2010, str. 35). Šetajući ulicama, ona deluje odsutno, lišena samosvesti, uprkos tome što je fizički pri-

vlačna žena, ona teško definiše šta želi, a deluje poput mesečara koji je spreman na ubistvo (Budenac, 2012). Kerolina infantilnost se može naslutiti kroz njen odnos sa drugim likovima u filmu, gde se vide njena nesposobnost odbijanja udvaranja, kao i nevešto laganje o razlozima nedolaženja na posao vlasnici kozmetičkog salona kod koje je zaposlena. Međutim, kada ostane sama u stanu, strah kod Kerol zauzima najviše prostora, preteći da je odvuče tamo gde je nastala (kao subjekt). Strah je za Kerol apsurdno sigurno (simptom) mesto/stanje u kom počinju da se pojavljuju košmarne fantazije. Lutajući po stanu, Kerol biva okružena lutkicama i dečjim figuricama. Odevena u belu spavaćicu, ona ostavlja utisak deteta. Ona je dete kojem nedostaje označitelj u odnosu na kog bi mogla da se integriše u već postojeći simbolički poredak. Da bi se identitet formirao, potrebna je zabrana, potrebno je *ne* (Ime oca). Kerolin rascep predstavlja psihotični beg od neuroze u kojoj je ostajala kao kompenzacija za majčine fantazije. Nosila je svoj subjekt kao Drugost (objekat *malo a*), nesposobna da se integriše u simbolički poredak, nezaštićena od primordijalnih objekata. Nesposobna da izgovori *ne*, Kerol izlaz pronalazi u zatvaranju i tiho se kreće ka prostoru u kom njeno uživanje (*jouissance*) neće biti trauma, već odlazak u iluziju (*delusion*), mesto na kom nema jasnih zabrana, koje će frustraciju održavati do granica nepodnošljive boli. Kako Keroline granice popuštaju, tako je njeno traumom oblikovano uživanje uvodi u ludilo. Pukotina-naprslina je noseća metafora oko koje je *Odvratnost* izgrađen, označitelj nemogućnosti za Kerol da 'ušije' (suture) realnost i fantaziju, zjap odakle izrastaju njene košmarne halucinacije, tačka njenog povlačenja i otuđenja od svesnog sveta rezultat je pukotine (na zidu sobe, u umu heroine), ubilačka mahnitost, te, konačno, katatonija, dva pola iste konstelacije u kojoj se junakinja našla. Psihotična dekompenzacija junakinje ukazuje na to da ona nikada nije prošla uspešno kroz etape identifikacije, te je zauvek ostala zarobljena nesposobnošću artikulacije želje. Jedini način na koji Kerol 'artikuliše' svoju želju jeste skliznuće u ludilo. Pozicija Kerol unutar ovog narativa je pozicija muških struktura gledanja, gde je ona objekat žudnje. U tom smislu, sama kamera je ta koja se približava (odnosno brutalno se 'udvara'), koja postaje neka vrsta faličkog napadača, opsesivno prijanjajući uz Kerol dok luta ulicama Londona, 'zumirajući' njene oči u trenucima nemog sanjarenja i najvećih tegoba (silovanje imaginarnog muškarca) (Bečanović, 2015).

3.2. Trauma (povreda)

„Zaglavljenost“ u davnoj traumi i prirodi iste naslućujemo prilikom prvog Kerolinog ostanka u stanu. U ovom delu filma primećujemo da u jednom trenutku kamera skreće pažnju na porodičnu fotografiju, što se ponavlja i na kraju filma. Kamera je zadržana na fotografiji, na oku male Kerol, u kojem se oslikavaju strah i alijenacija. Oko se pojavljuje na početku filma, ali i na samom kraju.

Ja ću postati ono što sam za Drugog već bio.

Lakan (Kovačević, 2010, str. 24)

Zaustavljena u procesu identifikacije povredom (traumom), sprečena da artikuliše želju, Kerol Ledoks pronalazi katarzični spas odlaskom u ludilo. Ona je bila želja svoga oca (Drugog), pa je to i postala (objekt, žrtva, želja).

Želja Drugog konstituiše subjekt aporijom logocentrizma. Međutim, u slučaju Kerol Ledoks želja u traumi biva oslobođena od jezika i za nju ona postaje realnost, a nama koji smo sposobni da je posmatramo samo iz simboličkog registra, ona do kraja ostaje nepoznatljiva. Deformisana željom i zarobljena u traumi, heroina ovog filma praktično postaje reprezentacija ljudskog bića koje je najbliže slobodi, jer reči prestaju da integrišu (vezuju) njeno bivanje i ona jednostavno biva, što pak ostali definisani, integrisani i supstituisani rečima vide kao ludilo (pojam koji, kao i želja i smrt, uvek ostaje nepoznatljiv). Radnja filma oslikava dinamiku želje unutar jezika. Imamo priliku da vidimo ubistvo (koje vodi u smrt a, s druge strane, smrt postoji samo kao pojam), osećamo da u junakinji postoji želja (doduše oslikana kroz strah, a u strahu se najčešće ona i krije) koju nije moguće spoznati, jer ostaje neartikulisana završavajući se skliznućem u ludilo koje dekonstruiše logocentrizam, olobađajući je od uspostavljenog jezičkog poretka i uvodeći je u nepoznatljivo - realno.

4. Zaključak

U radu su analizirani odnosi Lakanovih pojmova želje unutar tri registra, razlika između zahteva i potrebe, kao i odnos između užitka i bola. Takođe, analiziran je i značaj procesa identifikacije u razvoju subjekta i konstituisanja želje, zatim značaj simboličkog poretka i uvođenje zabrane koju nameće figura oca, te značaj figure majke kako bi se dete „upisalo“ u simbolički poredak. Tokom problematizacije gorenavedenih tema nameće se pitanje: da li je ludilo (psihotični rascep) zamena za NE (zahtev, zabranu u simboličkom poretku)?

Osujećena za negaciju unutar simboličkog poretka stvari, psihotičnost se zatvara za Drugog ograđujući se od simboličkog. Ludilo i želja su za subjekta uvek nespoznatljivi, pa se javlja pitanje: u kojoj meri je ludilo prisutno u želji ili obratno – koliko želje ima u ludilu?

Za razliku od ludila, želja je ipak esencija života (ludilo je reakcija na zastoj u razvoju subjekta) i, kao takva, uvek je nesvesna. Međutim, pošto postoji fundamentalna nekompatibilnost između govora i želje, ona podrazumeva da se želja može prevesti samo delimično u jeziku, tj. nikada se ne može do kraja „uhvatiti“ u simboličkom poretku, zbog čega ona uvek, kao i ludilo, ima karakter realnog.

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Petar Marković¹

UDC 159.947.5

Original scientific article

Received: 13/04/2023

Accepted: 10/05/2023

LACAN'S CONCEPT OF DESIRE AND ITS ARTICULATION IN ROMAN POLANSKI'S FILM *REPULSION* (1965)

ABSTRACT: In this paper, the author undertakes an analysis of the concept of desire (*désir*) within the theoretical framework set by the French psychiatrist and psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan. The concept of desire is central to his theoretical thought. For Lacan desire is unconscious, not because there are no conscious desires, but because the unconscious is central to the psychoanalytical field. The author will also present the relation between demand and desire, as well as the concept of enjoyment (*jouissance*) related to both. Lacan defines man's desire as the desire of Other. The paper aims at an explication of the articulation of desire through a case study of the character of Carol Ledoux in the film *Repulsion* (1965) directed by Roman Polanski, and the concept of female desire and its articulation by the notion of the Other.

KEY WORDS: desire, Other, unconscious, film, *Repulsion*

1. Introduction

The concept of desire (*désir*) is, one may claim, at the very heart of Lacanian thought, and not only his, but of psychoanalysis in general (Lacan, 2003, p. 275). In this paper, we will, first, define this concept and

¹ MA Psychologist, PhD candidate at Singidunum University, e-mail: petarmarkovic05@gmail.com

then, present the problem the subject encounters in the symbolic order as he/she tries to translate 'his' desire into the field of consciousness in order to satisfy it. We shall, thus, problematize the relation/ symbiosis (struggle) between 'language and desire'.

In the psychoanalytic theory the unconscious determines the subject. Since the desire is in the unconscious, we can understand it as what sets in motion the subject to constitute himself within the symbolic order. Regardless of context, the subject is what constantly changes, and the desire is what sets him in motion, as the 'motive', as Freud's 'eros', which integrates and directs, as an unconscious center. It is the most persistent human phenomenon. Buddha, for example, thought that for feeling of happiness the best thing for a human being is not to have desire/s. Lacan, by contrast, claims that it is impossible not to have desire/s, since this would imply total alienation and deconstruction of the subject from the context that forms him, sets him in motion and makes him what he is. One who lives desires. A person could be compared to Sisyphus, but only from the point of view of wanting to end his desire; for Sisyphus it was the punishment of gods, which, nevertheless, brought content and sense to his existence. The punishment was Sisyphus' desire. The desire is punishment for a human being. A human being could not stand a chance against his/her desire/s. Both desire and punishment bring enjoyment, as both are formed by significant others in us.

According to Lacan the desire of man is the desire of the Other. The big Other, through what desire gets substituted, but never present to itself, is radical otherness, not the imaginary one which could be represented, but at the symbolic level, one that could not be assimilated to or be identified with. Rather, radical otherness is, for Lacan, the otherness of language and law/prohibition, or as one may say, the big Other is inscribed into the symbolic order (Evans, 2011). This symbolic order – the order of signifier and signified, of words, symbols, speech etc. – is like a cane the subject uses for groping through existence such that within it, for him, the desire still got a clear name, at least. Within this order the subject is able to assimilate otherness through the big Other, however helpless he/she may feel trying to resist in vain. "The Other, above all, must be understood as locus, the locus in which speech is constituted" (Evans, 2011, p. 89). "The Other can be understood as the

locus within which desire is formed. However, if someone's desire could be recognized at all, it must be articulated in speech. Precisely, through the subject desire is brought into existence" (Evans, 2011, p. 96). Once brought into existence, that is, by naming, by being articulated in language, desire is being articulated in speech, in spite of the fact that desire and language are incompatible. What remains is unconscious, which is unknown, which may be the desire itself, since the language is not able to articulate it without remainder. The desire remains in different forms and in different ways as phantasm, since the subject wants to articulate it, and by articulating it brings it into being. However, the desire, whether it be at the level of unconscious, or at the level of symbolic, cannot exist without its proper object – the cause of every desire – called *the object little a* (objet petit a) situated in the Real, for Lacan at the pre-symbolic level, which is, empirically, always realized as its own incomplete substitution. The object little a is the cause of the desire that always evades the subject, which means that the *a* is actually 'beyond' desire (Stojnić, 2016).

To understand the concept of desire it is necessary to make a clear distinction between desire and need, their origin and relationship to the extent the subject knows and realizes them. Moreover, clarification is needed of the relation of these with a third concept Lacan calls *demand*. Namely, in which situation the subject is the one who demands, and in which the subject responds to the demand of the other/Other? It is further necessary to explain whether it is possible to know the desire, satisfy the need, respond to the demand and what all these concepts have in common with the concept of enjoyment (*jouissance*).

The opinion the author will elaborate in this paper is that it is precisely the desire of the Other what constitutes the subject as a logocentric puzzle, justifying this idea by using the example of Roman Polanski's film *Repulsion* from 1965.

2. The desire of the Other in the film *Repulsion*

In the analysis of the film *Repulsion* in order to explicate the concept of desire, its articulation and realization via the representation of the protagonist, various sources are used to elucidate concepts such as *de-*

sire, Other, symbolic, real in Lacan's psychoanalysis, as well as some other sources dealing with film theory and cinematographic criticism.

2.1. On need, demand, desire and enjoyment

I need you to warm me up(I am freezing).

I need a warm up(I am freezing).

I demand that you warm me up.

I demand to be warmed up.

I am warming (myself).

I would not know what my need is if there were no words.

I would not trust words if I did not see myself in the mirror.

Others have thought me about words by using pictures and about pictures by using words.

Tortured, I receive pleasure.

A desire remains.

The desire remains

It remains.

She?

These examples show the dynamism of desire and its differentiation from need, demand, and enjoyment ; in other words, how need, demand, and enjoyment are related within the subject remaining always on the 'other side ' of desire. As a number of representations in the realm of art show, desire is something indicated to us and even if indicated, we can never be sure that we have understood it. Examples such as *desire is behind the rainbow; she wished to die, but also wished to live in Paris;*

the desire to kill the old usurer, etc. manifest desire, but we are unable to understand what it is because in order to hear it, it must be articulated in language, even if it is a desire we want to communicate to ourselves.

“A need is physiological, an instinct or craving in a living organism – a biological necessity – once satisfied, it completely vanishes (temporarily, of course)” (Evans, 2011, p. 96). We may thus conclude that need incessantly circulates, it is a process between ‘passing away’ (fulfilment, withdrawal) and ‘coming to be’ (occurrence) within the subject itself. ”Since born helpless, the human subject is incapable of satisfying its own needs and is totally dependent on the other. To get help from the other the infant must vocally express its needs” (Evans, 2011, p. 96). ”The need articulated in words is a *demand*. A primitive demand may be inarticulated screaming as well, whose purpose is to ask for help from the other” (Kovačević, 2010, p. 30). In the presence of the other, the demand gets this double function: as the Other represents love, the demand becomes simultaneously the articulation of need and the demand for love. “The Other may offer objects at disposal which the subject demands to satisfy its needs, but cannot give absolute love the subject wants. Once needs articulated in the demand are satisfied, there remains an unsatisfied (unsatisfiable) want, and this want (lack) is *desire* (Lacan, 2003, p. 297).

The mother – the first object of love – being not omnipotent, is not self-sufficient. She herself has the lack she wants to be satisfied at the symbolic level. Thus the Other wants the Other again in order to satisfy her desire. The desire is always being inscribed in the Other. This primary demand for love, which remains unsatisfied, the demand to get something that is evasive, in other words, the subject wants to be provided with something she lacks. “The nonsatisfaction of the demand for love is what ‘separates’ the subject from the Other, from whose desire his life depends; after fulfilling the needs articulated in the demand and nonsatisfaction of the want for love, there appears what remains when the former is subtracted from the latter - and that is the *desire*” (Lacan, 1986, p. 275).

The dialectic of desire is based on absence and is situated at the symbolic level. The symbolic system is not and cannot be a complete or closed system, because it is attached to the Other (the Other is always at work here) and every other has (another) Other. Situated between need and demand, the desire governs the subject; it may acquire different

forms, but it is never complete, it eludes every register – be it conscious or imaginary. To endure the impossibility of comprehending it, a person resorts to various projection mechanisms trying to get rid of his desire, for it is always present in some or other of its metonymic guises, never reducible to a simple object. The desire has only one object – *object little a* – or to express this differently by quoting the well-known Lacanian dictum: Man's desire is always the desire of the Other. "The first person to take the place of the Other is the mother, because the child is, at first, entirely dependent on her desire. Only when the father connects desire with law by castrating the mother, will the subject be freed of the arbitrariness of the mother" (Lacan, 1986, p.98).

2.2. The desire, pleasure principle, and enjoyment – *jouissance*

Lacan says that enjoyment (*jouissance*) is situated 'beyond' the pleasure principle in which pleasure is brought about through the impossibility of fulfilling the desire. If the drive of the subject is directed towards the unattainable satisfaction of the desire, enjoyment is generated through this inhibition. For, inhibited desire leads to enjoyment, not pleasure. Pleasure functions as the 'limit' of enjoyment. "The pleasure principle becomes the law that commands us to enjoy as little as possible. At the same time the subject tries to transgress prohibitions imposed on his enjoyment, to go beyond the pleasure principle" (Lacan, 1986, str. 86). However, the result of this transgression is not pleasure, but pain, because there is just a certain amount of pleasure the subject is able to endure. Beyond that limit pleasure becomes pain. This 'painful experience' is what Lacan calls *jouissance*. *Jouissance* – enjoyment is suffering.

2.3. The Desire of the Other

In order to understand Lacan's claim that desire is always the desire of the Other, we will present how a person is generated by his unconscious wish – otherness in us – through the relationship between mother, father, and child.

There are two types of otherness within which the subject is constituted. The one, the big Other is an anonymous abstract or concrete authority, for example, God, nature, any force majeure, power structures –state, society, parties, etc.- knowledge and science. The other one, is the symbolic order itself, language, as an ‘all-encompassing spirit’ that makes possible intersubjective relations and their fields (Stojnić, 2016).

The Other exists not only at the symbolic level which is constituted by it but also at the level of Real as something unknowable. The subject constitutes his wish within the symbolic order, that is, always mediated by the Other.

For the mother, a child is the object of wish fulfilment as well as the one who internalizes the desire of the Other. Lacan explains this with the sentence “I shall be what I already have been for the Other” used when explaining the phenomenon of identification.

On the other hand, the mother is the Real Other. For the infant, she is unknowable, uncontrollable, on whom its very life depends. She is the source of love, but a source obscure, mysterious, and incomprehensible. The infant tries to win her love and to know her in order to overcome its fear and secure its existence. Passing through the process of identification (which is determined by desire), the child tries to answer the question *what mother/the Other wants* (me to become). Here the subject is at a deadlock exposed to this inaccessible, unknowable (unconscious) wish. The way out is at the symbolic level with the appearance of the father. *Phallus* is the thing the father ‘has’ and the mother lacks, so it becomes the desire of the mother (Freud, 2014). Thus the phallus of the father (Freudian figure), the symbolic Other, can control the unpredictable wish of the mother. “The woman’s desire is submitted to its own image – an unhealing wound, it can exist only in relation to castration and is not able to transcend it (frustration, fear). From her infant, she makes the signifier of her own desire to have a penis (the condition, she imagines, for entering the Symbolic). She must either become open to the words of the name-of-the-father or struggle to keep her child and herself in the penumbra of Imaginary (Malvi, 2019, p. 8-9)

The Other is a woman. She is not only the mother of the subject (infant/human being), but also of the desire itself. The cause of the desire is

want (lack) since the desire itself is directed towards lack. It seems that only Man can satisfy this desire, for he is not a human being with a lack but a signifier, he is the one who assigns, predicts, and fulfils the female desire. However, the woman is the one who establishes the desire in every human being, for the desire is always the desire of the Other.

3. Case study: *Repulsion* from 1965.

This case study will show that the protagonist is presented both as an object of men's desire and as an object of her own internalized desires, whereas, in the end, she becomes the desire of the Other. For, although desire may be placed within us, we never know whether it is ours or not. It is in the register of Real that, for Lacan is inaccessible, and unknowable, because the Real is impossible and cannot be placed either in the imaginary or in the symbolic. The Real is unthinkable, it is the space of trauma, of absurd, of fear let loose, in which the incomprehensible desire is generated.

Roman Polanski's film may be viewed as a combination of drama and horror; it is a story about Carol Ledoux, a nice and attractive girl, who shares an apartment with her elder sister. Her sister – Helen - is often visited by her lover – Michael, and Carol feels a strong aversion towards her sister's lover and towards everything connected with men and sex. When the couple set out on a journey, Carol stays alone in the apartment, and her mental health deteriorates further.

3.1. Carol and her desire

The film starts with a black screen that turns out to be the pupil of Carol's eye. The female subject (Carol) is staring at something, or perhaps at nothing at all. Immediately, the spectator wants to know what the subject (camera) is looking at. This scene indicates that Carol is not integrated into the symbolic order. While the eye remains staring, the names of the actors and film-making personnel are gliding across the

details of the eye (the Other). Carol's relationship to other subjects is pathologically shy, avoiding, and suppressed, ushering her slowly into madness. Her infantilism can be understood as an impasse reached at the earliest stages of subject forming: between the infant and the language. "Carol's relation to the outside world is shut" (Kovačević, 2010, str. 35). When she walks the streets, she seems absent, as if devoid of self-consciousness. In spite of being physically attractive, she has difficulties defining what she wants and appears as a somnambulist ready to commit murder (Budenac, 2012). Carol's infantilism is manifest in her relationships with other characters in the movie. She is incapable of rejecting courtship and is incompetent in coming up with convincing reasons to explain her absence to the owner of the beauty parlour she works for. But, when she is alone, she becomes overcome by fear threatening to take her where she came to be as a subject. Fear is for her that absurd safe place/state (symptom) where her delirious phantasies begin. In her apartment, she is surrounded by dolls and figurines. When she is rambling in her apartment dressed in a white nightgown, she looks like a child. A child that cannot be integrated into the existing symbolic order. In order to be integrated law/prohibition is necessary, the Name-of-the-father as *No* to enjoyment, a master signifier holding together the symbolic order without which it would disintegrate. Carol's split is a psychotic flight from the neurosis in which she remained as compensation for her mother's phantasies. Her fixation on the desire of the Other – object *little a* – incapability to protect herself from primordial objects made it impossible for her to integrate into the symbolic order. She finds her way out of confining herself and silently moves towards a space in which enjoyment (*jouissance*) will not be a trauma, but a delusion, where there are no clear limits to prohibition, where her frustration persists to the limits of unbearable pain. The more these limits give way, the more her traumatic enjoyment turns to madness. Fissure is the leading metaphor of the *Repulsion*. This fissure is the signifier of powerlessness to stitch up (suture) this gap between reality and phantasy from which her delirious hallucinations sprang, the point of her retreat and alienation from the conscious world. This fissure (on the wall of the room, in the mind of the protagonist) represents two opposite ends of the constellation in which she found herself: murderous frenzy, on the

one hand, and catatonia, on the other. The psychotic decompensation of the heroine indicates that she has never passed successfully the stages of identification and has remained captive in her inability to articulate her desire. The only way she can find to 'articulate' is slipping into madness. Within this narrative Carol's position is the one of the male spectator; she *is* the object of desire. This is suggested by the position of the camera, namely, the camera gets closer and closer to her as if brutally wooing, as if some sort of phallic attacker stalking her while she is wandering through the streets of London, or zooming in on her eyes in moments of silent daydreaming and most painful torments (being raped by an imaginary man) (Bečanović, 2015).

3.2. Trauma

When, for the first time, we see Carol alone in her room, we become aware of her fixation on an age-old trauma. We notice that the camera at some point zooms in on a family photograph, the very same one that appears at the end of the film. The camera dwells on the picture, on little Carol's eyes in which we recognize fear and alienation. Note that the eye appears at the very beginning and at the end of the film.

I shall become what I already have been for the Other.

Lacan (Kovačević, 2010, str. 24)

Held up in the process of identification by this injury, unable to articulate her desire, Carol Ladoux finally finds her cathartic salvation in madness. She has been (the object of) the desire of her father (the Other) and she becomes it (object, victim, desire).

The desire of the Other constitutes the subject as a logocentric puzzle. However, in the case of Carol Ledoux it is unrestrained by language and becomes real. For those who can observe her only within the symbolic register, she remains incomprehensible to the very end. The heroine of this film, captured in her trauma, torn by her desire, represents

the closest the human being can be to freedom since words stop integrating/binding her being and she simply just *is*. For us others defined, integrated, substituted by words what seems like madness – a notion which like desire and death must remain unknowable – is this simple being.

The story of the film presents this dynamism of desire within language. We see a murder – an act leading to death, but death is itself only a word (notion) – we feel the desire of the heroine – represented as fear or hidden in that feeling – but this desire is incomprehensible, because it remains unarticulated, ending up in madness, which deconstructs logocentrism, because it becomes free from the constraints of the established order of language leading toward the unknowable Real.

4. Conclusion

In this paper we analyzed Lacan's concept of desire regarding, firstly, the difference between demand and need, and, secondly, the relation between enjoyment and pain. Moreover, we analyzed the significance of the process of identification in the development of the subject and the constitution of desire. The significance of the mother-figure and introduction of the father-figure and with it the concept of Law/Prohibition as well as the 'inscription' of the child into the symbolic order. The question to be answered here is whether madness (psychotic split) is a substitution for NO (to enjoyment), that is, for the prohibition in the symbolic order.

Erasing NO within the symbolic order, the psychotic becomes excluded from it and the Other, normally, constitutive to this order moves to another register. Madness, as well as desire, remain always incomprehensible for the subject; the question here is – how much madness is present in the desire, and, conversely, how much desire in madness?

Desire is the essence, motive power of life, and as such always unconscious, whereas madness is a reaction to an impasse in the development of the subject. However, since there is a fundamental incompatibility between language and desire, in other words, desire can never become a part of the symbolic order, and can never be articulated without remainder, desire, like madness brings along an indelible distinctiveness of the Real.

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Petrović Z. Milica¹

UDC 347.426.6
Originalni naučni rad
Primljen: 05. 01. 2023.
Prihvaćen: 15. 02. 2023.

NAKNADA NEMATERIJALNE ŠTETE ZBOG NEOSNOVANE OSUDE I NEOSNOVANOG LIŠENJA SLOBODE U SUDSKOJ PRAKSI

APSTRAKT: Pravo na naknadu štete, zbog neosnovane osude ili neosnovanog lišenja slobode, nužno treba da omogući otklanjanje posledica kršenja prava na slobodu koje garantuje Ustav. Ovom pravu odgovara obaveza države da štetu plati, jer štetnu radnju preduzimaju državni službenici. Sasvim je očigledno da se radi o pravu koje je *sui generis*. U konkretnom slučaju, štetnu radnju čini službeno lice za čije radnje odgovara država koja uvek odgovara, bez obzira na krivicu, dakle objektivno, ako se dokaže da je protivpravnom radnjom službenog lica prouzrokovana šteta. Neosnovano lišenje slobode i neosnovana osuda ostavljaju za posledicu povredu ljudskog dostojanstva – čast, a u socijalnoj sredini, u kojoj živi, oštećenog prepoznaju kao nekoga ko je bio u zatvoru, kao nekoga ko je bio osuđivan – povređen mu je ugled, koji je uživao u sredini. Duševni bolovi, zbog neosnovane osude, odnosno zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode predstavljaju jedinstven vid štete koji obuhvata sve štetne posledice nematerijalne prirode vezane za ličnost oštećenog a proistekle iz neosnovanog lišenja slobode. Za ovu štetu, dosuđuje se jedan iznos naknade.

KLJUČNE REČI: *naknada nematerijalne štete, sloboda, neosnovana osuda, neosnovano lišenje slobode.*

¹ Master prava, doktorand na Pravnom fakultetu Univerziteta u Kragujevcu, asistent na Pravnom fakultetu za privredu i pravosuđe u Novom Sadu Univerziteta Privredna akademija, e-mail: milica.petrovic@pravni-fakultet.info

1. Uvod

Pravo na slobodu jedno je od osnovnih ljudskih prava i, kao takvo, spada u kategoriju apsolutnih subjektivnih prava, a pripada pojedincu od rođenja do smrti. Pravo na slobodu deluje *erga omnes* i svako je dužan da poštuje lična prava pojedinca. U slučaju povrede ovog prava titular prava može tražiti pravnu zaštitu.

Posmatrano kroz istoriju, pravo na slobodu i zaštita slobode razvijali su se preko instituta državne vlasti, kroz ostvarivanja prava da se spreči nezakonito lišenje slobode pojedinca od strane države.

Uslovi pod kojima se lice može lišiti slobode propisani su krivičnim zakonima, odnosno krivičnim procesnim zakonicima, dakle, reč je o institutu krivičnog prava. Postoje, međutim, životne situacije u kojima lišenje slobode zahvata oblast građanskog prava i tada je uglavnom reč o neosnovanom lišenju slobode. Prva monografija u SFRJ o neosnovanom lišenju slobode bila je od profesora doktora Momčila Grubača „Naknada štete za neopravdanu osudu i neosnovano lišenje slobode“ iz 1979. godine.

Neosnovano lišenje slobode nije nezakonito lišenje slobode, jer je pojedinac lišen slobode na način i po postupku koji je propisan zakonom, ali su kasnije prestali ili su otklonjeni razlozi zbog kojih je lišen slobode. S obzirom da je tokom određenog vremenskog razdoblja ugroženo pravo na slobodu stiče se pravo na naknadu štete, te tada lišenje slobode iz krivičnopravnog instituta prerasta u institut građanskog prava – pravo na naknadu štete.

Pored naknade štete zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode biće razmatrana i naknada štete zbog neopravdane osude. Ova dva instituta mogu postojati paralelno, ali mogu i pojedinačno – nezavisno jedan od drugog.

Autor će se u ovom radu osvrnuti na krivičnopravni aspekt lišenja slobode, a zatim će biti analizirani pravni institut građanskog prava – naknada štete, te pravo na naknadu štete zbog neosnovane osude i neosnovanog lišenja slobode.

Radom će biti obuhvaćena i uporednopravna regulativa s akcentom na postupak i način na koji zemlje u okruženju licu neosnovano lišenom slobode pružaju pravnu zaštitu.

2. Uporednopravni osvrt

Prema uobičajenim klasifikacijama, savremeni pravni sistemi mogu se podeliti na: evropsko-kontinentalni pravni sistem ili pravni sistem koji vodi poreklo iz tradicije rimskog prava i anglosaksonski pravni sistem ili pravni sistem *common law*. U ovom delu uporednopravne analize zaštite prava na slobodu u situacijama kada je ovo pravo povređeno od strane državnih organa analizira se pravo Mađarske, zemlje **članice** Evropske unije koja je svoje zakonodavstvo morala da uskladi sa zakonodavstvima ostalih **članica** i koja pripada evropsko-kontinentalnom pravnom sistemu, a potom će biti analiziran i pravni sistem Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, kao predstavnika anglosaksonskog pravnog sistema.

2.1. Naknada nematerijalne štete zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode i neosnovane osude u pravu Republike Mađarske

U Ustavu Republike Mađarske, koji je stupio na snagu 01. 01. 2012. godine, u prvom stavu člana 1, navedeno je: „Neprikosnovena i neotuđiva osnovna ljudska prava treba poštovati. Zaštita tih prava je primarna obaveza države“.

Ustav dalje u prvom stavu **člana** 4 proklamuje da svako ima pravo na slobodu i ličnu bezbednost, da niko ne može biti lišen slobode, osim u zakonom propisanim slučajevima i u skladu sa zakonom propisanim postupkom (stav 2), da svako osumnjičeno lice i lice lišeno slobode mora biti pušteno na slobodu ili bez odlaganja mora biti izvedeno pred sud, te da se ono mora saslušati, a odluka o pritvoru mora biti valjano obrazložena (st. 3). U stavu 4. istog člana Ustava Republike Mađarske garantuje se pravo licu koje je neosnovano ili protivzakonito lišeno slobode na naknadu **štete**.

Zakon o krivičnom postupku Republike Mađarske, koji je usvojen 2017. godine a koji je stupio na snagu 2018. godine, poznaje naknadu **štete** zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode i neosnovane osude i sadrži uslove za ostvarivanje ovog prava, zatim postupak pod kojim se ovo pravo ostvaruje, a takođe sadrži i odredbe o isključenju prava na naknadu

štete. Ove odredbe se nalaze u Glavi 107 pod naslovom „Naknada za neosnovano ograničenje slobode“.

Zakon okrivljenom priznaje pravo na naknadu **štete** ako mu je sloboda neosnovano ograničena, tj. oduzeta u krivičnom postupku ili je do toga došlo kao rezultat takvog postupka. Naknada služi isključivo kao obeštećenje za **štetu** nastalu samim postojanjem i trajanjem ograničenja, odnosno lišenja slobode (Bakonji, 2019: 245).

Prema Zakonu o krivičnom postupku, pravo na naknadu **štete** pripada licu koje je bilo lišeno slobode ukoliko je:

- tužilaštvo obustavilo postupak ili je to učinio istražni organ iz razloga **što** izvršena radnja ne predstavlja krivično delo, zato što krivično delo nije izvršio osumnjičeni ili što se na osnovu dokaza ne može utvrditi izvršenje krivičnog dela;
- utvrđeno postojanje razloga koji isključuju kažnjivost počinioca, tj. kažnjivost izvršne radnje ili se na osnovu postojećih dokaza nije moglo utvrditi da je osumnjičeni izvršio krivično delo, te iz razloga nastupanja zastarelosti kažnjavanja ili je izvršena radnja već pravosnažno presuđena;
- sud okrivljenog pravosnažno oslobodio, pravosnažnim rešenjem obustavio postupak, pravosnažnom presudom utvrdio krivicu okrivljenog, ali mu je izrečena uslovna osuda, ili nije izrečena kazna zatvora, ili mu je izrečena kazna zatvora u kraćem trajanju od trajanja pritvora (Zakon o krivičnom postupku Republike Mađarske, **član** 845).

Postoje dva načina za ostvarivanje prava na naknadu **štete** zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode i neosnovane osude, a pravo izbora dato je oštećenom licu. To su skraćeni postupak za naknadu **štete** i parnica za naknadu **štete** (Zakon o krivičnom postupku Republike Mađarske, **član** 848). Zahtev za naknadu **štete** podnosi se protiv države koju u postupku zastupa Ministarstvo pravde Republike Mađarske.

Postupak za naknadu štete mora da se pokrene u roku koji je prekluzivan i iznosi godinu dana od dana kada je oštećeni saznao za odluku koja predstavlja osnov za ostvarivanje prava na naknadu. Takođe, dozvoljava se nasledniku oštećenog da nastavi parnicu ukoliko u toku postupka za naknadu štete lice koje je neosnovano lišeno slobode ili ne-

osnovano osuđeno umre. U toj situaciji naslednik mora u roku od šest meseci da nastavi parnicu.

U skraćenom postupku, visina novčane naknade je limitirana iznosom koji se obračunava na način utvrđen uredbom Vlade Republike Mađarske. Skraćeni postupak se završava zaključenjem sporazuma između podnosioca zahteva i ministra pravde pod uslovom da zahtev oštećene strane bude prihvaćen a oštećeni da bude zadovoljan ponudom. Novčani iznos isplaćuje se u roku od petnaest dana od dana zaključenja sporazuma.

Vladinom uredbom propisan je formular – zahtev za naknadu štete i on se podnosi sudu koji ga bez rasprave u meritumu sa odgovarajućim spisima krivičnog predmeta dostavlja ministru pravde. Predviđeni rok za odlučivanje o osnovanosti zahteva u skraćenom postupku je dva meseca.

Ukoliko zahtev za naknadu štete, podnet u skraćenom postupku, bude odbijen oštećeni može pismenim podneskom podnetim ministru pravde da pokrene parnični postupak za naknadu štete. Oštećeni to mora da učini u roku od dva meseca po odbijanju zahteva nakon čega ministar pravde zahtev prosleđuje stvarno i mesno nadležnom sudu.

U parničnom postupku za naknadu štete može se zahtevati naknada štete i bolnina za pretrpljenu neimovinsku štetu. U ovom postupku se primenjuju odredbe Zakona o parničnom postupku sa odstupanjima predviđenim zakonom.

Ako lice, koje je neosnovano lišeno slobode i neosnovano osuđeno, ne **želi** da podnese zahtev u skraćenom postupku za naknadu **štete** ima pravo da podnose tužbu za naknadu **štete** sudu pred kojim je vođen krivični postupak a koji tužbu dalje prosleđuje parničnom sudu.

2.2. Anglosaksonski pravni sistem

Za razliku od kontinentalnog pravnog sistema, kom pripada i pravni sistem Srbije i Mađarske, anglosaksonski pravni sistem, koji se naziva i *common law* sistem, nastao je nezavisno od tradicije rimskog prava, tj. na osnovu tradicije engleskog opšteg običajnog prava i posebnih sudskih odluka poznatih kao precedenti (eng. *case law*) (David, Brierley,

1985: 307). Ovaj sistem je karakterističan za Veliku Britaniju i Sjedinjene Američke Države.

U slučaju neosnovanog lišenja slobode i neosnovane osude, u američkom pravu postoje dve vrste naknada. Oštećeni pravo na naknadu štete može ostvariti u sudskom postupku, ali u tom slučaju mora da dokaže krivicu državnog službenika, ili pravo na pomoć koja se isplaćuje iz posebnog državnog fonda.

U zavisnosti od deliktne osnova, na kom se zasniva obaveza naknade štete, u američkom pravnom sistemu razlikujemo: neosnovano hapšenje (eng. *false arrest*), neosnovano lišenje slobode (eng. *false imprisonment*) i naročito neosnovanu optužbu (eng. *malicious prosecution*).

Neosnovano hapšenje se definiše kao nezakonito ograničenje lične slobode, bez pristanka oštećenog, uz smeštaj u zatvor ili drugi zatvoren prostor, ili zadržavanje u patrolnim kolima ili naređenje da lice ostane u policijskoj stanici.

Neosnovano lišenje slobode se preduzima jer, najverovatnije, postoji zakonit razlog za hapšenje, ali je u prekrivičnom postupku došlo do kršenja prava oštećenog usled **čega** dalje postupanje državnog službenika koji vrši lišenje slobode postaje nezakonito.

Postoji dvofazni postupak ostvarivanja prava na naknadu **štete**. Pravo na naknadu **štete** se ostvaruje podnošenjem tužbe sudu, ali se pre toga mora podneti prijava policijskoj komisiji. Rok za podnošenje tužbe je godinu dana od dana nastanka **štete**. Oštećenom koji dokaže da je nezakonito hapšen ili neosnovano lišen slobode dosuđuje se razumna novčana naknada zbog gubitka vremena, fizičkih povreda, duševnog i emocionalnog bola.

U slučaju neosnovane osude ne postoji jedinstven stav u vezi sa naknadom **štete**. Statutarne odredbe na osnovu kojih je država u obavezi da nadoknadi **štetu** neosnovano osuđenim licima postoje u državama, kao **što** su: Njujork, Nju Džersi, Alabama, Kalifornija, Ilinois, Ajova, Mejn, Merilend, Nju Hempšir, Severna Karolina, Ohajo, Tenesi, Teksas, Zapadna Virdžinija i Viskonsin.

Kao i u drugim slučajevima, kada se zasniva pravo na naknadu štete, tako se i kod šteta za neosnovano lišenje slobode ili neosnovanu osudu smatra da je štetnom radnjom učinjen građanski delikt koji pravno

obavezuje na naknadu. Ovo pravo se realizuje odgovarajućom tužbom u parničnom postupku – eng. *tort of negligence*. U određenim slučajevima moguće je tražiti pooštrenu naknadu (eng. *aggravated damages*), a u određenim, na primer kod okrutnog i proizvoljnog postupanja štetnika kojima se krše osnovna ljudska prava oštećenog, može se tražiti i posebna – primerena naknada (eng. *exemplary damages*) (Mitchel, 2007: 9).

3. Lišenje slobode

Ljudska prava su neprikosnovenena, a njihovo ograničenje postoji samo onda kada je potrebno zaštititi ljudsko pravo drugog pojedinca ili opšti interes. Zato kada neko povredi ljudsko pravo drugog lica ili opšti interes nastupa država sa svojim autoritetom i koristeći postojeća pravna pravila, uskraćuje pojedina lična prava pojedinca.

Tako država može ograničiti i slobodu pojedincu u slučaju kada je on izvršio radnju koja nije društveno prihvatljiva, tj. kada je povređeno pravo drugog pojedinca ili društveni interes. Sloboda se može ograničiti tako što će pojedinac biti lišen slobode za određeno vreme ili do kraja života, smeštanjem u određenu ustanovu, ili će mu se ograničiti kretanje zabranom napuštanja mesta boravka ili zabranom obavljanja određenih aktivnosti.

Lišenje slobode, prema čl. 27 Ustava Republike Srbije, dopušteno je samo iz razloga i u postupku koji su predviđeni zakonom. Prema čl. 10 st. 1 Zakonika o krivičnom postupku, okrivljenom mogu biti ograničena sloboda i prava i pre donošenja pravosnažne odluke o izricanju krivične sankcije, ali samo u meri neophodnoj za ostvarenje cilja postupka, a pod uslovima propisanim ovim zakonikom. Ograničenja određenih sloboda i prava, prema st. 3 istog člana, mogu se primeniti od: potvrđivanja optužnice; određivanja glavnog pretresa ili ročišta za izricanje krivične sankcije u skraćenom postupku; određivanja glavnog pretresa u postupku za izricanje mere bezbednosti obaveznog psihijatrijskog lečenja.

Prema čl. 210 Zakonika o krivičnom postupku, pritvor se može odrediti samo pod uslovima predviđenim ovim zakonikom i samo ako se ne može ostvariti pomoću druge mere.

Razlozi zbog kojih se licu za koje postoji osnovana sumnja da je učinilo krivično delo može ograničiti sloboda navedeni su u članu 211 Zakonika. Tako se pritvor može odrediti pojedincu koji se krije ili se ne može utvrditi njegova istovetnost ili ako optuženi izbegava da dođe na glavni pretres ili ako postoje druge okolnosti koje ukazuju na opasnost od bekstva, zatim ako postoje okolnosti koje ukazuju da će uništiti, sakriti, izmeniti ili falsifikovati dokaze ili tragove krivičnog dela ili ako okolnosti ukazuju da će ometati postupak uticanjem na svedoke, saučesnike ili prikrivače, ako okolnosti ukazuju da će u kratkom vremenskom periodu ponoviti krivično delo ili dovršiti pokušano krivično delo ili učiniti krivično delo kojim preti. Pritvor se može odrediti ako je za krivično delo za koje se tereti propisana kazna zatvora više od deset godina, odnosno kazna zatvora preko pet godina za krivično delo sa elementima nasilja ili mu je presudom prvostepenog suda izrečena kazna zatvora od pet godina ili teža kazna, a način izvršenja ili težina posledice krivičnog dela su doveli do uznemirenja javnosti koje može ugroziti nesmetano i pravično vođenje krivičnog postupka.

Budući da je pritvor krivičnoprocesna mera kojom se pojedincu ograničava pravo na slobodu, zakonodavac je predvideo uslove do kada ta mera može trajati. Tako je članom 211 propisano da u slučaju da je pritvor određen samo zbog toga što se ne može utvrditi istovetnost lica on traje dok se istovetnost ne utvrdi. Ako je pritvor određen zbog toga što optuženi izbegava da dođe na glavni pretres, pritvor može da traje do objavljivanja presude. U situacijama kada je pritvor određen zbog postojanja okolnosti koje ukazuju da će pojedinac za koga postoji osnovana sumnja da je izvršio krivično delo uništiti, sakriti, izmeniti ili falsifikovati dokaze ili tragove krivičnog dela pritvor će biti ukinut čim se obezbede dokazi zbog kojih je pritvor određen.

Ograničenje slobode na određeni vremenski period od strane države i u skladu sa uslovima koje propisuje zakon postoji i u slučaju kada je pojedincu sudskom odlukom, koja je pravosnažna i izvršna, zbog izvršenog krivičnog dela izrečena kazna zatvora. Država, takođe, za izvršeno krivično delo može pojedincu trajno ograničiti pravo na slobodu na osnovu pravosnažne i izvršne sudske odluke kojom je izrečena kazna doživotnog zatvora.

Izuzev suda, prema članu 291 Zakonika o krivičnom postupku, pojedinca može lišiti slobode i pripadnik Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova (tzv. policijsko hapšenje). Policija može uhapsiti, ako postoji razlog za određivanje pritvora, ali je dužna da lice bez odlaganja sprovede nadležnom javnom tužiocu, kom će i predati izveštaj o razlozima hapšenja i vremenu kada je ova radnja i sprovedena.

Pored države, tj. državnih organa koji pojedincu mogu ograničiti pravo na slobodu, krivičnoprocesni zakonik Republike Srbije poznaje i „hapšenje pri izvršenju krivičnog dela“, te tako svako može uhapsiti lice zatečeno u izvršenju krivičnog dela. Ovakvo lice se goni po službenoj dužnosti uz obavezu da se odmah preda javnom tužiocu ili policiji, a ako to nije moguće onda se mora odmah obavestiti jedan od ovih organa. Ovakav način lišenja slobode često se naziva i građansko hapšenje (Zakonik o krivičnom postupku, član 291).

4. Neosnovano lišenje slobode i neosnovana osuda

Zakonito lišenje slobode, pod određenim uslovima, može postati protivpravno, na primer kada je pojedincu koji je nevin sloboda ograničena u određenom vremenskom razdoblju. Takođe, lice koje je pravosnažnom sudskom odlukom proglašeno krivim i prema kome je izrečena sankcija može odlukom po vanrednom pravnom leku biti oslobođen od optužbe i oslobođen sankcije, te tada kažemo da je prvobitna osuda bila neosnovana.

Prema pravu Republike Srbije, neosnovano **lišenje slobode** je kada je lice bilo lišeno slobode a nije došlo do pokretanja postupka ili je pravosnažnim rešenjem postupak obustavljen ili je optužba odbijena ili je postupak pravosnažno okončan odbijajućom ili oslobađajućom presudom. Isto tako je neosnovano **lišenje slobode i** kada je lice izdržalo kaznu zatvora, a povodom zahteva za ponavljanje krivičnog postupka ili zahteva za zaštitu zakonitosti mu je izrečena kazna zatvora u kraćem trajanju od izdržane kazne, ili je izrečena krivična sankcija koja se ne sastoji u lišenju slobode, ili je lice oglašeno krivim a oslobođeno od kazne. Neosnovano lišenje slobode postoji i kada je lice lišeno slobode

duže nego što traje krivična sankcija ili ako je usled greške ili nezakonitog rada organa u postupku lice lišeno slobode (Zakon o krivičnom postupku, član 584). „Pravo na naknadu **štete** zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode zavisi od konačnog ishoda krivičnog postupka“ (Apelacioni sud u Beogradu, 3640/18).

„Neosnovano osuđenim se smatra lice prema kome je bila pravnosnažno izrečena krivična sankcija ili koje je oglašeno krivim a oslobođeno od kazne, a povodom vanrednog pravnog leka je novi postupak pravnosnažno obustavljen ili je optužba pravnosnažno odbijena ili je okončan pravnosnažnom oslobađajućom presudom“ (Zakon o krivičnom postupku, čl. 585).

5. Prava pojedinca neosnovano lišenog slobode i neosnovano osuđenog

Lice neosnovano lišeno slobode i neosnovano osuđeno ima pravo na naknadu **štete** i to pravo mu je dato Zakonikom o krivičnom postupku. „Građanskopravna odgovornost za naknadu štete zbog neopravdane osude ili neosnovanog lišenja slobode je propisana odredbama krivičnog procesnog zakona, iako su te odredbe po svojoj prirodi materijal-nopravne“ (Apelacioni sud u Beogradu, 2967/10). Ovo je specifičnost pravnog instituta neosnovanog lišenja slobode i neosnovane osude jer je pojedinac lišen slobode u skladu sa pravilima krivičnog procesnog zakona ili je pravosnažno osuđen u sprovedenom krivičnom postupku. Upravo zato **što** je sam akt lišenja slobode ili osude izvršen u skladu sa zakonom i nije bilo protivpravnosti potrebno je, radi zaštite prava na slobodu, odredbama krivičnog procesnog zakonika postaviti osnove za primenu građanskopravnog instituta naknade **štete**. Ukoliko bi se naknada **štete** pojedincu neosnovano lišenom slobode ili neosnovano osuđenom vršila samo po pravilima građanskog prava, to lice bi imalo pravo na naknadu **štete** samo ako dokaže krivicu **štetnika** (sudije ili policajca). Međutim, kako do neosnovane osude ili lišenja slobode najčešće dolazi bez ičije krivice, striktno pridržavanje pravila građanskog prava ne bi moglo rezultirati naknadom **štete** ovim licima.

Još jedna specifičnost prava na naknadu **štete** zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode i neosnovane osude u odnosu na ostale slučajeve prava na naknadu **štete** jeste i činjenica da je radnja kojom je **šteta** pričinjena preduzeta od strane državnih organa u vršenju javnih ovlašćenja, odnosno **šteta** je neposredna posledica kršenja ljudskih prava i sloboda.

Neosnovanim lišenjem slobode i neosnovanom osudom povređena su ljudska prava pojedinca, a ta povreda se može posmatrati kao povreda telesne slobode pojedinca, jer mu je ograničena sloboda kretanja, ali i kao povreda **časti**, ljudskog dostojanstva i ugleda u sredini u kojoj **živi**. Zato je prevashodni cilj naknade **štete** pojednicu, kome su povređena lična prava neosnovanim lišenjem slobode i neosnovanom osudom, otklanjanje **štetnih** posledica koje je ta povreda ostavila na ličnost pojedinca.

Štetne posledice mogu se otkloniti isplatom određene sume novca oštećenom licu na ime naknade **štete** po odredbama građanskog prava, ali moralnim zadovoljenjem – javnim saopštenjem o odluci, kojim se objašnjava neosnovanost lišenja slobode i neosnovanost osude, ili saopštenjem u životnom okruženju oštećenog, kao što su radna sredina, državni organ (moralna rehabilitacija). Ako mu je prestao radni odnos ili svojstvo osiguranika socijalnog osiguranja, oštećeni ima pravo na priznavanje radnog staža, tj. staža osiguranja kao da je bio na radu. U staž se uračunava i vreme nezaposlenosti koje je nastupilo zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode ili neosnovane osude, a koja nije nastala krivicom ovog lica (Zakon o krivičnom postupku, član 594).

6. Pravo na naknadu nematerijalne štete zbog neosnovane osude i neosnovanog lišenja slobode

6.1. Naknada nematerijalne štete

Zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode i neosnovane osude, oštećeni ima pravo na naknadu štete i to one nematerijalne, s obzirom da je povređeno dobro – lično pravo.

U Republici Srbiji na snazi je Zakon o obligacionim odnosima iz 1978. godine, a on priznaje pravo pojedincu da pored uništenog i oštećenog materijalnog dobra može zaštititi i lično dobro – slobodu, život,

telo, čast, ugled, poštovanje ličnosti i druga lična dobra.

„Pod nematerijalnom štetom u smislu Zakona o obligacionim odnosima, podrazumeva se fizički bol, psihički bol i strah. Stoga se oštećenom novčana naknada na ime nematerijalne štete može dosuditi samo kad se povreda manifestovala u jednom od navedenih vidova te štete i pod uslovom da jačina i trajanje bolova i straha i druge okolnosti slučaja to opravdavaju, da bi se kod oštećenog uspostavila narušena psihička ravnoteža.“ Do ovakvog tumačenja pojma nematerijalne štete došlo se na savetovanju Saveznog suda, vrhovnih sudova republika i autonomnih pokrajina i Vrhovnog vojnog suda još 1986. godine.

Zakon o obligacionim odnosima imenuje vidove nematerijalne štete za koje se može priznati pravo na novčanu naknadu i to u čl. 200, 201 i 203.

6.2. Naknada nematerijalne štete zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode i neosnovane osude

Neosnovano lišenje slobode i neosnovana osuda ostavljaju za posledicu povredu ljudskog dostojanstva – časti, a u društvenom okruženju oštećenog prepoznaju kao nekoga ko je bio u zatvoru, kao nekoga ko je bio osuđivan itd. Dakle, povređen mu je ugled koji je uživao u sredini. Lišenje slobode i osuda, uprkos tome što su bili neosnovani, ostaju u svesti oštećenog lica kao povreda ličnog prava.

Osim povrede više prava (sloboda, čast i ugled), oštećenom se neosnovanim lišenjem slobode i neosnovanom osudom dosuđuje jedinstven iznos naknade. Zaključak sa Savetovanja građanskih i građansko-pravnih odeljenja Saveznog suda, vrhovnih sudova i Vrhovnog vojnog suda od 15. i 16. oktobra 1986. godine je da „duševni bolovi zbog neosnovane osude odnosno neosnovanog lišenja slobode predstavljaju jedinstven vid **štete**, koji obuhvata sve **štetne** posledice nematerijalne prirode, vezane za ličnost oštećenog, proistekle iz neosnovanog lišenja slobode. Za ovu **štetu** dosuđuje se jedan iznos naknade [...]“.

Stav o jedinstvenoj naknadi nematerijalne **štete** zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode i neosnovane osude zadržao se i u pravu Republike Srbije. „Licu lišenom slobode, protiv koga je istraga pravosnažno obustavljena, pripada pravo na pravičnu naknadu nematerijalne **štete** za pretrpljene duševne bolove usled povrede slobode, ugleda i **časti**. Pra-

vična novčana naknada kao oblik otklanjanja štetnih posledica sastoji se u isplati novčane naknade kao satisfakciji za pretrpljenu neimovinsku štetu da bi se kod oštećenog uspostavila narušena psihička ravnoteža“ (Viši sud u Novom Sadu, 5394/10). Visina naknade nematerijalne štete zavisi od više **činjenica**, ali najčešće se uzimaju u obzir sledeće: dužina trajanja pritvora, težina krivičnog dela koje je stavljeno na teret, ugled koji je oštećeni uživao u svom radnom i privatnom okruženju pre lišenja slobode, porodične prilike i sl. „ Prilikom odlučivanja o visini ove naknade u smislu odredbe člana 200 stav 2 ZOO vodi se računa o značaju povređenog dobra i cilju kome služi ta naknada, ali i o tome da se njome ne pogoduje težnjama koje nisu spojive sa njenom prirodom i svrhom“ (Viši sud u Novom Sadu, 5394/10).

Pored štete usled povrede slobode, časti, ugleda i prava ličnosti, oštećeni neosnovanim lišenjem slobode i neosnovanom osudom može pretrpeti i druge vidove nematerijalne štete imenovane st. 1 člana 200 Zakona o obligacionim odnosima. To mogu biti: pretrpljen strah i duševna bol. Za dosuđivanje ovih posebnih vidova nematerijalne štete potrebno je da sud utvrdi uzročno-posledičnu vezu između pretrpljenog straha ili umanjenja životne aktivnosti zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode i neosnovane osude tako što će odrediti veštačenje medicinske struke određene specijalnosti.

„Međutim, oštećeno lice može zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode da trpi i strah zbog raznih okolnosti koje prate njegov boravak u pritvoru, a ukoliko je zbog boravka u pritvoru došlo do umanjenja životne aktivnosti, on ima pravo i na naknadu štete za duševne bolove nastale umanjenjem životne aktivnosti. Prema tome, ostali vidovi nematerijalne štete kao što su strah i duševni bolovi zbog umanjene životne aktivnosti, su posebni vidovi nematerijalne štete za koje se dosuđuje posebna naknada za svaki vid, a ne jedinstvena naknada zajedno sa naknadom nematerijalne štete za duševne bolove zbog povrede prava slobode, ugleda, časti i dostojanstva ličnosti“ (Apelacioni sud u Beogradu, 4086/14).

„Posmatrano sa medicinskog aspekta, strah predstavlja psihički poremećaj ličnosti čoveka, koji može imati lakši i teži oblik. To može, pre svega, biti strah za život, koji nastaje u trenucima kada se neko nađe suočen sa smrću, ali strah može prouzrokovati i depresiju, neurotična

stanja, traumatske šokove ili trajni psihički poremećaj sa mogućnošću prouzrokovanja i težih posledica. Takav strah predstavlja povredu zdravstvenog i telesnog integriteta čoveka, i licu koje je pretrpelo takav strah pripada pravo na naknadu štete u vidu dosuđene pravične novčane naknade, čija visina zavisi od intenziteta i vremena trajanja straha“ (Vrhovni sud Srbije, 409/85).

Neosnovanim lišenjem slobode i neosnovanom osudom oštećeni trpi duševne bolove i strah koji mogu ostaviti trajne posledice na njegovu psihu i dovesti do oštećenja organizma. Shodno tome, dešava se da oštećeni nije sposoban da u celosti obavlja svoje svakodnevne aktivnosti, već samo delimično i uz pojačane napore, što iznova stvara fizički ili psihički bol ili oba istovremeno.

Umanjenje životne aktivnosti, kao poseban osnov za naknadu štete zbog duševnih bolova, obuhvata sva ograničenja u životnim aktivnostima oštećenog. Pod ograničenjima se podrazumeva i vršenje aktivnosti uz povećane napore ili pod posebnim uslovima.

6.3. Isključenje prava na naknadu štete zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode i neosnovane osude

Neosnovano lišenje slobode i neosnovana osuda ne daju oštećenom pravo na naknadu štete u svakom slučaju. Na osnovu člana 584 Zakonika o krivičnom postupku, naknada štete ne pripada licu koje je svojim nedozvoljenim postupanjem prouzrokovalo lišenje slobode. Pravo na naknadu štete ne pripada ni licu koje je lišeno slobode, ali je postupak obustavljen ili je optužba odbijena zato što je u novom postupku oštećeni kao tužilac, odnosno privatni tužilac odustao od gonjenja ili zato što je oštećeni odustao od predloga, a do odustanka je došlo na osnovu sporazuma sa okrivljenim.

Neosnovano osuđeno lice nema pravo na naknadu štete ni u sledećim slučajevima: ako je lažnim priznanjem ili na drugi način namerno prouzrokovalo svoju osudu, osim ako je na to bilo prinuđeno; ako je do obustave postupka ili odbijanja optužbe došlo zbog toga, što je u no-

vom postupku oštećeni kao tužilac, odnosno privatni tužilac, odustao od gonjenja ili zato **što** je oštećeni odustao od predloga, a do odustanka je došlo na osnovu sporazuma sa okrivljenim (Zakonik o krivičnom postupku, **član** 585).

„Pravo na naknadu nematerijalne **štete** zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode nema lice koje je svojim postupanjem doprinelo da se prema njemu raspiše poternica i odredi pritvor, odnosno svojim nedozvoljenim ponašanjem prouzrokovalo određivanje pritvora“ (Apelacioni sud u Nišu, 2860/16).

6.4. Postupak za ostvarivanje prava na naknadu štete zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode i neosnovane osude

Pojedinac koji je neosnovano lišen slobode i neosnovano osuđen stiče pravo da pokrene postupak za naknadu štete zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode i neosnovane osude.

Postupak za naknadu štete zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode i neosnovane osude je dvofazan, jer se odvija pred organom uprave i sudom, tj. u upravnom i sudskom postupku. Sudski postupak za naknadu štete je parnični postupak i naslanja se na krivični postupak u kom su se ostvarile pretpostavke za vođenje parničnog postupka.

Prema odredbama Zakonika o krivičnom postupku, preciznije člana 588, pojedinac oštećen neosnovanim lišenjem slobode i neosnovanom osudom dužan je da pre podnošenja tužbe za naknadu štete podnese zahtev ministarstvu nadležnom za poslove pravosuđa radi postizanja sporazuma o postojanju štete i vrsti i visini naknade. O zahtevu za naknadu štete odlučuje komisija za naknadu štete, čiji se sastav i način rada uređuju aktom ministra nadležnog za poslove pravosuđa.

Upravni postupak pred Ministarstvom pravde može trajati tri meseca, zapravo to je rok u kom oštećeni ne može sudu podneti tužbu za naknadu štete.

Posle isteka roka od tri meseca, ako u tom roku komisija ministarstva nadležnog za poslove pravosuđa ne donese odluku po zahtevu ili ako odbije zahtev za naknadu štete, oštećeni može podneti tužbu za na-

knadu štete nadležnom sudu. Oštećeni može podneti tužbu za naknadu štete i u slučaju kada je njegov zahtev delimično usvojen.

Aktivno legitimisana strana u postupku za naknadu **štete** je pojedinac koji je neosnovano lišen slobode i neosnovano osuđen, a u slučaju njegove smrti njegovi naslednici mogu nastaviti postupak naknade **štete** u granicama zahteva koji je ostavilac već postavio. Naslednici imaju pravo na naknadu samo imovinske štete, a postupak mogu pokrenuti jedino ukoliko se njihov predak, koji je bio neosnovano lišen slobode i neosnovano osuđen, nije odrekao prava na naknadu štete i ako nije nastupila zastarelost (Zakon o krivičnom postupku, član 590).

Pasivno legitimisana strana u postupku ostvarivanja prava na naknadu **štete** je Republika Srbija.

Prema članu 591 Zakonika o krivičnom postupku Republike Srbije, postupak za naknadu štete oštećeni koji je neosnovano lišen slobode i neosnovano osuđen može pokrenuti u roku od tri godine od dana pravosnažnosti prvostepene oslobađajuće presude, odnosno pravosnažnosti prvostepenog rešenja kojim je postupak obustavljen ili je optužba odbijena, a ako je žalbu rešavao apelacioni sud – od dana prijema odluke apelacionog suda. Član 589 Zakonika o krivičnom postupku predviđa i posebno pravilo koje se tiče zastarelosti. Naime, zastarelost ne teče dok traje upravni postupak pred komisijom ministarstva nadležnog za poslove pravosuđa.

7. Zaključak

Iz prethodne analize regulative kojom se štiti jedno od osnovnih ljudskih prava – pravo na slobodu (posebno ako se štiti od autoriteta države) može se utvrditi da naknada štete licima neosnovano lišenim slobode i neosnovano osuđenima predstavlja primarni vid njihove društvene rehabilitacije.

Da bi se ovakvi pojedinci obešteli, potrebno je zakonom predvideti uslove pod kojima se može dosuditi naknada za pričinjenu štetu, kao i postupak za naknadu štete. Uslovi i postupak se propisuju zakonom koji reguliše pravila krivičnog postupka. S druge strane, naknada

štete se dosuđuje u skladu sa pravilima građanskog zakona, jer upravo krivični procesni zakoni upućuju na primenu građanskih i građanskih procesnih zakona.

Pravo na naknadu štete zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode ili neosnovane osude je subjektivno pravo *sui generis*. Država uvek odgovara objektivno (bez obzira na krivicu) ako se dokaže da je protivpravnom radnjom službenog lica prouzrokovana šteta.

Ovakav način regulative je potreban jer naknada štete zbog neosnovanog lišenja slobode nije šteta nastala krivicom štetnika, niti je šteta nastala od opasne stvari ili opasne delatnosti.

U trenutku kada je radnja lišenja slobode bila preduzeta, ona je bila zakonita. Međutim, ukoliko se tokom postupka prikupi dovoljno dokaza koji će isključiti krivičnu odgovornost lica i ukoliko se potvrdi da preduzete radnje lišenja slobode nisu smele biti preduzete, potrebno je oštećenom nadoknaditi za pretrpljenu psihičku bol, a to se upravo postiže tako što se zakonom koji propisuje pravila i uslove lišenja slobode i pravila i uslove donošenja odluke propisuju i pravila za rehabilitaciju kada je zbog loše procene državnih službenika povređeno ljudsko pravo na slobodu.

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Petrović Z. Milica¹

UDC 347.426.6

Original Research Article

Received: 05/01/2023

Accepted: 15/02/2023

NON-MATERIAL DAMAGES DUE TO WRONGFUL CONVICTION AND UNLAWFUL IMPRISONMENT IN COURT PRACTICE

ABSTRACT: The right to compensation for damages, due to a wrongful conviction or unlawful imprisonment, should necessarily eliminate the consequences of violating the right to freedom guaranteed by the Constitution. This right corresponds to the obligation of the state to pay for the damage because the wrongful action is undertaken by state officials. It is quite obvious that this is a *sui generis* right. If a harmful action is committed by a state official, the state is always responsible, regardless of guilt, therefore objectively, if it is proven that the illegal action of the official caused damage. An unlawful imprisonment and wrongful conviction result in a violation of human dignity or honor. In a community, the injured party is recognized as someone who was in prison, as someone who was convicted – their reputation suffers as well. Mental pain, due to an unlawful conviction or imprisonment, represents a unique type of damage that includes all harmful consequences of an intangible nature related to the person of the injured party and resulting from an unlawful imprisonment. For this damage, a single amount of compensation is awarded.

KEYWORDS: non-material damages, liberty, wrongful conviction, unlawful imprisonment

¹ MA, PhD Candidate at the Law School Kragujevac University, Teaching assistant at Faculty of Law of Commerce and Judiciary, University Business Academy, e-mail: milica.petrovic@pravni-fakultet.info

1. Introduction

The right to freedom is one of the basic human rights and, as such, belongs to the category of absolute subjective rights, and belongs to an individual from birth to death. The right to freedom works *erga omnes* and everyone is obliged to respect the personal rights of the individual. In case of violation of this right, the right holder can seek legal protection.

Throughout history, the right to freedom and the protection of freedom have developed through the institute of state power, through the realization of the right to prevent the illegal deprivation of an individual's freedom by the state.

The conditions under which a person can be deprived of liberty are prescribed by criminal laws, i.e., criminal procedural codes, so it is about the institute of criminal law. There are, however, situations in which the imprisonment covers the area of civil law, and then it is mostly an unlawful imprisonment. The first monograph in SFRY on unjustified imprisonment was *Compensation for Wrongful Conviction and Unlawful Imprisonment* (1979) by Professor Momčilo Grubač.

Unlawful imprisonment is not illegal imprisonment, because the individual was deprived of liberty in the manner and according to the procedure prescribed by law, but the reasons for which he was deprived of liberty later ceased or were removed. Given that the right to freedom is threatened during a certain period, the right to compensation for damages is acquired, and then imprisonment from a criminal law institute turns into an institute of civil law – the right to compensation for damages.

In addition to damages due to unlawful imprisonment, damages due to wrongful conviction will also be considered. These two institutes can exist in parallel, but they can also exist individually, or independently of each other.

In this article, the author will look at the criminal law aspect of imprisonment, and then the legal institute of civil law - compensation for damages, and the right to compensation for damages due to unjustified conviction and unjustified imprisonment – will be analyzed.

The article will also include comparative legal regulations with an emphasis on the procedure and the way in which countries in the surrounding area provide legal protection to a person unlawfully deprived of liberty.

2. Comparative Law Review

According to the usual classifications, modern legal systems can be divided into the European or continental legal system originating from Roman law, and the Anglo-Saxon or the common law legal system. In this section, we will examine the law of Hungary, a member state of the European Union which had to harmonize its legislation with the legislation of other members, and which belongs to the European-continental legal system. The following section will examine the U.S. legal system, as a representative of the Anglo-Saxon legal system.

2.1. Compensation for non-material damages due to unlawful imprisonment and wrongful conviction in the Hungarian legal system

The Constitution of the Republic of Hungary, which entered into force on January 1, 2012, the first paragraph of Article 1 states: “Inviolable and inalienable basic human rights should be respected. Protection of those rights is the primary obligation of the state”.

Further, the Constitution in the first paragraph of Article 4 proclaims that everyone has the right to freedom and personal security and that no one can be deprived of liberty, except in cases prescribed by law and in accordance with the procedure prescribed by law (paragraph 2), that every suspect and person deprived of liberty he must be released or he must be brought before the court without delay, have a hearing, and the decision on detention must be properly explained (paragraph 3). Paragraph 4 of the same article guarantees the right of a person who has been unlawfully or illegally deprived of liberty to compensation for damages.

The Law on Criminal Procedure of the Republic of Hungary, which was adopted in 2017 and entered into force in 2018, recognizes compensation for damages due to unlawful imprisonment and wrongful conviction and contains the conditions for exercising this right, as well as the procedure under which this right is exercised, and also contains provisions on the exclusion of the right to compensation for damages. These provisions are found in Chapter 107 under the heading “Compensation for unlawful restriction of liberty”.

The law recognizes the defendant’s right to compensation for damages if his or her freedom is unlawfully restricted, i.e., in the course of criminal proceedings or as a result of such proceedings. The compensation serves exclusively as compensation for the damage caused by the very existence and duration of the restriction, i.e., imprisonment (Bakonji, 2019: 245).

According to the Criminal Procedure Law, the right to compensation for damages belongs to a person who was deprived of his liberty if:

- the prosecutor’s office suspended the proceedings or the investigative body did so for the reason that the committed action does not constitute a criminal offense, because the criminal offense was not committed by the suspect, or that the criminal offense cannot be proven;

- established the existence of reasons that exclude the criminality of the perpetrator, i.e. the criminality of the executive action, or based on the existing evidence, it could not be determined that the suspect committed a criminal offense, and due to the statute of limitations for punishment, or the action was already legally adjudicated;

- the court legally acquitted the defendant, suspended the proceedings with a final decision, or established the defendant’s guilt with a final verdict, but he or she was given a suspended sentence, or no prison sentence was imposed, or he or she was sentenced to a prison sentence for a shorter period of time than the period of detention (Criminal Procedure Act of the Republic of Hungary, Article 845).

There are two ways to exercise the right to compensation for damages due to unlawful imprisonment and wrongful conviction, and the right to choose is given to the injured person. These are the abbreviated procedures for compensation of damages and litigation for compensa-

tion of damages (Criminal Procedure Act of the Republic of Hungary, Article 848). The claim for damages is submitted against the state, which is represented in the proceedings by the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Hungary.

The procedure for compensation must be initiated within a time limit that is preclusive and is one year from the day when the injured party became aware of the decision which is the basis for exercising the right to compensation. Also, the heir of the injured party is allowed to continue the litigation if the person who was unlawfully deprived of liberty or wrongfully convicted dies during the procedure for compensation of damages. In that situation, the heir must continue the litigation within six months.

In the abbreviated procedure, the amount of monetary compensation is limited by the amount calculated in the manner determined by the decree of the Government of the Republic of Hungary. The abbreviated procedure ends with the conclusion of an agreement between the applicant and the Minister of Justice, provided that the injured party's request is accepted, and the injured party is satisfied with the offer. The monetary amount is paid within fifteen days from the date of the conclusion of the agreement.

The government decree prescribes a form – a request for compensation for damages, and it is submitted to the court, which submits it to the Minister of Justice without a discussion on the merits, together with the appropriate files of the criminal case. The stipulated deadline for deciding on the merits of the request in the abbreviated procedure is two months.

If the claim for damages, submitted in the abbreviated procedure, is rejected, the injured party can initiate civil proceedings for damages with a written submission submitted to the Minister of Justice. The injured party must do so within two months after the rejection of the request, after which the Minister of Justice forwards the request to the competent court.

In civil proceedings for damages, compensation for damages and sick pay for suffered non-property damage can be requested. In this procedure, the provisions of the Law on Civil Procedure are applied with deviations provided by the law.

If a person, who was unlawfully deprived of liberty and wrongfully convicted, does not want to submit a request in a summary procedure for compensation of damages, he has the right to file a lawsuit for compensation of damages to the court before which the criminal proceedings were conducted, which forwards the lawsuit to the civil court.

2.2. Anglo-Saxon Legal System

Unlike the continental legal system, the Anglo-Saxon or the common law system arose independently of the tradition of Roman law, i.e., based on the tradition of English common law and special court decisions known as precedents (case law) (David, Brierley, 1985: 307). The UK and U.S. legal systems are based on case law.

In the case of wrongful imprisonment and wrongful conviction, there are two types of compensation in the U.S. law. The injured party can exercise his right to compensation in court proceedings, but in that case, he or she must prove the guilt of the civil servant, or the right to assistance paid from a special state fund.

Depending on the delictual basis on which the obligation to compensate damages is based, in the American legal system, we distinguish between false arrest, false imprisonment, and especially malicious prosecution.

False arrest is defined as an illegal restriction of personal freedom, without the consent of the victim, including placement in prison or other closed space, detention in a patrol car, or ordering the person to remain in the police station.

In the case of false imprisonment, it is likely that there is a legal reason for the arrest, but in the pre-criminal proceedings, the rights of the injured party were violated, because of which the further action of the civil servant who carries out the imprisonment becomes illegal.

There is a two-phase procedure for exercising the right to compensation. The right to compensation is exercised by filing a lawsuit in court, but before that, a report must be submitted to the police commission. The deadline for filing a lawsuit is one year from the day the damage occurred. An injured party who proves that he or she was illegally

arrested or unjustifiably deprived of his liberty is awarded reasonable monetary compensation for loss of time, physical injuries, and mental and emotional pain.

In the case of an unjustified conviction, there is no uniform position regarding compensation for damages. Statutory provisions on the basis of which the state is obliged to compensate wrongfully convicted persons exist in states such as New York, New Jersey, Alabama, California, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

As in other cases, when the right to compensation is based, so also in the case of damages for unjustified imprisonment or unjustified conviction, it is considered that a harmful act has been committed as a civil delict that legally obliges compensation. This right is realized by an appropriate lawsuit in civil proceedings – tort of negligence. In certain cases, it is possible to ask for aggravated damages, and in certain cases, for example, in the case of cruel and arbitrary actions of the perpetrators that violate the basic human rights of the injured party, it is possible to ask for special or exemplary damages (Mitchel, 2007: 9).

3. Unlawful Imprisonment

Human rights are inviolable, and their limitation exists only when it is necessary to protect the human rights of another individual or the general interest. Therefore, when someone violates the human rights of another person or the general interest, the state acts with its authority, and using the existing legal rules, it denies the individual personal rights.

Thus, the state can limit the freedom of an individual in the event that he or she has committed an action that is not socially acceptable, i.e., when another individual's right or social interest is violated. Freedom can be limited by depriving the individual of his or her freedom for a certain period of time or for the rest of his life, by placing him or her in a certain institution, or by restricting his or her movement by prohibiting him from leaving the place of residence or prohibiting him or her from performing certain activities.

Imprisonment, according to Art. 27 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, is allowed only for the reasons and in the procedure provided by law. According to Art. 10 para. 1 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, the defendant's freedom and rights may be restricted even before a final decision on the imposition of a criminal sanction is made, but only to the extent necessary to achieve the goal of the procedure, and under the conditions prescribed by this Code. Limitations of certain freedoms and rights, according to para. 3 of the same Article, can be applied from: confirming the indictment; determination of the main trial or hearing for the imposition of a criminal sanction in abbreviated proceedings; and determination of the main trial in the procedure for imposing a security measure of mandatory psychiatric treatment.

According to Art. 210 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, custody can only be ordered under the conditions provided for in this Code and only if it cannot be achieved using another measure.

The reasons for which the freedom of a person suspected of having committed a criminal offense may be restricted are listed in Article 211 of the Code. Thus, detention can be ordered in the following circumstances: if an individual is hiding or their identity cannot be established; if the accused avoids coming to the main trial; if there is a risk of escape; if there are circumstances that indicate that he or she will destroy, hide, alter, or falsify evidence or traces of a criminal offense; if the circumstances indicate that they will interfere with the proceedings by influencing witnesses, accomplices, or concealers; if the circumstances indicate that they will re-offend in a short period of time, complete an attempted criminal offense, or commit a criminal offense that they threatened to commit. Detention may be ordered if the criminal offense is punishable by a prison sentence of more than ten years, i.e., a prison sentence of more than five years for a criminal offense with elements of violence, or if the accused has been sentenced to a prison sentence of five years or a heavier sentence by a first-instance court verdict, and the manner of execution or the seriousness of the consequences of the criminal offense has led to public anxiety that may threaten the smooth and fair conduct of criminal proceedings.

Since detention is a criminal procedural measure that restricts an individual's right to freedom, the legislator has foreseen the conditions for how long this measure can last. Thus, Article 211 stipulates that in the event that detention is ordered only because the identity of the person cannot be established, it lasts until the identity is established. If custody is ordered because the accused avoids coming to the main trial, custody may last until the verdict is announced. In situations where detention is ordered due to the existence of circumstances that indicate that an individual for whom there is reasonable suspicion of having committed a criminal offense will destroy, hide, alter, or falsify evidence or traces of a criminal offense, the detention shall be terminated as soon as the evidence for which the detention was ordered is secured.

Restriction of freedom for a certain period of time by the state and in accordance with the conditions prescribed by law also exists in the case when an individual is sentenced to prison by a court decision, which is final and enforceable, due to the committed criminal act. The state can also, for a committed criminal offense, permanently restrict an individual's right to freedom on the basis of a final and enforceable court decision imposing a sentence of life imprisonment.

Except for the court, according to Article 291 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, an individual may be deprived of liberty by a member of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (so-called police arrest). The police can arrest, if there is a reason to order detention, but they are obliged to take the person without delay to the competent public prosecutor, to whom they will submit a report on the reasons for the arrest and the time when this action was carried out.

In addition to the state, i.e., of state authorities that can restrict an individual's right to freedom, the Criminal Procedure Code of the Republic of Serbia also recognizes "arrest in the act of committing a criminal offense", and thus anyone can arrest a person caught in the commission of a criminal offense. Such a person is prosecuted *ex officio* with the obligation to immediately surrender to the public prosecutor or the police, and if this is not possible, then one of these authorities must be immediately informed. This type of imprisonment is often called citizen's arrest (Criminal Procedure Code, Article 291).

4. Unlawful Imprisonment and Wrongful Conviction

A lawful imprisonment may, under certain conditions, become unlawful, for example when an innocent individual's liberty is restricted for a certain period. Also, a person who has been found guilty by a final court decision and who has been sanctioned can be acquitted of charges and sanctioned by a decision based on an extraordinary legal remedy, and then we say that the original conviction was unlawful.

According to the law of the Republic of Serbia, unlawful imprisonment is when a person is deprived of liberty and the proceedings were not initiated, or the proceedings were suspended by a final decision, or the accusation was rejected, or the proceedings were legally ended by rejection or acquittal. Imprisonment is also unlawful when a person has served a prison sentence, and in connection with a request for the repetition of criminal proceedings or a request for the protection of legality, a prison sentence of a shorter duration than the sentence served, or a criminal sanction that does not consist in imprisonment, has been imposed, or the person was found guilty and released from punishment. Unlawful imprisonment also exists when a person is deprived of liberty longer than the duration of the criminal sanction or if the person is deprived of liberty as a result of an error or illegal work of the authorities in the procedure (Criminal Procedure Act, Article 584). "The right to compensation for damages due to unlawful imprisonment depends on the final outcome of the criminal proceedings" (Appellate Court in Belgrade, 3640/18).

"Wrongfully convicted is a person against whom a legally binding criminal sanction was imposed or who was found guilty and acquitted of punishment, and due to an extraordinary legal remedy, a new proceeding was legally suspended, or the accusation was legally rejected or ended with a legally binding acquittal" (Law on Criminal procedure, Article 585).

5. The Rights of Unlawfully Imprisoned or Convicted Individual

A person unlawfully imprisoned or convicted has the right to compensation for damages, and that right is given to him by the Code of Criminal Procedure. "Civil liability for damages due to unlawful imprisonment or conviction is prescribed by the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Law, although those provisions are substantive in nature" (Appellate Court in Belgrade, 2967/10). This is characteristic of the legal institution of unlawful imprisonment or conviction because the individual is imprisoned in accordance with the rules of the criminal procedure law or is legally convicted in criminal proceedings. Precisely because the act of imprisonment or conviction was carried out in accordance with the law and there was no illegality, it is necessary, in order to protect the right to freedom, to lay the foundations for the application of the civil law institute of compensation for damages in the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code. If compensation for damages to an individual unlawfully imprisoned or convicted was carried out only according to the rules of civil law, that person would have the right to compensation only if he or she proves the fault of the perpetrator (judge or police officer). However, since unlawful imprisonment or conviction most often occurs through no one's fault, strict adherence to the rules of civil law could not result in compensation for damages to these persons.

Another characteristic of the right to compensation for damages due to unlawful imprisonment or conviction in relation to other cases of the right to compensation for damages is the fact that the action by which the damage was caused was undertaken by state authorities in the exercise of public authority, that is, the damage is a direct consequence of the violation of human rights and freedom.

Unlawful imprisonment or conviction violates the human rights of an individual, and that violation can be seen as a violation of the individual's physical freedom because the freedom of movement is limited, but also as a violation of honor, human dignity, and reputation in the community. That is why the overriding goal of compensation for damages to an individual whose personal rights have been violated by unlawful imprisonment or conviction is to eliminate the harmful consequences that this violation has left on the personality of the individual.

Harmful consequences can be removed by paying a certain amount of money to the injured person in the name of compensation for damages according to the provisions of civil law, but by moral satisfaction – a public announcement of the decision, which explains the unlawfulness of imprisonment or conviction, or by an announcement in the community of the injured party, such as work environment, state body (moral rehabilitation). If his or her employment or status as a social security insured has ended, the injured party has the right to compensation as if he or she were employed. The period of unemployment that occurred due to unlawful imprisonment or conviction which was not caused by the fault of this person (Criminal Procedure Act, Article 594), is included in the length of service.

6. Right to Non-Material Damages Due to Unlawful Imprisonment or Conviction

6.1. Non-Material Damages

Due to the unjustified imprisonment and unjustified conviction, the injured party has the right to compensation for damages, and non-material damages, given that the harmed property is a personal right.

In the Republic of Serbia, the Law on Obligations from 1978 is in force, and it recognizes the right of an individual to protect, in addition to destroyed and damaged material property, personal property - freedom, life, body, honor, reputation, respect for the person and other personal property.

“Intangible damage in the sense of the Law on Obligations means physical pain, psychological pain, and fear.” Therefore, monetary compensation in the name of non-material damage can be awarded to the injured party only when the injury manifested itself in one of the mentioned types of damage and on the condition that the intensity and duration of the pain and fear and other circumstances of the case justify it, in order to restore the disturbed psychological balance of the injured

party. This interpretation of the concept of non-material damage was reached during the consultation of the Federal Court, the Supreme Courts of the Republics and Autonomous Provinces, and the Supreme Military Court in 1986.

The Law on Obligations names the types of non-material damages for which the right to monetary compensation can be recognized, in Art. 200, 201 and 203.

6.2. Non-Material Damages Due to Unlawful Imprisonment or Conviction

Unlawful imprisonment or conviction results in the violation of human dignity or honor, and in the community, the victim is recognized as someone who was convicted, and their reputation suffers. Imprisonment or conviction, despite being unlawful, leaves the injured person feeling that their personal rights have been violated.

In addition to the violation of several rights (freedom, honor, and reputation), a single amount of compensation is awarded to the victim of unlawful imprisonment or conviction. The conclusion of the Consultation of the Civil and Civil Law Departments of the Federal Court, the Supreme Courts, and the Supreme Military Court of October 15 and 16, 1986 is that “mental pain due to unlawful imprisonment or conviction represents a unique type of damage, which includes all harmful consequences of an intangible nature, related to the person of the injured party, resulting from unlawful imprisonment. One amount of compensation is awarded for this damage [...]”.

The position on uniform compensation for non-material damage due to unlawful imprisonment or conviction has been retained in the law of the Republic of Serbia. “A person deprived of liberty, against whom the investigation has been legally suspended, has the right to fair compensation for non-material damages for mental pain suffered as a result of the violation of freedom, reputation, and honor. Fair monetary compensation as a form of eliminating harmful consequences consists in the payment of monetary compensation as satisfaction for suffered non-property damage in order to restore the psychological balance of

the injured party” (High Court in Novi Sad, 5394/10). The amount of compensation for non-material damages depends on several facts, but the following are most often taken into account: the length of detention, the severity of the criminal offense that was charged, the reputation that the injured party enjoyed in his work and private environment before the imprisonment, family circumstances, etc. “When deciding on the amount of this compensation in the sense of the provisions of Article 200 paragraph 2 of the Law of Obligations, account is taken of the importance of the injured property and the goal served by that compensation, but also of the fact that it does not favor aspirations that are not compatible with its nature and purpose” (Supreme Court in Novi Sad, 5394/10).

In addition to the damage due to violation of freedom, honor, reputation, and personal rights, the victim of unlawful imprisonment or conviction may also suffer other types of non-material damage named in para. 1 of Article 200 of the Law of Obligations, such as suffering fear and mental pain. In order to award these special types of non-material damages, it is necessary for the court to establish a cause-and-effect relationship between the suffered fear or reduction of life activity due to unlawful imprisonment or conviction by determining the expert opinion of a medical specialist.

“However, due to the unlawful imprisonment, the injured person may also suffer fear due to various circumstances accompanying his or her stay in detention, and if his or her life has been reduced due to his or her stay in detention, he or she has the right to compensation for mental pain caused by the reduction in life activities. Therefore, other types of non-material damage, such as fear and mental pain due to reduced life activity, are special types of non-material damage for which separate compensation is awarded for each type, and not a single compensation together with compensation for non-material damage for mental pain due to the violation of the right to freedom, reputation, honor, and dignity of the person” (Appellate Court in Belgrade, 4086/14).

“From a medical point of view, fear is a psychological disorder of personality, which can have a milder or a more severe form. It can, first, be fear for one’s life, which arises in moments when one is faced with death, but fear can also cause depression, neurotic conditions, trauma,

or a permanent psychological disorder with the possibility of causing more serious consequences. Such fear represents a violation of a person's health and physical integrity, and the person who suffered such fear has the right to compensation in the form of an awarded fair monetary compensation, the amount of which depends on the intensity and duration of the fear" (Supreme Court of Serbia, 409/85).

Unlawful imprisonment or conviction causes the victim to suffer mental pain and fear, which can leave permanent consequences on his or her psyche and lead to damage to his or her body. Consequently, it happens that the injured person is not able to perform his daily activities in full, but only partially and with increased efforts, which again creates physical or psychological pain or both.

Impairment of life activity, as a special basis for compensation for mental pain, includes all limitations in the life activities of the injured party. Restrictions also mean performing activities with increased efforts or under special conditions.

6.3. Exclusion of the right to compensation for damages due to unlawful imprisonment or conviction

Unlawful imprisonment or conviction does not give the injured party the right to compensation indiscriminately. Based on Article 584 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, compensation for damages does not belong to a person who caused the imprisonment by his or her illegal actions. The right to compensation for damages does not belong to a person who has been deprived of liberty, but the proceedings have been suspended or the charges have been rejected because the injured party is the plaintiff in the new proceedings, i.e., the private prosecutor has abandoned the prosecution or because the injured party has abandoned the proposal, and until the abandonment came on the basis of an agreement with the defendant.

A wrongfully convicted person does not have the right to compensation in the following cases: if he intentionally caused his or her conviction by making a false confession or in another way unless he or she was forced to do so; if the suspension of the proceedings or the rejection

of the accusation occurred because, in the new proceedings, the injured party as a prosecutor, i.e. a private prosecutor, abandoned the prosecution or because the injured party abandoned the proposal, and the abandonment occurred on the basis of an agreement with the defendant (Criminal Procedure Code, Article 585).

“The right to compensation for non-material damage due to unlawful imprisonment does not exist for a person who, by his or her actions, contributed to the issuance of a warrant and the order of detention against him or her, i.e., caused the order of detention by his or her illegal behavior” (Appellate Court in Niš, 2860/16).

6.4 Procedure for exercising the right to compensation for damages due to unlawful imprisonment or conviction

An individual who has been unlawfully imprisoned or convicted has the right to initiate proceedings for compensation for damages due to unlawful imprisonment or conviction.

The procedure for compensation for damages due to unlawful imprisonment or conviction is two-phased because it takes place before the administrative body and the court, i.e. in administrative and judicial proceedings. Court proceedings for damages are civil proceedings and are based on criminal proceedings in which the prerequisites for conducting civil proceedings have been met.

According to the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, Article 588, an individual injured by unlawful imprisonment or conviction is obliged to submit a request to the ministry responsible for judicial affairs before filing a claim for damages in order to reach an agreement on the existence of damages and the type and amount of compensation. The request for compensation is decided by the commission for compensation, whose composition and working methods are regulated by an act of the minister responsible for judicial affairs.

The administrative procedure before the Ministry of Justice can last for three months, in fact, this is the period during which the injured party cannot file a lawsuit for compensation to the court.

After the expiration of the three-month period, if the committee of the ministry responsible for judicial affairs does not decide on the request within that period or if it rejects the request for compensation, the injured party may submit a claim for compensation to the competent court. The injured party can file a lawsuit for compensation even if his or her claim is partially accepted.

An actively legitimized party in the procedure for compensation is an individual who was unjustly deprived of liberty and unjustly convicted, and in the event of his death, his or her heirs can continue the procedure for compensation within the limits of the requirements that the testator has already set. Heirs have the right to compensation for property damage only, and they can initiate proceedings only if their ancestor, who was unlawfully imprisoned or convicted, did not waive the right to compensation for damages and if the statute of limitations did not apply (Criminal Procedure Act, Article 590).

The passively legitimized party in the procedure for exercising the right to compensation for damages is the Republic of Serbia.

According to Article 591 of the Criminal Procedure Code of the Republic of Serbia, proceedings for damages may be initiated by a victim who has been unlawfully imprisoned or convicted within three years from the date of finality of the first-instance acquittal verdict, i.e. the finality of the first-instance decision suspending the proceedings or dismissing the charge, and if the appeal was resolved by the appellate court - from the date of receipt of the appellate court's decision. Article 589 of the Criminal Procedure Code provides for a special rule concerning statute of limitations. Namely, the statute of limitations does not run while the administrative procedure before the commission of the ministry responsible for judicial affairs continues.

7. Conclusion

The analysis of the regulation that protects one of the basic human rights – the right to freedom (especially if it is protected from the authority of the state) shows that compensation for damage to unlawfully imprisoned or convicted persons is the primary form of their social rehabilitation.

In order to indemnify such individuals, it is necessary to provide by law the conditions under which compensation can be awarded for the damage caused, as well as the procedure for compensation. The conditions and procedures are prescribed by the law that regulates the rules of criminal procedure. On the other hand, damages are awarded in accordance with the rules of the civil law, because it is precisely the criminal procedural laws that refer to the application of the civil and civil procedural laws.

The right to compensation for damages due to unlawful imprisonment or conviction is a *sui generis* subjective right. The state always responds objectively (regardless of guilt) if it is proven that damage was caused by the illegal action of an official.

This type of regulation is necessary because compensation for damage due to unlawful imprisonment is not damage caused by the fault of the perpetrator, nor is damage caused by a dangerous thing or dangerous activity.

At the time the act of imprisonment was performed, it was lawful. However, if sufficient evidence is gathered during the procedure that will rule out the criminal responsibility of the person and if it is confirmed that the acts of imprisonment should not have been undertaken, it is necessary to compensate the victim for the psychological pain suffered, and this is precisely achieved by the law that prescribes the rules and the conditions of imprisonment and the rules and conditions of decision-making prescribe the rules for rehabilitation when the human right to freedom has been violated due to the bad judgment of state officials.

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Vladimir Njegomir^{1*}

UDC 005.511

Pregledni rad

Primljen: 17. 03. 2023.

Prihvaćen: 24. 05. 2023.

DETERMINANTE KOJE OPREDELJUJU ZAPOČINJANJE PREDUZETNIČKOG PODUHVATA²

REZIME: Preduzetništvo predstavlja individualni kretivni kapacitet za identifikovanje mogućnosti i realizaciju korisnih ideja u praksi. Preduzetništvo ima ključnu ulogu u ekonomiji i društvu budući da omogućava ekonomski rast i rešavanje socijalnih pitanja. Može se reći da je preduzetništvo ključni „sastojak“, koji omogućava ne samo unapređenje nacionalnih ekonomija, već i njihovu transformaciju. Imajući u vidu značaj preduzetništva, posebno za zemlje u razvoju i Srbiju, izuzetno je važno proučavanje determinanti koje opredeljuju pojedince za započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata. Cilj istraživanja u ovom radu jeste analiza determinanti koje opredeljuju započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata. Kako bismo ostvarili postavljeni cilj, u radu analiziramo motive za započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata, lične karakteristike preduzetnika, kreativnost i inovativnost, kao i spremnost na prihvatanje rizika, kao determinante preduzetništva.

KLJUČNE REČI: *preduzetništvo, determinante, motivacija, prihvatanje rizika, inovativnost*

^{1*} Redovni profesor, Fakultet za pravne i poslovne studije dr Lazar Vrkatić, Bul. oslobođenja 76, Novi Sad, email: vnjegomir@sbb.rs

² Rad je nastao u okviru projekta „Izazovi mladih u KOVID-19 i post KOVID-19 periodu: Nasilje ili razvoj društva u duhu preduzetništva“ finansiranog od strane Pokrajinskog sekretarijata za visoko obrazovanje i naučnoistraživačku delatnost, broj: 142-451-2587/2021.

1. Uvod

Od prvog teorijskog pominjanja preduzetništva u delu Kantaljona (1755) do danas nastao je veliki broj različitih određenja ovog pojma. Za sva određenja, pojam preduzetništva, kao i svih aktivnosti u vezi sa realizacijom novih komercijalnih ideja, uobičajeno se povezuje sa realizacijom novih poslovnih poduhvata, tj. pokretanjem novih preduzetničkih kompanija. Takođe, preduzetništvo se odnosi i na unapređenja postojećih poslovnih poduhvata. Među najpoznatijim kompanijama koje primenjuju interno ili korporativno preduzetništvo su *Epl*, *Amazon*, *Fejsbuk* ili *Gugl* i one se smatraju preduzetničkim zbog proaktivnosti, inovativnosti i spremnosti na prihvatanje rizika. Preduzetništvo, u suštini, predstavlja identifikovanje mogućnosti i realizaciju korisnih ideja u praksi (Acs, 2008; Ireland & Webb, 2007). Zadaci koje zahteva ovakvo ponašanje mogu biti ispunjeni ili individualno ili grupno i obično zahtevaju kreativnost, preduzimljivost i spremnost za preuzimanje rizika.

Značaj preduzetništva za ekonomiju i društvo prvi je potvrdio ekonomski teoretičar Šumpeter još 1934. godine. Šumpeter je u delu *Teorija ekonomskog razvoja* ukazao da preduzetništvo stvara nove proizvode i tehnologije koje postojeće čine zastarelim (Schumpeter, 1934). Preduzetništvo je ključni „sastojak“, koji omogućava ne samo unapređenje nacionalnih ekonomija, već i njihovu transformaciju (Demko-Rihter & Njegomir, 2014). Preduzetništvo doprinosi ekonomskom rastu i razvoju preko povećanja bruto domaćeg proizvoda (BDP), podizanja životnog standarda, ekonomske nezavisnosti, podstičuće uloge za velika preduzeća, stvaranja radnih mesta, podrške formiranju kapitala, eliminacije siromaštva i razvoja čitavog društva.

Preduzetništvo predstavlja više od 99% svih preduzeća u zemljama Evropske unije, koja zapošljavaju između 50% i 85% ukupne radne snage i doprinose stvaranju 50–70% BDP-a u proseku (SME Performance Review, 2021). Iako je učinjen značajan napredak, u Srbiji su rezultati u pogledu razvoja preduzetništva još uvek neadekvatni.

U Srbiji, prema podacima Agencije za privredne registre (2023), trenutno posluje više od 300.000 preduzetnika, što čini skoro 65% ukupnog broja preduzeća – znatno manje nego u zemljama Evropske

unije. Prema izveštaju Republičkog zavoda za statistiku iz 2022. godine (RZS, 2022), krajem 2020. godine ukupan broj preduzetnika u Srbiji bio je 298.279. U preduzetničkim firmama bilo je zaposleno 272.446 radnika, vrednost prometa je iznosila 1.565.289 miliona dinara, a bruto dodata vrednost je iznosila 416.499 miliona dinara. Broj preduzetnika izvoznika (3240) bio je manji od broja preduzetnika uvoznika (4073), a vrednost izvoza preduzetnika (19.737 miliona dinara) bila je manja od vrednosti uvoza (23.659 miliona dinara).

Na ograničavajuće uslove za razvoj preduzetništva ukazuje *Legatum indeks prosperiteta* (Legatum Index, 2023). Ovaj indeks pokazuje da je Srbija, prema uslovima za razvoj preduzetništva, u 2023. godini na 52. mestu u svetu, što je značajan porast sa 66. mesta tokom 2013. godine. Prema poslednjem raspoloživom Indeksu globalne konkurentnosti Svetskog ekonomskog foruma, Srbija je 2019. godine rangirana na 72. mestu i to je za sedam mesta niže u odnosu na 2018. godinu (Global Competitiveness Report, 2019). Međutim, na *Doing Business* listi Svetske banke iz 2020. godine, poslednjoj raspoloživoj, od ukupno rangiranih 190 zemalja, Srbija je napredovala za četiri pozicije u odnosu na 2019. godinu i nalazi se na 44. mestu (Doing Business, 2020).

Preduzetnici i mala i srednja preduzeća imaju ključnu ulogu u društvu, s obzirom da omogućavaju ekonomski rast i rešavanje socijalnih pitanja. U interesu je čitave nacije da se podržava osnivanje, opstanak i razvoj preduzetnika, malih i srednjih preduzeća. Njihova uloga, kao zdravog i dinamičnog dela privrede, ključna je u uslovima kriza i nezaposlenosti, budući da oni dovode do povećanja zaposlenosti, razvoja inovacija, predstavljaju značajan izvor poreskih prihoda i kreiranja socijalnog blagostanja i socijalne kohezije kroz rešavanje socijalnih pitanja. Osim nacionalnom, oni daju podršku i lokalnom razvoju, kao i podršku uspešnijem radu velikih preduzeća.

Imajući u vidu značaj preduzetništva, posebno za zemlje u razvoju poput Srbije i zemlje kojima je neophodan interni podsticaj za ubrzaniji ekonomski razvoj, izuzetno je značajno proučavanje determinanti koje opredeljuju pojedince za započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata. Cilj istraživanja u ovom radu jeste analiza determinanti koje opredeljuju započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata. Kako bismo ostvarili postavljeni

cilj, u radu analiziramo motive za započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata, karakteristike preduzetnika, kreativnost i inovativnost preduzetnika i spremnost na prihvatanje rizika kao determinante preduzetništva.

2. Karakteristike preduzetnika

Započinjanje i uspeh u preduzetničkom poduhvatu zavise od brojnih faktora. Faktori koji opredeljuju pojedince u pravcu osnivanja preduzetničkih poduhvata uključuju makroekonomske uslove, regionalne uslove, motivaciju, kreativnost, inovativnost, spremnost na prihvatanje rizika, individualne karakteristike pojedinaca, demografske faktore, obrazovanje i radno iskustvo. Značaj pojedinih faktora zavisi od pristupa sagledavanja, pri čemu se razlikuju pristup individualnog nivoa i pristup regionalnog i makroekonomskog nivoa. Takođe, postoje razlike u zavisnosti od polazišta sa kog se preduzetništvo ispituje, uključujući ali ne i ograničavajući na ekonomska, psihološka i tehnička polazišta. U slučaju ekonomskog gledišta, postoji razvoj misli u pogledu značaja pojedinih aspekata preduzetnika na individualnom nivou, u smislu zasnivanja preduzetničkog poduhvata i uopšte poslovanja u vidu poslovne firme. Istorijski pregled daje Parker (2018), koji ukazuje na različita tumačenja značaja od kreativnog rušioca, prihvatioca rizika do modernog posmatranja, gde su doprinosi ekonomske literature o determinantama preduzetništva na individualnom nivou obično uokvireni u vidu modela izbora između preduzetništva i plaćenog radnog odnosa (zaposlenja). Takođe, doprinosi, generalno svrstani u „moderno posmatranje“, vremenski posle 1978. godine (Parker, 2018) imaju tendenciju da se manje bave pitanjima definicije preduzetništva i obično posmatraju preduzetništvo kao svaku aktivnost u kojoj pojedinci rade za sebe i razmenjuju određeni rizik za određeni nivo povraćaja, odričući se relativno sigurnih prinosa u drugom zanimanju.

Kada je reč o ličnim karakteristikama koje utiču na pojedince da postanu preduzetnici, mora se govoriti o velikom broju različitih faktora zbog čega je veoma teško sve eksplicitno nabrojati, s ozbirom da uvek postoji opasnost da se neka osobina nepravredno izostavi. Suština preduzetništva jeste pronalaženje ideja koje se mogu realizovati, tj. koje

predstavljaju tržišne mogućnosti, a lične karakteristike preduzetnika moraju biti u funkciji omogućavanja uspešne realizacije čitavog toka preduzetničkog procesa.

Parker (2018), sumirajući brojna istraživanja fenomena preduzetništva, navodi da na individualnom nivou determinante preduzetništva uključuju:

- 1) finansijske i nefinansijske podsticaje (ostvarenje profita, zadovoljstvo poslom, želja za nezavisnošću);
- 2) ljudski kapital (godište, iskustvo, formalno obrazovanje, obrazovanje iz preduzetništva);
- 3) društveni kapital, poslovne mreže i preduzetničke timove;
- 4) stavove o riziku, preveliki optimizam i druge psihološke osobine;
- 5) bračni status, zdravstvene i industrijske faktore;
- 6) porodicu iz koje potiče pojedinac;
- 7) razliku između pojedinca koji razmišlja da se bavi preduzetništvom i pojedinca koji je pokrenuo jedan ili više paralelnih preduzetničkih poduhvata;
- 8) karakteristike postojeće firme.

Penezić (2003) navodi sledeće osnovne karakteristike preduzetnika:

- 1) viziju, kao globalnu predstavu gde u svom biznisu želi da bude u sledećem periodu;
- 2) potpunu posvećenost, odlučnost i upornost da kada načini grešku i uvidi je krene iznova. Potencijalni preduzetnici moraju biti dovoljno racionalni da očekuju određene poteškoće i često naizgled nerešive probleme. I kada se takve situacije pojave, oni ne smeju biti razočarani i obeshrabreni, već svaku grešku ili neuspeh moraju posmatrati kao novo iskustvo i priliku za učenje;
- 3) samopouzdanje kao osećaj o sebi, o svojim vrednostima i sposobnostima;
- 4) optimizam – preduzetnici su po svojoj prirodi optimisti. Kada započnu neki posao, očekuju da će u njemu i uspeti. Optimizam, sam po sebi, nije dovoljan. Preduzetnici postavljaju cilj, veruju da će uspeti i preduzimaju sve da bi se to zaista i dogodilo;

- 5) inovativnost i kreativnost, ali ne kao pronalazač u tradicionalnom smislu, već kao neko ko može da osvoji deo tržišta koji je često nevidljiv za druge;
- 6) orijentisanost ka rezultatima ili sposobnost da se definišu ciljevi i uživa u njihovom ostvarenju;
- 7) sposobnost preuzimanja rizika, s obzirom da započinjanje sopstvenog biznisa uključuje rizike koje je potrebno pažljivo proceniti. Takođe, neophodno je adekvatno upravljanje rizicima.

Parker (2018) navodi da su najvažnije determinante preduzetništva godine starosti, iskustvo na tržištu rada, bračni status i činjenica da li je roditelj bio preduzetnik. Viši nivo rizika ima negativan efekat na započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata, iako tržišni rizik i stavovi prema riziku nisu adekvatno kvantifikovani. Parker (2018) smatra da psihološki faktori razlikovanja nemaju značajnijeg efekta, budući da samopouzdanje i odlučnost pogoduju uspehu u preduzetništvu, ali su verovatno produktivni i u drugim zanimanjima. Smatramo, međutim, da su izuzetno korisna interdisciplinarna istraživanja preduzetništva, u kojima značajnu ulogu ima analiza determinanti, posebno sa ekonomskog i psihološkog aspekta. Kada je reč o ljudskom kapitalu, Parker (2018) smatra da se neadekvatno kvantifikovao u prethodnim istraživanjima, a da društveni kapital ima potencijal, ali se nije istraživao u dovoljnoj meri, te naglašava da umesto traganja za pojedinačnim determinantama preduzetništva treba tragati za faktorima uspeha u preduzetništvu, kao i uslovima pod kojima se tim faktorima daje najslobodnija volja.

Harvardska poslovna škola (HBS, 2020) navodi da, uprkos činjenici da ne postoji jedinstven profil koji bi opisivao svakog preduzetnika, postoji jedanaest karakteristika koje dele uspešni preduzetnici:

- 1) *radoznalost* – uspešni preduzetnici imaju osećaj radoznalosti, koji ih vodi ka stalnom traganju za novim mogućnostima;
- 2) *strukturirano eksperimentisanje* – kako nove prilike nastaju, zahvaljujući radoznalosti, preduzetnici moraju da sprovedu istraživanja tržišta i pokreću testove da bi utvrdili da li identifikovane prilike vredi realizovati;

- 3) *adaptibilnost* – budući da se poslovne prilike konstantno menjaju, uspešni preduzetnici moraju da znaju kako da procene situacije i da se prilagode kako bi njihovo poslovanje moglo da se nastavi bez prekida;
- 4) *odlučnost* – ne znači imati sve odgovore, već imati samopouzdanje za donošenje izazovnih i teških odluka i za njihovo sprovođenje, ali ukoliko ishodi nisu povoljni, donošenje odluka o korektivnim akcijama je takođe značajno;
- 5) *samopouzdanje* – pokazivanje nedostatka samopouzdanja može da odvraća investitore ili navede kupce da preispitaju svoje odluke o kupovini;
- 6) *timski rad* – svaki uspešan preduzetnik je svestan svojih prednosti i mana, a u većini slučajeva uspeh preduzetničkog poslovanja se bazira na preduzetničkom timu, a ne na pojedincu;
- 7) *tolerancija na rizik* – uspešni preduzetnici aktivno prihvataju određeni nivo rizika u cilju ostvarenja uspeha, ali i preduzimaju korake da minimiziraju šanse za neuspeh;
- 8) *spremnost na neuspeh* – uspešni preduzetnici se pripremaju za moguć neuspeh, ali čine sve da ostvare uspeh u poslovanju;
- 9) *upornost*;
- 10) *inovativnost* i
- 11) *dugoročni fokus*.

Beringer i Ireland (2012) navode sledeće karakteristike uspešnih preduzetnika:

- 1) strast za poslovanje,
- 2) fokus na proizvode i potrošače,
- 3) istrajnost uprkos neuspehu i
- 4) inteligencija izvršenja (sposobnost transformacije ideje u održivo poslovanje).

Pored ličnih osobina, značajni su i obrazovanje, radno iskustvo i demografske karakteristike preduzetnika. Stepenn obrazovanja pre-

duzetnika je izuzetno značajan faktor, s obzirom da su preduzetnici u proseku obrazovaniji od opšte populacije (Hisrich, Peters & Shepherd, 2008). Preduzetničko obrazovanje, ali i razvoj preduzetničke orijentacije (Franceško, Njegomir, & Živković, 2018) izuzetno su značajni za način rešavanja problema sa kojima se preduzetnici susreću u poslovanju. Radno iskustvo, s jedne strane, može uticati negativno, a sa druge strane pozitivno na donošenje odluke o pokretanju novog preduzetničkog poduhvata, što zavisi od prethodnog iskustva koje uključuje frustraciju i dosadu, ali i unapređenja, ali nakon pokretanja preduzetničkog poduhvata radno iskustvo ima značajnu pozitivnu ulogu u rastu i ostvarenju uspeha.

Demografski faktori preduzetništva odnose se na faktore, kao što su: pol, starost, etnička pripadnost ili versko opredeljenje. Svaki od ovih faktora ima dodatne elemente na osnovu kojih se utvrđuju faktori uspešnosti preduzetnika.

Dosadašnja praksa preduzetništva pokazuje dominaciju muškaraca mlađeg do srednjeg godišta. Preduzetnički barometar – studija kompanije *Ernst & Young* – ukazuje da je među preduzetnicima u Srbiji 76% muškaraca i 24% žena (EY, 2023). U analizi Agencije za privredne registre (APR, 2023), struktura na dan 1. mart 2023. godine nešto je drugačija, ali takođe pokazuje znatno veće učešće muškaraca preduzetnika (66,3%) u odnosu na učešće žena (33,7%). U Srbiji ima najviše visoko-obrazovanih osnivača preduzetničkih fimi – 72% sa visokom školom od najmanje tri godine, 12% sa višom školom, dok ih je sa srednjom školom 16% (EY, 2023).

U novije vreme, znatno se menja tradicionalna demografska struktura preduzetnika, pri čemu je, na primer, u SAD, ali i u Srbiji, evidentan rast učešća žena i starijih i mlađih ljudi u preduzetništvu.

3. Motivi koji opredeljuju započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata

U prethodnom izlaganju navedeni su faktori preduzetnika koji su bitni za započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata, ali nisu i jedini. Osim ličnih karakteristika, na opredeljenje za započinjanje preduzetničkog

poduhvata utiču i društveni faktori i faktori iz prirodnog okruženja. Iako su za započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata i uspeh u poslovanju neophodni strast, naporan rad i organizacija sopstvenog posla i čitave firme (ME, 2023), smatramo da su tri faktora ključna: motivacija koja pokreće preduzetnike na realizaciju poduhvata, inovativnost i spremnost na prihvatanje rizika.

Bez postojanja motivacije, preduzetnici se ne bi ni odlučili da traga-ju za mogućnostima koje nudi preduzetništvo. Preduzetnička motivaci-ja aktivira i motiviše preduzetnika da uloži veći nivo napora za postiza-nje ciljeva, što implicira da će motivisani preduzetnik biti spreman da uloži napor da bi ostvario postavljeni cilj. Ograničenja koja preduzetnici moraju biti spremni da prebrode uključuju mogućnost poslovnog neuspeha, brojne prepreke, izolaciju i usamljenost, finansijsku nesigurnost, veliki broj radnih sati, često i više od dvanest, i više sati dnevnog an-gažovanja, kao i zategnute lične veze uprkos postojanju snažne podrške porodice i prijatelja (Mariotti & Glackin, 2016).

Podsticaji koji obično vode ka ostvarenju preduzetničkih ideja i po-kretanju preduzetničkih poduhvata uključuju ostvarenje slobode, zara-de, uticaja, kontrole i kreativnosti (Chrisos, 2023).

Međutim, u zemljama poput Srbije, u uslovima gubitka posla, ne-postojanja mogućnosti za zaposlenje ili ograničenih mogućnosti za za-poslenje usled nepostojanja veština i obrazovanja koje tržište traži, izlaz se nalazi u samozapošljavanju. Naime, u sveobuhvatnom istraživanju stavova o preduzetništvu u Srbiji čak 80% ispitanika preduzetništvo vidi kao način zaposlenja, dok preduzetništvo kao vid bavljenja poslom is-ključivo radi preživljavanja vidi čak 65% ispitanika (CEVES, 2014).

Kod nekih ljudi pokretanje ideja predstavlja slobodan izbor, a u ne-kim slučajevima je prisutno osećanje da će celoga života žaliti ako ne pokušaju (MakKormak, 1993), što takođe spada u motivacioni faktor započinjanja preduzetničkih poduhvata. Su i saradnici (2020) zaključili su da pozitivne emocije značajno mogu da utiču na preduzetničku motivaciju i preduzetnički proces. Takođe, istraživanja (Bartha, Gubik, & Bereczk, 2019) su utvrdila da društvena misija značajno utiče na pre-duzetničku motivaciju u zemljama centralne i istočne Evrope. Hemert i saradnici (2019) ukazali su da preduzetnička motivacija pozitivno utiče na preduzeća.

Penezić (2003) navodi četiri ključna motiva na koja ukazuju mnoga istraživanja, kao i uvid u poslovnu praksu, i to:

- 1) dramatične promene u porodičnoj i/ili ličnoj situaciji (gubitak posla, izbeglištvo, razvod...);
- 2) dostupnost izvora za pokretanje biznisa (ideje, novac...);
- 3) proverene preduzetničke sposobnosti;
- 4) primeri drugih preduzetnika koji su postigli uspeh.

Želja za ostvarenjem profitabilnosti može se sagledati kao jedan od ključnih faktora za započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata u zemljama u razvoju ili u uslovima kada se preduzetnički poduhvat pokreće kao opcija samozapošljavanja, a ne iskorišćavanja ideja u praksi. Novac, međutim, najčešće nije dovoljan motivacioni faktor za započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata (Mariotti & Glackin, 2016). Obično se motivi povezuju sa vrednostima, kao što su: kontrola, ispunjenje, nezavisnost, samopouzdanje, vlasništvo, finansijska nadoknada u vidu prihoda i bogatstva, kontrola radnih uslova, kao i doprinos društvu (Mariotti & Glackin, 2016).

U istraživanjima se izdvajaju tri ključna motiva, koja opredeljuju pojedince da postanu preduzetnici i započnu preduzetnički poduhvat: 1) težnja da budu sami vlasnici poslovanja (*sam svoj gazda*), 2) ostvarenje sopstvenih ideja i 3) ostvarenje profita.

Biti *sam svoj gazda* težnja je velikog broja preduzetnika. U Srbiji je čak 81% (CEVES, 2014) onih koji teže ka samostalnosti, koji ne priznaju autoritet i koji osećaju frustraciju povodom mogućeg zaposlenja u organizacijama u kojima im organizaciona struktura nameće pravila ponašanja, ali i ograničenja za sopstveno ispoljavanje, napredovanje i ostvarenje ličnih i profesionalnih ciljeva.

Realizacija sopstvenih ideja veoma je značajan pokretač preduzetničkog poduhvata (Chrisos, 2023). Veliki broj ljudi, prirodno, teži ka realizaciji ideja. Kompanija „Gugl“ (Google) tipičan je primer kompanije koja podstiče kreativnost i preduzimljivost među svojim zaposlenima kroz valorizaciju njihovog kreativnog i preduzetničkog rada. U brojnim drugim velikim kompanijama postoje mehanizmi za podsticanje korporativnog preduzetništva. Međutim, kada ovi mehanizmi izostanu, pojedinci biraju napuštanje kompanije i pokretanje preduzetničkog poduhvata.

Ostvarenje finansijskih rezultata, tj. profita sekundarni je cilj u odnosu na prethodne, izuzev u Srbiji (CEVES, 2014), u kojoj se preduzetništvo vidi kao: način zaposlenja (80% ispitanika), oblik preživljavanja (65% ispitanika) ili način za bogaćenje (52% ispitanika). Osnovna namera ostvarenja ovog cilja jeste finansijska nezavisnost. Ostvarenje profita i konstantno povećanje vrednosti kompanije je u određenim situacijama ključni cilj poslovanja. Česte su, međutim, i situacije u kojima je ostvarenje finansijskih rezultata u drugom planu, a težnja za realizacijom sopstvene ideje i vezanost za nju znatno jača od potencijalne finansijske satisfakcije.

S obzirom na postojanje brojnih ograničenja koja preduzetnici moraju prebroditi u preduzetničkom poslovanju, moguće je da u toku poslovanja izgube motivaciju. Postoji nekoliko modela koji mogu obezbediti održavanje motivacije uprkos izazovima. Oni uključuju (Newlands, 2017): 1) postavljanje ličnih ciljeva, 2) iskorišćavanje trijumfalnih preduzetničkih priča, 3) povezivanje sa drugim preduzetnicima koji uče o izazovima preduzetništva, 4) održavanje zdravlja, 5) pravljenje jutarnje rutine, 6) postavljanje podsetnika za sebe, 7) uključivanje u motivacione aktivnosti, 8) dobro noćno spavanje, 9) vežbanje izazova s najbližima i 10) sopstveno nagrađivanje.

4. Inovativnost

Inovacije su imale ključni značaj tokom čitave ljudske istorije. Inovacije, kao što su vatra, točak, poljoprivreda, irigacioni sistemi, upotreba metala, pisanje i sl. (Njegomir & Demko-Rihter, 2013) određivale su pravac istorije. Bez inovacija čovek nikada ne bi mogao da računa, piše, plovi, vozi, trguje ili unapređuje sopstveno blagostanje. Istraživanja ukazuju da je uspeh u Japanu ostvaren zahvaljujući sposobnostima kompanija, odnosno preduzetnika da kreiraju novo znanje, da ga šire kroz organizacije i uključuju u proizvode, usluge i sisteme (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). Nažalost, u Srbiji nije dovoljno razvijena inovativnost. Na nedovoljnost inovacija u Srbiji ukazuje Globalni indeks inovacija (Dutta et al., 2022) za 2022. godinu u okviru kog je Srbija na 55. mestu u svetu. Navedeno implicira neophodnost stimulanja inovacija, posebno poslovno sprovedljivih inovacija.

Preduzetnici su centralni akteri inovativnih promena i poremećaja (Parker, 2018). Povećavanjem obima proizvodnje i unapređenjem konkurentnosti, inovativni preduzetnici otvaraju mogućnosti za dalju trgovinu i specijalizaciju, čiji su ishodi veća produktivnost, životni standard i ekonomski rast (Campbell, 2009).

Smatra se da je ključna osobina preduzetnika, koja dovodi do preduzetničkih inovacija, njihova kreativnost. Kreativnost je: sposobnost sagledavanja sveta na nove načine, pronalaženje skrivenih obrazaca, uspostavljanje veze između naizgled različitih stvari i stvaranja novih ideja (Kaur, 2022). U kontekstu preduzetništva, kreativnost podrazumeva sposobnost stvaranja novih ideja i rešenja problema potrošača sa identifikovanog ciljnog tržišta. S druge strane, preduzetnička inovativnost predstavlja sposobnost realizacije ideja u praksi. Preduzetničke inovacije se odnose na stvaranje novih proizvoda ili usluga, poboljšanje procesa ili pronalaženje novih tržišta za postojeće proizvode ili usluge (Kaur, 2022).

Kreativnost zavisi od intuicije i podsvesti, kao i od formiranja perspektive koja čini ključnu komponentu kreativnosti (Barnard & Herbst, 2019). Barnard i Herbst (2008) su proučavali različite pristupe formalnog i poluformalnog procesa kreativnosti. Oni su, takođe, naglašavali da je kreativnost bitna za inovacije, te time i za preduzetništvo, međutim, s obzirom na brojne faktore koji utiču na ostvarenje preduzetničkog poduhvata, kreativnost nije dovoljan faktor za uspeh u preduzetničkim naporima bez kombinovanja sa opštim poslovnim smislom ili oštromnošću kako bi se ostvario uspeh inovativnog procesa.

Kreativnost pomaže u unapređenju postojeće poslovne prakse, dok inovacije stvaraju procese koji pretvaraju pronalazak ili inovativnu ideju u proizvod ili uslugu koji će biti utrživi (Mazla et al., 2019). Preduzetnici su sanjari, vizionari, ljudi puni energije okrenuti ka budućnosti i skloni prihvatanju rizika. Preduzetnici imaju potrebu za promenom i kontrolom nad ljudima i događajima kako bi se mogli koncentrisati na budućnost. Preduzetnik je inovator, veliki strateg, stvaralac novih metoda za probijanje na nova tržišta ili stvaranje novih, div koji utiče na ceo svet, kao što su to Henri Ford, Tom Votson iz *IBM-a* ili Rej Krok iz „Makdonalda“ (Gerber, 2010).

Danas su inovacije, zajedno sa preduzetništvom, ključni pokretač konkurentnosti, ekonomskog rasta i prosperiteta. Novo znanje može generisati rast samo kroz transformaciju putem preduzetništva u inovacije. Preduzetnici su pokretači inovacija. Pri tome, preduzetnici ne moraju biti inovatori, ali moraju da imaju sposobnost da prepoznaju tržišno sprovodljive ideje i da, u cilju praktične realizacije određene inovacije, alociraju potrebne resurse. Prema Drakeru (1985), preduzetnik: 1) traži promene, 2) odgovara na njih i 3) koristi ih kao mogućnosti.

Inovacije su značajan element preduzetništva u svim delatnostima. U osiguranju, na primer, pronalazak mikroosiguranja omogućio je da siromašniji građani i privrednici budu obuhvaćeni osiguravajućim pokrivenjem, a pojava partnerstava javnog i privatnog sektora u osiguranju omogućila je obezbeđenje kapitala za pokriće rizika sa katastrofalnim posledicama (Njegomir & Marović, 2013). Inovacije su postale značajne zbog sve većih zahteva potrošača i sve izraženije konkurencije. Naime, inovacije su ključni pokretač konkurentnosti, ekonomskog rasta i prosperiteta (Chandra et al., 2009). Takođe, inovacije su ključna determinanta produktivnosti i njenog rasta u organizacijama, sektorima, regionima i državama, a posebno su značajne za kompanije koje svoje poslovanje ostvaruju globalno. Iako su se inovacije uglavnom realizovale u velikim kompanijama tokom XX veka, praktično iskustvo pokazuje da su upravo mala i srednja preduzeća inicirala većinu radikalnih inovacija krajem XX i tokom prve dve decenije XXI veka.

Inovacije u preduzetništvu ne podrazumevaju uvek stvaranje apsolutno novog proizvoda, usluge ili načina poslovanja. Takođe, inovacije se ne moraju zasnivati isključivo na naučnim ili tehnološkim pronalascima. Komercijalna otkrića, uključujući nove poslovne modele, takođe predstavljaju inovacije u preduzetništvu (Spulber, 2014). Naime, pod inovacijama se (od latinske reči *innovare*) podrazumeva obnavljanje, restauriranje. Suštinski, inovacije podrazumevaju uvođenje novog ili različitog. Stoga, u preduzetništvu, osim stvaranja potpuno novih ideja i njihove realizacije, postoje i kreativne imitacije, fokusiranje na tržišne niše i strategije stvaranja klijenata. Preduzetničke inovacije se, u zavisnosti od stepena novine, dele na: 1) inkrementalne inovacije, gde se unapređuju samo određeni aspekti (na primer tehnološki ili marketinški), 2) tržišna unapređenja koja obuhvataju unapređenja u primeni,

povećanje zadovoljstva potrošača i snižavanje troškova potrošačima, 3) tehnološka unapređenja koja se ne prenose na potrošača i 4) radikalne inovacije, koje predstavljaju rezultat unapređenja u tehnologiji i korisnosti za potrošače.

Prema predmetu inoviranja, inovacije se klasifikuju na: proizvodne, procesne, organizacione i marketinške (Oslo Manual, 2015; Pain, 2011; Allen & Yago 2010). Proizvodne inovacije podrazumevaju uvođenje novih ili značajno unapređenih proizvoda ili usluga, koje unapređuju asortiman i kvalitet trenutne ponude. Procesne inovacije predstavljaju uvođenje novih ili značajno unapređenih procesa proizvodnje ili isporuke proizvoda i usluga. Organizacione inovacije predstavljaju implementaciju novih organizacionih metoda u poslovne prakse organizacija. Marketing inovacije predstavljaju implementaciju novih marketinških metoda, uključujući značajne promene u dizajnu ili pakovanju proizvoda, distribuciji proizvoda, promociji ili određivanju cena.

Mariotti & Glackin (2016) osnovu preduzetništva i vide u inovacijama, u smislu da preduzetnici prepoznaju prilike gde ostali ljudi vide samo probleme. Brojne značajne kompanije su nastale upravo od dobrog preduzetničkog uočavanja problema. Kao jednu od inovativnih preduzetničkih kompanija, ovi autori (2016) navode primer preduzetnice Anite Rodik koja je usled nezadovoljstva zbog plaćanja nepotrebnih parfema i otmenih pakovanja osnovala *The Body Shop International* u uverenju da se i druge žene osećaju isto. Inovativni preduzetnici moraju da vežbaju način prepoznavanja ideja i da uključuju maštu.

U prepoznavanju mogućnosti, ključno je identifikovati proizvode i usluge koji su potrebni ljudima i koje oni hoće da plate, a ne proizvode i usluge koje preduzetnik želi da proizvodi i prodaje. Mogućnost mora imati četiri ključna kvaliteta: 1) atraktivnost za potrošače, 2) trajnost, 3) vremensku podesnost i 4) ugrađenost u proizvod, uslugu ili poslovanje koje kreira ili dodaje vrednost za kupce i krajnje korisnike (Hayton, Chandler, & DeTienne, 2011). Slično određenje ranije je dao Timons (1999), po kome mogućnost mora biti: 1) atraktivna za kupce, 2) mora biti primenljiva u poslovnom okruženju, 3) može se izvršiti u definisanom prozoru mogućnosti i 4) može biti implementirana s pravim timom kako bi bila održiva.

Osim vežbanja kreativnosti, Harvardska poslovna škola (HBS, 2020) identifikovala je nekoliko veština koje su neophodne kod preduzetnika da bi bili inovativni: 1) bazične finansijske veštine, 2) veštine umrežavanja, 3) sposobnost prihvatanja i delovanja na osnovu povratnih informacija, 4) prepoznavanje obrazaca u podacima, tržišnim trendovima i ponašanju potrošača, 5) strateško razmišljanje koje obuhvata analitičke, komunikacione i veštine rešavanja problema i planiranja, 6) veštine pregovaranja i 7) napredno razmišljanje o inteligenciji, sposobnostima i talentima.

5. Spremnost na prihvatanje rizika

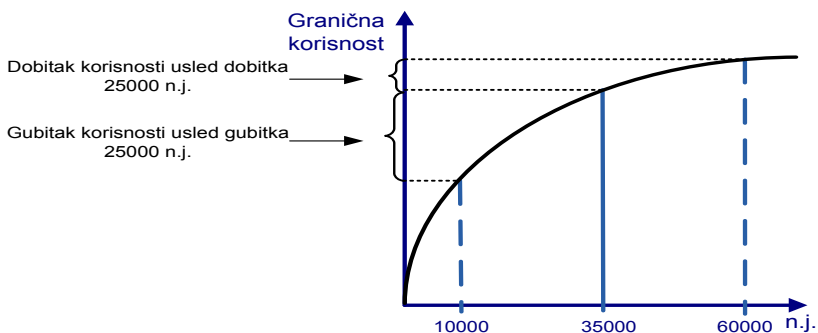
Rizik je pratio civilizacijski razvoj od prvobitne zajednice do današnjih dana. Zahvaljujući ekonomskom razvoju, tehničkom i tehnološkom napretku, razvoju medicine, globalizaciji poslovanja, povećavanju broja stanovnika i ekonomskih vrednosti, pojedinci, privredni subjekti i čitavo društvo danas su izloženi rizicima više nego ikada (Njegomir, 2011a). Doajeni ekonomske misli, Samjuelson i Nordhaus (2009) naglašavaju da je ekonomski život rizičan posao. Iako postoje različita određenja pojma rizika, smatramo da je najbolja definicija, prema kojoj, *rizik predstavlja kombinaciju verovatnoće događaja i njegovih posledica* (ISO, 2002).

Značaj spremnosti na prihvatanje rizika prvi je uočio Rišar Kantaljona davne 1755. godine. Kantaljona (1755) je naglasio važnost preduzetnika, kao arbitražera ili špekulanta koji sprovodi sve razmene i snosi rizik kao rezultat kupovine po određenim i prodaje po neizvesnim cenama. Najt (1921) indirektno ukazuje na značaj prihvatanja rizika. Bruk (2010) je citirao kasniji članak Najta iz 1942. godine u kome su opisane profitabilne mogućnosti za preduzetnike generisane heterogenim subjektivnim očekivanjima koja nastaju u uslovima nepotpunih informacija. Kanbur (1979) i Kilstrom i Lafont (1979) ukazuju na značaj stepena averzije prema riziku, u smislu da pojedinci koji imaju averziju prema riziku biraju plaćeno zapošljavanje, dok pojedinci tolerantniji na rizik postaju preduzetnici. Baluku i saradnici (2020) su istraživali averziju prema riziku, preduzetnički stav i namere na uzorku od 573 studenata završne godine studija, a posebno status zaposlenja učesnika studije nakon šest do dvadeset četiri meseca od diplomiranja. Ovim

istraživanjem je utvrđeno da postoji negativan efekat averzije prema riziku na opšti preduzetnički stav i na preduzetničku nameru. U radu De Blasija i saradnika (2018) istraživao se uticaj stavova o riziku na odluke o započinjanju preduzetničkog poduhvata. Koristeći prethodna istraživanja prihoda i bogatstva domaćinstava, koje je sprovodila Banka Italije, autori su došli do saznanja da pojedinci koji su doživeli zemljotres imaju znatno veću averziju prema riziku, a istovremeno su utvrdili da povećanje averzije u odnosu na rizik ima značajan negativan uticaj na verovatnoću da ispitani postanu preduzetnici, odnosno da započnu preduzetnički poduhvat. Takođe, istraživanja ukazuju da je averzija prema riziku korisna u donošenju odluka i radnji vezanih za osnivanje preduzetničkog poduhvata (Brandstätter, 2011; Obschonka & Stuetzer, 2017).

Ekonomsko objašnjenje načina na koji ljudi reaguju na rizik i nezvesnost polazi od koncepcije opadajuće marginalne korisnosti dohotka, koja se suštinski izjednačava sa rizikom (Njegomir, 2011b). Naime, u zavisnosti od spremnosti na prihvatanje rizika, prema ekonomskoj teoriji, moguće je razlikovati tri vrste ljudi: one koji imaju averziju na rizik, one koji vole da prihvataju rizik i one koji su neutralni u odnosu na rizik. Polazeći od teorije opadajuće granične korisnosti (Grafikon 1), opšti je stav ekonomske teorije da većina ljudi ima averziju prema riziku, tj. kod većine ljudi je nezadovoljstvo koje može nastati zbog određenog gubitka veće u odnosu na zadovoljstvo zbog sticanja istog iznosa dobitka.

Grafikon 1. Averzija prema riziku



Izvor: Njegomir (2011b). *Napomena:* n. j. se odnosi na novčanu jedinicu.

Kao što se vidi na Grafikonu 1, dodatne jedinice prihoda povećavaju korisnost, ali povećavaju je u progresivno manjim iznosima. Funkcija opadajuće granične korisnosti zapravo prikazuje averziju prema riziku. Međutim, preduzetnici predstavljaju tipične primere pojedinaca koji imaju izraženu sklonost ka prihvatanju rizika.

Teorijski je utemeljeno i praktično dokazano da ostvarenje uspeha zahteva preuzimanje rizika. Postoji funkcionalna zavisnost između prihvatanja rizika, započinjanja preduzetničkog poduhvata, ali i dugoročnog uspeha u poslovanju (Obschonka, Silbereisen, & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2015). Dakle, rizik može imati i pozitivan i negativan uticaj na ostvarenje poslovnih rezultata preduzetnika, ali bez prihvatanja rizika ne postoji mogućnost bavljenja preduzetništvom. Upravo iz navedenog proizilazi da je jedna od ključnih karakteristika preduzetnika upravo spremnost na prihvatanje rizika. Bez prihvatanja rizika nema preduzetnika, a nema ni poslovnog uspeha. Obim prihvatanja rizika direktno će zavisiti od tolerancije na rizik. Tolerancija na rizik predstavlja nivo rizika koji su pojedinac ili privredni subjekat spremni da prihvate zarad ostvarenja određenog cilja (Njegomir, 2011b). Ona zavisi od raspoloživosti finansijskih sredstava, spremnosti na prihvatanje rizika i ukupnog profila preduzetnika.

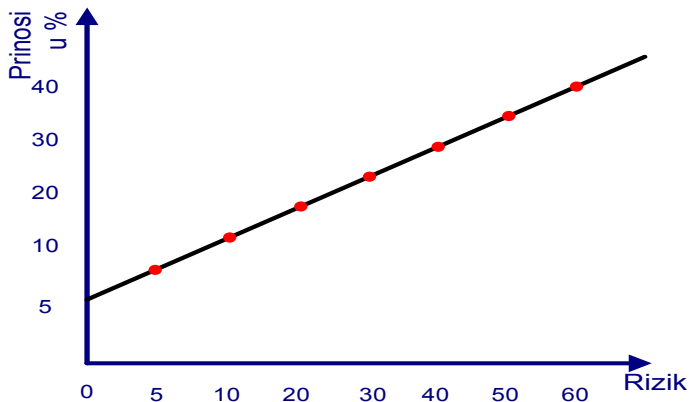
Poslovanje preduzetnika izloženo je brojnim rizicima koji ugrožavaju imovinu, zdravlje i život zaposlenih i kontinuitet poslovanja. Penezić (2003) navodi sledeće vrste rizika sa kojima se preduzetnici suočavaju u svom poslovanju:

- Finansijski – započinjanje mnogih poslovnih poduhvata počiva na ličnoj ušteđevini koja će se u slučaju neuspeha izgubiti. Slična situacija je i u slučaju uspostavljanja ortačkog društva;
- Karijerni – vrlo često pitanje, koje postavljaju budući preduzetnici, glasi: *da li ću u slučaju neuspeha moći da pronađem novi posao ili da se bez problema vratim na stari?* Ovo pitanje se ne odnosi na nezaposlena lica kojima osnivanje poslovnog poduhvata predstavlja vid samozapošljavanja;
- Porodični socijalni – započinjanje sopstvenog biznisa zahteva dosta vremena i energije. To podrazumeva ogromnu požrtvovanost porodice koja je izložena osećanjima (riziku) otuđenosti i stalnih emocionalnih promena;

- Psihološki – preduzetnik koji na svojim leđima oseti naličje finansijskog neuspeha obično nije u mogućnosti da se brzo oporavi. Strah od takvog neuspeha je ujedno i jedan od najčešćih uzročnika stresa;
- Rizici vezani za nabavku nove opreme;
- Rizici vezani za naplatu kredita;
- Pravni rizici povezani sa promenama regulative;
- Čisti rizici, kao što su rizik od požara, krađe i nesrećnog slučaja (osigurljivi).

Prihvatanje rizika ne znači neplanirano prihvatanje mogućnosti neuspeha. Uspešno prihvatanje rizika ostvaruje se ukoliko se rizicima adekvatno upravlja. Upravljanje rizikom podrazumeva minimiziranje troškova rizika. Upravljanje rizikom sve više se tretira ne kao isključivo troškovni centar povezan sa izbegavanjem kazni usled neusaglašenosti sa regulatornim zahtevima ili visokih cena finansijskog pokrića rizika, već kao profitni centar koji omogućava unapređenje poslovanja, jer se polazi od fundamentalno drugačijeg stava, prema kome rizik može imati i pozitivan i negativan uticaj na poslovne performanse. Naime, varijabilnost nije neophodno loša ukoliko preduzetnik ili kompanija mogu da omoguće prednost u reagovanju na nju u odnosu na konkurenciju. Uslovljenost rizika i prinosa prikazuje Grafikon 2.

Grafikon 2. Uslovljenost rizika i prinosa



Izvor: Njegomir (2011b)

Naglašavamo da rizik ne znači nešto loše. Bez prihvata rizika nema preduzetništva, pri čemu neki preduzetnici uspeavaju, a neki ne. Oni koji uspeavaju koriste potencijalne rizike za iskorišćavanje poslovnih mogućnosti.

6. Zaključak

Na preduzetnike utiče dosta faktora. Da li će biti skloni da se upuste u preduzetničku avanturu ili ne, ostvare uspeh ili ne, zavisi od brojnih karakteristika preduzetnika, kao što su njihove individualne osobine, njihovo obrazovanje, radno iskustvo, ali i od brojnih demografskih faktora. Međutim, dominantan uticaj na započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata imaju motivacija, inovativnost i spremnost na prihvatanje rizika.

Kao što je u radu ukazano, motivacija je ključan faktor za započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata, budući da je samo upuštanje u preduzetništvo u direktnoj zavisnosti od motivacije. Ako ne postoji motivacija, neće biti ni preduzetničkog poduhvata. Postoje tri ključna motiva za započinjanje preduzetničkog poduhvata: 1) težnja da pojedinci budu sami vlasnici poslovanja (*sam svoj gazda*), 2) ostvarenje sopstvenih ideja i 3) ostvarenje profita.

Inovativnost je takođe veoma značajna. Preduzetnička inovativnost predstavlja sposobnost realizacije ideja u praksi. Bez kreativnosti i identifikacije ideja i njihove realizacije u praksi nema preduzetništva. Suštinski, preduzetničke inovacije se, prema stepenu inovativnosti, dele na: 1) inkrementalne inovacije, 2) tržišna unapređenja, 3) tehnološka unapređenja i 4) radikalne inovacije.

Konačno, nema preduzetničkog poduhvata bez prihvatanja rizika. Bez prihvata rizika nema preduzetništva, pri čemu neki preduzetnici uspeavaju, a neki ne. Oni koji uspeavaju koriste potencijalne rizike za iskorišćavanje poslovnih mogućnosti. Rizik, u suštini, predstavlja događaj koji se može ostvariti, ali i ne mora, čije posledice mogu biti pozitivna ili negativna odstupanja od postavljenog cilja, odnosno željenog ili očekivanog rezultata poslovanja. To znači da rizik može biti uzrok neuspeha, ali i mogućnost za ostvarenje uspeha.

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Vladimir Njegomir^{1*}

UDC 005.511
Review Article
Received: 17/03/2023
Accepted: 24/05/2023

STARTING AN ENTREPRENEURIAL VENTURE: A STUDY OF DETERMINANTS²

ABSTRACT: Entrepreneurship is defined as an individual creative capacity for identifying opportunities and implementing useful ideas in practice. Entrepreneurship plays a key role in the economy and society as it enables economic growth and addresses social issues. Entrepreneurship is a driving force for the growth and transformation of national economies. In view of the importance of entrepreneurship, especially for developing countries such as Serbia, studying the determinants that drive individuals to embark on entrepreneurial ventures has become a valid topic. The aim of the present study is to analyse the determinants that influence individuals to start an entrepreneurial venture. The paper will examine the motivation for starting an entrepreneurial venture, entrepreneurs' personality traits, creativity and innovativeness, as well as willingness to embrace risk, as determinants of entrepreneurship.

KEY WORDS: entrepreneurship, determinants, motivation, embracing risk, innovativeness

^{1*} Full Professor, Faculty of Law and Business Studies Dr Lazar Vrkatić, Novi Sad, email: vnjegomir@sbb.rs

² The study was conducted as part of the project Challenges Facing Youth in the Covid-19 and Post-Covid-19 Society: Violence or Entrepreneurial Spirit, funded by the Provincial Secretariat for Higher Education and Scientific Research, no. 142-451-2587/2021.

1. Introduction

Ever since Cantillon (1755) first described entrepreneurship as a theoretical concept, there have been many attempts to define this concept. However, all definitions agree that the concept of entrepreneurship, as well as any activity related to implementing new business ideas, refers to starting new business ventures, i.e., entrepreneurial companies. Entrepreneurship also involves the improvement of existing business ventures. Among the most famous companies that apply internal or corporate entrepreneurship are Apple, Amazon, Facebook, and Google. These companies are considered entrepreneurial because of their proactivity, innovation, and willingness to accept risks. Entrepreneurship means the ability to identify opportunities and implement useful ideas in practice (Acs, 2008; Ireland & Webb, 2007). The tasks that this behaviour requires can be accomplished either individually or in groups and usually require creativity, initiative, and a willingness to take risks.

The importance of entrepreneurship for the economy and society was confirmed by the theoretical economist Schumpeter as early as 1934. In his book *Theory of Economic Development* (1934), Schumpeter argued that entrepreneurship creates new products and technologies that make the existing ones obsolete. Entrepreneurship is a key ingredient that initiates both growth and transformation of national economies (Demko-Richter & Njegomir, 2014). Entrepreneurship contributes to economic growth and development in multiple ways, such as gross domestic product (GDP) increase, improved living standards, economic independence, encouraging roles for large companies, job creation, support for capital formation, poverty eradication, and societal development.

More than 99% of all businesses in the EU countries are entrepreneurial, employing between 50% and 85% of the total workforce and contributing to the creation of 50–70% of GDP on average (SME Performance Review, 2021). However, entrepreneurship in Serbia is still underdeveloped, although significant progress has been made in recent years.

According to the Agency for Business Registers data (2023), more than 300,000 entrepreneurs currently operate in Serbia, making up almost 65% of the total number of companies. This number is still sig-

nificantly lower than in the EU states. According to the 2022 report of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (RZS, 2022), at the end of 2020, the total number of entrepreneurs in Serbia was 298,279. 272,446 workers were employed in entrepreneurial firms, the value of turnover was 1,565,289 million dinars, and the gross added value was 416,499 million dinars. The number of exporting entrepreneurs (3,240) was less than the number of importing entrepreneurs (4,073), and the value of exports by entrepreneurs (19,737 million dinars) was less than the value of imports (23,659 million dinars).

The Legatum Index of Prosperity (Legatum Index, 2023) indicates limiting conditions for entrepreneurship development in Serbia. According to the conditions for the development of entrepreneurship, Serbia is ranked 52nd in the world in 2023, which is a marked improvement from the 2013 ranking of 66th. According to the latest available Global Competitiveness Index of the World Economic Forum, Serbia was ranked 72nd in 2019, which is seven places lower than in 2018 (Global Competitiveness Report, 2019). However, on the 2020 World Bank's Doing Business list (the last one available), Serbia has advanced by four positions compared to 2019 and now ranks 44th out of a total of 190 countries (Doing Business, 2020).

Entrepreneurs and small and medium-sized enterprises play a key role in society since they enable economic growth and solve social issues. It is in the national interest to support the establishment, survival, and development of entrepreneurs, small and medium enterprises. Their role, as a healthy and dynamic part of the economy, is crucial in times of crisis and unemployment, since they help increase employment, develop innovations, represent a significant source of tax revenues, and improve social welfare and cohesion by solving social issues. They support both national and local growth development and increase the effective operation of large companies.

Considering the importance of entrepreneurship, especially for developing countries like Serbia and countries that need internal incentives for faster economic development, it is extremely important to study the determinants that motivate individuals to start an entrepreneurial venture. The aim of the present study is to analyse these determinants.

The study will examine the motivations for starting an entrepreneurial venture, entrepreneurs' traits, entrepreneurs' creativity, innovativeness, and the willingness to accept risks as determinants of entrepreneurship.

2. Entrepreneurs' Characteristics

Starting and succeeding in an entrepreneurial venture depends on a number of factors. The factors that drive individuals to establish entrepreneurial ventures include macroeconomic conditions, regional conditions, motivation, creativity, innovation, willingness to accept risks, individual characteristics, demographic factors, education and work experience. Certain factors are assigned different importance depending on the approach, e.g., the individual level and the regional and macroeconomic level. Entrepreneurship can be examined from various angles, including but not limited to economic, psychological, and technical. The economic school of thought examines the entrepreneur as an individual starting a new venture and operating as a business. Parker (2018) provides a historical overview of different interpretations of an entrepreneur, from the creative disruptor to the risk taker to the modern understanding of entrepreneurship, where individual traits determine the outcome of the choice between the new venture and paid employment. The recent economic literature post-1978 (Parker, 2018) tends to be less concerned with questions of the definition of entrepreneurship and usually views entrepreneurship as any activity in which individuals are self-employed and willing to embrace risk for profit, forgoing relatively secure returns they might earn in another occupation.

Personality traits that influence individuals to become entrepreneurs are numerous and it is difficult to make a comprehensive list. The essence of entrepreneurship is finding ideas that can be implemented, i.e., which represent market opportunities, and the entrepreneur's personality traits should enable them to successfully establish and manage the entrepreneurial process.

Summarizing the numerous studies of entrepreneurship, Parker (2018) states that at the individual level, the determinants of entrepreneurship include:

- 1) financial and non-financial incentives (profit making, job satisfaction, desire for independence).
- 2) human capital (age, experience, formal education, entrepreneurship education).
- 3) social capital, business networks and entrepreneurial teams.
- 4) risk attitudes, excessive optimism, and other psychological traits.
- 5) marital status, health, and industrial factors.
- 6) family background.
- 7) the difference between an individual who considering starting a new venture and an individual who has started one or more parallel entrepreneurial ventures.
- 8) characteristics of the existing company.

Penezić (2003) lists the following basic traits of an entrepreneur:

- 1) Vision, or where they see their business going in the near future.
- 2) Total commitment, determination, and persistence to start again when they make a mistake and realize it. Potential entrepreneurs must rationally expect difficulties and often seemingly intractable problems. When such situations arise, they must not be disappointed and discouraged, but must see every mistake or failure as a new experience and opportunity to learn.
- 3) Self-confidence about oneself, one's values and abilities.
- 4) Optimism – entrepreneurs are optimistic by nature. When they start a business, they expect to succeed in it. However, optimism, in and of itself, is not enough. Entrepreneurs set a goal, believe that they will succeed and do everything to make it happen.
- 5) Innovation and creativity, not as an inventor in the traditional sense, but as someone who can occupy a part of the market that is often invisible to others.
- 6) Being result-oriented or having the ability to define goals and enjoy their achievement.
- 7) Ability to embrace risks, considering that starting one's own business involves risks that need to be carefully evaluated. Effective risk management is essential.

Parker (2018) states that the most important determinants of entrepreneurship are age, experience in the labor market, marital status, and whether a parent was an entrepreneur. A higher level of risk has a negative effect on starting an entrepreneurial venture, although market risk and risk attitudes have not been adequately quantified. Parker (2018) believes that psychological differentiating factors do not have a significant effect, since self-confidence and determination are conducive to success in entrepreneurship but are likely to be productive in other occupations as well. We believe, however, that interdisciplinary research on entrepreneurship is extremely useful, especially the analysis of determinants from the economic and psychological aspects. Parker (2018) argues that previous research has not properly quantified human capital. He also believes that social capital has potential but has not been sufficiently studied so far. Instead of looking for individual determinants of entrepreneurship, he argues, we should look for success factors in entrepreneurship and the conditions in which they thrive.

Harvard Business School (2020) notes that, although there's no single personality profile, there are certain characteristics shared by successful entrepreneurs.

1. Curiosity – An entrepreneur's ability to remain curious allows them to continuously seek new opportunities.
2. Structured Experimentation – With each new opportunity, an entrepreneur must do market research and run tests to determine if the opportunity is worthwhile to pursue.
3. Adaptability – New business challenges and opportunities present themselves at every turn, so successful business leaders must be adaptable and remain flexible to ensure their business keeps moving forward.
4. Decisiveness – Being decisive does not mean having all the answers. Successful entrepreneurs need the confidence to make challenging decisions and see them through to the end. If the outcome turns out to be less than favourable, the decision to take corrective action is just as important.
5. Confidence – Lack of confidence can deter investors or lead customers to question their purchasing decisions.

6. Team Building – A great entrepreneur is aware of their strengths and weaknesses. In many cases, it's the entrepreneurial team, rather than an individual, that drives a business venture toward success.

7. Risk Tolerance – Successful entrepreneurs are comfortable with encountering some level of risk to reap the rewards of their efforts; however, their risk tolerance is tightly related to their efforts to mitigate it.

8. Comfortable with Failure – Entrepreneurs must prepare themselves for, and be comfortable with, failure. Rather than let fear hold them back, they maintain a positive attitude to allow the possibility of success to propel them forward.

9. Persistence

10. Innovation

11. Long-Term Focus

Beringer and Ireland (2012) list the following characteristics of successful entrepreneurs:

- 1) passion for business,
- 2) focus on products and consumers,
- 3) perseverance despite failure,
- 4) execution intelligence (ability to transform an idea into a sustainable business).

In addition to individual characteristics, entrepreneurs' education, work experience and demographic characteristics are also important. Entrepreneurs' level of education is a vital factor, considering that entrepreneurs are on average more educated than the general population (Hisrich, Peters & Shepherd, 2008). Entrepreneurial education and the development of entrepreneurial orientation (Franceško, Njegomir, & Živković, 2018) are essential for solving the problems that entrepreneurs encounter in doing business. Work experience can have both negative and positive effects on deciding to start a new venture, depending on the individual's previous experience, which may be one of frustration and boredom, or growth and promotion. Upon starting an entrepreneurial venture, however, work experience has a significant positive role in growth and success.

Demographic factors of entrepreneurship include gender, age, ethnicity, or religious affiliation. Each of these factors has additional elements which determine entrepreneurs' success.

Entrepreneurs tend to be young to middle-aged men. The entrepreneurial barometer - a study by Ernst & Young - indicates that 76% of entrepreneurs in Serbia are men and 24% are women (EY, 2023). In the Agency for Business Registers report (APR, 2023), the structure recorded on March 1, 2023, is somewhat different, but it still shows a significantly higher proportion of male entrepreneurs (66.3%) compared to women (33.7%). In Serbia, 72% of entrepreneurs have a higher (university) education (at least three years), 12% have a college education, and 16% have secondary education (EY, 2023).

In recent times, the traditional demographic structure of entrepreneurs is changing significantly. In the USA, but also in Serbia, there is a growing number of women, elderly and young adults in entrepreneurship.

3. Entrepreneurial Motivation

In the previous sections, some of the factors that influence an entrepreneurial venture were listed. Besides individual characteristics, the decision to start an entrepreneurial venture is also influenced by social and environmental factors. Although passion, hard work, self-management, and business administration are necessary for starting an entrepreneurial venture and success in business (ME, 2023), we believe that three factors are crucial: the motivation that drives entrepreneurs to start the venture, innovation and willingness to accept risks.

Without motivation, entrepreneurs would not even decide to pursue new opportunities. Entrepreneurial motivation activates and motivates the entrepreneur to invest more effort to achieve their goals, which implies that a motivated entrepreneur will be ready to invest effort to achieve the set goal. The limitations that entrepreneurs must be prepared to overcome include the possibility of business failure, numerous obstacles, isolation and loneliness, financial insecurity, long working hours, often more than twelve, and multiple hours of daily engagement,

as well as strained personal relationships despite the support from family and friends (Mariotti & Glackin, 2016).

Incentives for entrepreneurial ideas and ventures include freedom, profit, influence, control, and creativity (Chrisos, 2023). However, in countries such as Serbia, with high job loss, lack of employment opportunities, or limited employment opportunities due to the lack of skills in demand, the way out is often self-employment. In a comprehensive survey of attitudes about entrepreneurship in Serbia, as many as 80% of respondents see entrepreneurship as a type of employment, while 65% of respondents see entrepreneurship as means of survival (CEVES, 2014).

Some people see implementing new ideas as a form of freedom and choice. Some might even feel that if they do not try it, they will regret it their whole life (McCormack, 1993). This is also a motivating factor for starting entrepreneurial ventures. Su et al. (2020) concluded that positive emotions can significantly influence entrepreneurial motivation and the entrepreneurial process. Bartha, Gubik, & Bereczk (2019) found that social mission boosts entrepreneurial motivation in Central and Eastern European countries. Hemert et al. (2019) indicated that entrepreneurial motivation has a positive effect on companies.

Penezić (2003) lists four key motives that have been confirmed by many studies and insights into business practice:

- 1) dramatic changes in family and/or personal situation (job loss, refugee status, divorce...).
- 2) availability of resources for starting a business (ideas, money...).
- 3) verified entrepreneurial abilities.
- 4) examples of other successful entrepreneurs.

The desire to achieve profitability is one of the key factors for starting an entrepreneurial venture in developing countries or in conditions where the entrepreneurial venture is started as a self-employment option rather than using ideas in practice. Money, however, is usually not a sufficient motivating factor for starting an entrepreneurial venture (Mariotti & Glackin, 2016). Usually, motives are associated with values, such as control, fulfilment, independence, self-confidence, ownership,

financial compensation (income and wealth), control over working conditions, and contribution to society (Mariotti & Glackin, 2016).

Three key factors that motivate individuals to become entrepreneurs have been identified: 1) the desire to be the owner of the business ('be one's own boss'), 2) implementing one's own ideas and 3) earning profit.

Being one's own boss is the aspiration of many entrepreneurs. In Serbia, according to the 2014 CEVES report, there are as many as 81% of those who strive for independence, reject authority, and feel frustrated at the thought of potential employment in organizations where the organizational structure imposes rules of conduct on them, as well as restrictions on their own expression, advancement and achievement of personal and professional goals.

Implementing one's own ideas is a very strong motivation for starting an entrepreneurial venture (Chrisos, 2023). Most people naturally wish to actualize their ideas. For instance, Google is a company that encourages creativity and entrepreneurship among employees by validating their creative and entrepreneurial spirit. Many large businesses have mechanisms to encourage corporate entrepreneurship. However, when these mechanisms are absent, individuals choose to leave the company and start an entrepreneurial venture.

Achieving profit is a secondary goal compared to the previous ones, except in Serbia (CEVES, 2014). In Serbia, entrepreneurship is seen as a type of employment (80% of respondents), means of survival (65% of respondents) or a way to get rich (52% of respondents). The main purpose of achieving this goal is financial independence. Making a profit and constantly increasing the company's value is the key business goal in certain situations. However, achieving profit often takes second place compared to the desire to actualize one's own ideas.

As there are numerous limitations that entrepreneurs have to overcome, it is possible that they may lose motivation along the way. There are several models that can ensure that motivation is maintained despite challenges. They include: 1) setting personal goals, 2) leveraging entrepreneurial success stories, 3) connecting with other entrepreneurs who learn about the challenges of entrepreneurship, 4) maintaining personal health, 5) creating a morning routine, 6) setting reminders, 7) engaging

in motivational activities, 8) sleeping well, 9) practicing challenges with loved ones and 10) rewarding oneself (Newlands, 2017).

4. Innovation

Innovation has been of vital importance throughout human history. Innovations, such as fire, the wheel, agriculture, irrigation systems, the use of metals, writing, etc., changed the course of history (Njegomir & Demko-Richter, 2013). Without innovation, humans would never be able to calculate, write, sail, drive, trade or improve their own well-being. Research shows that success in Japan was achieved thanks to the ability of businesses, i.e., entrepreneurs, to create new knowledge, disseminate it within organizations and incorporate it into products, services and systems (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). Unfortunately, innovation is underdeveloped in Serbia. The lack of innovation in Serbia is indicated by the Global Innovation Index (Dutta et al., 2022) for 2022, where Serbia ranks 55th in the world. Therefore, it is necessary to stimulate innovations, especially commercially viable innovations.

Entrepreneurs are the central actors of innovative change and disruption (Parker, 2018). By increasing the volume of production and improving competitiveness, innovative entrepreneurs open opportunities for further trade and specialization, the outcomes of which are higher productivity, living standards and economic growth (Campbell, 2009).

Creativity is thought to be entrepreneurs' defining characteristic which stimulates entrepreneurial innovations. Creativity is the ability to see the world in new ways, find hidden patterns, make connections between seemingly disparate things and create new ideas (Kaur, 2022). In the context of entrepreneurship, creativity implies the ability to create new ideas and solutions to consumer problems in a target market. On the other hand, entrepreneurial innovation represents the ability to put ideas into practice. Entrepreneurial innovation refers to creating new products or services, improving processes, or finding new markets for existing products or services (Kaur, 2022).

Creativity is influenced by intuition and the subconscious. Perspective formation is a key component of creativity (Barnard & Herbst,

2019). Barnard and Herbst (2008) studied different approaches to formal and semi-formal creativity processes. They noted that creativity is an essential factor for innovation, and thus for entrepreneurship. However, considering the numerous factors that influence the outcome of an entrepreneurial venture, it becomes clear that creativity alone is not enough. It must go hand-in-hand with general business acumen to achieve success in a new venture.

Creativity helps improve existing business practices, while innovation creates processes that turn an invention or innovative idea into a marketable product or service (Mazla et al., 2019). Entrepreneurs are dreamers, visionaries, full of energy, future-oriented and inclined to accept risks. Entrepreneurs need to initiate change and exert control over people and events so they can focus on the future. Entrepreneurs must be innovative, strategic thinkers who devise new methods for capturing markets or creating new markets. Some of these entrepreneurial giants, such as Henry Ford, Tom Watson (IBM) or Ray Kroc (McDonald's), influenced the global economy (Gerber, 2010).

Today, innovation, together with entrepreneurship, is a major driver of competitiveness, economic growth, and prosperity. New knowledge can generate growth only through transformation through entrepreneurship into innovation. Entrepreneurs are drivers of innovation. Entrepreneurs do not have to be innovators; however, they must have the ability to recognize marketable ideas and to allocate the necessary resources to implement a particular innovation. According to Draker (1985), the entrepreneur: 1) seeks change, 2) responds to it, and 3) uses it as an opportunity.

Innovations are an important element of entrepreneurship in any industry. In the insurance sector, for example, the invention of micro-insurance provided the opportunity for low-income citizens and businesspeople to be included in insurance coverage. Thanks to the emergence of public-private partnerships in insurance it became possible to provide capital to cover risks with catastrophic outcomes (Njegomir & Marović, 2013). Innovations have gained importance due to growing consumer demands and ever-stronger competition. Innovation is a key driver of competitiveness, economic growth and prosperity (Chandra

et al., 2009). Innovations determine productivity and growth in organizations, sectors, regions and countries, and are especially important for global businesses. Although innovations were mostly implemented in large companies during the 20th century, the practice has shown that small and medium-sized enterprises initiated most of the revolutionary innovations in the late 20th and the first two decades of the 21st century.

Innovation in entrepreneurship does not always mean creating a completely new product, service or business method. Innovations do not have to be based solely on scientific or technological inventions. Commercial breakthroughs, including new business models, also represent innovations in entrepreneurship (Spulber, 2014). The concept of innovation, derived from the Latin verb *innovare*, refers to renewal or restoration. Essentially, innovation involves the introduction of something new or different. In addition to devising and implementing new ideas, entrepreneurship also involves creative imitations, focusing on market niches and customer creation strategies. Entrepreneurial innovations, depending on the degree of novelty, are divided into 1) incremental innovations, where only certain aspects are improved (for example, technological or marketing), 2) market improvements, which include improvements in application, increasing consumer satisfaction and lowering costs for consumers, 3) technological improvements that are not passed on to the consumer and 4) radical innovations, which are the result of improvements in technology and utility for consumers.

According to the subject of innovation, innovations are classified into production, process, organization, and marketing (Oslo Manual, 2015; Pain, 2011; Allen & Yago 2010). Production innovations involve the introduction of new or significantly improved products or services, which improve the range and quality of the current offer. Process innovations involve the introduction of new or significantly improved processes for the manufacture or delivery of products and services. Organizational innovations refer to the implementation of new organizational methods. Marketing innovations are the implementation of new marketing methods, including significant changes in product design or packaging, product distribution, promotion, or pricing.

According to Mariotti & Glackin (2016), innovation is the essence of entrepreneurship. Where other people only see problems, entrepreneurs recognize opportunities. Many successful businesses grew from a good entrepreneurial perception of a problem. The authors give the example of entrepreneur Anita Roddick who resented paying for unnecessary perfumes and fancy cosmetics packaging and founded *The Body Shop International*, believing that other women felt the same. Innovative entrepreneurs need to practice how to recognize ideas and use their imagination.

In identifying opportunities, it is crucial to identify the products and services that people need and are willing to pay for, rather than the products and services that the entrepreneur wants to produce and sell. An opportunity must have four key qualities: 1) attractiveness to consumers, 2) durability, 3) timeliness, and 4) embeddedness in a product, service, or business that creates or adds value for customers and end users (Hayton, Chandler, & DeTienne, 2011). Timmons (1999) gives a similar definition, i.e., the opportunity must be 1) attractive to customers, 2) applicable in the business environment, 3) can be executed in a defined window of opportunity and 4) can be implemented with the right team as would be sustainable.

In addition to exercising creativity, Harvard Business School (HBS, 2020) identified several skills necessary for entrepreneurs to be innovative: 1) basic financial skills, 2) networking skills, 3) the ability to accept and act on feedback, 4) recognizing patterns in data, market trends, and consumer behaviour, 5) strategic thinking that includes analytical, communication, and problem-solving and planning skills, 6) negotiation skills, and 7) advanced thinking about intelligence, abilities, and talents.

5. Risk Acceptance

Risk has been an inextricable part of the rise of civilization from the first human communities to the present day. Today, due to the progress of the economy, medicine, science and technology, global business, population growth and value increase, individuals, businesses, and society are more exposed to risks than ever (Njegomir, 2011a). The gurus of

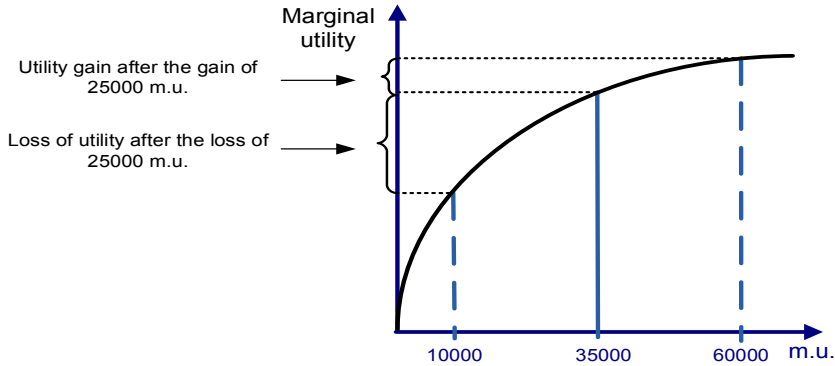
theoretical economics, Samuelson and Nordhaus (2009) emphasize that the economy is a risky business. Although there are many different definitions of risk, we believe that risk is best defined as a combination of the probability of an event and its consequences (ISO, 2002).

As early as 1755, Richard Cantillon noted that willingness to accept risks was essential for entrepreneurs. According to him, the entrepreneur is an arbitrator or speculator who conducts exchanges and bears the risk as a result of buying at certain prices and selling at uncertain prices. Knight (1921) indirectly indicates that embracing risk is a major factor. Brooke (2010) cited a later article by Knight (1942) that described profitable opportunities for entrepreneurs generated by heterogeneous subjective expectations arising under conditions of incomplete information. Canbur (1979) and Kilstrom and Lafont (1979) stress the importance of the risk aversion level, noting that risk-averse individuals choose paid employment, while more risk-tolerant individuals become entrepreneurs. Baluku et al. (2020) investigated risk aversion, entrepreneurial attitude and intentions in a sample of 573 students in their final year of study, and the employment status of participants six to twenty-four months after graduation. This study showed that risk aversion has a negative effect on general entrepreneurial attitude and intention. De Blasio et al. (2018) investigated the influence of risk attitudes on decisions to start an entrepreneurial venture. Using previous surveys of household income and wealth conducted by the Bank of Italy, the authors found that individuals who had experienced an earthquake had significantly higher risk aversion, and at the same time found that an increase in risk aversion had a significant negative effect on the likelihood that respondents become entrepreneurs. Previous research has shown that risk aversion is beneficial for decision-making while starting an entrepreneurial venture (Brandstätter, 2011; Obschonka & Stuetzer, 2017).

The economic explanation of the way people react to risk and uncertainty starts from the concept of diminishing marginal utility of income, which is equated with risk (Njegomir, 2011b). According to theoretical economics, depending on the willingness to accept risk, three types of people can be distinguished: risk-averse, risk-accepting and risk-neutral. The theory of diminishing marginal utility (Chart 1) says that most people are risk averse. In other words, most people feel that

the dissatisfaction that may arise from a certain loss is greater than the satisfaction from the same amount of gain.

Chart 1. Risk aversion



Source: Njegomir (2011b). Note: m.u. = monetary units

Chart 1 shows that additional income units increase utility by progressively smaller amounts. A function of diminishing marginal utility actually shows risk aversion. However, entrepreneurs are typically risk-accepting individuals.

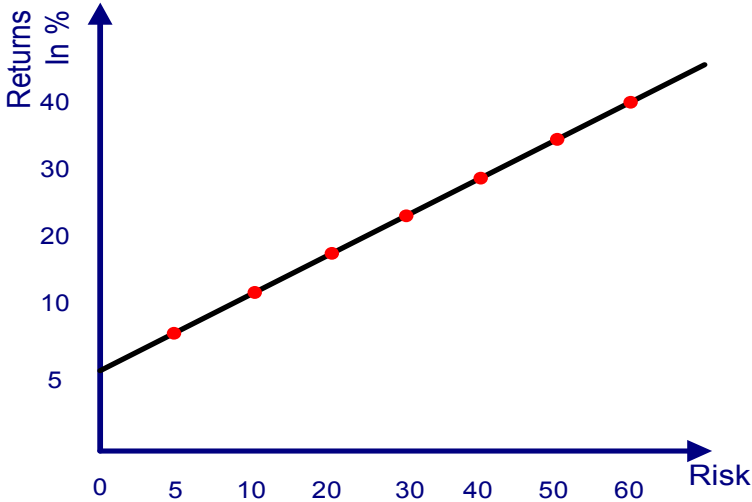
Both theory and practice agree that success requires taking risks. There is a functional dependence between risk acceptance, starting an entrepreneurial venture, and long-term success in business (Obschonka, Silbereisen, & Schmitt-Rodermund, 2015). Therefore, risk can have both a positive and a negative impact on the entrepreneur's business results. However, one cannot be an entrepreneur without embracing risk. It follows from the above that one of an entrepreneur's key features is the willingness to accept risks. There will be no business success without it. The extent of risk acceptance will directly depend on risk tolerance. Risk tolerance represents the level of risk that an individual or business entity is ready to accept for the sake of achieving a goal (Njegomir, 2011b). It depends on the availability of financial resources, willingness to accept risks and the entrepreneur's profile.

The entrepreneur's business is exposed to numerous risks that threaten property and assets, as well as employees' health and life, and that can disrupt business operations. Penezić (2003) lists the following risks that may pose a threat to entrepreneurs:

- Financial – Many entrepreneurial ventures are established with the help of personal savings that will be lost in case of failure. The same is true in the case of establishing a partnership.
- Career – Future entrepreneurs frequently want to know what will happen if their venture fails. Will they be able to find a new job or return to the previous one? This question does not apply to unemployed persons who see the business venture as a form of self-employment.
- Family/social – Starting one's own business requires a lot of time and energy. This is a huge sacrifice for the family, which is exposed to the risk of alienation and constant emotional turmoil.
- Psychological – An entrepreneur who has experienced a financial failure first-hand is usually not able to recover quickly. The fear of failure is also one of the most common causes of stress.
- Risks related to the acquisition of new equipment.
- Risks related to loan collection.
- Legal risks related to changes of legislation.
- Pure risks, such as the risk of fire, theft, and accident (insurable).

Accepting risk does not mean accepting the possibility of failure without preparation. Successful risk acceptance can be achieved with careful risk management. Risk management means minimizing risk costs. Risk management is seen as more than a cost centre concerned with avoiding fines due to non-compliance with legislation or high prices of financial risk coverage. Increasingly, it is viewed as a profit centre that enables business improvement, because it adopts a fundamentally different attitude, namely that risk can have both positive and negative impact on business performance. Variability is not necessarily bad if the entrepreneur or company can gain an advantage in their response to it compared to the competition. Chart 2 shows the risk and returns causality.

Chart 2. Risk and returns causality



Source: Njegomir (2011b)

Once again, risk is not necessarily bad. Being an entrepreneur means taking risks. Some entrepreneurs will succeed, while others will fail. Those who succeed use potential risks to explore new business opportunities.

6. Conclusion

Entrepreneurs are influenced by many factors. Whether they will be inclined to embark on an entrepreneurial adventure or not, depends on a number of individual characteristics, such as personality, education, work experience, but also on numerous demographic factors. However, motivation, innovation and willingness to accept risks have a dominant influence on starting an entrepreneurial venture.

As seen above, motivation is a key factor for starting an entrepreneurial venture and they strongly correlate. If there is no motivation,

there will be no entrepreneurial venture. There are three major motives for starting an entrepreneurial venture: 1) the wish to be one's own boss, 2) implementing one's own ideas and 3) earning profit.

Innovation is also very important. Entrepreneurial innovation is the ability to put ideas in practice. Without creativity and putting ideas into practice, there is no entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurial innovations are divided, according to the degree of innovation, into 1) incremental innovations, 2) market improvements, 3) technological improvements and 4) radical innovations.

Finally, there is no entrepreneurial venture without risk acceptance. Being an entrepreneur means taking risks. Some entrepreneurs will succeed, while others will fail. Those who succeed use potential risks to explore new business opportunities. Risk is an event that may or may not occur, the consequences of which may be positive or negative deviations from the set goal, i.e., the desired or expected business result. This means that risk can be a cause of failure, but also an opportunity for success.

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Tatjana Dumitrašković¹

UDC 821.111-31.09 More T.

Pregledni rad

Primljen: 09. 12. 2022.

Prihvaćen: 16. 05. 2023.

POJAM INDIVIDUALNE I VERSKE SLOBODE U MOROVOJ UTOPIJI

APSTRAKT: Prateći istoriju utopije, možemo da sagledamo da njen književni oblik uvek izražava kritički stav u odnosu na aktuelni društveni poredak. Početak formalnog žanra utopijske književnosti jeste objavljivanje *Utopije* Tomasa Mora 1516. godine. Morovo delo delimično nastavlja tradiciju starijih tekstova koji su još od antičkog doba pokušavali da definišu principe idealne društvene zajednice. Rad analizira pojam individualne i verske slobode u Morovoj *Utopiji*, pokušavajući da pokaže koliko je ta sloboda ograničena, kontrolisana i u službi održanja stabilnosti društvenog poretka. Takav pojam je podložan kritici jer, između ostalog, dopušta samo ograničenu meru ličnog odlučivanja.

KLJUČNE REČI: *sloboda, Mor, Utopija, poredak, kontrola*

1. Uvod

Istoriju utopije možemo da pratimo od klasičnih utopija antičkog sveta, poput Platonove *Države*, ili Aristofanovih komedija koje utopiju prikazuju iz satiričnog ugla, preko 1516. godine kada će formalno nastati ovaj književni žanr do mnogobrojnih utopijskih romana iz sedamnaestog i osamnaestog veka od kojih je najpoznatiji *Nova Atlantida* Fransisa Bejkona (*New Atlantis*, 1626). Avanturistički romani Herberta Džordža Velsa i Žila Verna, krajem devetnaestog i početkom dvadesetog

¹ vanredni profesor, Univerzitet u Istočnom Sarajevu, mejl: tanjadumi@yahoo.com,

veka, odredili su dalji razvoj utopijske književnosti pod okriljem žanra naučne fantastike. Kao suprotnost utopijskoj književnosti *Vrli novi svet* Oldusa Hakslija (*Brave New World*, 1932) i 1984. Džordža Orvela (*Nineteen Eighty-Four*, 1949) jesu dva dobro poznata primera distopijske književnosti iz prve polovine dvadesetog veka. Do revitalizacije utopijskog žanra doći će sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka kada dolazi i do ubrzanog razvoja feminističke utopijske literature.

Prema Nikoli Dediću (Dedić, 2009: 17–18), utopija je naziv za svaku državu sa idealnim uređenjem i podrazumeva radikalnu negaciju aktuelnog društvenog poretka. Svaka utopija, u tom smislu, podrazumeva zamisao postojanja idealnog društva kao celine i dovodi u pitanje postojeće društvo i društvene odnose.

Mirjam Eljav Feldon (Feldon, 1982: 85) smatra da se renesansne utopije oslanjaju na četiri motiva: društvenu pravdu, moralan život, iskorenjivanje individualizma i jednostavnost. One su, na primer, opisivale idealna izmišljena društva kao model po kom bi ljudi trebalo da se organizuju i žive zajedno. One su detaljno objašnjavale suštinu toga kako ljudsko društvo treba da bude uređeno i u isto vreme su omogućavale poređenje sa postojećim savremenim društvima. Pošto su bile uređene sistemski, predstavljajući pojedinca u odnosu na složen proces institucionalnog i društvenog napretka, one bi rešavale složena pitanja u vezi sa strukturom, slobodom i determinizmom, moralom, zakonom i socijalnom pravdom. Utopije renesanse su prikazivale kako bi buduće države mogle da izgledaju, preuzimajući sistem vlasti i stabilnost poretka starih Grka i Rimljana. Većina njih je naglašavala stabilnost u odnosu na mogućnost promena i iskazivanje različitosti. Konceptija *Utopije* Tomasa Mora, kao i onih koje su stvorili Kampanela, Berton i Bekon, naglašava društvenu pravdu, moralan život, odnose pojedinca i države i odsustvo eksploatacije.

Možda je upravo renesansna karakteristika utopije, koja naglašava stabilnost i konsenzus, „kriva“ za lošu sliku utopijskog načina mišljenja u zapadnoj političkoj kulturi. Negativnu sliku utopijskog načina mišljenja u zapadnoj političkoj kulturi možda najbolje ilustruje Ralf Dahrendorf (Dahrendorf, 1967: 139) koji kaže da je glavna karakteristika utopijskih društava mogućnost da se stvore uslovi u kojima ne bi dolazilo

do sukoba, ali da u stvarnosti takvi uslovi ne postoje i da se dešava da utopije indirektno najpre zahtevaju, a zatim glorifikuju razna ograničenja.

Lajman Tauer Sardžent (Sargent, 1982: 566–573) smatra da je utopija bitna, ali opasna, ističući da postoji trend različitih kritičkih osvrta o vrednosti utopijskog načina mišljenja po kom jedni smatraju da utopija vodi nasilju i totalitarizmu, dok drugi utopiju vide kao bitan element slobode i civilizacije. On dalje tvdi da su mnoge utopije iz perspektive individualnih sloboda distopije. Razlog vidi u tome što njihovi autori obično žele da istaknu vrednosti, kao što su jednakost, red i sigurnost, zanemarujući individualnu slobodu.

Zorica Đergović-Joksimović (Đergović-Joksimović, 2009: 73) smatra da se mnoge utopije klasičnog doba danas sve više tumače kao distopije, zbog države koja ima odlučujuću ulogu u društvu i strogih ograničavanja sloboda pojedinaca.

Utopijski složeni sistem kontrole slobode pojedinca naveo je mnoge kritičare da zaključe da je utopija totalitarni sistem zasnovan na nasilju. Dok Rut Levitas (Levitas, 2001: 28), između ostalog, smatra da utopija prikazuje želju za boljim životom, Džejms Kolin Dejvis (Davis, 1981: 61) definiše utopiju kao naglašavanje poretka u odnosu na slobodu, smatrajući da je utopija, u stvari, niz strategija da se očuva društveni poredak „suočen“ s nedostacima ljudske prirode od kojih je najopasnija samovolja. Za njega je utopija država zasnovana na stalnom i potpunom disciplinovanju ljudi. Hana Joran (Yoran, 2005: 8–9) vidi kvazitotalitarnu prirodu utopijskog društva kao posledicu utopijskog društvenog poretka koji stvara podanike lišene individualnosti i sposobnosti za samostalno razmišljanje.

Za početak formalnog žanra utopijske književnosti smatra se objavljivanje *Utopije* Tomasa Mora 1516. godine. Morovo delo delimično nastavlja tradiciju starijih tekstova koji su još od antičkog doba pokušavali da definišu principe idealne društvene zajednice.

Međutim, zbog razrađenog sistema kontrole slobode pojedinca u Morovoj idealnoj društvenoj zajednici mnogi kritičari je smatraju totalitarnom državom.

Džordž M. Logan (Logan, 1983: 7–35) smatra da su nepopularne mere i institucije opisane u Morovoj Utopiji cena koju je Mor morao da

plati da bi realizovao važnije ciljeve. Tako je brutalna spoljna politika bila neophodna da bi se očuvala sigurnost i samodovoljnost države. Da bi postigao važan cilj, a to je društvo jednakosti i socijalne stabilnosti, Mor je morao je da žrtvuje slobodu, čak i individualnost građana Utopije.

Za Henrija Volfganga Donera (Donner, 1945: 77) Utopija nije zemlja u kojoj se svako ponaša razumno zato što je to njegov izbor, već pod prisilom koja je nezamisliva za današnje vreme. Međutim, pošto se u Utopiji zakoni donose za zajedničku korist, stanovnici Utopije ne osećaju njihovu strogost kao prisilu, već dobijaju svoju slobodu u okviru zakona, identifikujući sopstvenu – individualnu volju s opštim dobrom.

En Opsal Kragset (Kragset, 2009: 7) smatra da Utopija sa svojom patrijarhalnom strukturom organizacije teško može da bude definisana kao društvo jednakosti. Zato je sloboda u Morovoj Utopiji uvek ograničena.

Rad analizira pojmove individualne i verske slobode, koje Mor opisuje u drugom delu svoje *Utopije*, pokušavajući da pokaže koliko je ta sloboda ograničena, kontrolisana i u službi održanja stabilnosti društvenog poretka.

2. Morova Utopija

Tomas Mor danas važi za najistaknutijeg engleskog intelektualca svoga vremena. Njegovo obimno poznavanje filozofskih i političkih dela klasične književnosti veoma mu je koristilo u rešavanju etičkih i društvenih problema koje opisuje u *Utopiji* (1516). Tomas Mor je počeo da piše *Utopiju* kada je bio u državnoj delegaciji u Flandriji 1515. godine. Morova knjiga je primer prvog jasno definisanog projekta utopije, kao ideala društvene zajednice.

U *Utopiji*, Tomas Mor kritikuje aktuelni društveni poredak, s jedne strane, i istovremeno projektuje društvenu zajednicu savršeniju od one na koju indirektno ukazuje, a to je Engleska 16. veka. Struktura knjige je upravo tako i oblikovana: prvi deo sadrži izmišljeni razgovor o ozbiljnim političkim i društvenim problemima u savremenoj Engleskoj, u kome dominira kritika engleskog pravnog i ekonomskog sistema 16. veka, dok tek u drugom delu Mor nudi sliku zamišljene, nepostojeće, savršene države utopije koja je te probleme pokušala da reši. U prvom

delu, Mor kritikuje kazneni sistem Engleske svoga doba, koji je promovisao smrtnu kaznu i za najsitnija krivična dela, prikazujući klasne podelu u Engleskoj. Uzrok svih zala u društvu, po Moru, jeste postojanje privatne svojine koja je posledica feudalnog društvenog uređenja koje omogućuje ogromno bogaćenje manjine i siromaštvo većine. Da bi se stvorilo savršenije društvo, Mor smatra da je najvažnije ukinuti privatnu svojinu i izvršiti decentralizaciju vlasti koja je poverena grupi ljudi koja ima određene moralne kvalitete. Podsticanje doživotnog obrazovanja je još jedna važna stavka koja utiče na razvoj društva. Morova Utopija je u drugom delu zamišljena kao idealno društvo koje je uređeno bez hijerarhijskih principa („odozdo prema gore“), po idealnim hrišćanskim moralnim načelima, idealnom zakonodavstvu i odbacivanju privatnog vlasništva. Utopija je prava republika u kojoj nijedan pojedinac ne podriva opšte interese radi ostvarivanja sopstvenih interesa. Na čelu države je vladar, ali u Utopiji ne postoje mehanizmi prinude nad pojedincem, odnosno ne postoje policija, vojska, kao ni privilegovana klasa na koju se vladar može osloniti u slučaju da mu podanici ne izglasaju poverenje. Na taj način Utopija se približila idealu „vladavine naroda“. Država Utopija je, za razliku od država Morovog doba, u službi građana – ona ne postoji kao posebna struktura institucionalizovane kontrole i prinude, ona nema posebne predstavnike niti posebna ovlašćenja kojima raspolaže nezavisno od odluka sastavnih jedinica, gradskih opština.

Iako je Morova Utopija zamišljena kao društvo jednakosti, istovremeno teži da smanji individualne slobode. U Morovoj zamišljenoj državi je nemoguće razdvojiti privatni i javni život. Dok je društvena stabilnost očuvana, pojedinac ima ograničenu slobodu u svim aspektima života. Da bi se sačuvala društvena harmonija, različitosti ljudske prirode se kontrolišu kroz organizaciju utopije ili modifikaciju ljudske prirode. U Utopiji je na čelu domaćinstva najstariji muški član, iako muž i otac nemaju apsolutnu vlast. Otac se brine da članovi porodice obavljaju svoje dužnosti, dok se on istovremeno brine o njima. Hana Joran (Yoran, 2005: 9) kaže da porodica u Utopiji ostaje stabilna celina samo dok doprinosi društvu kao celini. Nema privatnosti ili porodičnog života, ljudi mogu da ulaze u kuće i izlaze iz njih kako žele, a porodice mogu da se razdvajaju i sele u one delove zemlje koji su ređe naseljeni i u kojima su zato porodice najpotrebnije.

Utopijski sistem i utopijske ustanove su tako osmišljene da blokiraju svaki pokušaj ličnog uspona ka moći. Mor zamišlja Utopiju u skladu sa patrijarhalnom tradicijom, društvo kojim upravlja grupa moralno superiornih ljudi. U Utopiji nema one arogancije i oholosti koje donose položaj i posedovanje materijalnih dobara, nema luksuza, razvrata i razmetljivog preterivanja. Radni dan traje šest časova. Morova idealna država ima za cilj da omogući svim građanima što više vremena koje bi trošili na zadovoljavanje materijalnih potreba da troše na duhovno uzdizanje (Mor, 1964: 103). Ovakav Morov pristup je zaista bio radikalan.

Međutim, ono na šta nailazimo u Utopiji jeste uporno ograničavanje naizgled neograničene slobode. U Utopiji se život njenih stanovnika kontroliše do najsitnijeg detalja, kontrolišu se njihovo slobodno vreme (1964: 99), odeća koju nose (1964: 102), igre koje igraju (1964: 99–100), gde će sedeti u zajedničkim trpezarijama (1964: 108). Čak i kada je u nekim slučajevima formalno dopušteno da se odstupi od rutine, takvo odstupanje se neformalno sprečava. Mor kaže da svoje slobodno vreme svako može da provodi kako želi, ali ne u lenčarenju, već može da se bavi nekim prijatnim poslom koji nije nužno povezan s njegovim zanimanjem (1964: 99). Ispostavlja se da takvih poslova nema mnogo, u stvari ima ih samo dva – prisustvo javnim predavanjima rano ujutru i dobrovoljno nastavljanje redovnog posla. Obrazovanje i rad se preklapaju i, umesto da budu dobrovoljni i usmereni ka ličnom razvoju i ličnim potrebama, oni favorizuju zajednicu. Slično je i sa putovanjima u Utopiji. Opis putovanja počinje sa skoro neograničenom slobodom da bi se završio skoro potpunim ograničenjem. Građanin može da putuje gde god želi samo ako ima pismo vladara koje mu to dopušta, ali mora da postoji tačan datum povratka. Gde god da ide, mora da nastavi da se bavi svojim poslom. U slučaju da prekrši ovo pravilo, sledi stroga kazna (1964: 110).

Taj obrazac se stalno ponavlja: slobode se glasno i euforično najavljuju da bi se dalje u tekstu umanjivale. Mor to objašnjava time da su zabrane nametnute samo za ono što stanovnici Utopije smatraju neprirodnim ponašanjem. Oni se veoma trude da znatno smanje broj razlika među ljudima u okviru društva. Ista odeća ne uništava samo taštinu, već i razliku u položaju i zanimanju koju je odeća Tjudora i njihovih podanika veoma jasno pokazivala.

Politička struktura Utopije je takva da ljude koji vrše javne funkcije bira narod (Mor, 1964: 97). Društveni poredak se zasniva na disciplini, kontroli i nadzoru. U skladu sa tim je i spoljna politika Utopije. Utopljeni preziru rat, a ipak lako pronalaze mnoge razloge za ratovanje, uključujući pomoć sumnjivim „saveznicima“ i „prijateljima“, kao i potrebu da nasele neku teritoriju. Odnos Utopljana prema ratu može da se čini kritičkim. Međutim, on u sebi sadrži genocidni stav idealne, utopijske države prema jednom narodu čije pripadnike Utopija koristi da ratuju u njenu korist, namerno ih izlažući na najopasnija mesta (1964: 147). Slična okrutnost se može videti i u odnosu prema unutrašnjim neprijateljima – građanima koji su prekršili neka od krutih utopijskih pravila. Ropstvo ili egzekucija odmah slede onima koji počine teška krivična dela, kao što su raspravljanje o pitanjima od javnog značaja van senata, preljuba i prevara, napuštanje grada dva puta bez dozvole.

Možemo se saglasiti s mišljenjem En Opsal Kragset (Kragset, 2009: 7) da ovakvi primeri otkrivaju kvazitotalitarnu prirodu utopijskog društva, njegovu krutu strukturu i strogu kontrolu svakodnevnog života njegovih pripadnika. Hijerarhijsko društvo nije nudilo svim svojim građanima istu mogućnost – da upravljaju sopstvenim životima. Ljudi se nisu vrednovali kao pojedinci, a lične kvalifikacije su se cenile samo onoliko koliko su se uklapale u poziciju ili ulogu koju je neko zauzimao u društvenoj hijerarhiji.

U Morovoj Utopiji kontrola individualnog ponašanja se smatra neophodnom za očuvanje društvene harmonije. Sveobuhvatan raspored zakona, stroge kazne i sistem nadzora pomažu da se kontrolišu stanovnici koji nisu poslušni. Ljudska sreća se posmatra kao rezultat prosperiteta i društvene stabilnosti. U utopijskom društvu individualne razlike se moraju zanemariti radi stabilnosti države. Utopljeni se uglavnom tretiraju kao jednaki, a konformizam postaje sredstvo za postizanje harmoničnog društva. Utopija, kao država koja teži idealnom društvu, pokušava da se pobrine za ono što pojedinci smatraju važnim u svom ličnom životu. Ovo uključuje osnovne potrebe, kao što su: hrana i stanovanje, obrazovanje, posao, slobodno vreme, mogućnost razvijanja odnosa sa drugim ljudima, pravo na izražavanje sopstvenog mišljenja i aktivno učešće u političkim odlukama. S druge strane, postoji potreba da se obezbedi stabilnost društva i spreči ugnjetavanje pojedinaca ili

grupa unutar njega. Utopijsko društvo jasno pokazuje da je nemoguće da se postigne ravnoteža između individualne slobode i kolektivne stabilnosti.

Kada se govori o Morovom odnosu prema Crkvi i verskim slobodama u Utopiji, mora se spomenuti Erazmo Roterdamski koga je Mor smatrao najvećim teologom i misliocem svoga doba. Erazmo je napadao sektaše i crkvene velikodostojnike koji su smatrali da je potreba Crkve za prihvatanjem određene doktrine opravdavala upotrebu sile protiv onoga koga je Crkva smatrala neprijateljem. Posle reformacije, on je optužen za podrivanje autoriteta Katoličke crkve i proglašen za jeretika. Mor je branio svog prijatelja od optužbi da je jeretik i takođe je smatrao da su preterane napade Crkve na jeretike izazvali neki crkveni velikodostojnici njegovog doba koji su kršili moralne norme. Morova odbrana Erazma ukazuje na to da je kada je pisao *Utopiju* smatrao da je ponašanje Crkve politički opasno.

Ovakav Morov odnos prema Crkvi u Utopiji proizvod je njegovog odnosa prema autoritarnosti. Kao što je u savršenom društvu napao autoritarnost u političkom životu, tako je napao i autoritarnost Crkve u odnosu na religiju. U Utopiji nema uobičajene crkvene hijerarhije, vernici različitih verskih ubeđenja izvode one rituale koji su isti u pojedinačnim uverenjima. Svaki ritual koji se razlikuje od opštih interesa izvodi se u krugu porodice. Utopljski sveštenici zastupaju opšta uverenja, a ne pojedinačne religije, njihova uloga je više uloga učitelja i čuvara morala, nego propovednika svetih tajni.

Verska politika u Morovoj izmišljenoj državi je veoma jasna modernom čitaocu. Džejms Nendza (Nendza, 1984: 430–432) smatra da institucije koje promovišu verske tolerancije treba da spreče svađe i unaprede građanski mir. Štaviše, tri verske doktrine, koje svi građani Utopije moraju da poštuju, upravo su one doktrine koje su na drugim mestima u Utopiji neophodne za ograničavanje traženja zadovoljstva. Utop je, kao osnivač Utopije, uspostavio versku slobodu odmah po dolasku na vlast. On je smatrao „da niko ne sme da bude uznemiren zbog svog verskog ubeđenja“ (Mor, 1964: 154). Tako su Utopljsani dobili „slobodu da svako veruje u šta hoće“ (Mor, 1964: 155).

U isto vreme Utop je zabranio svom narodu da veruje da ne postoji život nakon smrti i zabranjena verska ubeđenja su, takođe, podrazu-

mevala verovanje da svetom upravlja slučaj, a ne božansko providenje (Mor, 1964: 155), ali niko nije mogao da, šireći svoja verska ubeđenja, vredi tuđe versko ubeđenje (Mor, 1964: 154) i to isključivo zato da se ne bi na taj način nipodaštavao poredak i moral. Mrtvi posmatraju pokrete svakog pojedinca i „odvraćaju da potajno vrše nečasna dela“ (Mor, 1964: 103). Utopljeni su pod stalnim nadzorom i svi učestvuju u verskim aktivnostima. Suština je u tome da je trebalo da zakoni protiv verske netolerancije i mržnje u Utopiji obezbede red u međuljudskim odnosima.

Međutim, ovde nije u pitanju samo verska tolerancija, već se radi i o jednom od osnovnih mehanizama održavanja društva. Život po određenim verskim načelima je na prvom mestu održavao poredak, jer „to veoma mnogo doprinosi održanju i jačanju društvenog poretka pošto se ovaj, inače, raspada jedino pod uticajem ljudskih poroka, a ti se rađaju iz izopačenog načina mišljenja“ (Mor, 1964: 159). To ukazuje da je utopljansko uređenje zadovoljavalo sve potrebe stanovništva i svaka promena poretka bi donela samo štetu zajednici. Religija je u takvoj zajednici imala ulogu da održava stabilnost poretka, jer je jedan od razloga zašto Utopljeni poštuju versku slobodu praktičan: verska neslaganja izazivaju svađe u zajednici, što ih čini ranjivim za osvajače.

Tomas Mor je u *Utopiji* pokazao da svi napori da se uspostavi najbolja država u hrišćanskom svetu moraju da se suoče sa problemima koje izaziva versko nasilje. Njegovo rešenje za ove probleme bila je originalna strategija za uspostavljanje odnosa između religije i vlasti. Glavna odlika ove strategije bila je verzija verske slobode koja je zabranjivala vlastima primenu komplikovane doktrine ili kršenje onoga što je on smatrao legitimnim pravima savesti. Istovremeno, ona je omogućavala vlastima da proglase legitimnim određena verska ubeđenja koja je Mor smatrao važnim za ponašanje koje podrazumeva visoke moralne standarde, kao i da odredi koji su to politički opasni verski običaji.

Dakle, i kada se govori o verskoj slobodi u Morovoj Utopiji govori se o ograničenoj slobodi u kojoj su Utopljeni morali da prihvate određene verske doktrine.

Kako primećuje Fredrik Džejmson (Jameson, 2005: 32), Morova *Utopija* funkcioniše kao prostorni narativ i kao satira. Kao prostorni narativ, *Utopija* sažima sledeće reprezentacione modele Morovog doba:

antičku Grčku, koja će poslužiti kao model za figuru humanističkog intelektualca; protestantizam, koji će spojiti principe Platonove *Države* s idejom hrišćanskog komunizma (pri čemu religija i dalje funkcionira kao osnovni element socijalne kohezije) i srednjovekovni manastir, kao model izolovane zajednice koncipirane na principima discipline, sklada i ravnoteže. Kao satira, *Utopija* sažima dva narativna žanra – formu ustava i formu političkog manifesta.

U oba slučaja, pitanje ograničenosti individualnih i verskih sloboda koje prožima sve aspekte privatnog i javnog života Morovog utopijskog društva ostaje centralno pitanje koje problematizuje utopijski karakter Morove idealne države.

3. Zaključak

Kada je objavljena, Morova *Utopija* je za većinu ljudi predstavljala jedno društvo koje je bilo mnogo bolji izbor od društva u kome su trenutno živeli, jep je pokazivala šta je potrebno za suočavanje sa društvenim nevoljama opisanim u prvoj knjizi. Marljivost, skromnost, razboritost, altruizam, ljubav prema bližnjemu pripisuju se stanovnicima Utopije. Zato se *Utopija*, kao želja za nečim boljim i kritika postojećeg društva, čini verodostojnom.

Kada, međutim, govorimo o pojmu individualne slobode u Morovoj *Utopiji*, on je potpuno podređen stabilnosti poretka. Sveobuhvatnost sistema kontrole i nadzora u Utopiji proizvod je ideje da svaka aktivnost koja nije kontrolisana može biti mogući uzrok društvenog nereda i da, stoga, ne treba da postoji razlika između javne i privatne sfere. S obzirom da se u Utopiji ljudski odnosi i individualno ponašanje, kao i verska ubeđenja i običaji, regulišu do najsitnijih detalja, posledice su takve da ljudi praktično nemaju privatnost, pa je njihova individualna sloboda ograničena. Utopija u potpunosti kontroliše života svojih građana. Društveni poredak zasniva se na disciplini, kontroli i nadzoru, koji ukidaju prostor za slobodnu aktivnost i bilo kakav oblik individualne inicijative. Odustaje se od ličnih odluka i želja zarad reda i stabilnosti, čime se ozbiljno ograničava sloboda pojedinca. Utopija želi korisne građane, koji doprinose opštem dobru, a ne samostalne mislioce koji preispituju

i suprotstavljaju se sistemu. Nemilosrdan odnos države prema njenim neprijateljima, kao i kažnjavanje onih građana koji prekoračuju krute principe Utopije i krše njena strogo uspostavljena pravila, razotkriva njenu mračnu stranu. Jačanjem svojih institucija discipline i nadzora, Utopija, kao država, nastoji da u što većoj meri ograniči integritet i slobodu ličnog odlučivanja svojih građana.

Sve ovo navodi na zaključak da Utopija, osim što odražava hijerarhijsku strukturu, kontroliše svaki aspekt života do te mere da liči na totalitarni režim. Kao takva, ona je podložna kritici i doprinosi ispravnosti shvatanja da je ono što se predstavlja kao utopija ponekad bliže distopiji.

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Tatjana Dumitrašković¹

UDC 821.111-31.09 More T.

Review Article

Received: 09/12/2022

Accepted: 16/05/2023

THE CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUAL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN MORE'S *UTOPIA*

ABSTRACT: Following the history of utopia, we can see that its literary form always expresses a critical attitude in relation to the current social order. The beginning of the formal genre of utopian literature was the publication of Thomas More's *Utopia* in 1516. More's work partly continues the tradition of older texts that, since ancient times, have tried to define the principles of an ideal social community. The paper analyses the concept of individual and religious freedom in More's *Utopia*, trying to show how much this freedom is limited, controlled, and in the service of maintaining the stability of the social order. Such a concept is open to criticism because, among other things, it allows only a limited measure of personal decision-making.

KEYWORDS: More, freedom, Utopia, order, control

1. Introduction

The history of the idea of a harmonious society, or Utopia, can be traced back to classical antiquity to works such as Plato's *Republic* and the comedies of Aristophanes. In the year 1516, the work that gave the name to the whole genre was completed, followed by a number of uto-

¹ Associate Professor, University in Eastern Sarajevo, e-mail: tanjadumi@yahoo.com,

pian novels in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, among which Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1626) was the most well-known. The idea was further developed in the adventure novels of H.G. Wells and Jules Verne in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries within the genre of science-fiction; almost a half-century later, a rather pessimistic turn ensued: Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932) and George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949) are two famous examples of dystopian literature from the first half of the twentieth century, while in the latter half revitalization of the genre took place in the growth of feminist utopian literature in the seventies.

According to Nikola Dedić (Dedić, 2009: 17–18), Utopia is a name given to an ideal state and implies radical negation of any existing social order, it is a project of an ideal society as a whole, critical towards actual governments and relations in society.

Miriam Eliav-Feldon (Feldon, 1982: 85) claims that utopias in the Renaissance were based on four motives: social justice, ethical life, eradication of individualism, and simplicity. These works describe ideal fictional societies as models of how people should organize their lives and live together. They explained in detail the essence of a well-ordered community at the same time offering a comparison with existing contemporary societies. They represented individuals in the context of a complex organized process of institutional and social progress that should be able to solve structural problems of the community regarding freedom and determinism, morality, law, and social justice. These utopian projects described how human society may look if modelled upon the system of government and stability of the societies of ancient Greeks and Romans. Most of them gave precedence to stability over social change and expressing differences. The conceptions set forth in Thomas More's *Utopia* and in similar books written by Campanella, Burton, and Bacon emphasized social justice, life of morality, the relations between individuals and state, and the absence of exploitation.

Perhaps exactly this specific feature of utopias in the renaissance is 'guilty' for the unfavourable reception of the utopian style of thinking in western political culture. This negative picture is perhaps best illustrated by R. Dahrendorf's (Dahrendorf, 1967: 139) contention that the

main characteristic of the utopian societies was to create conditions that would prevent conflicts, but there were no such conditions; hence, these societies at first implicitly call for different restrictions, subsequently, explicitly glorifying them.

L.T. Sargent (Sargent, 1982: 566–573) claims that utopias are important but dangerous and emphasizes that there has been a trend of critical evaluations about their importance, some of them holding that utopias lead to totalitarianism and violence, while others see them as essential elements conducive to freedom and civilization. He further claims that many utopias are, from the perspective of individual freedoms, in fact, dystopias; the reason being that their authors wishing to emphasize values such as equality, order, and security, tend to disregard individual freedom.

Zorica Đergović-Joksimović (Đergović-Joksimović, 2009: 73) thinks similarly that many of the classical utopias are interpreted today as dystopias because of the leading role of the state and severe restrictions imposed on the freedom of the individuals.

The complex system of controlling personal freedom led many critics to conclude that utopian totalitarianism is based on violence. On the one hand, R. Levitas (Levitas, 2001: 28), holds that, among other things, utopias represent human desire for a better life; J. C. Davis (Davis, 1981: 61) on the other, defines utopias as prioritizing social order at the expense of individual freedom, emphasizing that utopia is, in fact, a series of strategies of protecting social order 'facing' imperfections of human nature, among which wantonness is the most dangerous. For him, utopia is a state directed towards continually and completely disciplining people.

Hana Yoran (Yoran, 2005: 8–9) sees the quasi-totalitarian nature of the utopian society as a consequence of a social order that produces subjects lacking individuality and any capability of independent reasoning.

Although Thomas More's *Utopia*, published in 1516, gave the name to the literary genre, it represents a continuation of a long tradition of writings reaching back to classical antiquity in which the authors tried to establish the principles of an ideal community for human beings. However, due to a very elaborate system of control in More's ideal com-

munity, many critics consider it to be a totalitarian state.

George M. Logan (Logan, 1983: 7–35) thinks that the unpopular measures and institutions described in the book are the price More had to pay in order to realize more important goals. For example, the brutal foreign policy was necessary to preserve internal security and self-sufficiency of the state. To realize an important goal – equality and social stability – More had to sacrifice freedom and even individuality of Utopian citizens.

H.W. Donner (Donner, 1945: 77) claims that Utopia is not a country in which everyone acts reasonably because it is his/her choice to do so, but because they are coerced to such an extent that is unthinkable today. However, the citizens do not perceive this strictness as coercion, since laws are enacted for the benefit of everyone and they accept their freedom within the confines of the law, in other words, they identify their individual benefits with common good.

A. O. Kragset (Kragset, 2009: 7) thinks that Utopia with its patriarchal organization structure could hardly be understood as a society of equals. Thus, freedom in More's *Utopia* is always restricted.

This paper analyses the concepts of individual (personal) and religious freedom which More describes in the second part of his book showing how this freedom is limited and controlled serving the purpose of maintaining the stability of the social order.

2. More's *Utopia*

Thomas More is today considered to have been the leading intellectual of his time in England. His thorough knowledge of philosophical and political works in Greek and Latin greatly contributed to finding solutions to ethical and political problems he describes in his *Utopia* (1516). He started writing the book during his visit to Flanders in 1515 as a member of a delegation. More's book was the first to present a clearly defined project of an ideal community – Utopia; he simultaneously criticized the actual social order in 16th century England and sketched a project of a society more perfect in comparison with the one he kept alluding to. This is mirrored in the structure of the book. The first part

contains a fictitious conversation about the serious political and social problems in 16th century England and, more importantly, a critique of the contemporary legal and economic system, whereas in the second part, he offers a picture of an imagined, inexistent, perfect state in which he tries to solve those problems.

In the first part, More criticizes the English penal system that prescribed the death penalty even for minor offenses, thus showing that class division dominated the society. The root of all evils, according to More, was private property, a consequence of the feudal system that made possible an enormous wealth acquisition by the few and poverty of the many. In order to improve society, the most important thing to do is, More thought, to abolish private property and decentralize the government by selecting for office a group of people having certain moral qualities. He encouraged life-long education convinced that it should contribute to such a selection.

In the second part, More sketches an ideal society organized without hierarchy, in accordance with Christian moral principles, ideal legislation, and abolishment of private property. Utopia is a republic in which no individual can undermine general interest in order to gain selfish profit. There is a head of the state (the Princeps or Mayor), but in Utopia there are no coercive mechanisms exercising force upon citizens, in other words, there is no police, no army nor any privileged class the head of the state can rely on, in case he is denied support. In this aspect, Utopia approached an ideal, namely, the "rule of the people". In contrast with states of the period, the state of Utopia is a service to the citizens, it does not exist as a separate structure of institutionalized control and coercion, it has no representatives, no separate authorities at its disposition that are independent of the decisions made by the constituent parts of the state – the districts.

Although Utopia was conceived as a community of equals, at the same time, individual freedoms tend to be restricted. In this fictitious society, it is not possible to differentiate private and public life. Social stability should be promoted at the expense of personal freedom in every aspect of life. Social harmony is saved by controlling differences in human nature either organizationally or through modification. The

head of the household is the eldest male member, although the father and the husband do not have absolute power. The father takes care of the members of his family and supervises them while performing their chores. Hana Yoran (Yoran, 2005: 9) says that the family in Utopia remains a stable unit as long as it contributes to the society as a whole. Privacy and family life do not exist; people can enter and leave the house as they please, but families can be divided and can move only to those parts of the country that are sparsely colonized, where, for that reason, families are needed the most.

The Utopian social system is designed to block any personal ambition from taking power. More conceived Utopia in the spirit of patriarchal tradition, as a community ruled by a group of morally superior people. In Utopia there is no arrogance and excessive pride coming with social status and possession of material goods, no luxury, debauchery, and ostentatiousness. The working day lasts six hours; and the aim is that the citizens devote their time to spiritual development, instead of spending it on satisfying material needs. This idea of More's was indeed radical.

However, what we encounter in Utopia is incessant restricting apparently unrestricted freedom. The life of the citizens in Utopia is controlled to the minutest detail: their free time (1964: 99), the clothes they wear (1964: 102), the games they play (1964: 99-100), the place they sit in the refectory (1964: 108).

Even when in some cases departure from this routine is formally allowed, such departures are informally sanctioned. More (i.e., the narrator, Raphael) says that citizens in their spare time are free to do what they want; however, not idly wasting it away, but pursuing some pleasant activity, not necessarily connected with their job (1964: 99). It turns out, however, that there are only two such activities: attending public lectures in the morning, or further practicing their trade, voluntarily, of course. Education and work coincide, but communal usefulness is more valued than personal development or personal requirements. Not much different is the case of traveling. The description of traveling starts with almost unlimited freedom and ends up with almost total restriction. The citizen is free to go anywhere, but only with written permission

of the Mayor with the exact date of return. Wherever one goes, he/she must work, and continue practicing his/her trade. In case this rule is violated, the perpetrator is severely punished. (1964: 110). This pattern is repeated over and over again: at first, freedoms are proclaimed loudly and exultantly just to be gradually diminished, as the text goes further. More explains this by stating that the prohibitions are imposed only to those kinds of behaviour which the citizens of Utopia regard as unnatural. They try very hard to minimize differences among the members of the community. The same colourless outfit not only destroys vanity, but also the differences in status and trade that the garments of the Tudor period clearly showed.

In Utopia the public officials are elected by the people (More 1964: 97). The social order is based on discipline, control and surveillance. Their external policy is surprising though. They despise war and yet find many reasons to enter into conflict with others, either by giving military support to dubious 'allies' and 'friends' or if they find some territory suitable for settlement. This attitude to war may seem critical, but their treatment of one nation (the Venalians), used as mercenaries and exposed to most dangerous situations, for whom they care little whether they survive or die in battles, who are only wicked men to exploit (1964: 147) is barbaric. Similar cruelty can be observed in the treatment of citizens who violated some of the rigid Utopian rules – these being the internal enemies – punishable by slavery or death for committing vicious crimes such as debating questions of public interest outside the senate, adultery, fraud or leaving the place of residence twice without permit.

We agree with Ann Opsal Kragset (Kragset, 2009: 7) that these examples show the quasi-totalitarian nature of the Utopian society, its rigid structure and strict control over the lives of its citizens. Hierarchical societies do not offer equal opportunities to all their members – they do not allow people to take their lives into their own hands; citizens are not appreciated as individuals; their individual capabilities are valued as long as they fit in a position or role in the hierarchical structure.

In Utopia, the control of individual behaviour is considered necessary for the preservation of communal harmony. The comprehensive distribution of law, severe punishments, and a system of surveillance are

instrumental in keeping disobedient citizens orderly. Human happiness is considered to be the result of general prosperity and social stability; individual differences are eliminated for the sake of stability, and citizens are treated as equals, but obedience (conformism) becomes the means to achieve social harmony. Utopia as a state is concerned with taking care of every need its citizens deem important in their personal lives; bare necessities such as food, dwelling, education, job, leisure, interaction with others, freedom of expression, and active participation in making political decisions. Nevertheless, there is also a need to secure stability and prevent despotism, hence the oppression of individuals and groups within the society. More's Utopia has shown very clearly that it is impossible to achieve a balance between individual freedom and collective stability.

A great influence on Thomas More's views regarding Catholic Church and religious freedoms was Erasmus, a personal friend, who More considered the greatest theologian and thinker of his time. Erasmus attacked the Church whose officials justified the use of force against those who rejected the official doctrine and were considered 'enemies' of the Church.

After the Reformation, he was accused of undermining the authority of the Catholic Church and declared a heretic. More defended his friend from these accusations and was very much convinced that these attacks were the result of the hypocrisy of church dignitaries. These facts indicate that More considered such a position of the Church politically dangerous. As he rebelled against injustice and greed in political life, similarly he had a strong aversion to the authoritarianism of the Church.

In Utopia, there is no ecclesiastic hierarchy, but believers of various creeds perform common rituals. Those rituals which depart from the common ones are performed at home, within the family. Utopian priests represent common religion, not particular creeds, resembling more teachers or guardians of public morality than preachers of the holy sacrament.

Religious policy in More's imaginary state is clear to the modern reader. J. Nendza (Nendza, 1984: 430–432) thinks that institutions that promote religious tolerance should prevent controversy and contribute to peace in society. Moreover, the three religious doctrines all the

citizens must adhere to are exactly the ones established elsewhere in Utopia as necessary to limit pleasures. Utopos, the founder of Utopia, immediately after coming to power, established religious freedom: no one should be terrorized for what he believes (More, 1964: 154). Thus, the Utopian citizens got the freedom to believe whatever they wanted (More, 1964: 155).

At the same time, Utopos forbade the people to believe that there is no life after death and that the universe is governed by chance, not by god's providence. But no one was allowed to convert others or spread his own beliefs by force or by insulting other people's beliefs because that would lead, Utopos thought, to threatening social order and public morality. The Dead observe the acts of each individual "discouraging them from doing wicked deeds" (More, 1964: 103). The Utopians are under constant surveillance, and everyone should participate in religious activities. The laws against religious intolerance and hatred in Utopia should secure order in human interaction. However, it is not just religious tolerance that is at stake here, but this is about one of the fundamental mechanisms of maintaining society: life in accordance with religious principles is essential to preserving social order, since "it contributes greatly to the safety of the state, which is never seriously threatened except by moral defects arising from wrong ideas" (More, 1964: 159). This shows that the order as it is, satisfied the needs of the citizens and that every change would harm the community. In such a community the role of religion is to maintain stability of the order; therefore, the aim of introducing religious tolerance is essentially practical. Disputes and quarrels weaken the community because the citizens would be less prepared to defend it.

More showed in *Utopia* that the efforts to develop a perfect society in the Christian world had to face problems created by religious violence. His original strategy to solve these problems was to establish a new relationship between religion and power. The essential feature of this strategy was a version of religious freedom that did not allow the application of complicated doctrines and breaching of what he called legitimate rights of conscience. At the same time, it made it possible to legitimize those religious beliefs that More considered important for moral behaviour and to define religious customs he considered politi-

cally dangerous.

Thus, there were doctrines that Utopians simply *had to* accept; Utopian religious freedom was, therefore, restricted.

Frederick Jameson (Jameson, 2005: 32) noticed that More's *Utopia* functions as a spatial narrative and as a satire. As a spatial narrative, *Utopia* comprises the following representational models (of More's time): ancient Greece, as a model for the role of humanistic intellectual; Protestantism, synthesizing the principles of Plato's Republic with the idea of Christian communism – in which religion functions as the basic element of social cohesion – and medieval monastery, as a model of an isolated community based on the principles of discipline, harmony, and equilibrium. As a satire, *Utopia* comprises two narrative genres: the form of a constitution and the form of a political manifesto.

In both cases the question of restricting personal and religious freedoms pervading every aspect of private and public life of More's Utopian society remains the central issue troubling the ideal state.

3. Conclusion

When it was published, More's *Utopia*, for most of its readers represented a much better society the one in which they were living, because it had shown what was needed to mitigate discontents that had been described in the first book. Diligence, humility, prudence, altruism was ascribed to the inhabitants of Utopia. That is why the authentic desire for better life and the critique of actual social order has become synonymous with *Utopia*. However, personal freedoms are completely subordinated to the stability of the state. The comprehensive system of control and surveillance in Utopia are the consequence of the idea that any activity unconstrained can become a possible cause of rebellion and that, therefore, the differences between public and private should be eliminated. In Utopia relationships among people, individual behaviour, as well as religious beliefs and customs are regulated to the minutest detail, the consequence of which being that individuals in fact have no privacy and their personal freedom is thus restricted, in other words, the state controls the lives of its citizens. The social order is based on

discipline, control and surveillance, thus any free activity or individual initiative is abolished. Personal decisions and wishes are given up, for the state wants useful citizens contributing to common prosperity, not free thinkers who question and criticize the system. The state is ruthless towards its enemies and the citizens who violate the rigid rules imposed are severely punished. By strengthening its institutions of discipline and surveillance the state reduces the integrity and the freedom of personal decision making of the citizens and this reveals the dark side of the harmonious society. Maintaining control in addition to hierarchical structure is reminiscent to the functioning of totalitarian regimes. Therefore, the criticism that what appears as utopia may be sometimes closer to dystopia is justified.

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Tijana Perić Diligenski^{1*}

UDC 343.278:32

Pregledni rad

Primljen: 31. 03. 2023.

Prihvaćen: 28. 06. 2023.

POSTKOMUNISTIČKA LUSTRACIONA PRAVDA

REZIME: U radu se razmatra fenomen postkomunističke lustracije, kao moralne osude sa diskvalifikacionom političkom logikom. Cilj rada jeste da se primenom metode studije slučaja utvrdi da li su lustracioni procesi u državama postkomunističke tranzicije determinisani delatnom političkom voljom ili su rezultanta društvenih htenja da se postigne socijalna pravda. Nalazi rada pokazuju da ne postoji uniformno rešenje o sprovođenju lustracije, već su lustracione elite optirale za kazuiističku logiku. Društveno i naučno je relevantna i okolnost da su države sa sličnim strukturalnim karakteristikama i komunističkom prošlošću primenjivale varijabilne lustracione mehanizme u različitim periodima (na početku tranzicije ili znatno docnije).

KLJUČNE REČI: *lustracija, ljudska prava, odgovornost, prošlost, korupcija*

1. Uvodna razmatranja

Pad *gvozdene zavese* inicirao je međunarodno kritičko propitivanje nasleđa dojučerašnjih komunističkih režima. U otklonu od represivnih tekovina totalitarističkih tendencija isticao se Savet Evrope, koji je 1996. godine normirao lustraciju (Rezolucija Parlamentarne skupštine Saveta Evrope 1096 merama za uklanjanje nasleđa bivših komunističkih

^{1*}Naučni saradnik, Institut za političke studije, Svetozara Markovića 36, Beograd; peric.tijana@yahoo.com, <https://orcid.org/my-orcid?orcid=0000-0002-2175-9134>

totalitarnih sistema). U navedenoj rezoluciji polazi se od stanovišta da lustracija ne sme da bude pretnja osnovnim ljudskim pravima i da osve- ta ne sme da bude *ratio legis* lustracijskih zakona u postkomunističkim državama. Svrha lustracije u duhu Rezolucije nije izricanje krivičnih sankcija pretpostavljenim odgovornim licima, već zaštita novonastalih demokratija. *Ratione materiae*, lustracija se ograničava na funkcije koje su od fundamentalnog značaja za ljudska prava i demokratiju, poput pravosudnih instanci, bezbednosnih i obaveštajnih službi. Podvlači se da nijedna osoba ne sme da bude podvrgnuta lustraciji zbog svojih uverenja i ličnih mišljenja, te da je ona isključivo usmerena na ona lica koja su nalogodavci, izvršioci ili pomagači u delima koja predstavljaju ozbiljna kršenja ljudskih prava, zbog čega im se može trajno zabraniti vršenje neke funkcije ili obavljanje dužnosti. Rezolucijom je preporučeno da se krivična dela koja su izvršili pojedinci za vreme komunističkog režima procesuiraju i sankcionišu na osnovu krivičnog zakonodavstva. Rezolucija polazi od procesnopravne a ne od materijalnopravne logike i predviđa mogućnost produženja rokova zastarelosti krivičnih dela. Noseći stub lustracije, prema Rezoluciji PACE, jeste onemogućavanje „sumnjivim“ licima iz komunističke epohe da obavljaju javne funkcije u novim demokratijama, budući da ih u prošlosti nisu obavljali na temelju etičkih i demokratskih načela, što mora da bude dokazano *in concreto*.

2. Fenomenologija postkomunističke lustracije

Kao zakonodavna ili egzekutivna odluka, lustracijska logika inkorporira sledeća svojstva: 1) sumnju na „navodni“ sporan angažman u prošlosti, koncipiran na kolektivnoj odgovornosti za zloupotrebe koje se određuju pod vlastitim programom lustracije; 2) postojanje zaštićenih sadašnjih ili budućih javnih funkcija; 3) primenjivanje specifičnih metoda ili postupaka (poput skrininga), koji uključuju potencijalnu pretnju (poput uklanjanja ili javnog izlaganja) (Rožič & Nisnevich, 2016). Pojedini autori prilaze lustraciji kao meri koja dovodi do smanjenja korupcije sistematskim limitiranjem političke participacije bivšim autoritarnim akterima, što je preambiciozan pristup koji zanemaruje antropološki pesimizam i pohlepu potonjih aktera. Do ovog stanovišta

došlo se nakon sprovedenog empirijskog istraživanja koje je obuhvatalo panel podatke iz 30 postkomunističkih država u periodu od 15 godina (1996–2011). Nalazi istraživanja pokazuju da lustracija ima remetilački efekat na političke, ekonomske i administrativne malverzacije prethodnih režima, što je našlo pozitivnu empirijsku potvrdu u postkomunističkim iskustvima Estonije, Gruzije i negativnom iskustvu Rusije u kojoj je postojao i još uvek postoji odijum prema ovom fenomenu (Ibid., str. 257–258).

U fenomenološkoj ravni, lustracija bi se se mogla izjednačiti sa svojom zapadnonemačkom pretečom (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung* – suočavanje s prošlošću), fokusiranom na kritički otklon prema Trećem rajhu i na ostrakizam malignog tkiva nacističke ideologije iz javnog života. Zapadnonemačko lustraciono iskustvo postalo je referentna tačka za uspostavljanje moralnih normi odgovornosti, „*lingua franca* moralne globalne misli, glavno ideološko sredstvo pri podnošenju zahteva za obeštećenje i reparaciju“ (Ignatieff, 2003, str. 53–54). Konceptualno, lustracija, u užem smislu, podrazumeva proces dekomunizacije, odnosno diskvalifikacije i isključivanja sa najznačajnijih javnih funkcija identifikovanih pojedinaca povezanih sa prošlim režimom, posebno onih koji su se stručno i politički kompromitovali u trećoj grani vlasti i birokratskom aparatu (Morgan, 2020). Tranziciona pravda je metodološki širi pojam (koji u sebe inkorporira i lustraciju) koji se određuje kao „samosvesna konstrukcija distinktivnog shvatanja pravde povezane sa periodima radikalne političke promene usledile nakon opresivne vladavine“ u latinoameričkim i postsovjetskim tranzicionim kontekstima (Teitel, 2014, str. 3).

Na ovom mestu podvlačimo da je važno da se izbegne terminološka zamka izjednačavanja lustracije i dekomunizacije. Ova potonja pojava podrazumeva uklanjanje iz javne uprave visokih komunističkih zvaničnika i predstavlja pitomiju varijantu denacifikacije. Podvlačimo da intencija dekomunizacije nije dovođenje u istu ravan nacističkih i zločina socijalističkog režima. U slučaju denacifikacije i dekomunizacije, identitet visokorangiranog naciste ili komuniste je opštepoznat, te oni ne mogu da budu ucenjeni pretnjom otkrivanja kompromitujućih informacija o njihovoj prošlosti. Kad je reč o lustraciji, neotkriveni bivši tajni agent ili saradnik policije podložan je ucenjivanju i neretko biva

koruptor koji podmićuje one koji imaju pristup njegovom tajnom dosijeju kako bi mumificirao svoj angažman i pokazao se kao kolaboracionistički čist (Kaminski & Nalepa, 2006, str. 384).

U srži lustracionih procedura jeste ispitivanje tajnih policijskih dosieja prethodnog režima kako bi se utvrdila kolaboracija (političkih) aktera sa režimom, kao agenata ili tajnih doušnika. Kada se proces otvaranja tajnih dosieja za javnost (deklasifikacija) odvija paralelno sa lustracijom, u kumulativnom efektu dovodi do društvenog urušavanja i moralnog sankcionisanja kolaboracioniste. Čak i kad se utvrdi kolaboracionizam na delu, kolaboracionisti ne podležu krivičnoj odgovornosti. Moglo bi se reći da je postkomunistička lustracija instrument mekog prava koji se iscrpljuje u onemogućavanju kolaboracionistima da budu titulari javnih ovlašćenja, akademski profesori, nosioci pravosudnih funkcija i dr. Postkomunistički lustracioni modeli predvideli su i mogućnost da im se dopusti da budu sve navedeno ukoliko njihova saradnja bude obelodanjena. Na osnovu iznete lustracione logike, najpodesnije je da se lustracija definiše kao pravna, ali nesudska institucija (Kaminski & Nalepa, 2006). Lustracijska ćud se javlja i u mekšoj i sofisticiranijoj varijanti koja pravi otklon od represivnog redukcionizma i zalaže se za suspenziju ili limitiranje pasivnih političkih prava aktera koji su imali sporan politički angažman u prošlosti. U ovom slučaju sprovodioci tranzicione pravde obično bi tragali za istorijskom istinom, kao epistemološki najneuhvatljivijim fenomenom. Empirijsko iskustvo komisija za istinu pokazalo se kao neefikasno u delegitimizaciji prethodnih režima. Odmicanjem od krivičnog pravosuđa i ispitivanjem dosieja tajne policije, „činjenice postaju manje jasne i manje dvosmislene“ (David, 2012) i otuda istina, kao saglasje stvarnosti sa činjenicama, postaje upitna.

Tranziciona pravda se ogleda u procesima restitucije, krivičnog gonjenja odgovornih za kršenje ljudskih prava, skidanju oznaka tajnosti sa policijskih dosieja i u lustracionim mehanizmima. Posebno osetljivo pitanje, povezano sa lustracijom, jeste otvaranje tajnih policijskih dosieja, koje je dovelo do društvenih antagonizama i postalo kapital za hegemonističke političke borbe, naročito u Poljskoj. U postautoritarnim i postkonfliktnim miljeima, nacionalističke elite su policijske arhive, kao „arhive represije“, neretko instrumentalizovale u svrhu promovisanja svoje antikomunističke istorije sećanja. Transformacija „arhive represije“

je“ u „arhivu pravde“ često nije imala za cilj javno razotkrivanje nasilja i otkrivanje istine (Gokariksel, 2020, str. 237). Pojedini autori osporavaju instrumentalističko poimanje arhive kao posredničkog sredstva i depozita objektivne istine. Prisutna su i drugačija stanovišta koja plediraju za prenamenu arhiva u različite normativno-političke svrhe, poput pravde, mira, ljudskih prava, demokratizacije (Katelaar, 2002). Upitna je istinitost sadržaja arhiviranih dokumenata obaveštajnih službi i političke policije. Rumunsko iskustvo nakon 1989. godine svedoči o modifikaciji sadržaja dosijea od strane agenata i doušnika Sekuritete (*Siguranța statului*), kako bi se oslobodili odgovornosti i lažno involvirali i inkriminirali svoje protivnike. Sadržaj dosijea je od početka mogao da bude lažan ili da docnije postane takav kako bi lako postao *kompromat* (Perić Diligenski, 2021, str. 107–108) za buduće nosioce javnih funkcija. Lažiranje informacija je otežalo proces razlikovanja žrtve od vinovnika, jer se polazilo od premise tačnosti arhivskog materijala (Stan, 2004, str. 357).

3. Evropska postkomunistička lustraciona praksa – studija slučaja

Moderne varijante uspešnih lustracija prostorno su orijentisane na države centralne i istočne Evrope, u vremenskom periodu sloma socijalističkih režima, što se u većini država desilo između 1989. i 1991. godine. Na ovom mestu, primenom metode studije slučaja, biće analizirana lustraciona praksa u Gruziji, Poljskoj, Češkoj, Slovačkoj i Ukrajini. Osvrnućemo se na motive koji su doveli do lustracije, vremenski interval u kom je sprovedena i na društvene posledice koje su joj usledile.

3.1. Slučaj Gruzije

Revolucija ruža u Gruziji, sprovedena 2003. godine, predstavlja uvod u odlučnu antikorupcijsku i lustracijsku politiku, koje su se u ovom slučaju pokazale kao nekonzistentne. Revolucijom ruža skinut je visoko korumpirani režim Eduarda Ševarnadzea (Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze), što je dovelo do agresivnog antikoruptivnog zakonodavstva i nulte tolerancije nove elite prema organizovanim kriminalnim

strukturama. Oko 2010. godine Gruzija postaje antikorupcijski lider, a lustraciju sprovodi 2011. godine, te bi se u vremenskom smislu ova lustracija mogla okarakterisati kao zadocnela. Lustracioni propisi su zadocneli ako se uzme u obzir pad komunizma i raspad SSSR-a, koji se dogodio početkom 90-ih godina. Gruzijanski model lustracije bio je usmeren na bivše komuniste i pripadnike tajnih službi kojima je zabranjeno da obavljaju političke funkcije, što je dovelo i do povreda izbornih prava. S druge strane, lustracione mere su bile inkompatibilne antikorupcijskim i nisu obuhvatale onaj krug lica među kojima je korupcija bila najprisutnija (tzv. elitna korupcija). Na osnovu iznetog, stiče se utisak da je tendenciozna nekonzistentnost omogućila pripadnicima nove elite dalju kumulaciju kapitala na osnovu sprega sa partijskim i državnim strukturama (Gricius, 2019).

3.2. Slučaj Poljske

Poljska tranziciona elita je nakon sloma komunizma i prelaska sa autoritarnog na demokratski režim pokazala delatnu lustracionu političku volju. Prolustraciona elita je inicirala osnivanje Nacionalnog instituta za pamćenje, raspuštanje Službe bezbednosti pri Ministarstvu unutrašnjih poslova, otvaranje arhiva komunističke službe bezbednosti uz smanjivanje penzija njenim bivšim službenicima, produženje rokova zastarelosti za komunističke zločine i pokretanje krivičnih postupaka (Czarnota, 2007). Poljska lustracija formalno je uvedena 1997. godine sa logikom zabrane retroaktivnosti sankcija i oslanjala se na izjave o lustraciji, te bi mogla da se okarakterise kao istorijski mehanizam pojašnjenja. Prema poljskim pozitivnopravnim propisima, nosilac javne funkcije ili kandidat za javnu funkciju podleže obavezi da podnese izjavu o tome da li je bio u radnom odnosu, obeveštajac ili tajni i svesni saradnik komunističke službe bezbednosti. Tačnost lustracione izjave ne podleže sankciji, a sasvim je suprotna logika u slučaju njene netačnosti. U slučaju da sud nakon sprovedenog krivičnog postupka utvrdi njenu neistinitost, javnom funkcioneru ili pretendentu na javnu funkciju se zabranjuje obavljanje javnih funkcija u rasponu od tri do deset godina. O valjanosti lustracione isprave pravosudnih funkcionera ili kandidata za pravosudnu funkciju odlučivali su disciplinski sudovi (Krotoszyński, 2019, str. 26).

U periodu novije ustavne krize u Poljskoj (2015–2019), ideja o kolektivnoj odmazdi prema reliktima komunizma imala je jako uporište u društvu koje je tražilo socijalnu katarzu i sprovođenje rigoroznije lustracije, kao sredstva za postizanje socijalne pravde. Sejm, donje predstavničko telo poljskog parlamenta, tokom 2017. godine je usvojio neobavezujuću rezoluciju o osudi boljševičke revolucije i njenog komunističkog nasleđa. Osuda je, u ideološkom smislu, otišla korak dalje, ka kritici levičarskih tekovina, što je politički tendenciozan projekat, jer dolazi od desno profilisane političke elite, mahom konzervativaca iz partije Pravo i pravda (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość). Drugi lustracioni rez, uveden nakon bezmalo tri decenije tranzicije, upitan je s aspekta pravnog principa srazmernosti i poverenja prema državi i njenom zakonu.

3.3. Lustraciono iskustvo Češke i Slovačke

Prva postsocijalistička država koja je normirala lustraciju bila je Čehoslovačka i učinila je to u oktobru 1991. godine kada je donet Zakon o nezakonitim postupcima komunističkog režima. Tom aktu je prethodilo neformalno lustriranje pojedinih članova predstavničkih tela (češkog, slovačkog i saveznog) i vlade, sa tendencijom da se prevenira mogućnost ucenjivanja pripadnika nove političke elite, čije biografije nisu bile neuprljane. Proliferacija antikomunističkih sentimentata i disperzija „agentomanije“ determinisali su nomotehničko dizajniranje lustracije, kako bi se javni život oslobodio od „zlonamernog uticaja starih struktura“ (Kopeček, 2013, str. 7). Politikološki je interesantan fenomen da države naslednice Čehoslovačke nisu zauzele jedinstveno stanovište u pogledu lustracije i dekomunističkih praksi. Pitanje lustracije je u Češkoj, kao i u Istočnoj Nemačkoj, bilo visoko pozicionirano na političkoj agendi i predstavljalo je okosnicu političke borbe (Pauer, 2006; Nadelsy, 2009). Češki lustracioni model obuhvatio je oko 140.000 nosilaca javnih funkcija (pripadnika tajnih službi, visokih partijskih funkcionera, vojnih i policijskih službenika itd.), koji su odgovorni za nezakonito postupanje i povredu ljudskih prava u periodu od 1948. do 1989. godine. Moralno-politički posrnutim funkcionerima komunističke nomenklature bilo je onemogućeno da se zaposle u državnoj službi, koja je obuhvatala preko 9.000 sistematizovanih radnih mesta (u pravosuđu, bezbedno-

snim službama, akademskoj zajednici, medijima, javnim preduzećima itd.). Jedan od retkih koji je izbegao lustracionu logiku bio je dugogodišnji predsednik Češke (2013–2023), Miloš Zeman, koji je u mladosti bio pripadnik komunističke partije iz koje je isključen, jer se protivio sovjetskoj okupaciji Čehoslovačke. Čin isključenja iz partije za Zemana je bila olakšavajuća okolnost.

U Slovačkoj je političko raspoloženje bilo dijametralno suprotno i tranziciona pravda nije bila značajna tačka političke konfrontacije. Na toj liniji rezonovanja pravi se postkomunistička demarkciona vremenska linija na period od uvođenja demokratije („demokratske revolucije“) do polovine devedesetih i od polovine devedesetih naovamo. Prvi period karakteriše „potraga za legitimitetom“ novog političkog poretka sa svrhom da se delegitimiše zaostavština komunističke nomenklature. U drugom periodu komunistička prošlost postaje političko poprište i konstituiše se antikomunistička politika sećanja koja ima za cilj da oživi „sećanje nacije“ (Kopeček, 2013, str. 1). Liberalniji odnos prema lustraciji u Slovačkoj omogućio je i nekadašnjem komunisti, Robertu Ficu, da bude predsednik vlade u šestogodišnjem mandatu (2012–2018).

3.4. Lustracija u Ukrajini

Lustracija u Ukrajini je rezultanta evromajdanskih zahteva istaknutih u Evromajdanskoj revoluciji iz 2014. godine, koja je otpočela kao nasilan protest za evrointegracijski kurs. U međuvremenu, evromajdanski zahtevi su postali ambiciozniji i ogledali su se u antikorupcijskoj retorici i borbi protiv uzurpacije vlasti i kršenja ljudskih prava. Najvažniji apel evromajdanaca novoj vladi odnosio se na lustracioni rez javnih funkcionera iz komunističke ere (1919–1999) i iz perioda Janukovičevog režima (2010–2014). Ukrajinski lustracioni model karakterišu dva ekskluziviteta, koja ga razlikuju od drugih istočno i centralnoevropskih lustracionih modela. Prvi ekskluzivitet ukrajinske lustracije manifestuje se u sjedinjenju ideje tranzicione pravde sa društveno-ekonomskim imperativima (poput borbe protiv korupcije) koji su se udaljili od uigranog narativa i postali realpolitičke sastavnice. Drugi ekskluzivitet ogleda se u militarističkom momentu sprovođenja lustracije u toku vojnih konfrontacija u Donjecku i Lugansku. Dakle, ukrajinska vlada je sprovela

lustraciju 23 godine nakon pada *gvozdena zavese* u trenucima soldatskih obračuna (Zabyelina, 2017). Iako javni funkcioneri, ukrajinske sudije nisu podlegale lustraciji, već se na njih primenjivao mehanizam provere (*screening*). Najviše predstavničko telo Ukrajine – Vrhovna Rada usvojila je 8. aprila 2014. godine Zakon o vraćanju poverenja u sudski sistem Ukrajine (br. Zakona 1188-17), kojim je predviđena procedura za proveru nosilaca sudske vlasti. Zakonom je propisano da sudije koje su donosile politički motivisane odluke podležu razrešenju sa sudijske funkcije. Kao eklatantni primeri političke jurisprudencije javljaju se presude donete protiv evromajdanskih demonstranata.

4. Zaključak

Idealtipski pojmljeno, svrha lustracije je moralna restitucija, socijalna katarza i reparacija anomičnog i patogenog društvenog ambijenta. Da bi se sproveda lustracija u dojučerašnjim komunističkim državama, potrebno je da postoji delatna politička volja prolustracione elite i šira podrška građanstva. Spremnost društva da se suoči s negativnim pojavama i akterima iz komunističke ere može da predstavlja dodatni pritisak na donosioce političkih odluka da usvoje i primene lustracione propise. U postkomunističkom svetu ne postoji uniformna lustraciona metodologija, što se ogleda u različitom trenutku sprovođenja „lustracione drame“, krugu lica na koje se odnosi lustracija, kao i u ograničavanju političke participacije bivšim autoritarnim elitama i njihovim kolaboracionistima. Smatramo da se najvažniji društveni cilj lustracije ogleda u podizanju svesti o štetnosti uzurpacije moći i zloupotrebi osnovnih ljudskih prava. Ukoliko se sprovodi krivičnopravna dimenzija lustracije, potrebno je da ona bude humana, pravična i srazmerna i da se ne svodi na revanšizam političkih pobednika nad pobeđenima. Rečju, pravno uređen postupak, koji će da bude brana potencijalnoj uzurpaciji moći i politički motivisanoj čistki, jedini je garant da će lustracija da ostvari efekte društvene katarze.

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Tijana Perić Diligenski^{1*}

UDC 343.278:32

Review Article

Received: 31/03/2023

Accepted: 28/06/2023

POST-COMMUNIST LUSTRATION JUSTICE

ABSTRACT: The paper discusses the phenomenon of post-communist lustration, as a moral condemnation with a disqualifying political logic. Using the case study method, the paper aims to determine whether the lustration processes in the post-communist states were shaped by active political will or if they were the result of the desire to achieve social justice. The findings show that there was no uniform solution to the implementation of lustration and that the lustration elites opted for casuistic logic. A relevant factor, in terms of society and research, is the fact that states with similar structures and a communist past applied variable lustration mechanisms at different times, either at the beginning of the transition period or much later.

KEYWORDS: lustration, human rights, accountability, past, corruption

1. Introductory Remarks

The fall of the Iron Curtain sparked a worldwide critical debate about the legacy of recent communist regimes. In 1996 the Council of Europe standardized lustration (Resolution 1096 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on measures to remove the legacy of former communist totalitarian systems) and was therefore at the forefront of the movement to expose and condemn the repressive leg-

^{1*}Research Associate, Institute of Political Studies, Svetozara Markovića 36, Beograd; peric.tijana@yahoo.com, <https://orcid.org/my-orcid?orcid=0000-0002-2175-9134>

acy of totalitarian regimes. The resolution affirms that lustration must not jeopardize basic human rights and that revenge must not be the *ratio legis* of lustration laws in post-communist states. The purpose of lustration is not to impose criminal sanctions on presumed responsible persons, but rather to protect newly emerging democracies. *Ratione materiae*, lustration is limited to those functions that are of fundamental importance for human rights and democracy, such as the judiciary, security, and intelligence services. The resolution insists that no individual may be subjected to lustration because of their personal beliefs and opinions and that it is exclusively aimed at those persons who are the principals, executors, or assistants in severe violations of human rights which may result in the exclusion from holding public office or position. It is recommended that criminal acts committed by individuals during the communist regime be prosecuted and sanctioned on the basis of criminal law. The resolution is based on procedural and not substantive logic and stipulates the possibility of extending the statute of limitations for criminal acts. The main pillar of lustration, according to the PACE Resolution, is preventing “suspicious” persons from the communist era from holding public offices in the new democracies, since they were not appointed in accordance with ethical and democratic principles, which must be proven *in concreto*.

2. Post-Communist Lustrations: Phenomenology

As a legislative or executive decision, lustration logic incorporates the following properties: 1) suspicion of alleged disputable past activities, based on collective responsibility for abuses defined by the lustration program; 2) existence of protected current or future public offices; 3) applying specific methods or procedures (such as screening), which include a potential threat (such as removal or public exposure) (Rožič & Nisnevich, 2016). Some authors see the lustration process as a measure that leads to corruption decrease by systematically limiting political participation to former authoritarian actors. However, this is an overly ambitious approach that ignores the anthropological pessimism and greed of the latter actors. This conclusion was reached after conducting

empirical research that included panel data from 30 post-communist countries over 15 years (1996–2011). Research findings show that lustration disrupts the political, economic, and administrative malfeasance of previous regimes. The empirical data from the post-communist states of Estonia and Georgia confirmed this conclusion, as well as the negative experience of Russia, where lustration has long been an object of scorn (Rožič & Nisnevich, 2016, pp. 257–258).

Lustration might be compared with the phenomenon of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (“struggle of overcoming the past”) in former West Germany, which involved a critical re-examining of the Third Reich and ostracizing all the elements of malignant Nazi ideology from public life. The lustration in West Germany became a reference point for the establishment of moral norms of responsibility, “the lingua franca of moral global thought, the main ideological tool in making claims for compensation and reparation” (Ignatieff, 2003, pp. 53–54). Conceptually, lustration involves the process of decommunization, i.e., disqualifying and banning from public office those individuals associated with the past regime, especially those who were professionally and politically disgraced by their activities in the third branch of government and the bureaucratic apparatus (Morgan, 2020). Transitional justice is a methodologically broader term (which also incorporates lustration) that is defined as “a self-conscious construction of a distinctive understanding of justice associated with periods of radical political change following oppressive rule” in Latin American and post-Soviet transitional contexts (Teitel, 2014, p. 3).

It is important to distinguish lustration from decommunization. Decommunization denotes purging the state’s administration and bureaucracy of high-ranking communist officials and somewhat resembles denazification. Most importantly, the intention of decommunization is not to equate the crimes of the Nazi and socialist regimes. In the case of denazification and decommunization, the identity of a high-ranking communist or a Nazi is common knowledge, and they cannot be blackmailed by the threat of revealing compromising information about their past. In the case of lustration, however, a former undercover agent or police informer is very vulnerable to corruption and may be pressed to breach the norms of public service by somebody with access to their

files in order to minimize their involvement and appear “clean” (Kaminski & Nalepa, 2006, p. 384)

Lustration procedures rely on the examination of the former régime’s secret police files to verify how closely politicians collaborated with the regime, either as agents or secret informers. When this process, called declassification, is coordinated with the lustration process, they cumulatively inflict serious moral punishment and public degradation on the collaborator. Finally, lustration laws do not impose criminal punishment on former collaborators. Instead, lustration serves as a soft law instrument, preventing collaborators from holding political and other public positions, such as academic teachers, doctors, and attorneys. In some cases, post-communist lustration laws stipulate that they can hold such offices only by allowing their collaboration to become public knowledge. Based on the lustration logic presented above, lustration can be defined as a legal but not judicial institute (Kaminski & Nalepa, 2006). Lustration can be of a softer and more sophisticated kind, disowning repressive reductionism and advocating the suspension or limitation of the passive political rights of those actors with a history of controversial political involvement. In this case, the implementers of transitional justice would usually be searching for the historical truth, as the most epistemologically elusive phenomenon. In practice, “truth commissions” have proven to be ineffective in delegitimizing previous regimes. Disregarding criminal justice and examining the files of the secret police has the effect of making “the facts less clear and less ambiguous” (David, 2012). The truth, as the agreement of reality with facts, becomes questionable.

The concept of transitional justice involves restitution processes, criminal prosecution of those responsible for human rights violations, declassification of police files, and lustration mechanisms. A particularly sensitive issue related to lustration is the opening of secret police files, which led to social antagonisms and turned into the capital for hegemonic political struggles, especially in Poland. In post-authoritarian and post-conflict milieus, nationalist elites often instrumentalized police archives, as “archives of repression”, in order to promote their anti-communist history of memory. The transformation of the “archives of repression” into the “archives of justice” was often not aimed at pub-

lily exposing violence and uncovering the truth (Gokariksel, 2020, p. 237). Some authors challenge the instrumentalist understanding of the archive as a mediating tool and a depository of objective truth. There are also different viewpoints that plead for the repurposing of archives for various normative-political purposes, such as justice, peace, human rights, and democratization (Katelaar, 2002). The veracity of the documents of the intelligence services and the political police is debatable. In post-communist Romania (after 1989) undercover agents and informers of the *Sekuritatea* (*Siguranța statat*) modified the contents of the files, in order to absolve themselves of responsibility and falsely implicate and incriminate their opponents. The file contents were either faked to begin with or were modified later so that they could become compromat, or compromising material (Perić Diligenski, 2021, 107–108) for future public office holders. Falsified information made the process of distinguishing the victim from the culprit more difficult because it was based on the premise of the accuracy of the archival material (Stan, 2004, p. 357).

3. Post-communist Lustration Practices in Europe: Case Study

Modern examples of successful lustration processes can be found in the Central and Eastern European countries, at the time of the collapse of socialist regimes, in most countries between 1989 and 1991. In the following sections, we will examine the lustration practices in Georgia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Ukraine, using the case study methodology. We will look at the motives that led to the lustration, the period when the lustration was carried out, and the social consequences that followed.

3.1 Georgia

The 2003 Rose Revolution in Georgia was a prelude to a determined anti-corruption and lustration policy, which in this case proved to be inconsistent. The Rose Revolution removed the highly corrupt regime of Eduard Shevardnadze, which led to aggressive anti-corruption legislation and zero tolerance of the new elite towards organized crimi-

nal structures. Around 2010, Georgia was lauded as an anti-corruption leader. The lustration process was started only in 2011, so this could be regarded as late lustration. Lustration regulations were long overdue, especially considering that the fall of communism and the collapse of the USSR happened in the early 90s. The Georgian model of lustration was aimed at former communists and secret service agents who were prohibited from holding political office, which also led to violations of electoral rights. On the other hand, lustration measures were incompatible with anti-corruption measures and did not include the circles in which corruption was most widespread (the so-called elite corruption). It appears that instability and bias in this respect only enabled members of the new elite to accumulate more wealth, based on their connections with the party and state (Gricius, 2019).

3.2 Poland

After the collapse of communism and the transition from an authoritarian to a democratic regime, the Polish transitional elite showed enthusiasm towards lustration. The pro-lustration elite founded the National Institute of Remembrance, initiated the dissolution of the Security Service under the Ministry of the Interior, the opening of the communist security service archives while cutting the pensions of its former officers, the extension of the statute of limitations for communist crimes and initiation of criminal proceedings (Czarnota, 2007). Polish lustration was formally introduced in 1997, based on the principle of non-retroactivity of sanctions, and relied on declarations of lustration. In this respect, it can be seen as a mechanism of historical clarification. According to Polish positive legislation, a public office holder or candidate is obligated to submit a statement on whether he or she was an employee, agent, or a voluntary undercover collaborator of the communist security service. If the statement is true, the individual is not subject to any sanctions. However, if the court rules that the statement was false, the public official or candidate for public office is prohibited from holding public office for a period of three to ten years. The validity of the lustration document of judicial officials or candidates for judicial office was decided by disciplinary courts (Krotoszyński, 2019, p. 26).

During the recent constitutional crisis in Poland (2015–2019), the idea of collective revenge against the relics of communism gained a strong foothold in society which demanded social catharsis and the implementation of more rigorous lustration, as a means to achieve social justice. In 2017, the Sejm, the lower house of the Polish parliament, adopted a non-binding resolution condemning the Bolshevik revolution and its communist legacy. This condemnation took an ideological step further toward the indiscriminate criticism of left-wing achievements in general. This is a politically biased project, originating in the right-wing political elite, mostly conservatives from the *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* (Law and Justice) Party. The second lustration cut, introduced after almost three decades of transition, was questioned from the aspect of the legal principle of proportionality and trust towards the state and its law.

3.3 Lustration in Chechia and Slovakia

The first post-socialist country to introduce lustration legislation was Czechoslovakia, with the Act on Illegal Actions of the Communist Regime passed in October 1991. The ratification of the Act was preceded by an informal screening of individual members of representative bodies (Czech, Slovak, and federal) and the government, which sought to prevent the possibility of blackmailing members of the new political elite, whose past record was not untainted. However, in the context of growing anti-communist sentiment and the spread of ‘agentomania’, the motivation behind lustrations shifted to purging public life of the supposedly “malicious influence of the ‘old structures’” (Kopeček, 2013, p. 7). It is a politically interesting phenomenon that the successor states of Czechoslovakia did not take a unified position regarding lustration and de-communist practices. In the Czech Republic, as well as in East Germany, the issue of lustration was high on the political agenda and represented the backbone of the political struggle (Pauer, 2006; Nadelsy, 2009). The Czech lustrations purged about 140,000 public office holders (secret service agents, high-ranking party officials, military and police officers, etc.), who were responsible for illegal actions and human rights

violations from 1948 to 1989. The morally and politically disgraced communist officials were prevented from getting a job in the civil service, which included over 9,000 systematized jobs (in the judiciary, security services, the academic community, media, public enterprises, etc.). One of the few who escaped the lustrations was Miloš Zeman, the long-standing president of the Czech Republic (2013–2023). In his youth, Zeman was a member of the communist party from which he was expelled, because he opposed the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia. The expulsion from the party was a mitigating circumstance for Zeman.

In Slovakia, the political mood was fundamentally opposite, and transitional justice was not the central axis of the political struggle. Based on this line of reasoning, a post-communist demarcation timeline can be made from the introduction of democracy (“democratic revolution”) to the mid-1990s and from the mid-1990s onwards. The first period is defined by the “quest for legitimacy” of the new political order with the aim of delegitimizing the legacy of the communist nomenclature. In the second period, the communist past becomes a political battleground; an anti-communist politics of memory is established, aiming to revive the “memory of the nation” (Kopeček, 2013, p. 1). A more liberal attitude towards lustration in Slovakia also allowed the former communist, Robert Fitz, to be prime minister for a six-year term (2012–2018).

3.4 Lustration in Ukraine

The Ukraine lustration is the result of the demands of the protestors in the 2014 Euromaidan revolution, which began as non-violent protests calling for Eurointegration. In time, the Euromaidan demands became more ambitious, calling for anti-corruption measures and the fight against abuse of power and human rights violations. The most important request of the Euromaidan protestors was the lustration of public officials from the communist era (1919–1999) and from the Yanukovich regime (2010–2014). The Ukrainian lustration model has two specific characteristics, which set it apart from other Eastern and Central European lustration models. First, it combines the idea of transi-

tional justice with socio-economic imperatives (such as the fight against corruption) that moved away from the played-out narrative and became components of *realpolitik*. Secondly, Ukrainian lustration has a militaristic character, as it took place at the time of the armed confrontations in Donetsk and Luhansk. The Ukrainian government conducted a lustration 23 years after the fall of the Iron Curtain and at the time of military confrontations (Zabyelina, 2017). Ukrainian judges, even though they were public officials, were not lustrated, but were subject to a screening mechanism. On April 8, 2014, the highest representative body of Ukraine, the Verkhovna Rada, adopted the Law on Restoring Confidence in the Judicial System of Ukraine (Law No. 1188-17), which provides for a procedure for vetting judicial authorities. The law stipulates that judges who have made politically motivated decisions are subject to dismissal from judicial office. In this regard, the court rulings against the Euromaidan protestors stand out as glaring examples of political jurisprudence.

4. Conclusion

Ideally, the purpose of lustration is moral restitution, social catharsis, and reparation of the anomic and pathogenic social climate. In order to carry out lustration in the former communist states, it is necessary to have the active political will of the lustration elite and the wider support of the citizens. Society's (un)willingness to face negative phenomena and actors from the communist era may represent additional pressure on decision-makers to adopt and apply lustration legislation. In the post-communist world, there is no uniform lustration methodology, as evidenced by the different times in which the "lustration drama" is played out, the circle of individuals subject to lustration, as well as in the scope of limitations and sanctions imposed on former authoritarian elites and their collaborators. We believe that the most important social goal of lustration is raising awareness about the harmfulness of abuse of power and basic human rights. If the lustration is criminally sanctioned, the sanctions need to be humane, fair, and proportionate, not an act of revenge of political winners on the defeated. In other words, a legal pro-

cedure, acting as a barrier to potential abuse of power and a politically motivated purge, is the only guarantee that lustration will result in social catharsis.

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Vebsajt poznatog autora	Po tvrdnjama Gerštajnove (2021), ... Po tvrdnjama mnogih autora (npr. Gerstein, 2021), ...	Gerstein, T. (2021, September 6). Why everyone should care about workers' rights. <i>The New York Times</i> . https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/06/opinion/labor-workers-rights.html

Vebsajt koporacije/ insitucije	Prema Svetskoj zdravstvenoj organizaciji (2021), ...	World Health Organization (2021, September 2). <i>World failing to address dementia challenge</i> . https://www.who.int/news/item/02-09-2021-world-failing-to-address-dementia-challenge
Disertacija/teza		
Neobjavljena magistarska teza ili doktorska disertacija	Prema Volfu (2021), ...	Volf, M. (2021). <i>Zastupljenost kontekstualne reformulacije pri prevođenju filmskih naslova na srpski jezik u poslednjoj deceniji</i> . [Neobjavljeni masterski rad]. Univerzitet Union.
Saopštenje		
Usmeno saopštenje na konferenciji/skupu	Prema Rutkovskom i Majnkovoj (2019), ...	Rutkowski, D., & Meinck, S. (2019, June 24-25). <i>Using large-scale assessment data to inform policy and practice</i> [Workshop]. 8th IEA International Research Conference, Copenhagen, Denmark. https://www.iea.nl/news-events/irc/8th-international-research-conference/program

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	In-text	In the list of references
Book		
Book with one author	<p>As mentioned by Brown (2010, p. 64), ...</p> <p>When considering the possibility for foreign language learners to acquire native-like pronunciation, Brown (2010), says: “This conclusion lends support for a neurologically based critical period, but principally for the acquisition of an authentic (nativelike) accent, and not very strongly for the acquisition of communicative fluency and other “higher-order” processes” (p. 64).</p>	<p>Brown, D. (2006). <i>Principles of language learning and teaching</i> (5th edition). Pearson Education.</p>

Book with two authors	According to Boyle and Fisher (2007), ...	Boyle, J., & Fisher, S. (2007). <i>Educational testing. A competence-based approach</i> . Blackwell Publishing.
Book with three and more authors	UPON THE FIRST MENTION: As suggested by Tsagari, Vogt, Froehlich, Csépes, Fekete, Green, Hamp-Kyons, Sifakis, and Kordia (2018), ... UPON SUBSEQUENT MENTIONS: As suggested by Tsagari et al. (2018), ...	Tsagari, D., Vogt, K., Froehlich, V., Csépes, I., Fekete, A., Green, A., Hamp-Lyons, L., Sifakis, N., & Kordia, S. (2018). <i>Handbook of assessment for language teachers</i> . European Commission.
Edited book	According to Birkle (2020), ...	Birkle, C. (2020). "Obama sushi" and the ch(i)ang way of life: Transculturalting America and the world. In A. Izgarjan, D., Đurić, & S. Halupka-Rešetar (Eds.), <i>Aspects of Translationality in American Literature and American English</i> (pp. 28-59). Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad. http://digitalna.ff.uns.ac.rs/sadrzaj/2020/978-86-6065-632-4
Book with corporate authorship	As claimed by UNICEF (2007), ...	UNICEF. (2007). <i>Promoting the rights of children with disabilities</i> . UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.

Book with a foreign author	As indicated by Vasić (2021), ...	Vasić, A. (2021). <i>Razvojna psihologija [Developmental psychology]</i> . Fakultet za pravne i poslovne studije dr Lazar Vrkatić, Univerzitet Union.
Periodicals		
Scientific journal with DOI	As claimed by Brantmeier and Vanderplank (2008, p. 460), ...	Brantmeier, C., & Vanderplank, R. (2008). Descriptive and criterion-referenced self-assessment with L2 readers. <i>System</i> , 36, 456-477. doi:10.1016/j.system.2008.03.001
Magazine	As Browne (2021) warns, ... AY.3 is a new version of the Delta variant of the SARS-Cov-2 virus (Browne, 2021).	Browne, E. (2021, March 9). AY.3 COVID subtype explained as Delta variant spawns offshoots. <i>Newsweek</i> . https://www.newsweek.com/ay-3-covid-subtype-explained-delta-variant-offshoot-1625785
Newspaper	As claimed by Gerstein (2021), ... As claimed by many authors (e.g., Gerstein, 2021), ...	Gerstein, T. (2021, September 6). Why everyone should care about workers' rights. <i>The New York Times</i> . https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/06/opinion/labor-workers-rights.html
Legal documents		
Law/ Rulebook/ Constitution	In accordance with the COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act (2021), ...	COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act, 34 U.S.C. & 937 (2021). https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PLAW-117publ13/pdf/PLAW-117publ13.pdf

Online source		
Website whose author is known	As claimed by Gerstein (2021), ... As claimed by many authors (e.g., Gerstein, 2021), ...	Gerstein, T. (2021, September 6). Why everyone should care about workers' rights. <i>The New York Times</i> . https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/06/opinion/labor-workers-rights.html
Website of an institution	As suggested by World Health Organization (2021), ...	World Health Organization (2021, September 2). <i>World failing to address dementia challenge</i> . https://www.who.int/news/item/02-09-2021-world-failing-to-address-dementia-challenge
Dissertation/Thesis		
Unpublished master's or doctoral thesis	As suggested by Alnofaie (2013), ...	Alnofaie, H. A. (2013). <i>The implementation of critical thinking as EFL pedagogy: Challenges and opportunities</i> . [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Newcastle University.
Presentation		
Conference presentation	According to Rutkowski and Meinck (2019), ...	Rutkowski, D., & Meinck, S. (2019, June 24-25). <i>Using large-scale assessment data to inform policy and practice</i> [Workshop]. 8th IEA International Research Conference, Copenhagen, Denmark. https://www.iea.nl/news-events/irc/8th-international-research-conference/program

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CIVITAS : časopis za društvena istraživanja /
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God. 1, br. 1 (2011)- . - Novi Sad : Fakultet za
pravne i poslovne studije, 2011- . - 25 cm

Dva puta godišnje.
ISSN 2217-4958 = Civitas (Novi Sad)
COBISS.SR-ID 261516807