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Do sledećeg broja,

Prof. dr Vladimir Njegomir

U Novom Sadu, 23. decembra 2024. godine

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Dear Readers, Colleagues, and Authors,

Welcome to the second issue of the CIVITAS Journal for 2024.

For the past 14 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 also indexed in the ERIH PLUS academic journal index for the HSS (Humanities and Social Sciences) society in Europe.

The articles accepted for publication examine a wide range of topics related to social sciences and humanities.

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, 23 December 2024

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Dragan Stojić[1]

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POSIBILISTIČKO PROGRAMIRANJE U IZBORU PORTFELJA

Abstrakt: U radu se razmatra formulacija modela posibilističkog programiranja koja za cilj ima izbor optimalnog portfelja. Autor predlaže posibilističke raspodele za prinose i varijanse cena akcija kojima se ne trguje svakodnevno. Pored maksimizacije očekivanog prinosa uz minimiziranje rizika, model inkorporira i više indikatora izračunatih na osnovu finansijskih izveštaja: isplaćene dividende, likvidnost, efikasnost fizičkog i intelektualnog kapitala. Prikazan je ilustrativni primer na osnovu podataka sa Beogradske berze.

Ključne reči: *portfelj, optimizacija, fazi skupovi.*

1. Uvod

Problem optimizacije sveprisutan je u brojnim oblastima čovekovog delovanja, a naročito u sferi ekonomije i posebno finansija (videti, na primer, Crave i Sardar, 2005; Hirschey, 2009; Luptačik, 2010). Osnovno nastojanje optimizacije jeste traganje za najpovoljnijim od raspoloživih alternativnih rešenja različitih problema u okvirima postavljenih ograničenja. U ekonomiji, uobičajeni problemi za koje se nastoje pronaći optimizovana rešenja, između ostalog, uključuju troškove, kvalitet pro-

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izvoda i usluga, proizvodne i investicione portfelje. Cilj je da se u uslovima postojećih ograničenja ostvari maksimalna profitabilnost koja je dugoročno održiva.

Osnovni cilj investitora jeste ostvarenje maksimizacije prinosa uz minimizaciju rizika. Međutim, ovaj cilj je teško ostvariti, imajući u vidu međusobnu uslovljenost rizika i prinosa koja se uobičajeno meri Šarpovim raciom (vidi, na primer, Njegomir, 2011; Kapil, 2011; Brigham i Houston, 2012). Nobelovac Markowitz (1952) prvi je teorijski demonstrirao kako se formiranjem portfelja, za razliku od pojedinačnog odabira privlačnih akcija, bolje može redukovati rizik investiranja i prvi je ukazao na neophodnost kompromisa između rizika i prinosa u portfelju. Optimizacija u investiranju predstavlja nastojanje investitora da formiraju investicione portfelje koji će omogućiti ostvarenje maksimizacije prinosa uz dati nivo rizika ulaganja, odnosno minimiziranje rizika sa ograničenjem koje obezbeđuje da se postigne očekivani nivo prinosa (videti npr. Jones 2010; Anderson i dr., 2012).

Nakon rada Markowitza, problem izbora optimalnog portfelja kreće se u smeru relaksacije polaznih pretpostavki. Dve osnovne grupe metoda rešavanja optimizacionog problema su probabilističko i posibilističko (fazi) programiranje. Problemi se, dalje, postavljaju kao monokriterijumski (minimiziranje rizika uz fiksirane nivoe prinosa i formiranje efikasne granice) ili višekriterijumski (minimiziranje rizika uz maksimiziranje prinosa, maksimiziranje isplata dividendi itd.). U ovom radu biće primenjen metod višekriterijumskog fazi programiranja u rešavanju problema izbora optimalnog portfelja. Interesuju nas mogućnosti i ograničenja ulaganja u vojvođanska preduzeća. Spisak preduzeća preuzet je sa sajta Republičkog zavoda za privredne registre, cene akcija pojedinačnih preduzeća preuzete su sa sajta Beogradske berze.

2. **Pregled literature**

Iako je teorija verovatnoće glavna alatka u analizi neizvesnosti u oblasti finansija, na tržište utiču i faktori koji, po svojoj prirodi, nisu stohastički. U pitanju su lingvistički opisi finansijskih promenljivih koje karakterišu dve vrste neodređenosti: dvosmislenost, npr. „prinos oko 12%“ i nejasnoća, u smislu razgraničenja jasnim granicama, npr. „visok

rizik". Fazi matematičko programiranje razvilo se iz potrebe za adekvatnim rešavanjem optimizacionih problema koji u svojoj postavci sadrže navedene neodređenosti. Sledi kratak pregled literature u kojoj je korišćena fazi metodologija u rešavanju problema optimalnog portfelja. Za detaljan pregled literature iz oblasti fazi programiranja pogledati Figueroa–García i dr. (2022).

Lin i Liu (2008) izlažu tri moguća modela izbora portfelja sa minimalnim količinama kupljenih akcija i razvijaju odgovarajuće genetičke algoritme (GA) za dobijanje rešenja. Rezultati pokazuju da su ovako dobijeni portfelji vrlo blizu efikasne granice, što ukazuje da predložena metodologija može u realnom vremenu da proizvede skoro optimalno i dostižno rešenje. Vercher i autori (2007) predlažu dva modela za izbor portfelja pri čemu je cilj minimizacija 'donjeg' rizika, tj. semi varijanse, uz ograničenje da prinos ne sme biti manji od unapred zadate vrednosti. Prinosi na pojedinačna sredstva se aproksimiraju LR fazi brojevima istog oblika, a očekivani prinos i rizik ocenjuju se intervalnim srednjim vrednostima. Vercher (2008) dalje razmatra nove modele za rešavanje ranije postavljenog problema i predlaže SIP (semi-infinite programming) sa slabim ograničenjima. Gupta i autori (2008) koriste fazi metodologiju u oceni očekivanih prinosa, likvidnosti i rizika. Fazi metodologija omogućuje uključivanje subjektivnih karakteristika u model selekcije portfelja, koje čine osnovu za izražavanje individualnih preferencija investitora. Wei Guo Zhang i autori (2007) razmatraju problem odabira portfelja sredstava koja su definisana gornjim i donjim posibilističkim srednjim vrednostima i varijansama. Autori transformišu MV model u linearni, koristeći posibilističke raspodele, te je njihov pristup pogodan za rešavanje problema izbora „velikih" portfelja. Autori predlažu dva modela izbora portfelja i uvode pojam donjeg i gornjeg posibilistički efikasnog portfelja.

Zhang i autori (2010) koriste teoriju verodostojnosti u razvijanju modela za podešavanje postojećeg portfelja za iznos transakcionih troškova. Prinosi se modeluju trougaonim fazi brojevima a za dobijanje optimalne strategije primenjuje se sekvencionalno kvadratno programiranje.

Zhang i autori (2011) dalje razvijaju problematiku postavljenu u prethodnom radu, sada iz aspekta posibilističke MV teorije. Predlažu model optimizacije portfelja koristeći funkciju transakcionog troš-

ka V-oblika u cilju prelaska sa tekućeg portfelja na korigovani. Huang (2008) pristupa problemu izbora portfelja koristeći semivarijansu (SV) kao fazi promenljivu i dokazuje određena svojstva fazi semivarijansi. Bhattacharyya i autori (2011) predlažu dva modela MSV, s tim što ovi autori koriste intervalne ocene, kao i uticaj transakcionih troškova u MV modelu sa asimetrijom. Rezultati numeričkih eksperimenata pokazuju da je predloženi algoritam efikasan **u rešavanju fazi MSV modela.**

Li i autori (2010) uočavaju asimetriju u raspodelama prinosa na portfelj a za jednake vrednosti **očekivanih prinosa i varijansi** investitori preferiraju portfelj sa većom asimetrijom. Autori definišu koeficijent asimetrije za fazi promenljive i ispituju njegova svojstva. Autori predlažu ekstenziju fazi MV modela – MV model sa asimetrijom. U rešavanju problema konstruišu GA za integraciju fazi simulacija. Sličan problem rešava i Bhattacharyya sa autorima (2011) integracijom fazi simulacije (FS) sa GA u kreiranju moćnog hibridnog inteligentnog algoritma (HIA).

Tanaka i Guo (1999) identifikuju dve vrste posibilističkih raspodela, tzv. gornju i donju raspodelu, kojima ocenjuju mišljenja eksperata u problemu izbora portfelja. Izbor portfelja formulisan je kao kvadratni problem. Autori zaključuju da prinos na portfelj koji je meren donjom posibilističkom raspodelom ima manji raspon od prinosa dobijenog gornjom posibilističkom raspodelom.

Kocadagli i Keskin (2015) uvode novi model odabira portfelja koji uzima u obzir preferencije prema riziku, a u skladu s promenama na tržištu. Thakur i dr. (2018) primenjuju fazi Delfi metod kako bi identifikovali slabo korelisane faktore koji indirektno utiču na tržište, dok Brito (2023) koristi model korisnosti, entropije i varijanse (EU-EV) za predodabir akcija na koje u narednom koraku primenjuje klasičan MV model.

Konačno, Savaei i dr. (2024) predlažu rešenje optimizacionog problema izbora portfelja za investitore koji imaju averziju prema riziku.

3. **Istraživanje i metodologija**

Obrazloženje korišćenja višekriterijumskog modela izbora portfelja leži u činjenici da očekivani prinos i rizik ne obuhvataju sve informacije neophodne za donošenje investi-

cione odluke. Uvrštavanjem dodatnih kriterijuma moguće je izmeniti odluke, u smislu izbora portfelja koji ne dominira u MV okruženju, ali to nadoknađuje odličnim performansama po ostalim kriterijumima, te je dominantan u višekriterijumskoj postavci. Vodeći se radom Gupte i autora (2008), kriterijumi koje koristimo su sledeći: kratkoročni prinosi, dugoročni prinosi, rizik, dividende, likvidnost, efikasnost intelektualnog i efikasnost fizičkog kapitala. Dva poslednja kriterijuma koriste fundamentalne indikatore iz finansijskih izveštaja posmatranih kompanija i zanimljivo je kako ovi dodatni kriterijumi utiču na korekciju optimalnog izbora.

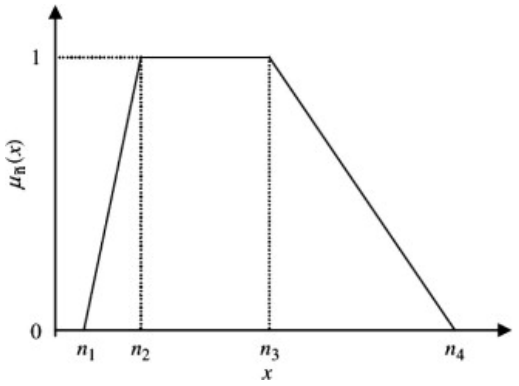
U postavci problema u ovom radu dozvoljena su ulaganja i u nerizična sredstva. Koristimo sledeće oznake:
r_f – prinos na nerizičan instrument
r_i – prinos na akciju i-tog preduzeća, i = 1, 2, ..., n
x_i – udeo ukupnih sredstava uloženih u i-tu akciju,
l_i – likvidnost i-te akcije,
d_i – godišnja dividenda na i-tu akciju.

Sada ćemo formulisati ciljeve (kriterijume) i ograničenja:
Prinosi na rizična sredstva modelovana su trapezoidnim fazi brojevima, čime se naglašava neizvesnost finansijskog tržišta, kao i neprecizni i nepotpuni podaci kojima se raspolaže. Za detaljniji uvid u teoriju fazi skupova videti fundamentalne radove Zadeha (1965), Duboisa i Pradea (1980, 1987). Fazi broj (Slika 1) A = (a, b, α, β) je trapezoidni fazi broj ako je njegova funkcija pripadanja data sa:

$$\mu_A(x) = \begin{cases} 1 - \dfrac{a-x}{\alpha}, a-\alpha \le x \le \alpha \\ 1 \qquad\qquad\quad , a \le x \le b \\ 1 - \dfrac{x-b}{\beta}, b \le x \le b+\beta \end{cases}.$$

Označimo sa $r_i = (a_i, b_i, \alpha_i, \beta_i)$ prinos na i-tu akciju u portfelju. Za portfelj sa n rizičnih i jednim bezrizičnim sredstvom $\mathbf{x} = (x_f, x_1, ..., x_n)$, fazi prinos dat je sa:

$\Pi_s(\mathbf{x}) = r_f x_f + r_1 x_1 + ... + r_n x_n = (\Sigma a_j x_j, \Sigma b_j x_j, \Sigma \alpha_j x_j \Sigma \beta_j x_j)$
$= (A(\mathbf{x}), B(\mathbf{x}), \alpha(\mathbf{x}), \beta(\mathbf{x}))$.



Slika 1. Funkcija pripadanja trapezoidnog fazi broja

Očekivanu vrednost prinosa na portfelj Π, koji je dat trapezoidnim fazi brojem, definisali su Dubois i Prade (1987)[2] kao interval $[E_*, E^*] = [A(\mathbf{x}) - \alpha(\mathbf{x})/2, B(\mathbf{x}) + \beta(\mathbf{x})/2]$. Defazifikacijom dobijamo aritmetičku sredinu ovog intervala $E(\Pi) = \Sigma ½[a_i + b_i + ½(\beta_i - \alpha_i)]x_i$, kao ocenu očekivanog prinosa na portfelj Π koju maksimiziramo. Odabir konkretnih vrednosti a, b, α i β, kao i oblik funkcije pripadanja fazi broja za opis prinosa na svaku akciju, donekle su proizvoljni.
Godišnja dividenda na portfelj izračunava se kao:
$D(\mathbf{x}) = d_1 x_1 + d_2 x_2 + ... + d_n x_n$.

Kao aproksimaciju za iznos dividendi koristimo relativnu zaradu po akciji (EPS).

Rizik portfelja meri se semi-apsolutnom devijacijom prinosa na portfelj **x** ispod očekivanog prinosa. Smatra se da se odstupanja iznad očekivanog prinosa ne mogu tretirati kao rizična, već poželjna, te ista ne utiču na visinu rizika. Mera „donjeg rizika" na realističniji način opisuje preference investitora, jer penalizuje samo negativna odstupanja od

[2] Donja i gornja granica očekivanog prinosa datog fazi brojem r definišu se kao $E_*(r) = {}_0\int^1(\inf r_\alpha)d\alpha$ i $E^*(r) = {}_0\int^1(\sup r_\alpha)d\alpha$, pri čemu inf r_α i sup r_α označavaju levu i desnu ekstremnu tačku α-nivoa skupa r.

očekivanog prinosa. Stevenson (2001) ukazuje na ispravnost korišćenja mere „donjeg rizika" u slučaju tržišta u razvoju (emerging markets) na kojima prinosi nisu normalno raspoređeni. Srednju semi-apsolutnu devijaciju prinosa na portfelj **x** predložio je Speranza (1993) formulom:

$$E\left(\left|\min\left\{0, \sum r_j x_j - E\left(\sum r_j x_j\right)\right\}\right|\right).$$

Za rad sa trapezoidnim fazi prinosima pogodnija je sledeća formula za semi-devijaciju prinosa portfelja, analogna formuli Speranze:

$\sigma_>(\Pi) = E(\max\{0, E(\Pi) - \Pi\})$.

Lako se pokazuje da interval u kojem se nalazi semi-devijacija ima sledeći oblik:

$\sigma_>(\Pi) = [0, B(\mathbf{x}) - A(\mathbf{x}) + \frac{1}{2}(\alpha(\mathbf{x}) + \beta(\mathbf{x}))]$, odnosno, nakon defazifikacije:

$\sigma_>(\Pi) = \Sigma\frac{1}{2}[b_i - a_i + \frac{1}{2}(\beta_i + \alpha_i)]x_i$.

Ograničenja

Uzimajući u obzir da se najvećim brojem akcija vojvođanskih preduzeća trguje po metodu preovlađujuće cene, te da su trgovine nefrekventne, koeficijent likvidnosti za svaku akciju merimo udelom dana tokom kojih se obavljala trgovina u čitavom posmatranom periodu, $l(a_i)$ $l_i = t_i/T$, a likvidnost portfelja je linearna kombinacija pojedinačnih likvidnosti[3]:

$L(x) = x_f + l_1x_1 + ... + l_nx_n$.

Budžetsko ograničenje:

$x_f + x_1 + ... + x_n = 1$.

Maksimalan (minimalan) udeo kapitala uložen u pojedinačnu akciju:

$l_i \le x_i \le u_i$, i = 1, 2,..., n.

[3] Državne obveznice smatramo visoko likvidnim, pa u smislu gornje definicije njihov koeficijent likvidnosti je 1.

Minimalan udeo kapitala uložen u nerizično sredstvo:

$$x_f \geq l_f.$$

Maksimalan i minimalan udeo kapitala zavise od više fundamentalnih faktora, npr. trenda u industriji, minimalnog broja akcija koje se moraju kupiti, kapitalizacije malih preduzeća itd.

Efikasnost intelektualnog kapitala izračunava se kao zbir efikasnosti ljudskog (HCE) i strukturalnog kapitala (SCE). Lee (2010) definiše efikasnost ljudskog kapitala kao udeo informacija koje su oprihođene. Ne umanjujući značaj Leeovog teorijskog pristupa, odlučuje se za ranije uvedenu definiciju koja koristi dostupne podatke iz finansijskih izveštaja. HCE meri koliko je stvoreno dodate vrednosti (VA)[4] na svaku novčanu jedinicu uloženu u zaposlene. Strukturalni kapital (SC)[5] predstavlja rezultat rada ljudskog kapitala u prošlosti, a njegova efikasnost ogleda se u udelu u stvorenoj dodatoj vrednosti:

$ICE_i = VA_i/BPZ_i + SC_i/VA_i$. Očekujemo da firme koje su visoko efikasne (ICE > 2,5) lakše generišu dodatne prinose (Pulic (2003)). Efikasnost intelektualnog kapitala portfelja x dat je sa:

$$ICE(x) = ICE_1x_1 + ICE_2x_2 + ... + ICE_nx_n.$$

Intelektualni kapital vrednost proizvodi u sadejstvu sa fizičkim i finansijskim kapitalom. Efikasnost korišćenja fizičkog kapitala, CEE predstavlja udeo dodate vrednosti u ukupnoj aktivi preduzeća (TA):

CEE = VA/TA. CEE pokazuje koliko je dodate vrednosti stvoreno na svaku novčanu jedinicu uloženu u fizički kapital. Efikasnost fizičkog kapitala u portfoliju x data je sa:

$$CEE(x) = CEE_1x_1 + CEE_2x_2 + ... + CEE_nx_n.$$

[4] Dodata vrednost preduzeća obračunava se po formuli DPO + BPZ + A + D, gde su DPO dobit pre oporezivanja, BPZ bruto plate zaposlenih i ostali troškovi za zaposlene, A amortizacija, a D depresijacija.

[5] SC = VA – HC

Na osnovu prethodno izloženih ciljeva i ograničenja moguće je formulisati problem izbora optimalnog portfelja na sledeći način:

$$\text{Max } \Pi_s(\mathbf{x}) = r_f x_f + r_1 x_1 + ... + r_n x_n$$
$$\text{Min } \sigma'(\Pi) = \Sigma ½[b_i - a_i + ½(\beta_i + \alpha_i)]x_i$$
$$\text{Max } D(\mathbf{x}) = d_1 x_1 + d_2 x_2 + ... + d_n x_n$$
$$\text{Max } L(\mathbf{x}) = x_f + l_1 x_1 + ... + l_n x_n$$

tako da važi:

$$x_f + x_1 + ... + x_n = 1,$$
$$l_i \le x_i \le u_i,\ i = 1, 2,..., n,$$
$$x_f \ge l_f,$$
$$ICE(\mathbf{x}) = ICE_1 x_1 + ICE_2 x_2 + ... + ICE_n x_n \ge ice_{min},$$
$$CEE(\mathbf{x}) = CEE_1 x_1 + CEE_2 x_2 + ... + CEE_n x_n \ge cee_{min},$$
$$x_i \ge 0,\ i = 1, 2,...,n.$$ (kratka prodaja nije dozvoljena)

4. **Rezultati i diskusija**

Za numerički primer odabrana su vojvođanska preduzeća, čijim se (običnim) akcijama trguje na Beogradskoj berzi. Izuzeta su ona preduzeća čijim akcijama uopšte nije trgovano poslednje tri godine, te posmatramo svega devet kompanija datih po sektorima:

A: Agrobačka (1), Grupa Univereksport (2), Omoljica (3), Sloga Kać (4),

B: NIS (5),

C: Utva silosi (6),

M: Polj. Stručna služba Subotica (7),

N: Novosadski sajam (8), Revnost (9).

U rešavanju optimizacionog problema korišćena **je** aplikacija LINGO 20.0. Kako aplikacija nije u mogućnosti da reši višekriterijumski program primenjuje se tzv. *grid search* metod i rešava problem za različite vrednosti parametara rizika, prinosa na dividende i likvidnosti. Posmatra se vrednost varijable rizik u intervalu od 10% do 70%, sa korakom 1 procentni poen. Pri fiksiranoj vrednosti rizika rešava se optimizacioni problem za različite vrednosti prinosa na dividende i likvidnosti i na taj način dobijaju se Pareto optimalna rešenja. U tabelama 1 i 2 prikazani su optimalni portfelji za različite nivoe rizika.

Tabela 1: *Pregled Pareto optimalnih rešenja pri ograničenju investiranja u pojedinačna sredstva na 25%*

rizik	**učešće svakog od sredstava u portfelju**								
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	rf
0,25	0,081	0,026	0,25	0,247	0,25	-	0,047	-	0,1
0,30	0,039	0,070	0,25	0,236	0,25	-	0,056	-	0,1
0,35	-	0,113	0,246	0,225	0,25	-	0,065	-	0,1
0,40	-	0,152	0,197	0,215	0,25	-	0,085	-	0,1
0,45	-	0,191	0,148	0,206	0,25	-	0,105	-	0,1
0,50	-	0,23	0,099	0,197	0,25	-	0,125	-	0,1
0,55	-	0,25	0,074	0,191	0,25	-	0,129	0,006	0,1
0,60	-	0,25	0,074	0,189	0,25		0,117	0,019	0,1
0,65	-	0,25	0,075	0,188	0,25	-	0,106	0,032	0,1
0,70	-	0,25	0,076	0,186	0,25	-	0,094	0,044	0,1

Kalkulacija autora

Ulaganje u poljoprivredu varira između 30% i 35% i realizuje se ulaganjem u dve kompanije tokom čitavog opsega rizika. Sve kompanije iz sektora poljoprivrede karakterišu niska likvidnost i nizak koeficijent intelektualnog kapitala. Oblast rudarstva predstavljena je samo jednom vojvođanskom kompanijom (5) i ona se našla u svim optimalnim portfeljima, pri čemu njen udeo opada s porastom rizika. Karakteriše je visoka likvidnost i visok koeficijent intelektualnog kapitala, kao i isplata dividendi. Prerađivačka industrija zastupljena je takođe s jednom kompanijom (6) koja je prisutna u svim portfeljima s maksimalnim učešćem. Stručne, naučne, inovacione i tehničke delatnosti zastupljene su s jednom kompanijom (7), ali ona, zbog negativnog očekivanog prinosa, nije odabrana ni u jedan od portfelja. Konačno, sektor administrativnih i pomoćnih uslužnih delatnosti zastupljen je sa dve kompanije (8, 9) s relativno malim i visokim očekivanim prinosima respektivno.

Tabela 2: *Pareto optimalna rešenja u slučaju ograničenja ulaganja u rizična sredstva na 25%.*

Prinos	Dividenda	Ljudski kapital	Likvidnost	Prinos na aktivu
0,219	0,1	2,5	0,370	0,165
0,253	0,1	2,5	0,358	0,163
0,286	0,1	2,5	0,347	0,161
0,316	0,1	2,5	0,337	0,160
0,347	0,1	2,5	0,327	0,151
0,377	0,1	2,5	0,316	0,157
0,407	0,1	2,5	0,307	0,157
0,437	0,1	2,5	0,309	0,158
0,467	0,1	2,5	0,307	0,159
0,496	0,1	2,5	0,305	0,160

Kalkulacija autora

U Tabeli 2 dat je pregled ostalih parametara odabranih portfelja: zarade na akcije (dividende), likvidnost i prinos na aktivu (efikasnost fizičkog kapitala). Svi portfelji imaju isti nivo efikasnosti intelektualnog kapitala u iznosu od 2,778. U formuli za izračunavanje efikasnosti intelektualnog kapitala portfelja izostavljene su državne obveznice, te se vrednost dobija normalizacijom[6]. Prinos koji se (potencijalno) ostvaruje isplatom dividendi za sve portfelje je na zahtevanom minimumu od 0,1. Varijansnom metodom generišu se portfelji sa većim koeficijentom efikasnosti ljudskog kapitala nego drugim korišćenim metodama. Nižim vrednostima očekivanog prinosa odgovaraju viši prinosi na aktivu, tj. vrednosti koeficijenta efikasnosti fizičkog kapitala, što se poklapa sa optimalnim portfeljima dobijenim maksimiziranjem levih i desnih raspona prinosa, ali su u proseku prinosi na aktivu za 1 procentni poen viši kod varijansnih portfelja. Likvidnost opada sa porastom željenog prinosa i poklapa se sa uključivanjem nelikvidnijih i u isto vreme rizičnijih akcija.

[6] Vrednost je dobijena normalizacijom zahtevanog donjeg limita od 2,5 deljenjem sa sumom pondera 0,9 iz aritmetičke sredine pojedinačnih efikasnosti.

5. Zaključak

U radu je predstavljen model izbora portfelja koji očekivani prinos i rizik tretira kao posibilističke promenljive i na taj način realnije prikazuje moguće vrednosti cena akcija pri malom broju promena u toku vremena. Pored prinosa i rizika, model inkorporira i vrednosti iz finansijskih izveštaja i na taj način upotpunjuje dobijena rešenja. Optimalni portfelji menjaju se, dakle, ne samo s preferencijom rizika, već i s promenom zahtevanog nivoa efikasnosti intelektualnog kapitala, nivoa likvidnosti ili visinom dividendi. Model je primenjen na izbor portfelja akcija vojvođanskih kompanija s kojima se trguje na Beogradskoj berzi. Većinu karakterišu niska likvidnost akcija i mali broj promena cene, a posibilističko programiranje je idealno u modelovanju upravo takvih pojava.

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POSSIBILISTIC PROGRAMMING IN PORTFOLIO SELECTION

Abstract: The paper discusses the formulation of a possibilistic programming model aimed at selecting the optimal portfolio. The author proposes possibilistic distributions for returns and variances of stock prices that are not traded daily. In addition to maximizing expected returns while minimizing risk, the model also incorporates several indicators calculated based on financial reports: paid dividends, liquidity, efficiency of physical and intellectual capital. An illustrative example based on data from the Belgrade Stock Exchange is presented.

Key words: portfolio, optimization, fuzzy sets.

1. Introducion

The problem of optimization is ubiquitous in numerous areas of human activity, particularly in the fields of economics and especially finance, see for example Crave and Sardar (2005), Hirschey (2009) and Luptáčik (2010). The primary goal of optimization is to search for the most favorable among the available alternative solutions to various problems, within the constraints set. In economics, common problems for which optimized solutions are sought include, among others, costs,

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product and service quality, production, and investment portfolios. The aim is to achieve maximum profitability under the existing constraints that is sustainable in the long term.

The primary goal of an investor is to maximize returns while minimizing risk. However, this goal is difficult to achieve given the interdependence of risk and return, which is commonly measured by the Sharpe ratio (see, for example, Njegomir (2011), Kapil (2011), Brigham and Houston (2012)). Nobel laureate Markowitz (1952) was the first to theoretically demonstrate that forming a portfolio, as opposed to selecting individual attractive stocks, can better reduce investment risk. He was also the first to highlight the necessity of a trade-off between risk and return in a portfolio. Optimization in investing represents the effort of investors to create investment portfolios that will enable them to maximize returns for a given level of investment risk, or to minimize risk with the constraint of achieving a desired level of expected return (see, for example, Jones (2010) and Anderson et al. (2012)).

Following Markowitz's work, the problem of selecting an optimal portfolio has shifted towards relaxing the initial assumptions. There are two main groups of methods for solving the optimization problem: probabilistic and possibilistic (fuzzy) programming. Problems are further framed as either single-criteria (minimizing risk with fixed levels of return and forming an efficient frontier) or multi-criteria (minimizing risk while maximizing returns, maximizing dividend payments, etc.). In this paper, the method of multi-criteria fuzzy programming will be applied to solve the problem of selecting the optimal portfolio. We are interested in the possibilities and limitations of investing in companies from Vojvodina. The list of companies was taken from the website of the Serbian Business Registers Agency, and the stock prices of individual companies were sourced from the Belgrade Stock Exchange website.

2. Literature review

Although probability theory is the main tool for analysing uncertainty in finance, the market is also influenced by factors that are not stochastic in nature. These include linguistic descriptions of financial

variables, which are characterized by two types of uncertainty: ambiguity, such as "a return of around 12%," and vagueness, in terms of setting clear boundaries, such as "high risk." Fuzzy mathematical programming emerged from the need to adequately solve optimization problems that involve such uncertainties. The following is a brief review of the literature that has used fuzzy methodology to solve the optimal portfolio problem. For a detailed review of the literature on fuzzy programming, see Figueroa-García et al. (2022).

Lin and Liu (2008) present three possible models for portfolio selection with minimum quantities of purchased stocks and develop corresponding genetic algorithms (GA) to obtain solutions. The results show that the portfolios obtained in this way are very close to the efficient frontier, indicating that the proposed methodology can produce near-optimal and feasible solutions in real time. Vercher et al. (2007) propose two models for portfolio selection aimed at minimizing "downside" risk, i.e., semi-variance, with the constraint that the return must not fall below a predetermined value. Returns on individual assets are approximated using LR fuzzy numbers of the same shape, while expected return and risk are evaluated using interval means. Vercher (2008) further explores new models to solve the previously stated problem and proposes SIP (semi-infinite programming) with relaxed constraints.

Gupta et al. (2008) use fuzzy methodology to assess expected returns, liquidity, and risk. Fuzzy methodology allows the inclusion of subjective characteristics in the portfolio selection model, providing a basis for expressing individual investor preferences. Wei Guo Zhang et al. (2007) consider the problem of selecting portfolios of assets defined by upper and lower possibilistic means and variances. The authors transform the MV model into a linear one using possibilistic distributions, making their approach suitable for solving the problem of selecting "large" portfolios. The authors propose two portfolio selection models and introduce the concept of lower and upper possibilistically efficient portfolios. Zhang et al. (2010) use credibility theory to develop a model for adjusting an existing portfolio to account for transaction costs. Returns are modelled with triangular fuzzy numbers, and sequential quadratic programming is applied to obtain the optimal strategy. Zhang et al. (2011) further build on the issue raised in the previous work, now from

the perspective of possibilistic MV (mean-variance) theory. They propose a portfolio optimization model using a V-shaped transaction cost function to transition from the current portfolio to the adjusted one.

Huang (2008) addresses the portfolio selection problem using semi variance (SV) as a fuzzy variable and proves certain properties of fuzzy semi variances. Bhattacharyya et al. (2011) propose two MSV (mean-semi-variance) models, using interval estimates and considering the impact of transaction costs in an MV model with asymmetry. Results from numerical experiments show that the proposed algorithm is effective in solving fuzzy MSV models.

Li et al. (2010) observe asymmetry in portfolio return distributions, noting that for equal values of expected returns and variances, investors prefer portfolios with greater asymmetry. The authors define an asymmetry coefficient for fuzzy variables and examine its properties, proposing an extension of the fuzzy MV model—the MV model with asymmetry. In solving the problem, they construct genetic algorithms (GA) to integrate fuzzy simulations. Bhattacharyya et al. (2011) address a similar problem, proposing three models solved by integrating fuzzy simulation (FS) with GA to create a powerful hybrid intelligent algorithm (HIA).

Tanaka and Guo (1999) identify two types of possibilistic distributions—upper and lower distributions—used to evaluate expert opinions in portfolio selection. The portfolio selection is formulated as a quadratic problem. The authors conclude that portfolio returns measured using the lower possibilistic distribution have a narrower range than returns obtained from the upper possibilistic distribution.

Kocadagli and Keskin (2015) introduce a new portfolio selection model that considers risk preferences in line with market changes. Thakur et al. (2018) apply the fuzzy Delphi method to identify weakly correlated factors that indirectly affect the market, while Brito (2023) uses a utility, entropy, and variance (EU-EV) model to preselect stocks, followed by the application of the classic MV model. Finally, Savaei et al. (2024) propose a solution to the portfolio optimization problem for investors who are risk averse.

3. Research and methodology

The rationale for using a multi-criteria portfolio selection model lies in the fact that expected return and risk do not encompass all the information necessary for making an investment decision. By incorporating additional criteria, it is possible to modify decisions, selecting portfolios that may not dominate in an MV (mean-variance) environment but compensate with excellent performance on other criteria, thus becoming dominant in a multi-criteria framework. Following the work of Gupta et al. (2008), the criteria we use are the following: short-term returns, long-term returns, risk, dividends, liquidity, efficiency of intellectual capital, and efficiency of physical capital. The last two criteria utilize fundamental indicators from the financial reports of the observed companies, and it is interesting to see how these additional criteria influence the adjustment of the optimal choice.

In the problem setup of this paper, investments in risk-free assets are also allowed. We use the following notations:

r_f – return on the risk-free instrument,

r_i – return on the stock of the i-th company, where i=1,2,...,n,

x_i – the proportion of total funds invested in the i-th stock,

l_i – liquidity of the i-th stock,

d_i – annual dividend on the i-th stock.

Now, we will formulate the objectives (criteria) and constraints: Returns on risky assets are modelled with trapezoidal fuzzy numbers, which emphasize the uncertainty of the financial market and the imprecise and incomplete data available. For a more detailed insight into fuzzy set theory, see the foundational works of Zadeh (1965) and Dubois and Prade (1980, 1987). A fuzzy number A=(a,b,α,β) is a trapezoidal fuzzy number if its membership function is given by:

$$\mu_A(x) = \begin{cases} 1 - \dfrac{a-x}{\alpha}, & a-\alpha \le x \le \alpha \\ 1, & a \le x \le b \\ 1 - \dfrac{x-b}{\beta}, & b \le x \le b+\beta \end{cases}$$

Let $r_i = (a_i, b_i, \alpha_i, \beta_i)$ return on the i-th stock from the portfolio. For a portfolio with n risky and one risk-free asset $\mathbf{x} = (x_f, x_1, ..., x_n)$, the fuzzy return is given with:

$\Pi_s(\mathbf{x}) = r_f x_f + r_1 x_1 + ... + r_n x_n = (\Sigma a_j x_j, \Sigma b_j x_j, \Sigma \alpha_j x_j \Sigma \beta_j x_j)$
$= (A(\mathbf{x}), B(\mathbf{x}), \alpha(\mathbf{x}), \beta(\mathbf{x}))$.

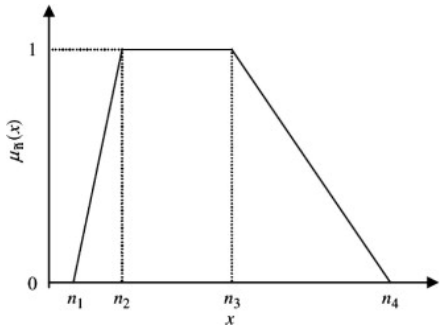


Figure 1 Membership finction of the trapezoidal fuzzy number

The expected value of the return on the portfolio Π given by the trapezoidal fuzzy number was defined by Dubois and Prade (1987)[2] as an interval $[E_*, E^*] = [A(\mathbf{x}) - \alpha(\mathbf{x})/2, B(\mathbf{x}) + \beta(\mathbf{x})/2]$. By defuzzification, we get the arithmetic mean of this interval, $E(\Pi) = \Sigma ½ [a_i + b_i + ½ (\beta_i - \alpha_i)] x_i$, as an estimate of the expected return on the portfolio Π that we maximize. The choice of specific values of a, b, α and β, as well as the shape of the function belonging to the phase number to describe the return on each stock are somewhat arbitrary.

The annual portfolio dividend is calculated as:

$D(\mathbf{x}) = d_1 x_1 + d_2 x_2 + ... + d_n x_n$.

As an approximation for the amount of dividends, we use relative earnings per share (EPS).

Portfolio risk is measured by the semi-absolute deviation of the return on portfolio x below the expected return. It is considered that devi-

[2] The lower and upper bounds of the expected return given with the fuzzy number r are defined as$E_*(r) = {}_0\int^1(\inf r_\alpha)d\alpha$ i $E^*(r) = {}_0\int^1(\sup r_\alpha)d\alpha$, where $\inf r_\alpha$ and $\sup r_\alpha$ denote the extreme points of the α-cut of the set r.

ations above the expected return cannot be treated as risky, but desirable, and they do not affect the level of risk. The "bottom risk" measure describes investors' preferences in a more realistic way because it penalizes only negative deviations from the expected return. Stevenson (2001) indicates the correctness of using the "bottom risk" measure in the case of emerging markets where returns are not normally distributed. The mean semi-absolute deviation of returns on portfolio x was proposed by Speranza (1993) with the formula: $E\left(\left|\min\left\{0, \sum r_j x_j - E\left(\sum r_j x_j\right)\right\}\right|\right)$.

For working with trapezoidal fuzzy returns, the following formula for the semi-deviation of portfolio returns, analogous to Speranza's formula, is more suitable:σ›(Π) = E(max{0, E(Π) - Π}).

It is easy to show that the interval in which the semi-deviation is located has the following form:

σ›(Π) = [0, B(**x**) – A(**x**) + ½(α(**x**) + β(**x**))], that is, after defuzzification:

σ›(Π) = Σ½[b_i - a_i + ½(β_i + α_i)]x_i.

Constraints

Taking into account that the largest number of shares of Vojvodina companies are traded according to the prevailing price method, and that trades are infrequent, the liquidity coefficient for each share is measured by the share of days during which trade was carried out in the entire observed period, l(ai) li = ti/T, and portfolio liquidity is a linear combination of individual liquidity:L(x) = $x_f + l_1x_1 + ... + l_nx_n$.

Budget constraint:

$$x_f + x_1 + ... + x_n = 1.$$

Maximum (minimum) share of capital invested in an individual share:

$$l_i \le x_i \le u_i,\ i = 1, 2,..., n.$$

Minimum share of capital invested in a risk-free asset:

$$x_f \ge l_f.$$

The maximum and minimum share of capital depend on several fundamental factors, e.g. industry trends, minimum number of shares that must be purchased, small business capitalization, etc.

Intellectual capital efficiency is calculated as the sum of human capital efficiency (HCE) and structural capital efficiency (SCE). Lee (2010) defines the efficiency of human capital as the proportion of information that has been formalized. Without diminishing the importance of Lee's theoretical approach, he opts for the previously introduced definition that uses available data from financial statements. HCE measures how much value added (VA)[3] is created for each monetary unit invested in employees. Structural capital (SC)[4] represents the result of the work of human capital in the past, and its efficiency is reflected in the share in the added value created:

$ICE_i = VA_i/BPZ_i + SC_i/VA_i$. We expect that firms that are highly efficient (ICE > 2.5) generate additional returns more easily (Pulic (2003)). The intellectual capital efficiency of portfolio x is given by:

$$ICE(x) = ICE_1x_1 + ICE_2x_2 + ... + ICE_nx_n.$$

Intellectual capital produces value in cooperation with physical and financial capital. Efficiency of use of physical capital, CEE represents the share of added value in the total assets of the company (TA):

CEE = VA/TA. CEE shows how much added value is created for each monetary unit invested in physical capital. The efficiency of physical capital in portfolio x is given by:

$$CEE(x) = CEE_1x_1 + CEE_2x_2 + ... + CEE_nx_n.$$

Based on the previously stated objectives and limitations, it is possible to formulate the problem of choosing the optimal portfolio as follows:

$$\text{Max } \Pi_s(\mathbf{x}) = r_fx_f + r_1x_1 + ... + r_nx_n$$
$$\text{Min } \sigma'(\Pi) = \Sigma ½[b_i - a_i + ½(\beta_i + \alpha_i)]x_i$$
$$\text{Max } D(\mathbf{x}) = d_1x_1 + d_2x_2 + ... + d_nx_n$$
$$\text{Max } L(\mathbf{x}) = x_f + l_1x_1 + ... + l_nx_n$$

[3] The added value of the company is calculated according to the formula PBT + GSE + A + D (PBT = profit before taxation, GSE = gross salary of employees and other expenses, A = amortization, D = depreciation).

[4] SC = VA – HC

s. t.

$x_f + x_1 + ... + x_n = 1,$

$l_i \leq x_i \leq u_i,\ i = 1, 2,..., n,$

$x_f \geq l_f,$

$ICE(\mathbf{x}) = ICE_1x_1 + ICE_2x_2 + ... + ICE_nx_n \geq ice_{min},$

$CEE(\mathbf{x}) = CEE_1x_1 + CEE_2x_2 + ... + CEE_nx_n \geq cee_{min},$

$x_i \geq 0,\ i = 1, 2,...,n.$ (short sales not permitted)

4. Results and discussion

Vojvodina companies whose (ordinary) shares are traded on the Belgrade Stock Exchange were selected as a numerical example. We have excluded those companies whose shares have not been traded at all in the last 3 years, leaving only 9 companies, given by sector: A: Agrobačka (1), Grupa Univereksport (2), Omoljica (3), Sloga Kać (4),

B: NIS (5),

C: Utva silosi (6),

M: Polj. Stručna služba Subotica (7),

N: Novosadski sajam (8), Revnost (9).

In Solving the optimization problem, the LINGO 20.0 application was used. Since the application is not able to solve the multi-criteria program, the so-called grid search method and solves the problem for different values of risk, dividend yield and liquidity parameters. The value of the risk variable is observed in the interval from 10% to 70%, with a step of 1 percentage point. At a fixed risk value, the optimization problem is solved for different values of dividend yield and liquidity, and in this way Pareto optimal solutions are obtained. Tables 1 and 2 show optimal portfolios for different levels of risk.

Table 1: Overview of Pareto optimal solutions when limiting investment in individual funds to 25%

risk	**share of each asset in the portfolio**								
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	rf
0,25	0,081	0,026	0,25	0,247	0,25	-	0,047	-	0,1
0,30	0,039	0,070	0,25	0,236	0,25	-	0,056	-	0,1
0,35	-	0,113	0,246	0,225	0,25	-	0,065	-	0,1
0,40	-	0,152	0,197	0,215	0,25	-	0,085	-	0,1
0,45	-	0,191	0,148	0,206	0,25	-	0,105	-	0,1
0,50	-	0,23	0,099	0,197	0,25	-	0,125	-	0,1
0,55	-	0,25	0,074	0,191	0,25	-	0,129	0,006	0,1
0,60	-	0,25	0,074	0,189	0,25		0,117	0,019	0,1
0,65	-	0,25	0,075	0,188	0,25	-	0,106	0,032	0,1
0,70	-	0,25	0,076	0,186	0,25	-	0,094	0,044	0,1

Authors' calculations

The investment in agriculture varies between 30% and 35%, and is carried out through investments in two companies across the full range of risk. All companies in the agriculture sector are characterized by low liquidity and a low intellectual capital coefficient. The mining sector is represented by only one company from Vojvodina (5), and it was included in all optimal portfolios, with its share decreasing as risk increases. It is characterized by high liquidity, a high intellectual capital coefficient, and dividend payouts. The manufacturing industry is also represented by one company (6), which is present in all portfolios with maximum participation. Professional, scientific, innovative, and technical activities are represented by one company (7), but due to its negative expected return, it was not selected for any of the portfolios. Finally, the administrative and support services sector is represented by two companies (8, 9), with relatively small and high expected returns, respectively.

Table 2: Pareto optimal solutions in the case of limiting investment in risky assets to 25%

Return	Dividends	Human Capital	Liquidity	Return on Assets
0,219	0,1	2,5	0,370	0,165
0,253	0,1	2,5	0,358	0,163
0,286	0,1	2,5	0,347	0,161
0,316	0,1	2,5	0,337	0,160
0,347	0,1	2,5	0,327	0,151
0,377	0,1	2,5	0,316	0,157
0,407	0,1	2,5	0,307	0,157
0,437	0,1	2,5	0,309	0,158
0,467	0,1	2,5	0,307	0,159
0,496	0,1	2,5	0,305	0,160

Author's calculations

In Table 2, an overview of other parameters of the selected portfolios is provided: stock earnings (dividends), liquidity, and return on assets (efficiency of physical capital). All portfolios have the same level of intellectual capital efficiency, amounting to 2.778. In the formula for calculating the portfolio's intellectual capital efficiency, government bonds are excluded, hence the value is obtained through normalization[5]. The return potentially achieved through dividend payouts for all portfolios is at the required minimum of 0.1. The variance method generates portfolios with a higher coefficient of human capital efficiency compared to other methods used. Lower expected returns correspond to higher returns on assets, i.e., values of the physical capital efficiency coefficient, which align with the optimal portfolios obtained by maximizing the left and right return ranges, although on average, returns on assets are 1 percentage point higher for variance portfolios. Liquidity decreases with an increase in the desired return and corresponds to the inclusion of less liquid and simultaneously riskier stocks.

[5] The value was obtained by normalizing the required lower limit of 2.5 by dividing it by the sum of the weights 0.9 of all risky assets.

5. Conclusion

This paper aims to highlights the integration of non-traditional factors like intellectual capital and liquidity into the portfolio optimization process, using possibilistic programming to handle limited data or fluctuations in stock prices. The paper presents a portfolio selection model that treats expected return and risk as possibilistic variables, thereby more realistically representing potential stock price values with a small number of changes over time. In addition to returns and risk, the model also incorporates values from financial statements, thus enhancing the solutions obtained. Therefore, optimal portfolios change not only with risk preference but also with changes in the required level of intellectual capital efficiency, liquidity level, or dividend amount. The model is applied to the selection of stock portfolios of Vojvodina companies traded on the Belgrade Stock Exchange. Most of these companies are characterized by low stock liquidity and a small number of price changes, making possibilistic programming ideal for modeling such phenomena.

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KARAKTERISTIKE LIČNOSTI I STAV PREMA DOŽIVOTNOJ KAZNI ZATVORA KOD SREDNJOŠKOLACA

Apstrakt: Ovo istraživanje ispituje stavove srednjoškolaca o doživotnoj kazni zatvora (DKZ) i povezanost tih stavova s empatijom i crtama mračne trijade. Cilj istraživanja je bio otkriti vezu između stava prema DKZ i nivoa empatije, kao i razmatrati ulogu mračne trijade u formiranju ovih stavova. Dodatno, istražene su i korelacije između stava o DKZ i merenih osobina ličnosti, uz poseban naglasak na međupolne razlike. Za potrebe istraživanja kreirana je skala koja je identifikovala tri faktora vezana za stavove o DKZ: prevenciju i tretman, prirodu zločina i strogost kazne. Sprovedeno je istraživanje na uzorku od 342 srednjoškolca različitih obrazovnih profila starosti 18 i 19 godina koji su ispunili anketu putem *online* platforme ili tradicionalnim putem olovka – papir. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da pol i nivo makijavelizma predstavljaju prediktore stavova o DKZ, objašnjavajući 19% zajedničke varijanse. Zaključak istraživanja ukazuje na to da je pol značajna determinanta kod formiranja stava o DKZ, dok viši skorovi na skali makijavelizma sugerišu pozitivniji stav prema DKZ.

Ključne reči: *stav o doživotnoj kazni zatvora, empatija, mračna trijada, srednjoškolci*

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1. Uvod

Stariji od zakona je kriminal a društvo je kroz svoju istoriju uspelo da prepozna devijantno ponašanje pojedinca i da ga sankcioniše na prigodan način. Humanističke nauke pokušale su bolje da razumeju razvoj kriminala u društvu i način na koji ga društvo tretira. Nije uvek lako odrediti prigodnu kaznu za počinjen zločin, pogotovo ako su zločini izvršeni nad detetom. Dakle, uticaj sredinskih faktora na ponašanje pojedinca je neminovan, kao i reakcija i preispitavanje društva nakon zločina koji počine pojedinci. Ipak, pored sredinskih faktora, neminovno je i da kriminalna ponašanja, kao i reakcije na njih, određuju i individualne razlike, a najrelevantnije među njima su one koje određuju antisocijalno ponašanje i osetljivost na druge, odnosno empatija.

Republika Srbija usvojila je izmene Krivičnog zakonika kojim se silovatelji i ubice dece osuđuju na doživotan zatvor bez uslovnog otpusta. Stručna javnost upozorava da se ovim članom krši Evropska konvencija koja je obavezujuća za Srbiju. Kazna doživotnog zatvora mora imati mogućnost uslovnog otpusta zatvorenika i preispitivanja kazne. Ova odredba ne samo da krši međunarodno pravo, već poništava svrhu kazne. Suštinski, postavlja se pitanje da li je naše zakonodavstvo represivno ili korektivno, odnosno da li pojedince procesuiramo da bi kroz rad sa njima promenili njihovo ponašanje i postali korisni članovi društva ili je cilj kazne da se počinilac skloni od zajednice za koju predstavlja opasnost.

Stavovi su sastavni deo naših života, gotovo svakodnevno iznosimo naše poglede na svet, neprestano tražimo da drugi iznesu svoj stav i pokušavamo promeniti mišljenja drugih. Društveni običaji i kulturalne norme igraju važnu ulogu u određivanju naših stavova, posebno na vrlo osetljiva pitanja kao što su incest, silovanje, zlostavljanje dece itd. (Lemut, 2012). Društvene norme i/ili kulturalne norme mogu imati određen nivo saglasnosti, ali iskustva pojedinaca stvaraju različita mišljenja i doprinose razlikama (Albarracin et al., 2005). Prema Allportu (1935; prema Pennington, 1997), stav je neuralna i mentalna spremnost, formiran na osnovu iskustava koja vrše direktni i indirektni uticaj na reagovanje pojedinca prema objektima i situacijama s kojima dolazi u dodir. Međutim, pod pritiskom stvarnosti, usled novih saznanja, iskustava

i uticaja sredine mi svoje stavove ipak menjamo, pružajući pritom veći ili manji otpor (Albarracin et al., 2005). Razne vrste stavova možemo svrstati u kategorije, s obzirom na predmet na koji se odnose, i s obzirom na pojedine karakteristike stava. S obzirom na predmet, stavovi se najčešće dele na lične i socijalne. Lični stavovi su karakteristični za pojedinca i njegov intimni krug ljudi, dok se socijalni stavovi odnose na objekte, situacije i pojave koje su značajne za društvo. Temu ovog rada čine socijalni stavovi mladih o doživotnoj kazni zatvora za silovatelje i ubice dece. Jasno je da se radi o stavu koji je emotivno obojen osećanjima besa i straha, jednim od najjačih pokretača ljudskog ponašanja.

Kada je reč o empatiji, termin empatija je prvi upotrebio Titchener 1909. godine i on se koristi u širem značenju, tj. kao kognitivna sposobnost razumevanja unutrašnjeg stanja druge osobe i kao određena vrsta socijalno-kognitivnih veza (Raboteg-Šarić, 1993). Većina istraživača smatra da je empatija multidimenzionalni konstrukt koji uključuje razumevanje subjektivnog iskustva druge osobe, zauzimanje perspektive i doživljavanje emocionalnog stanja druge osobe koje onda obično dovodi ili do osećaja brige i samilosti ili do sopstvenog doživljaja stresa (Gery et al., 2009). Da bismo bolje razumeli empatiju, potrebno je razjasniti pojmove kognitivne i afektivne empatije. Kognitivni aspekt empatije uključuje razumevanje, poznavanje stanja svesti i uslova druge osobe ili svesti o tome kako nešto što se događa drugoj osobi može delovati na nju. Dakle, kognitivna empatija se može objasniti rečenicom: „Znam kako ti je". Mnogi koji naglašavaju ovaj aspekt smatraju da je kognitivna empatija preduslov za afektivnu empatiju (Stephan & Finlay, 1999). Sposobnost ličnog doživljavanja i osećanja emocija koje drugi ljudi doživljavaju predstavlja afektivnu empatiju (Blair, 2005). Afektivnu empatiju možemo prikazati rečenicom: „Osećam kako ti je". Marshall i Marshall (2011) pokušali su objasniti proces odvijanja empatije koji se sastoji od nekoliko stadijuma, a svaki sledeći stadijum se ne može odviti ukoliko se nije dogodio prethodni. Prvi stadijum je tačno prepoznavanje emocionalnih stanja druge osobe, zatim zauzimanje perspektive, adekvatan emocionalni odgovor i, na kraju, preduzimanje akcije u svrhu smanjivanja stresa te osobe (Marshall & Marshall, 2011). Empatiju možemo posmatrati i kao razvojni proces koji se odvija u socijalnoj interakciji paralelno sa razvojem kognicije. U razvojnom periodu adolescencije ulazi se

u stadijum formalnih operacija, što uzrokuje i emocionalni razvoj, a u ovom periodu dolazi od razvoja sposobnosti zauzimanja tuđe perspektive i saosećanja sa osobom koja nije trenutno prisutna (McDonald & Messinger, 2011; Tone & Tully, 2014). S razvojem apstraktnog mišljenja adolescenti bolje anticipiraju emocionalna stanja drugih osoba i mogu bolje doživeti stanja, doživljaje i ekspresije drugih (Jagmić, 2022). To sugeriše da adolescencija donosi sa sobom sve veću svest o emocijama drugih ljudi a to se manifestuje kroz razvijene odgovore koji su usklađeni sa osećajima drugih. Primećene su i polne razlike u razvoju empatije kod adolescenata. Naime, istraživanja pokazuju da devojke pre razvijaju empatiju od momaka. Zauzimanje perspektive se javlja kod momaka od 15. godine a kod devojaka i ranije. Nadalje, devojke pokazuju viši nivo empatičke brige nego momci, a dok kod devojaka empatička briga ostaje stabilna tokom adolescencije, mladići pokazuju smanjenje od rane do srednje adolescencije s povratkom na početni nivo u kasnoj adolescenciji (Jagmić, 2022). Dakle, možemo reći da je empatija konstrukt na koji možemo gledati iz različitih škola i disciplina.

Koncept mračne trijade osmislili su Detloy Paulhus i Kevin Williams. On se odnosi na činjenicu da se makijavelizam, subklinički narcizam i subklinička psihopatija, kao crte ličnosti, neretko pojavljuju zajedno (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Osobe s izraženim makijavelističkim karakteristikama manipulativne su, sklone obmanjivanju i iskorištavanju drugih, imaju ciničan stav prema moralnosti i usmerene su prema sopstvenom interesu. Narcizam obuhvata osećaj lične grandioznosti, superiornosti i dominantnosti nad drugima. Psihopatija, smatrana „najmračnijom" iz trijade, odnosi se na nedostatak empatije i osećaja sramote, krivice i griže savesti, te na visoku impulsivnost i traženje uzbuđenja (Furnham et al., 2013). Kada govorimo o osobinama mračne trijade, kroz prizmu adolescenata primećujemo manji broj istraživanja u odnosu na populaciju odraslih. Mračna trijada i adolescenti najčešće se istražuju u kontekstu veze sa agresivnim ponašanjem i delinkvencijom. Razlog za to može biti porast agresije i nasilnog ponašanja kod mladih. Ovo su primetili i naučnici u Srbiji, da se agresivnost, posebno ona koja je uvijena u plašt sposobnosti makijavelizma i blještavi, površni šarm narcizma, često potkrepljuje u vršnjačkom okruženju, jer se smatra socijalno poželjnim oblikom ponašanja sve do trenutka kada po-

stane eksplicitno antisocijalna, pa je neophodno definisati rane oblike ispoljavanja i detekcije (Brunell et al., 2008 prema Mitov et al., 2016). Chabrol, Van Leeuwen i Rodgers su sproveli istraživanje na uzorku starosti od 14 od 21 godine, gde su ispitali povezanost mračne trijade i delinkventnog ponašanja. Rezultati su ukazivali na povezanost između indeksa delinkvencije sa psihopatijom i to kod muškaraca. Istraživanje iz 2016. ispitalo je ulogu mračne trijade u vršnjačkom nasilju i viktimizaciji. Na uzorku od 245 dečaka i 235 devojčica sprovedeno je istraživanje koje je pokazalo da su makijavelizam i psihopatija pozitivno povezani sa vršnjačkim nasiljem, dok je narcizam bio pozitivno povezan sa viktimizacijom. Rezultati hijerarhijske regresije su pokazali da psihopatija pozitivno predviđa vršnjačko nasilje, međutim nijedna od dimenzija mračne trijade ne predviđa viktimizaciju kod adolescenata (Fatima, 2016). Uzimajući u obzir razvojne karakteristike adolescenata, pokušali smo da u samom radu postavimo pitanja da li i u kojoj meri mračne crte i empatija predviđaju stavove srednjoškolaca prema počiniocima najtežih krivičnih, nasilnih dela prema deci, kao i o kažnjavanju tih počinilaca.

2. Metod

2.1. Cilj istraživanja

Osnovni cilj bio je istražiti kako faktori pol, empatija i mračna trijada utiču na formiranje stava o doživotnoj kazni kod srednjoškolaca. Takođe, želeli smo da ispitamo i međupolne razlike u merenim konstruktima. Sekundarni cilj bio je provera skale stavova o doživotnoj kazni zatvora, koju smo konstruisali za potrebe ovog istraživanja. Praktični cilj ovog istraživanja bio je doprineti raspravi o izmeni zakona o doživotnoj kazni zatvora u Republici Srbiji, kao i razmotriti društveni kontekst i način percepcije društva, žrtve i nasilnika.

2.2. Hipoteze

1. H1: Postoji statistički značajna negativna povezanost između empatije i pozitivnog stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora.

2. H2: Postoji statistički značajna pozitivna korelacija između mračne trijade i pozitivnog stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora.
3. H3: Postoji linearna kombinacija varijabli pola, empatije, makijavelizma, psihopatije i narcizma koja može objasniti značajan deo ukupne varijanse stava prema doživotnoj kazni zatvora kod srednjoškolaca.
4. H4: Muškarci postižu više skorove na dimenzijama mračne trijade u odnosu na žene.
5. H5: U odnosu na muškarce, žene imaju više empatije.
6. H6: Muškarci imaju pozitivniji stav prema doživotnoj kazni zatvora u odnosu na žene.

2.3. Postupak i analiza istraživanja

Naše istraživanje je sprovedeno u dve faze – u periodu od novembra 2022. do decembra 2023. godine. U prvoj fazi sastavili smo upitnik o stavovima prema doživotnoj kazni zatvora (DKZ) i sproveli smo pilot-istraživanje na uzorku srednjoškolaca. Nakon toga primenili smo faktorsku analizu radi identifikacije faktora i definisanja stavki skale. U drugoj fazi istraživanja sproveli smo istraživanje na uzorku punoletnih srednjoškolaca u Bačkoj Palanci i Novom Sadu. Upitnik je bio dostupan u kombinaciji papir – olovka i elektronskoj formi. Nakon prikupljanja podataka, odgovore ispitanika smo analizirali pomoću programa SPSS Statistics 25. Podatke smo analizirali pomoću deskriptivne statistike i statistike zaključivanja i faktorskom analizom. Za proveru prve i druge hipoteze koristili smo Pirsonov koeficijent korelacije. Treću hipotezu ispitali smo pomoću hijerarhijske linearne regresije, dok smo međupolne razlike tražili pomoću kanoničke diskriminativne analize.

2.4. Uzorak

U uzorku je učestvovalo 342 srednjoškolca prosečne starosti 18,1 godina, od kojih je 48,2% muškaraca i 51,8% žena. Uzorak je prikupljen putem prigodnog uzorkovanja, omogućavajući svim punoletnim srednjoškolcima, koji su bili voljni da učestvuju, da popune upitnik. Uče-

snici u istraživanju dolazili su iz različitih obrazovnih profila, tehničku školu je pohađalo 29,5% ispitanika, gimnaziju 19%, ekonomsku školu 15,8%, medicinsku školu 26%, dok je 9,6% pohađalo muzičku školu.

2.5. Instrumenti

Empatiju naših ispitanika smo merili Upitnikom afektivne i kognitivne empatije (Affective and Cognitive Measure of Empathy – ACME; Vachon, & Lynam, 2016). Ovaj upitnik ima 36 ajtema koja su ispitanici ocenjivali na skali od 0 do 4, pri čemu je najniža vrednost potpuno neslaganje, a najviša potpuno slaganje sa tvrdnjom. Upitnik sadrži tri subskale od kojih svaka sadrži 12 čestica: kognitivna empatija, afektivna rezonanca i afektivna disonanca. Visok skor na kognitivnoj empatiji i afektivnoj rezonanci ukazuje na visok nivo empatije, dok visok skor na afektivnoj disonanci govori o niskoj empatiji. U ukupnom skoru na empatiji stavke za merenje afektivne disonance su rekodirane.

Mračna trijada – operacionalizovana instrumentom Kratka skala mračne trijade (engl. Short Dark Triad, Jones i Paulhus, 2014). Skala sadrži 27 ajtema od kojih prvih devet mere makijavelizam, narednih devet narcizam i poslednjih devet psihopatiju. Pitanja na ovoj skali su u Likertovoj formi, gde se od ispitanika zahteva da oceni tvrdnje od 1 do 5.

Skala stava DKZ sastavljena je za potrebe istraživanja i prvobitno je sadržala 22 ajtema koje smo ekplorativnom faktorskom analizom sveli na 13 ajtema koji mere tri glavne komponente, a to su prevencija i tretman, uzroci zločina, stroža kazna. Pitanja na skali su postavljena u Likertovoj formi.

3. Rezultati

3.1. Skala stava prema doživotnoj kazni zatvora

Strukturu ove skale ispitali smo pomoću eksplorativne faktorske analize, za ekstrakciju faktora koristili smo metod princip glavnih komponenti i Promax rotaciju. KMO pokazatelj reprezentativnosti izosi 0.618 i Bartletov test sferičnosti opravdavaju korišćenje faktorske analize ($\chi 2(342) = 682.816$, $df = 78$, $p < .000$).

Iz tabele možemo videti da se izdvajaju pet faktora čije karaktristične vrednosti prelaze 1, koji objašnjavaju 61,3% varijanse. Narednu ekstrakciju krenuli smo od „racionalne" pretpostavke, prilikom kreiranja stavki, o postojanju tri dimenzije skale. Nakon ekstrakcije izdvojili smo tri faktora koji objašnjavaju 44,4% varijanse, njih smo u daljoj analizi koristili kao nove promenljive.

Tabela 1: *Procenti objašnjene ukupne varijanse*

Komponente	Karakteristični koren	Procenat objašnjene varijanse	Kumulativni procenat objašnjene varijanse	Karakteristični koren nakon rotacije
1	**2.525**	**19.420**	**19.420**	**2.309**
2	**1.989**	**15.302**	**34.722**	**2.006**
3	**1.255**	**9.655**	**44.377**	**1.810**
4	1.184	9.105	53.482	
5	1.020	7.848	61.330	
6	.937	7.210	68.540	
7	.865	6.653	75.193	
8	.810	6.231	81.424	
9	.620	4.769	86.194	
10	.539	4.144	90.338	
11	.458	3.521	93.859	
12	.421	3.239	97.098	
13	.377	2.902	100.000	

Tabela 2: *Sadržaj skale prve tri komponente stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora sa faktorskim zasićenjima iz matrice sklopa*

	Faktori		
Stavke	Faktorska zasićenja	Rbr.	Naziv faktora
Kada bi se radilo na sistemu prevencije i dobrim programima rada sa zatvorenicima, ne bi bilo potrebno da postoje tako oštre kazne kao što je doživotni zatvor.	.658	1	**Prevencija i tretman**
Nakon dugotrajne terapije i nadzora moguće je da se izvršioci najtežih krivičnih dela promene.	-.538		
Mislim da ne postoji mogućnost da se ubice i silovatelji deteta ikada promene.	.499		
Osoba koja siluje ili ubije dete je monstrum i nema za njega druge šanse.	-.675		
Žrtva nikada nije kriva za ono što joj se desi.	.437		
Zatvorenika koji u toku kazne ima psihoterapijski tretman i nadzor nakon odsluženja kazne, možemo sprečiti da zločin ponovi.	.539		
Ljudi koji su počinili ubistvo i silovanje su kao deca i sami bili žrtve.	.641	2	**Uzroci zločina**
Ukoliko se kod mladih na vreme prepozna sklonost ka nasilnom i antisocijalnom ponašanju, adekvatnim psihoterapijskim tretmanom se može takvo ponašanje suzbiti.	.614		
Nekada žrtve svojim ponašanjem mogu izazvati nasilnika na zločin.	.819		
Silovatelji i ubice su doživljavali traume tokom odrastanja, zbog čega su to i postali.	.561		
Kazna doživotnog zatvora bez uslovnog otpusta je preslaba za silovanje i ubistvo deteta.	.657	3	**Strože kazne**
Silovatelji će ponavljati zločin svaki put kada imaju priliku.	-.575		
Za osobe koje ubiju i siluju dete treba uvesti smrtnu kaznu.	.658		

3.2. Sadržaj faktora

Prevencija i tretman su prvi faktori stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora. Ima najveći broj faceta koje opisuju stav srednjoškolaca o veri u prevenciju zločina, kao i uspešnost psihoterapijskog tretmana kod izvršilaca krivičnih dela. Generalno gledano, ispitanici koji su odgovarali sa najvišom ocenom (5) smatraju da se prevencijom i tretmanom izvršioca ne može uticati na promenu. Uzroci zločina – naziv je druge glavne komponente koja definiše odnos ispitanika prema razlozima zločina, odnosno kako je izvršilac i sam trpeo nasilje. Ali i uticaj žrtve na izvršioca. Strože kazne za izvršioce – faktor je koji predstavlja stav da doživotna kazna nije dovoljna i da je recidiv pravilo kod takvih izvršilaca. Takođe, izražava se i stav da je potrebno vratiti smrtnu kaznu.

3.3. Deskriptivna analiza

Kada posmatramo dimenzije stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora, naši ispitanici postižu više skorove u odnosu na njihovu teorijsku aritmetičku sredinu, gde se najviše izdvaja stav prema strožoj kazni. Kada je u pitanju empatija, ispitanici postižu više skorove od proseka na dimenziji afektivna rezonanca, a kod dimenzija mračne trijade ispitanici postižu vrednosti ispod teorijske aritmetičke sredine, osim kod dimenzije makijavelizma. Pouzdanost skale o DKZ i njenih dimenzija smo ispitali Kronbahovom α, što ukazuje na nisku pouzdanost i malu internu konzistenciju njenih stavki. Kada su u pitanju dimenzije mračne trijade, interna konzistencija subskala je na prihvatljivom nivou. Kod dimenzija empatije, takođe ukazuju na zadovoljavajuću homogenost.

Tabela 3: *Deskriptivni pokazatelji i Kronbahova α merenih varijabli*

	Teorijska AS	AS	SD	α
Prevencija i tretman	20	22.02	4.07	0.62
Uzroci zločina	12	12.25	2.86	0.57
Strože kazne	9.5	12.92	2.28	0.47
Ukupno DKZ	43	47.28	5.91	0.58
Kognitivna empatija	41	45.40	6.42	0.82
Afektivna rezonanca	43	49.52	7.46	0.83
Afektivna disonanca	31	25.55	6.23	0.65
Makijavelizam	28	30.42	6.28	0.73
Psihopatija	24.5	19.96	6.81	0.75
Narcizam	28.5	26.86	5.93	0.68

3.4. Korelaciona analiza

Korelaciona analiza pokazuje da prevencija i tretman i ukupni DKZ pozitivno koreliraju sa kognitivnom empatijom i afektivnom rezonancom, dok je negativna korelacija primećena kod afektivne disonance. Uzroci zločina su pozitivno povezani sa afektivnom rezonancom. Takođe, primećuje se negativna korelacija između prevencija i tretmana i narcizma i psihopatije. Ukupni stav o doživotnoj kazni zatvora negativno korelira sa psihopatijom. Dakle, možemo odbaciti prvu i drugu hipotezu.

Tabela 4: *Korelacija stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora i empatije i mračne trijade*

		Kognitivna empatija	Afektivna rezonanca	Afektivna disonanca	Makija-velizam	Psiho-patija	Narci-zam
Prevencija i tretman	r	***.143*****	***.170*****	***-.161*****	-.048	***-.178*****	***-.116****
Uzroci zločina	r	.045	***.122****	-.099	.084	-.011	.042
Strožije kazne	r	.041	.087	-.097	.012	-.080	-.012
Ukupa DKZ	r	***.130****	***.214*****	***-.198*****	.007	***-.161*****	-.081

*< 0,05 ** <0,01

3.5. Hijerarhijska regresija

U regresioni model smo ubacivali setove prediktorskih varijabli. U provom koraku uvedena je varijabla pola, u drugom dimenzije empatije i na kraju dimenzije mračne trijade. Model je izveden u tri koraka nakon čega je koeficijent regresije $R = .43$, $F_{(7,296)} = 9.705$, $p < .001$. Analizom regresionih koeficijenata u finalnom modelu su prediktor pol i makijavelizam statistički značajni. Najveći uticaj na stav prema doživotnoj kazni ima pol, a veći skorovi na makijavelizmu ukazuju na pozitivniji stav prema doživotnoj kazni zatvora. Stoga, možemo delimično prihvatiti treću hipotezu.

Tabela 5: *Koeficijent multiple regresije i koeficijent determinacije*

Model	*R*	R^2	Korigovani R^2	*Promenljivo*R^2	*F*	*p*
1	.352	.124	.121	.124	42.70	.000
2	.388	.150	.139	.027	3.12	.026
3	.432[c]	.187	.167	.036	4.39	.005

Tabela 6: *Parcijalni doprinosi prediktora*

	β	t	p
Pol	**.272**	**4.769**	**.000**
Kognitinvna empatija	.071	1.259	.209
Afektivna rezonanca	.123	1.666	.097
Afektivna disonanca	-.138	-1.931	.054
Makijavelizam	**.265**	**3.575**	**.000**
Psihopatija	-.083	-1.088	.278
Narcizam	-.085	-1.399	.163

3.6. Međupolne razlike

Za testiranje međupolnih razlika koristili smo kanoničku diskriminativnu analizu kako bismo utvrdili polne razlike na dimenzijama empatije, mračne trijade i stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora. Iz tabele vidimo da je dobijena funkcija statistički značajna, objašnjava 26,6% grupnih razlika prema polu. Na pozitivnom polu dimenzija sa zasićenjem iznad 0,4 nalaze se dimenzije prevencija i tretman i afektivna rezonanca, dok su na negativnom polu afektivna disonanca i psihopatija. Iz centroida grupa možemo uočiti da se žene nalaze na pozitivnom polu dimenzija, a muškaci na negativnom polu. Na osnovu dimenzija koje grade ovu funkciju nazvali smo je *empatičnost*. Dakle, muškarci su skloniji afektivnoj disonanci i psihopatiji, a žene afektivnoj rezonanci, stavu prema prevenciji i tretmanu. Na osnovu dobijene funkcije, 73% ispitanika je uspešno razvrstano u odgovarajuće grupe.

Tabela 7: *Karakteristika funkcija, matrica strukture*

	Funkcija 1
Prevencija tretman	**.725**
Afektivna rezonanca	**.560**
Afektivna disonanca	**-.497**
Psihopatija	**-.497**
Makijavelizam	-.282
Kognitivna empatija	.255
Uzroci zločina	.246
Narcizam	-.205
Stroža kazna	.027
Kanonička korelacija	.516
$\chi 2(df)$	92.14
Vilksova λ	.734

Tabela 8: *Položaj centorida grupa na funkciji*

Pol	Funkcija
Muško	-.709
Žensko	.509

4. Diskusija

U ovom radu pokušali smo da ispitamo možemo li deo varijanse stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora da objasnimo prediktorima pol, empatija i mračna trijada. Definisali smo skalu koja će da operacionalizuje stav prema doživotnoj kazni zatvora, a nakon toga smo ispitali latentnu strukturu faktora i funkcije. Na kraju smo ispitali korelaciju između pozitivnog stava o DKZ i empatije i mračne trijade, kao i polne razlike na merenim konstruktima.

4.1. Povezanost stava prema doživotnoj kazni zatvora i drugih varijabli

Kada ispitujemo korelaciju između pozitivnog stava o DKZ i empatije primećujemo da su sve dimenzije empatije povezane sa ukupnim stavom o doživotnoj kazni zatvora i dimenzijom prevencija i tretman, dok je dimenzija uzroci zločina povezana sa afektivnom rezonancom. Kada govorimo o smeru povezanosti, sve dimenzije su pozitivno povezane, osim afektivne disonance koja negativno korelira i sa ukupnim stavom DKZ i sa prevencijom i tretmanom. Ispitanici koji su sposobniji da detektuju emocije i da odgovore na emocionalna stanja druge osobe takođe su i skloniji stavu da ne postoji mogućnost promene kroz prevenciju i tretman počinioca. Ispitanici koji postižu više skorove na afektivnoj rezonanci takođe postižu i više skorove na dimenziji uzroci zločina. Rezultate ovih istraživanja možemo tumačiti kroz saosećanje sa žrtvom zločina, što utiče na stav da se na počinioce ne može uticati ni preventivno ni tretmanski. Ipak, naši ispitanici pokazuju razumevanje za razloge nastanka antisocijalnog ponašanja. Važno je napomenuti da su naši ispitanici adolescenti, te je njihov empatski odgovor uslovljen i njihovim razvojnim razdobljem. Studije iz 2003. godine ukazuju da je

kod adolescenata empatski odgovor uglavnom usmeren na razumevanje patnje i negativnih emocija drugih ljudi, dok je empatija za pozitivne emocije povezana s intimnijim interpersonalnim odnosima (Rosenblum & Lewis, 2003). Kroz kognitivni razvoj u adolescenciji dolazi do napretka u formalnom mišljenju i moralnom rezonovanju, što rezultira zrelijim i kompleksnijim formama empatije u poređenju s detinjstvom (Batson, 2008). Imajući ove faktore u vidu, možemo zaključiti da naši podaci korespondiraju sa spomenutim istraživanjima. Adolescenti u našem uzorku pokazuju razumevanje za kompleksnost antisocijalnog ponašanja i saosećaju se sa žrtvom, što se uklapa u njihov razvojni period i napredak u empatiji koji se javlja tokom adolescencije.

U pogledu veze između mračne trijade i stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora uočavamo negativnu povezanost između prevencije i tretmana s psihopatijom i narcizmom, kao i između ukupnog stava o DKZ i prisustva psihopatije. Rezultati ukazuju na to da osobe s nižim nivoima narcizma i psihopatije pokazuju veće sumnje u mogućnost prevencije i tretmana za izvršioce krivičnih dela, a samim tim i ukupni stav o DKZ. Razloge za to možemo tražiti u većoj empatiji i razumevanju za okolnosti koje doprinose kriminalnom ponašanju, što ih može učiniti skeptičnim prema jednostavnim intervencijama poput prevencije ili tretmana. Ovo mišljenje možemo podržati rezultatima istraživanja da su sve dimenzije mračne trijade negativno povezane sa empatijom a pozitivno sa agresivnošću (Friedenfelt & Klinteberg, 2007). Takođe, osobe koje ne poseduju osobine narcizma i psihopatije mogu imati dublje razumevanje složenosti ljudskog ponašanja i teškoće pri promeni duboko ukorenjenih obrazaca ponašanja. Možemo reći da stavovi proizilaze kako iz ličnog iskustva, tako i iz karakteristika ličnosti koje posedujemo, pa rezultati koje smo dobili u skladu su sa istaživanjima povezanosti crta ličnosti i mračne trijade. Muris i saradnici su na osnovu meta-analize došli do zaključka da su psihopatija i savesnost negativno povezani. Takođe, u istraživanju, u kojem je korišćen HEXACO model ličnosti, primećena je negativna korelacija između svih dimenzija mračne trijade i iskrenosti.

4.2. Predikcija stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora

Otkrili smo dva značajna predikora koji objašnjavaju 19% varijanse stava prema doživotnoj kazni zatvora, a to su pol i makijavelizam. Možemo, takođe, primetiti i da dimenzije empatije nisu prediktori stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora. Objašnjenje za to možemo tražiti u interakciji između empatije i mračne trijade, postoje značajne veze između dimenzija empatije i stavova o doživotnoj kazni zatvora, ali su te veze verovatno rezultat zajedničke varijanse koju dele sa dimenzijama mračne trijade. Što se tiče rezultata da su pol i makijavelizam prediktori stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora, jedno od mogućih objašnjenja je da osobe s višim sklonostima prema makijavelizmu obično pokazuju tendenciju ka manipulativnom ponašanju, nedostatku empatije i fokusiranju na lične interese (Jonason & Webster, 2012). Osobe s izraženim nivoima makijavelizma mogu podržavati strože kazne, poput doživotne kazne zatvora, kao sredstvo za zaštitu svojih ličnih interesa ili održavanje kontrole. Ovaj stav proizlazi iz njihovog ciničnog pogleda na ljudsku prirodu, što ih navodi da veruju kako je važno staviti vlastite interese ispred moralnih principa (O'Boyle et al., 2011). Jonason i Webster su sproveli istraživanje koje je pokazalo da su pojedinci s izraženom mračnom trijadom skloni adaptivnom pristupu u interpersonalnim odnosima. Drugim rečima, oni lako prilagođavaju svoje stavove i ponašanja kako bi prikrili svoje prave namere i izvukli maksimalnu korist za sebe. Dodatno, makijavelisti pokazuju negativan stav prema ljudskoj prirodi i ne veruju u mogućnost pozitivnih promena kod ljudi. Ovo može dodatno opravdati njihovu podršku doživotnoj kazni zatvora. U poređenju s drugim osobinama mračne trijade, makijavelisti su manje skloni impulsivnom ponašanju, na šta ukazuje i istraživanje Christie i Geis (1970). Stoga, mogli bismo pretpostaviti da je to razlog za izdvajanje makijavelizma, kao prediktora stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora. Dok osobe s izraženom psihopatijom i narcizmom možda podržavaju strože kazne, kao brzi odgovor na situacije ili kao način da zadovolje svoje trenutne želje ili potrebe, makijavelisti su skloniji racionalnom promišljanju i strategiji, te donose odluke na osnovu koristi ili ličnih ciljeva.

Kada sagledavamo ulogu pola u formiranju stavova o doživotnoj kazni zatvora, uviđamo da polna pripadnost ima značajan uticaj na te

stavove. Ovi rezultati su u skladu s prethodnim istraživanjima o empatiji, pri čemu se pokazuje da su žene češće sklonije podržavanju doživotne kazne zatvora (Hoffman, 1981). Dodatno, istraživanja, poput onih koja su sproveli Mestre i saradnici (2009), potvrđuju da devojke u adolescenciji pokazuju više emocionalne empatije u poređenju s mladićima, kao i veće razumevanje emocionalnog stanja drugih. Ova osetljivost prema patnji žrtava zločina može rezultirati podrškom za kaznu doživotnog zatvora. Pored toga, Vinayak i Judge (2018) takođe nalaze kako su devojke u adolescentskom periodu empatičnije od mladića. Uviđaju se i polne razlike u razvojnim trendovima empatije, pa se tako kod devojaka primećuje brži porast nego kod mladića. Zauzimanje perspektive se javlja kod mladića od 15. godine a kod devojaka i ranije (Jamgić, 2022). Bolji uvid u emocionalna stanja drugih i briga za druge mogu dovesti do percepcije većeg rizika u društvu i podrške za kaznu doživotnog zatvora, kao sredstva zaštite sebe i drugih od potencijalnih pretnji. Uzimajući u obrzir socijalnu ulogu i iskustva žena, one često pokazuju veću osetljivost na patnju drugih i veću percepciju rizika u društvu, što može rezultirati podrškom doživotnoj kazni zatvora.

4.3. Polne razlike na dimenzijama empatije, mračne trijade i stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora

Međupolne razlike tražili smo primenom kanoničke diskriminativne analize i kao rezultat dobili funkciju koju smo nazvali *empatičnost*. Možemo zaključiti da su muškarci skloniji afektivnoj disonanci i psihopatiji a žene afektivnoj rezonanci, stavu prema prevenciji i tretmanu. Ovi rezultati su u skladu sa predašnjim istraživanjima empatije i mračne trijade. Dosadašnja istraživanja govore da su muškarci skloniji svim crtama mračne trijade (Baughman et al., 2012; Jonason et al., 2012; Paulhus & Williams, 2002). U našem istraživanju psihopatija je izraženija kod muškaraca. Takođe, očekivane rezultate dobili smo i kod empatije, odnosno žene su sklonije afektivnoj rezonanci, a muškarci afektivnoj disonanci. Prethodna istraživanja su saglasna u tome kako je kod žena empatija razvijenija nego kod muškaraca (Hoffman, 1981). Smatra se kako se te razlike mogu pripisati razlikama u procesima socijalizacije i polne identifikacije koji se zbivaju kod muškaraca i kod žena (Jordan et

al.,1991). Društvo obično usmerava žene ka ulozi majke, te ih podstiče da razvijaju brigu, saosećanje i sposobnost posvećivanja potrebama drugih. S druge strane, muškarci se često podstiču na takmičarski duh, autonomiju i borbenost, što može rezultirati manjim naglaskom na razvoj empatije kod njih. Polne razlike uočene su i na dimenziji stava DKZ – prevencija i tretman. Dakle, žene su sklonije verovanju da prevencija i tretman ne mogu doprineti promeni kod počinilaca krivičnih dela. Ovaj rezultat može biti iznenađujući, s obzirom na ustaljeno mišljenje da su žene empatičnije i sklonije razumevanju. Međutim, potreba da se zaštite od moguće opasnosti može biti razlog ovakvih rezultata. Njihovo nepoverenje u tretman ili prevenciju može biti rezultat straha za njih lično ili društvo u celini i zato pre biraju represivnije mere i sankcije.

Kada je reč o ograničenjima našeg istraživanja, važno je istaći nekoliko ključnih tačaka u diskusiji. Prvo ograničenje odnosi se na ograničenost uzorka ispitanika koji su bili iz Novog Sada i Bačke Palanke. Ovo može dovesti u pitanje generalizacije rezultata na celu populaciju adolescenata u Srbiji. Budući da su stavovi o doživotnoj kazni zatvora kompleksan fenomen, koji može varirati u različitim sociokulturnim kontekstima, preporučljivo je sprovesti istraživanje na teritoriji cele Srbije kako bi se dobili reprezentativniji rezultati. Drugo ograničenje odnosi se na pouzdanost skale stava o doživotnoj kazni zatvora koju smo koristili u istraživanju, te bi rezultate trebalo uzeti sa blagom rezervom. U odeljku *Rezultati* primetili smo da je pouzdanost cele skale, kao i njenih pojedinačnih dimenzija, nešto niža. To može biti rezultat više faktora – malog uzorka i malog broja stavki u skali. Takođe, na pouzdanost mogu uticati i nedostatak varijabilnosti u odgovorima ispitanika, niska homogenost i konzistencija stavki. Svakako preporučuje se dalje istraživanje kako bi se ispitale bolje psihometrijske karakteristike ove skale i osigurala njena pouzdanost i valjanost.

Rezultati našeg istraživanja mogu biti od koristi u osmišljavanju programa prevencije nasilja, u unapređenju brige o mentalnom zdravlju adolescenata i za razvoj inicijativa koje promovišu empatiju i socijalnu osetljivost kroz obrazovni sistem. Ove praktične implikacije mogu doprineti stvaranju sigurnijeg i podržavajućeg okruženja za mlade u njihovim zajednicama. Iako naše istraživanje samo dotiče temu stavova o doživotnoj kazni zatvora, ključni doprinos istraživanja leži u istraživa-

nju nivoa empatije kod srednjoškolaca, naročito imajući u vidu nedavne događaje u Osnovnoj školi „Vladislav Ribnikar".

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CHARACTERISTICS OF PERSONALITY AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS LIFE IMPRISONMENT AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Abstract: This research examines high school students' attitudes towards life imprisonment (LI) and the relationship of those attitudes with empathy and traits of the dark triad. The aim of the study was to uncover the connection between attitudes towards LI and levels of empathy, as well as to consider the role of the dark triad in shaping these attitudes. Additionally, correlations between attitudes towards LI and measured personality traits were explored, with a particular emphasis on gender differences. For the purposes of the research, a scale was created that identified three factors related to attitudes towards LI: prevention and treatment, the nature of the crime, and the severity of the punishment. The study was conducted with a sample of 342 high school students of various educational profiles, aged 18 and 19, who completed a survey either through an online platform or using traditional pencil-and-paper methods. The results indicate that gender and levels of Machiavellianism are predictors of attitudes towards LI, explaining 19% of the shared variance. The conclusion of the study suggests that gender is a significant determinant in forming attitudes towards LI, while higher scores on the Machiavellianism scale indicate a more positive attitude towards LI.

Keywords: *attitude towards life imprisonment, empathy, dark triad, high school students*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Crime is older than the law. Throughout history, societies have come to recognize deviant behavior and sanction it appropriately. Social sciences and humanities have attempted to better understand the development of crime in a society and how it is treated. It is not always easy to determine an appropriate punishment for a crime, especially when crimes are committed against children. Thus, the influence of environmental factors on individual behavior is inevitable, as is the reaction and reflection of society after individuals commit crimes. Nevertheless, in addition to environmental factors, it is also essential that criminal behavior and reactions to it are influenced by individual differences, the most relevant of which are those that determine antisocial behavior and sensitivity to others, i.e., empathy.

The Republic of Serbia has adopted amendments to the Criminal Code, under which rapists and child murderers are sentenced to life imprisonment without the possibility of parole. Experts warn that this provision violates the European Convention, which is binding for Serbia. A life sentence must include the possibility of parole and sentence review. This provision not only violates international law but also undermines the purpose of punishment. Essentially, the question arises as to whether our legislation is repressive or corrective, i.e., whether individuals are prosecuted in order to change their behavior through rehabilitation and make them useful members of society, or whether the purpose of punishment is merely to remove the perpetrator from the community that they pose a danger to.

Attitudes are an integral part of our lives; almost daily we express our views of the world, constantly seeking others to share their opinions, and attempting to change the views of others. Social customs and cultural norms play a significant role in shaping our attitudes, particularly on sensitive issues such as incest, rape, child abuse, etc. (Lemut, 2012). Social and/or cultural norms may have some level of agreement, but individual experiences create differing opinions and contribute to differences (Albarracin et al., 2005). According to Allport (1935; as cited in Pennington, 1997), an attitude is a neural and mental readiness, formed

based on experiences that exert a direct and indirect influence on an individual's reactions to the objects and situations they encounter. However, under the pressure of reality, due to new knowledge, experiences, and environmental influences, we do change our attitudes, providing varying degrees of resistance (Albarracin et al., 2005). Various types of attitudes can be categorized according to their subject and specific characteristics. With respect to the subject, attitudes are most commonly divided into personal and social. Personal attitudes are characteristic of the individual and their intimate circle, while social attitudes relate to objects, situations, and phenomena that are significant to society.

This paper focuses on the social attitudes of youth towards life imprisonment for rapists and child murderers. It is clear that this is an attitude emotionally colored by feelings of anger and fear, which are among the strongest motivators of human behavior.

When it comes to empathy, the term was first used by Titchener in 1909 and is used in a broader sense, i.e., as a cognitive ability to understand the internal state of another person and as a certain type of social-cognitive connection (Raboteg-Šarić, 1993). Most researchers believe that empathy is a multidimensional construct that includes understanding the subjective experience of another person, taking the perspective of others, and experiencing the emotional state of another person, which typically leads either to feelings of care and compassion or to one's own experience of stress (Gery et al., 2009). To better understand empathy, it is necessary to clarify the concepts of cognitive and affective empathy. The cognitive aspect of empathy involves understanding and knowing the consciousness and conditions of another person or awareness of how something happening to another person may affect them. Thus, cognitive empathy can be explained with the sentence: "I know how you feel." Many who emphasize this aspect believe that cognitive empathy is a prerequisite for affective empathy (Stephan & Finlay, 1999). The ability to personally experience and feel the emotions that other people experience represents affective empathy (Blair, 2005). Affective empathy can be illustrated by the sentence: "I feel what you feel." Marshall and Marshall (2011) attempted to explain the process of empathy, which consists of several stages, each subsequent stage of which cannot occur unless the previous one has taken place. The first stage is

accurately recognizing the emotional states of another person, followed by taking their perspective, providing an appropriate emotional response, and finally, taking action to reduce that person's stress (Marshall & Marshall, 2011). Empathy can also be viewed as a developmental process that occurs in social interaction alongside cognitive development. During the developmental period of adolescence, individuals enter the stage of formal operations, which causes emotional development. During this period, the ability to take another's perspective and empathize with a person who is not currently present (McDonald & Messinger, 2011; Tone & Tully, 2014). The development of abstract thinking allows adolescents to better anticipate the emotional states of others and to experience the feelings, experiences, and expressions of others (Jagmić, 2022). This suggests that adolescence brings a greater awareness of the emotions of others, manifesting through more developed responses aligned with the feelings of others. Gender differences in the development of empathy among adolescents have also been observed. Research indicates that girls develop empathy earlier than boys. Perspective-taking occurs in boys from the age of 15, whereas in girls, it occurs earlier. Furthermore, girls show a higher level of empathic concern than boys, and while empathic concern remains stable during adolescence in girls, boys exhibit a decrease from early to middle adolescence, returning to initial levels in late adolescence (Jagmić, 2022). Therefore, we can say that empathy is a construct that can be viewed from the perspective of various schools and disciplines.

The concept of the dark triad was devised by Delroy Paulhus and Kevin Williams. It refers to the fact that Machiavellianism, subclinical narcissism, and subclinical psychopathy as personality traits often appear together (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Individuals with pronounced Machiavellian traits are manipulative, prone to deception and exploitation of others, possess a cynical attitude towards morality, and are self-interested. Narcissism encompasses feelings of personal grandiosity, superiority, and dominance over others. Psychopathy, considered the "darkest" of the triad, refers to a lack of both empathy and feelings of shame, guilt, and remorse, along with high impulsivity and a quest for excitement (Furnham et al., 2013). When discussing the traits of the dark triad through the perspective of adolescents, we notice a smaller

number of studies compared to adult populations. The dark triad and adolescents are most commonly researched in the context of their relationship to aggressive behavior and delinquency. This may be due to the rising aggression and violent behavior among youth. This has also been noted by scholars in Serbia, where aggression—especially when wrapped in the cloak of Machiavellian ability and the flashy, superficial charm of narcissism—is often reinforced in peer environments, as it is considered a socially desirable form of behavior until it becomes explicitly antisocial, necessitating the definition of early forms of expression and detection (Brunell et al., 2008 as cited in Mitov et al., 2016). Chabrol, Van Leeuwen, and Rodgers conducted a study on a sample aged 14 to 21 years, examining the relationship between the dark triad and delinquent behavior. The results indicated a connection between delinquency indices and psychopathy, particularly in males. A 2016 study investigated the role of the dark triad in peer violence and victimization. Conducted on a sample of 245 boys and 235 girls, the study showed that Machiavellianism and psychopathy were positively correlated with peer violence, while narcissism was positively correlated with victimization. Hierarchical regression results indicated that psychopathy positively predicts peer violence; however, none of the dimensions of the dark triad predict victimization among adolescents (Fatima, 2016). Considering the developmental characteristics of adolescents, this paper will examine whether dark traits and empathy, and to what extent, predict high school students' attitudes towards perpetrators of the most serious criminal violent acts against children, as well as towards the punishment of these perpetrators.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Objective

The primary objective is to investigate how the factors of gender, empathy, and the dark triad influence the formation of attitudes towards life imprisonment among high school students. Additionally, we aim to examine gender differences in the measured constructs. The secondary objective was to validate the scale of attitudes towards life imprisonment

that we constructed for this research. The practical goal of this research is to contribute to the discussion on the amendment of life imprisonment laws in the Republic of Serbia, as well as to consider the social context and the perception of society, victims, and offenders.

2.2 Hypotheses

H1: There is a statistically significant negative correlation between empathy and a positive attitude towards life imprisonment.

H2: There is a statistically significant positive correlation between the dark triad and a positive attitude towards life imprisonment.

H3: There is a linear combination of variables: gender, empathy, Machiavellianism, psychopathy, and narcissism, which can explain a significant portion of the total variance of attitudes towards life imprisonment among high school students.

H4: Males score higher on the dimensions of the dark triad compared to females.

H5: Compared to males, females have higher empathy.

H6: Males have a more positive attitude towards life imprisonment compared to females.

2.3 Procedure and Analysis

Our research was conducted in two phases, from November 2022 to December 2023. In the first phase, we created a questionnaire on attitudes towards life imprisonment (LI) and conducted a pilot study on a sample of high school students. Subsequently, we performed factor analysis to identify factors and define scale items. In the second phase of the study, we conducted research on a sample of adult high school students in Bačka Palanka and Novi Sad. The questionnaire was available in both paper-pencil and electronic formats. After data collection, we analyzed respondents' answers using SPSS Statistics 25. We analyzed the data using descriptive statistics, inferential statistics, and factor analysis. To test the first and second hypotheses, we used Pearson's correlation coefficient. We examined the third hypothesis using hierarchical linear

regression, while gender differences were explored using canonical discriminant analysis.

2.4 Sample

The sample included 342 high school students with an average age of 18.1 years, of whom 48.2% were male and 51.8% female. The sample was collected through convenience sampling, allowing all adult high school students to choose if they want to participate and complete the questionnaire. Participants came from various educational profiles: 29.5% attended technical school, 19% gymnasium, 15.8% economic school, 26% medical school, and 9.6% music school.

2.5 Instruments

We measured the empathy of our respondents using the Affective and Cognitive Measure of Empathy (ACME; Vachon & Lynam, 2016). This questionnaire consists of 36 items that respondents rated on a scale from 0 to 4, where the lowest value indicates complete disagreement and the highest value indicates complete agreement with the statement. The questionnaire contains 3 subscales, each with 12 items: cognitive empathy, affective resonance, and affective dissonance. A high score on cognitive empathy and affective resonance indicates a high level of empathy, while a high score on affective dissonance indicates low empathy. In the total empathy score, items measuring affective dissonance were recoded. The dark triad was operationalized using the Short Dark Triad Scale (Jones & Paulhus, 2014). The scale consists of 27 items, with the first nine measuring Machiavellianism, the next nine measuring narcissism, and the last nine measuring psychopathy. The questions on this scale are in Likert format, requiring respondents to rate statements from 1 to 5.

The scale of attitudes towards life imprisonment was constructed for this research and initially contained 22 items, which were reduced to 13 items measuring 3 main components through exploratory factor analysis: prevention and treatment, causes of crime, and stricter punishment. The questions on the scale were also posed in Likert format.

3. RESULTS

3.1 Scale of Attitudes Towards Life Imprisonment

We examined the structure of this scale using exploratory factor analysis, employing the principal component extraction method and Promax rotation. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was 0.618, and Bartlett's test of sphericity justified the use of factor analysis ($\chi^2(342) = 682.816$, df = 78, $p < .000$).

The chart shows that 5 factors with characteristic values greater than 1 emerged, explaining 61.3% of the variance. Starting from a "rational" assumption of the existence of 3 dimensions of the scale when creating items, we subsequently extracted 3 factors that explained 44.4% of the variance, which we used as new variables in further analysis.

Chart 1: Percentages of Explained Total Variance

Compo-nent	Characte-ristic Root	Percentage of Explained Variance	Cumulative Percentage of Explained Variance	Characteristic Root After Rotation
1	2.525	19.420	19.420	2.309
2	1.989	15.302	34.722	2.006
3	1.255	9.655	44.377	1.810
4	1.184	9.105	53.482	
5	1.020	7.848	61.330	
6	0.937	7.210	68.540	
7	0.865	6.653	75.193	
8	0.810	6.231	81.424	
9	0.620	4.769	86.194	
10	0.539	4.144	90.338	
11	0.458	3.521	93.859	
12	0.421	3.239	97.098	
13	0.377	2.902	100.000	

Chart 2: Content of the scale for the first three components of attitudes toward life imprisonment, along with factor loadings from the factor matrix

Items	Factor Loadings	No.	Factor Name
If we worked on prevention systems and good rehabilitation programs for prisoners, harsh sentences like life imprisonment wouldn't be necessary.	0.658	1	Prevention and Treatment
After long-term therapy and supervision, it is possible for the most serious offenders to change.	-0.538		
I believe that murderers and child rapists can never change.	0.499		
A person who rapes or kills a child is a monster and deserves no second chances.	-0.675		
The victim is never to blame for what happens to them.	0.437		
A prisoner receiving psychotherapy during their sentence and supervision after release can be prevented from reoffending.	0.539		
People who commit murder and rape were victims themselves as children.	0.641	2	Causes of Crime
If violent and antisocial behavior is recognized in young people early, it can be mitigated with adequate psychotherapy.	0.614		
Sometimes, victims can provoke the perpetrator to commit a crime through their behavior.	0.819		
Rapists and murderers experienced trauma during their upbringing, which is why they became that way.	0.561		
A life sentence without parole is too lenient for rape and murder of a child.	0.657	3	Stricter Punishments
Rapists will reoffend every time they have the opportunity.	-0.575		
For those who murder and rape children, the death penalty should be introduced.	0.658		

3.2 Content of the Factors

"Prevention and Treatment" is the first factor related to attitudes towards life imprisonment. It contains the highest number of facets describing high school students' beliefs in crime prevention and the effectiveness of psychotherapy for offenders. Generally, respondents giving the highest rating (5) believe that prevention and treatment cannot influence change in offenders. "Causes of Crime" is the second main component, defining respondents' views on the reasons for crime, including the violence suffered by the perpetrator and the influence of the victim. "Stricter Punishments" is the factor representing the belief that life sentences are insufficient and that recidivism is the norm among such offenders. It also expresses the view that the death penalty should be reinstated.

3.3 Descriptive Analysis

When observing the dimensions of attitudes towards life imprisonment, our respondents scored higher than the theoretical arithmetic mean, with the most notable stance being towards stricter punishments. In terms of empathy, respondents scored above average in the dimension of affective resonance, while for the dimensions of the dark triad, scores were below the theoretical arithmetic mean, except in the dimension of Machiavellianism. We assessed the reliability of the life imprisonment scale and its dimensions using Cronbach's α, indicating low reliability and small internal consistency of its items. For the dimensions of the dark triad, the internal consistency of the subscales was at an acceptable level. The dimensions of empathy also indicated satisfactory homogeneity.

Chart 3: Descriptive Indicators and Cronbach's α of Measured Variables

	Theoretical AM	**AM**	**SD**	**α**
Prevention and Treatment	20	22.02	4.07	0.62
Causes of Crime	12	12.25	2.86	0.57
Stricter Punishments	9.5	12.92	2.28	0.47
Total LI	43	47.28	5.91	0.58
Cognitive Empathy	41	45.40	6.42	0.82
Affective Resonance	43	49.52	7.46	0.83
Affective Dissonance	31	25.55	6.23	0.65
Machiavellianism	28	30.42	6.28	0.73
Psychopathy	24.5	19.96	6.81	0.75
Narcissism	28.5	26.86	5.93	0.68

3.4 Correlational Analysis

The correlational analysis shows that "Prevention and Treatment" and total attitudes towards life imprisonment positively correlate with cognitive empathy and affective resonance, while a negative correlation was observed with affective dissonance. "Causes of Crime" are positively related to affective resonance. Additionally, a negative correlation is noted between "Prevention and Treatment" and narcissism and psychopathy. The overall attitude towards life imprisonment negatively correlates with psychopathy. Therefore, we can reject the first and second hypotheses.

Chart 4: Correlation of Attitudes Towards Life Imprisonment and Empathy and the Dark Triad

		Cognitive Empathy	Affective Resonance	Affective Dissonance	Machiavellianism	Psychopathy	Narcissism
Prevention and Treatment	r	***.143*****	***.170*****	***-.161*****	-.048	***-.178*****	***-.116****
Causes of Crime	r	.045	***.122****	-.099	.084	-.011	.042
Stricter Punishments	r	.041	.087	-.097	.012	-.080	-.012
Total LI	r	***.130****	***.214*****	***-.198*****	.007	***-.161*****	-.081

*<0,05 **<0,01

3.5 Hierarchical Regression

In the regression model, we included sets of predictor variables. In the first step, the variable "gender" was introduced; in the second, the dimensions of empathy; and finally, the dimensions of the dark triad. The model was conducted in 3 steps, resulting in a regression coefficient of $R = 0.43$, $F(7,296) = 9.705$, $p < 0.001$. Analysis of the regression coefficients in the final model indicated that the predictors "gender" and "Machiavellianism" were statistically significant. The greatest influence on attitudes towards life imprisonment was attributed to gender, while higher scores in Machiavellianism indicated a more positive attitude towards life imprisonment. Therefore, we can partially accept the third hypothesis.

Chart 5: Coefficient of Multiple Regression and Coefficient of Determination

Model	*R*	R^2	Adjusted R^2	*Change in* R^2	*F*	*p*
1	.352	.124	.121	.124	42.70	.000
2	.388	.150	.139	.027	3.12	.026
3	.432[c]	.187	.167	.036	4.39	.005

Chart 6: Partial Contributions of Predictors

	β	t	p
Gender	**.272**	**4.769**	**.000**
Cognitive Empathy	.071	1.259	.209
Affective Resonance	.123	1.666	.097
Affective Dissonance	-.138	-1.931	.054
Machiavellianism	**.265**	**3.575**	**.000**
Psychopathy	-.083	-1.088	.278
Narcissism	-.085	-1.399	.163

3.6 Gender Differences

To test for gender differences, we used canonical discriminant analysis to determine differences in the dimensions of empathy, the dark triad, and attitudes towards life imprisonment. The results show that the obtained function is statistically significant and explains 26.6% of the group differences based on gender. The dimensions of "prevention and treatment" and "affective resonance" are located on the positive pole with loadings above 0.4, while "affective dissonance" and "psychopathy" are positioned on the negative pole.

From the centroids of the groups, we observe that women are on the positive pole of the dimensions, while men are on the negative pole. Based on the dimensions that comprise this function, we named it "empathy". Thus, men are more prone to affective dissonance and psychopathy, whereas women lean towards affective resonance and the stance on prevention and treatment. Based on the obtained function, 73% of respondents were successfully classified into the appropriate groups.

Chart 7: Characteristics of Functions, Structure Matrix

	Function 1
Prevention and Treatment	**.725**
Affective Resonance	**.560**
Affective Dissonance	**-.497**
Psychopathy	**-.497**
Machiavellianism	-.282
Cognitive Empathy	.255
Causes of Crime	.246
Narcissism	-.205
Stricter Punishment	.027
Canonical Correlation	.516
χ^2(df)	92.14
Wilks' λ	.734

Chart 8: Centroid Position of Groups on the Function

Gender	Function
Male	-.709
Female	.509

4. DISCUSSION

In this study, we aimed to examine whether we can explain a part of the variance in attitudes towards life imprisonment using predictors such as gender, empathy, and the dark triad. We defined a scale to operationalize attitudes towards life imprisonment and subsequently investigated the latent structure of the factors and functions. Finally, we examined the correlation between positive attitudes towards life imprisonment and empathy, the dark triad, as well as gender differences in the measured constructs.

4.1 Connection between attitudes towards life imprisonment and other variables

When we examined the correlation between positive attitudes towards life imprisonment and empathy, we noticed that all dimensions of empathy were related to the overall attitude towards life imprisonment and the dimension of prevention and treatment, while the dimension of crime causes was associated with affective resonance. In terms of the direction of the correlation, all dimensions were positively related except for affective dissonance, which negatively correlated with both the overall attitude towards life imprisonment and prevention and treatment. Respondents who were better at detecting emotions and responding to the emotional states of others were also more inclined to believe that there is no possibility for change through prevention and treatment of offenders. Respondents with higher scores on affective resonance also had higher scores on the dimension of crime causes. We can interpret these research results through compassion for crime victims, which influences the belief that offenders cannot be influenced either preventively or therapeutically. Nevertheless, our respondents show an understanding of the reasons for antisocial behavior. It is important to note that our respondents are adolescents, and their empathetic responses are conditioned by their developmental stage. Studies from 2003 indicate that adolescents' empathetic responses are primarily directed towards understanding the suffering and negative emotions of others, while empathy for positive emotions is associated with more intimate interpersonal relationships (Rosenblum & Lewis, 2003). Through cognitive development in adolescence, there is progress in formal thinking and moral reasoning, resulting in more mature and complex forms of empathy compared to childhood (Batson, 2008). Considering these factors, we can conclude that our data correspond with the mentioned studies. Adolescents in our sample demonstrate an understanding of the complexity of antisocial behavior and empathize with the victims, which aligns with their developmental period and the advancement in empathy that occurs during adolescence.

Regarding the connection between the dark triad and attitudes towards life imprisonment, we observe a negative correlation between

prevention and treatment with psychopathy and narcissism, as well as between the overall attitude towards life imprisonment and the presence of psychopathy. The results indicate that individuals with lower levels of narcissism and psychopathy exhibit greater doubts about the possibility of prevention and treatment for offenders, and consequently, about the overall attitude towards life imprisonment. We can find reasons for this in their higher empathy and understanding of the circumstances contributing to criminal behavior, which may make them skeptical of simple interventions like prevention or treatment. This opinion is supported by research results indicating that all dimensions of the dark triad are negatively correlated with empathy and positively with aggression (Friedenfelt & Klinteberg, 2007). Additionally, individuals who do not possess traits of narcissism and psychopathy may have a deeper understanding of the complexities of human behavior and the difficulties in changing deeply rooted behavioral patterns. We can say that attitudes arise from both personal experience and the personality traits we possess, so the results we obtained are consistent with research on the relationship between personality traits and the dark triad. Muris and colleagues, based on a meta-analysis, concluded that psychopathy and conscientiousness are negatively correlated. Furthermore, in a study using the HEXACO model of personality, a negative correlation was observed between all dimensions of the dark triad and honesty.

4.2 Prediction of Attitudes Towards Life Imprisonment

We discovered two significant predictors that explain 19% of the variance in attitudes towards life imprisonment: gender and Machiavellianism. Additionally, we can observe that the dimensions of empathy are not predictors of attitudes towards life imprisonment. An explanation for this may lie in the interaction between empathy and the dark triad—there are significant connections between the dimensions of empathy and attitudes towards life imprisonment, but these connections are likely the result of shared variance with the dimensions of the dark triad.

Regarding the findings that gender and Machiavellianism are predictors of attitudes towards life imprisonment, one possible explanation is that individuals with higher tendencies towards Machiavellian-

ism generally exhibit a propensity for manipulative behavior, a lack of empathy, and a focus on personal interests (Jonason & Webster, 2012). Individuals with pronounced levels of Machiavellianism may support harsher penalties, such as life imprisonment, as a means of protecting their personal interests or maintaining control. This attitude stems from their cynical view of human nature, leading them to believe it is important to prioritize their own interests over moral principles (O'Boyle et al., 2011).

Jonason and Webster conducted research indicating that individuals with pronounced dark triad traits tend to adopt an adaptive approach in interpersonal relationships. In other words, they easily adjust their attitudes and behaviors to conceal their true intentions and maximize their own benefits. Furthermore, Machiavellians exhibit a negative attitude towards human nature and do not believe in the possibility of positive change in people. This may further justify their support for life imprisonment. Compared to other traits of the dark triad, Machiavellians are less prone to impulsive behavior, as indicated by research by Christie and Geis (1970). Thus, we might assume this is the reason Machiavellianism stands out as a predictor of attitudes towards life imprisonment. While individuals with pronounced psychopathy and narcissism may support harsher penalties as a quick response to situations or to satisfy their immediate desires or needs, Machiavellians are more inclined to rational deliberation and strategy, making decisions based on utility or personal goals.

When considering the role of gender in shaping attitudes towards life imprisonment, we observe that gender identity has a significant impact on these attitudes. These results align with previous research on empathy, showing that women are more likely to support life imprisonment (Hoffman, 1981). Additionally, studies such as those conducted by Mestre et al. (2009) confirm that adolescent girls display higher emotional empathy compared to boys, as well as a greater understanding of the emotional states of others. This sensitivity to the suffering of crime victims may result in support for life imprisonment. Furthermore, Vinayak and Judge (2018) also find that girls in adolescence are more empathetic than boys. Gender differences in developmental trends of empathy are observed, with girls exhibiting a faster increase than boys.

Perspective-taking appears in boys around the age of 15, while it occurs earlier in girls (Jamgić, 2022). A better insight into the emotional states of others and concern for others may lead to a perception of greater risk in society, resulting in support for life imprisonment as a means of protecting oneself and others from potential threats. Considering the social roles and experiences of women, they often demonstrate greater sensitivity to the suffering of others and a heightened perception of risk in society, which can result in support for life imprisonment.

4.3 Gender Differences in Dimensions of Empathy, Dark Triad, and Attitudes Towards Life Imprisonment

We examined gender differences using canonical discriminant analysis and derived a function that we named empathy. We can conclude that men are more inclined towards affective dissonance and psychopathy, while women lean towards affective resonance and attitudes regarding prevention and treatment. These results align with previous research on empathy and the dark triad. Existing studies indicate that men are more prone to all traits of the dark triad (Baughman et al., 2012; Jonason et al., 2012; Paulhus & Williams, 2002). In our study, psychopathy was more pronounced in men. We also obtained expected results in empathy, where women are more inclined towards affective resonance, while men exhibit affective dissonance. Previous research agrees that empathy is more developed in women than in men (Hoffman, 1981). These differences are thought to stem from variations in socialization processes and gender identification occurring in men and women (Jordan et al., 1991). Society typically guides women towards the role of caregiver, encouraging them to develop nurturing, compassion, and the ability to attend to the needs of others. Conversely, men are often encouraged to adopt a competitive spirit, autonomy, and aggressiveness, which may result in less emphasis on developing empathy.

Gender differences were also observed in the dimension of attitudes towards life imprisonment—prevention and treatment. Thus, women are more likely to believe that prevention and treatment cannot lead to change in offenders. This result may be surprising given the common perception that women are more empathetic and understanding. How-

ever, the need to protect themselves from potential dangers may explain these results. Their distrust in treatment or prevention could stem from fears for their own safety or that of society as a whole, leading them to prefer more repressive measures and sanctions.

When discussing the limitations of our research, it is important to highlight several key points. The first limitation concerns the restricted sample of respondents from Novi Sad and Bačka Palanka. This may raise questions about the generalizability of the results to the entire adolescent population in Serbia. Given that attitudes towards life imprisonment are a complex phenomenon that can vary in different sociocultural contexts, it is advisable to conduct research across the entirety of Serbia to obtain more representative results. The second limitation relates to the reliability of the scale measuring attitudes towards life imprisonment used in the study, and thus the results should be taken with some caution. In the results section, we noted that the reliability of the overall scale, as well as its individual dimensions, was somewhat lower. This could be due to several factors, including the small sample size and the limited number of items in the scale. Additionally, reliability may be affected by a lack of variability in respondents' answers, low homogeneity, and item consistency. Further research is certainly recommended to examine the psychometric properties of this scale and ensure its reliability and validity.

The results of our research can be useful in designing violence prevention programs, improving mental health care for adolescents, and developing initiatives that promote empathy and social sensitivity through the educational system. These practical implications can contribute to creating a safer and more supportive environment for young people in their communities.

Although our research focuses on the topic of attitudes towards life imprisonment, the key contribution lies in examining the level of empathy among high school students, particularly considering recent events at the Vladislav Ribnikar school in Belgrade.

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KARAKTERISTIKE RADNE SREDINE I BAZIČNE PSIHOLOŠKE POTREBE KAO PREDIKTORI PREDANOSTI ORGANIZACIJI I KARIJERI

Apstrakt: U ovom radu ispitivan je udeo karakteristika radne sredine (opaženi prestiž kompanije i percipirana podrška nadređenog) i bazičnih psihičkih potreba u varijansi predanosti organizaciji i karijeri definisanih putem Klajnovog target-free modela. Uzorak se sastojao od 287 ispitanika. Rezultati multiple hijerarhijske regresije nakon kontrole varijable *položaj u organizaciji* prikazali su da percipirane karakteristike radnog okruženja statistički značajno doprinose objašnjenju varijanse. Ukupno je objašnjeno 15% varijanse predanosti karijeri, s tim da bazične psihičke potrebe nisu značajno doprinele modelu. Ovi nalazi ukazuju na značaj negovanja otvorene, demokratske organizacione kulture kako bi se povećala predanost zaposlenih organizaciji i karijeri.

Ključne reči: *predanost, organizacija, karijera, bazične psihološke potrebe, opaženi prestiž organizacije, percipirana podrška nadređenog*

1. *Uvod*

Svrha ovog istraživanja bilo je ispitivanje odnosa *predanosti organizaciji* i *predanosti karijeri*, prema modelu Klajna i saradnika (2012), u odnosu na prediktor *karakteristike radne sredine* (opaženi prestiž kompanije i percipirana podrška nadređenog) i *bazične psihičke potrebe*. Uz navedeno, dodatna svrha podrazumevala je približavanje većoj jasnoći u sveprisutnoj kontradiktornosti (konstrukata predanosti) i to putem

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Klajnovog modela (Klein, Molloy, & Brinsfield, 2012) koji ima potencijal da unifikuje teorije.

U okviru ovog istraživanja kontrolnu varijablu je predstavljao *položaj u organizaciji*, s obzirom na to da je očekivano da izvršioci imaju niži stepen predanosti organizaciji, kao i predanosti karijeri u odnosu na one koji imaju rukovodilačke pozicije (Cho & Mor Barak, 2008). U ovom istraživanju koristili smo varijablu *bazične psihičke potrebe* proizašlu iz teorije samodeterminacije (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Pored toga, varijable *predanosti karijeri*, kao i *predanosti organizaciji* koristili smo u odnosu na jednodimenzionalni model predanosti Klajna i saradnika (Klein, Molloy, & Brinsfield, 2012). Takođe, konstrukt opaženog prestiža kompanije koristili smo prema operacionalizaciji Herbaha i saradnika (Herrbach, Mignonac, & Gatignon, 2004). Na kraju, u odnosu na varijablu *opažene podrške nadređenog* pozivali smo se na definiciju Ajsenberga i saradnika (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002).

1.1 Opaženi prestiž organizacije

Način na koji zaposleni smatra da ljudi iz okoline percipiraju njegovu organizaciju, a samim tim i njega, kao njenog člana, predstavlja opaženi prestiž kompanije (PEP) (Smidts i dr., 2001). Visok stepen PEP-a utiče pozitivno na zadovoljstvo poslom zaposlenih, kao i na smanjenje nivoa atraktivnosti istog posla u drugim organizacijama (Herrbach i dr., 2004). U drugoj studiji (Herrbach & Migonac, 2004) pronađena je pozitivna korelacija između PEP-a i afektivne predanosti organizaciji ($r = .22$), dok rezultati Karmelija (2005) ukazuju da je prestiž kompanije značajno doprineo objašnjenju varijanse afektivne predanosti organizaciji za 11%, dok je, sa druge strane, PEP bio u negativnoj vezi sa predanosti kontinuiteta (continuance commitment) (Casper i dr., 2011). Podaci iz studije Podnara (2011) pokazali su da stepen PEP-a ne pretpostavlja stepen predanosti organizaciji zaposlenih. Na kraju, drugi rezultati (Kang i dr., 2011) ukazali su da je PEP predstavljala prediktor predanosti organizaciji, ali ne i predanosti karijeri.

1.2 Opažena podrška nadređenog

Ajsenberger i saradnici (2002) definišu opaženu podršku nadređenog kao „opšti stav koji se odnosi na stepen do kojeg supervizori cene njihov doprinos i brinu o njihovom blagostanju" (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002: 565). Ukoliko menadžeri dobijaju podršku od svojih menadžera to će rezultirati obogaćivanjem njihovih karijera (Baird & Kram, 1983; Greenhouse i dr., 1990). Rezultati su pokazali da opažena podrška nadređenog ima pozitivan efekat na afektivnu predanost (Casper, i dr., 2011; Kang i dr., 2014; Stan & Virga, 2021). Stan i Virga (2021) pronašli su pozitivan efekat percipirane podrške nadređenog na normativnu predanost organizaciji na uzorku obrazovnog kadra. Takođe, u drugoj studiji je pronađen statistički značajan prediktivni faktor opažene podrške nadređenog u objašnjenju varijanse predanosti organizaciji ($\beta = 0.67$, $p < 0.001$) (Wang, 2014).

1.3 Bazične psihičke potrebe

Bazične psihičke potrebe (BPP) su konstrukti u okviru teorije samodeterminacije (SDT), a to su: potreba za kompetentnošću, potreba za povezanošću i potreba za autonomijom (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Teorija SDT definiše potrebu za autonomijom, kao potrebu pojedinca da deluje i postupa uz osećaj kontrole nad sopstvenim ponašanjem, uz prisustvo doživljaja psihološke slobode (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Van den Broeck i dr., 2016). Potreba za povezanošću je zadovoljena kada ljudi sebe doživljavaju kao člana grupe, odnosno kada imaju osećaj pripadnosti i kada razvijaju bliske odnose sa drugima (Van den Broeck i dr., 2016). Na kraju, potreba za kompetentnošću definiše se kao „potreba za osećajem majstorstva nad okolinom i potreba za razvojem veština" (Van den Broeck i dr., 2016: 4).

Istraživanje koje su sproveli Stan & Virga (2021) pokazuje da BPP za povezanošću i autonomijom statistički značajno objašnjavaju varijansu afektivne predanosti, dok samo bazična psihička potreba za povezanošću značajno predviđa normativnu predanost organizaciji na uzorku obrazovnog kadra. Rezultati Onišija i dr. (2019) pokazali su da postoji statistički značajna pozitivna povezanost između zadovoljenosti bazič-

nih psihičkih potreba i predanosti karijeri kod medicinskih sestara. Rezultati drugog istraživanja pokazali su da je potreba za kompetencijom negativno povezana sa afektivnom predanošću organizaciji (Fugate i dr., 2004; Van den Broeck i dr., 2016).

1.4 Jednodimenzionalni model predanosti Klajna i saradnika

Klajn i saradnici (Klein i dr., 2012) usmerili su se ka stvaranju preciznijeg modela radi uspostavljanja „jedinstvenog i relevantnog konstrukta za razumevanje i upravljanje organizacionim ponašanjem" (Klein i dr., 2012: 131). U odnosu na to predanost je definisana kao „voljna psihološka veza koja odražava posvećenost i odgovornost za određenu metu" (Klein i dr., 2012: 137).

1.5 Predanost organizaciji

Opšte govoreći, „organizacijska predanost je psihološka veza zaposlenog prema organizaciji koja ga zapošljava" (Klein & Park, 2015: 334). Porter i saradnici navode da organizacijsku predanost mogu okarakterisati tri faktora: (1) verovanje i prihvatanje ciljeva i vrednosti organizacije, (2) spremnost da se ulože značajni napori u korist organizacije i (3) želja da se održi članstvo u organizaciji (Porter i dr., 1974). Takođe, brojne studije ukazuju na pozitivnu korelaciju između predanosti organizaciji i radnog učinka (Chughtai & Zafar, 2006). Takođe, visok nivo predanosti organizaciji među zaposlenima može imati pozitivan uticaj na njihovo radno ponašanje (Cohen, 2007).

1.6 Predanost karijeri

Predanost karijeri odnosi se na „razvoj ličnih ciljeva u karijeri, vezanost za njih, identifikaciju sa njima i uključenost u njih" (Colarelli & Bishop, 1990: 159).

Rezultati studije Puna (Poon, 2004) pokazali su da predanost karijeri predviđa subjektivni karijerni uspeh, u smislu zadovoljstva karijerom, a takođe i objektivni karijerni uspeh u formi visine zarade. Pored toga, Balout (Ballout, 2009), u okviru svoje studije, iznosi podatke o po-

stojanju visoke korelacije između predanosti karijeri i karijerne samoefikasnosti, kao i između predanosti karijeri i zadovoljstva karijerom. Drugim rečima, osoba sa nižom predanošću karijeri biće sklonija da promeni istu (Poon, 2004).

2. Metod

2.1 Uzorak

Testirano je 287 ispitanika od kojih su 161 žene (56,1%). Raspon godina je od 18 do 62, radni staž od dva meseca do 39 godina, dok se raspon dužine radnog staža u trenutnoj organizaciji kretao od jednog meseca do 39 godina. Prema vlasničkoj strukturi organizacije u kojoj su ispitanici zaposleni, 41,8% ispitanika radi u državnom sektoru, dok je 58,2% je u privatnom.

2.2 Postupak istraživanja

Istraživanje je sprovedeno 2020. godine na teritoriji Republike Srbije i Republike Srpske metodama papir – olovka i onlajn upitnikom putem „SoSci Survey" platforme. Svi ispitanici su ispunjavali kriterijume o zaposlenosti i pristali na učešće u istraživanju. U okviru samog upitnika istaknuta je anonimnost svih podataka prikupljenih ovim putem. Ispitanike smo upoznali sa svrhom istraživanja a time i sa svrhom njihove participacije.

2.3 Instrumenti

Percipirane karakteristike radnog okruženja. Opaženi prestiž kompanije je meren pomoću skale (PEP) (α = .73; Herrbach, Mignonac, & Gatignon, 2004). Podrška nadređenog je ispitivana putem skale percipirane podrške rukovodioca (SSS) (α = .95; Greenhaus i dr., 1990).

Predanost organizaciji i karijeri. Oba konstrukta su ispitivana putem KUT skale (Klein i dr., 2012). Skala predanosti organizaciji (α = .92) i skala predanosti karijeri (α = .95) prikazuju zadovoljavajući nivo unutrašnje konzistentnosti.

Zadovoljenost bazičnih potreba na radu. Stepen zadovoljenosti bazičnih psihičkih su merene skalom zadovoljenosti bazičnih potreba na radu tzv. W-BNS (Van den Broeck i dr., 2010). Subskale prikazuju zadovoljavajući nivo pouzdanosti za sve tri subskale: autonomija (α = .72), kompetentnost (α = .78) i povezanost (α = .80).

2.4 Hipoteze

Izdvojene su tri alternativne hipoteze:

H1: Percipirane karakteristike radnog okruženja i BPP statistički značajno objašnjavaju varijansu predanosti organizaciji i/ili predanosti karijeri nakon kontrole položaja u organizaciji.

H2: Postoji statistički značajan nezavisan doprinos percipirane karakteristike radnog okruženja u objašnjenju varijabilnosti predanosti organizaciji i/ili predanosti karijeri.

H3: Postoji statistički značajan nezavisan doprinos BPP u objašnjenju varijabilnosti predanosti organizaciji i/ili predanosti karijeri.

2.5 Obrada podataka

Svi podaci dobijeni u upitnicima uneti su i obrađeni u okviru SPSS v26 programa. Kako bi se proverila prediktorska moć percipiranih karakteristika radnog okruženja i bazičnih psihičkih potreba u predviđanju predanosti zaposlenih organizaciji i karijeri sprovedena je višestruka regresiona analiza. Varijabla *položaj u organizaciji* je konvertovana u *dummy* varijablu, pri čemu je pozicija izvršioca nosila vrednost 0 a rukovodioca 1. Pouzdanost skala je testirana putem Kronbahovog koeficijenta pouzdanosti alfa. Efekti kontrolne varijable u sklopu regresione analize nisu uzimani u obzir zbog mogućih konfundirajućih varijabli („nuisance parameters“) (Hünermund & Beyers, 2020).

3. Rezultati

U Tabeli 1 prikazani su rezultati bivarijantne korelacije kontrukata, kao i pouzdanost korišćenih psihometrijskih skala. Primećuje se da percipirane karakteristike radnog okruženja statistički značajno koreliraju sa bazičnim psihičkim potrebama.

Tabela 1: Interkorelacije i pouzdanost skala istraživanih varijabli[a]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	α
1. Predanost organizaciji							.92
2. Predanost karijeri	.308**						.95
3. PEP	.299**	.307**					.73
4. Podrška nadređenog	.402**	.222**	.372**				.95
5. Povezanost	.535**	.131*	.212**	.454**			.80
6. Kompetencija	.311**	.249**	.265**	.136*	.359**		.78
7. Autonomija	.515**	.271**	.329**	.403*	.507**	.558**	.72

*p <.05; **p < .01; [a]n = 269; α – Kronbahov koeficijent interne konzistentnosti

3.1 Karakteristike radnog okruženja i BPP kao prediktori predanosti organizaciji

Nakon kontrole varijable *položaj u organizaciji*, rezultati 2. bloka prvog regresionog modela, prikazani u Tabeli 2, ukazuju da značajno predviđaju predanost organizaciji, objašnjavajući dodatnih 18% u odnosu na kontrolnu varijablu. Pojedinačno, podrška nadređenog, kao i PEP imaju značajan pozitivan doprinos u objašnjenju varijanse, s tim da PEP je ostvario nešto snažniji doprinos.

Uključivanjem BPP u 3. bloku, primećuje se statistički značajna promena u predikciji predanosti organizaciji, s tim da BPP objašnjava dodatnih 19% varijanse kriterijumske varijable. Generalni model objašnjava 40% od ukupne varijanse predanosti organizaciji. Prediktori povezanost i autonomija imaju pozitivne doprinose na ukupan model, dok kompetencija nije ostvarila statističku značajnost. Komponente percipiranih karakteristika radnog okruženja u 3. bloku nemaju značajan doprinos objašnjenju ukupne varijanse.

Tabela 2: Regresioni model – Percipirane karakteristike radnog okruženja i BPP na radu kao prediktori predanosti organizaciji.

	Prediktori	β	R^2	F	ΔR^2	ΔF
1	Položaj u organizaciji	.18**	.03	9.49**		
2	Položaj u organizaciji Podrška nadređenih PEP	.16** .33**	.21	23.51**	.18	29.52**
3	Položaj u organizaciji Podrška nadređenih PEP Povezanost Kompetencija Autonomija	.10 .11 .33** -.01 .26**	.40	28.73**	.19	27.02**

* - p < .05; ** - p < .01;

3.2 Karakteristike radnog okruženja i bazične psihičke potrebe kao prediktori predanosti karijeri

Rezultati drugog regresionog modela, prikazani u Tabeli 2, ukazuju da podrška nadređenog i PEP statistički značajno predviđaju predanost organizaciji objašnjavajući 10% varijanse predanosti karijeri nakon kontrolisanja položaja u organizaciji. Prediktori se razlikuju u uticaju koji ostvaruju na zavisnu varijablu; podrška nadređenog ima statistički značajan pozitivan doprinos, dok PEP ne doprinosi modelu na značajan način. Zajedno, prema nalazima u tabelama 1 i 2, prediktori objašnjavaju oko 12,4% varijanse predanosti. PEP pozitivno i statistički značajno predviđa predanost karijeri, dok podrška nadređenog značajno ne objašnjava varijansu predanosti karijeri. Takođe, prediktivna moć položaja u organizaciji je postala nešto slabija nakon uvođenja varijabli PEP i podrška nadređenog. Ipak, PEP nema značajan pojedinačni doprinos.

Uključivanjem BPP u trećem bloku, iako se predikcija statistički značajno menja sama promena nije naročito velika – svega 3%. Tako-

đe, primećuje se da nijedna komponenta BPP nema značajan doprinos. Opet, samo je podrška nadređenog ostvarila statistički značajan pozitivan doprinos. Zajednički efekat prediktorskih varijabli drugog regresionog modela je značajan i iznosi 15,5%.

Tabela 3: Regresioni model – Percipirane karakteristike radnog okruženja i BPP na radu kao prediktori predanosti karijeri

	Prediktori	β	R^2	F	ΔR^2	ΔF
1	Položaj u organizaciji	.16*	.02	6.66*		
2	Položaj u organizaciji Podrška nadređenih PEP	.25**	.12	12.51**	.10	15.1*
		.12				
3	Položaj u organizaciji		.15	7.98**	.03	3.14*
	Podrška nadređenih	.20**				
	PEP	.11				
	Povezanost	-.07				
	Kompetencija	.13				
	Autonomija	.10				

* - p <.05; ** - p < .01;

4. Diskusija

Ovim istraživanjem želeli smo da ispitamo u kojoj meri percipirane karakteristike radnog okruženja i bazične psihičke potrebe objašnjavaju varijabilnost predanosti karijeri i organizaciji koristeći se target-free modelom Klajna i dr. (2012). Kontrolisan je uticaj varijable položaj u organizaciji kako bi se izbegle razlike u stepenu predanosti organizaciji i karijeri između menadžera i izvršilaca budući da su prethodni nalazi (Cho & Mor Barak, 2008) prikazali da su pojedinci na višim pozicijama predaniji organizaciji u odnosu na pojedince na nižim nivoima organizacione strukture.

Varijabilnost konstrukta predanost organizaciji je značajno objašnjena varijansom PEP-a, što ne ide u prilog Podnarovim (2011) nalazima. Međutim, istraživanje Kanga i saradnika (2011) potkrepljeno je

ovim istraživanjem, kao i nalazima Karmelija (2005). Podrška nadređenog ima statistički značajan pozitivan doprinos. Dakle, nalazi impliciraju da zaposleni visoko vrednuju prestiž organizacije, te je praktična implikacija da bi organizacije trebalo konstantno da poboljšavaju svoj nastup kako bi zadržale i dodatno motivisale svoje zaposlene.

Dobijena statistička značajnost između podrške nadređenih i predanosti organizaciji, merena Klajnovim target-free modelom, u saglasnosti je sa drugim teorijskim pristupom koji su koristili Kasper i saradnici (2011). Nadalje, nalazi potvrđuju nalaze Stan i Virga (2021) i Vang (2014), ali ne i nalaze Kanga i saradnika (2011) u vezi sa predanošću karijeri. Nalazi o percipiranoj podršci nadređenog ukazuju na to da je važno negovati ovakav vid liderstva u organizaciji.

Nalazi ukazuju da BPP za povezanošću i autonomijom predviđaju predanost organizaciji, dok BPP za kompetencijom nije statistički značajna. U skladu sa tim, omogućavanje učešća u donošenju odluka, pružanje mogućnosti izbora o načinu obavljanja zadataka, kao i negovanje i razvoj stabilnih socijalnih odnosa među zaposlenima, rezultiraće većom spremnošću zaposlenih da se predaju organizaciji i njenim ciljevima. Ovim istraživanjem nismo uspeli da reprodukujemo nalaze Fugatea i saradnika (2004; Van den Broeck i dr., 2016).

Komentarišući rezultate regresionog modela u odnosu na predanost karijeri u ovom istraživanju nisu reprodukovani nalazi s obzirom da nijedna od tri BPP ne predviđa predanost karijeri.

Nalazi o relaciji BPP i predanosti organizaciji jasno ukazuju na važnost razvoja i negovanja organizacione kulture. Ipak, dodatna istraživanja su neophodna pre nego prethodna tvrdnja postane dovoljno opravdana da bi se sprovodila u praksi. Implikacije značajnosti autonomije u opštem modelu predanosti organizaciji jeste da je potrebno pratiti trend razvoja modernih, fleksibilnijih načina rada organizacija u kojima je akcenat na slobodi mišljenja i delovanja zaposlenog u okviru njegove uloge u kompaniji.

Praktičan značaj odsustva značajnog udela BPP u objašnjenju varijanse predanosti karijeri jeste da prilikom procene kandidata ili zaposlenog poznavanjem ovih činilaca nećemo dobiti odgovor koliko će pojedinac biti predan poslu i ličnom razvoju na tom polju.

Kod pojedinih instrumenata primećena je izuzetno visoka kronbahova alfa (.92, .95 i .95) što je pouzdan indikator nepotrebnog umnožavanja sadržaja između stavki koji pre ukazuje na redundantnost nego na homogenost (Streiner, 2003). Takođe, korišćene skale iz Klajnovog modela (2015) nisu kros-kulturalno adaptirane, što može ugroziti validnost nalaza.

Buduća istraživanja mogu nadograditi model time što će uvrstiti više kontrolnih varijabli i proširiti broj konstrukata koji se odnose na percipirane karakteristike radnog okruženja.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WORK ENVIRONMENT AND BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL NEEDS AS PREDICTORS OF COMMITMENT TO ORGANIZATION AND CAREER

Abstract: This paper examines the contribution of workplace characteristics (perceived external prestige and perceived supervisor support) and basic psychological needs in the variance of organizational and career commitment defined through Klein's target-free model. The sample consisted of 287 participants. The results of multiple hierarchical regression, after controlling for the variable "position in the organization" showed that perceived characteristics of the work environment significantly contribute to the explanation of variance. A total of 15% of the variance in career commitment was explained, with basic psychological needs not significantly contributing to the model. These findings highlight the importance of fostering an open, democratic organizational culture to increase employee commitment to the organization and career.

Keywords: commitment, organization, career, basic psychological needs, perceived external prestige, perceived supervisor support

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this research was to investigate the relationship between organizational commitment and career commitment according to Klein et al.'s (2012) model, in relation to predictors such as characteristics of the work environment (perceived external prestige and perceived supervisor support) and basic psychological needs. The secondary aim was to bring greater clarity to the pervasive contradiction in commitment constructs, using Klein's model (Klein, Molloy & Brinsfield, 2012), which has the potential to unify theories.

In this research, the control variable was represented by the organizational position, considering that it is expected that non-managerial roles have a lower level of commitment to both the organization and their careers compared to those in managerial positions (Cho & Mor Barak, 2008). The study used the variable of basic psychological needs derived from the self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Additionally, variables of career commitment and organizational commitment were used in relation to Klein et al.'s (2012) one-dimensional commitment model. The construct of perceived external prestige was operationalized according to Herrbach et al.'s (2004) definition. Finally, regarding the variable of perceived supervisor support, we referred to Rhoades and Eisenberger's (2002) definition.

1.1 Perceived External Prestige

The way an employee perceives how individuals in their external environment view their organization, and consequently, how they are perceived as members of that organization, defines the concept of perceived external prestige (PEP) (Smidts et al., 2001). A high level of PEP positively impacts employee job satisfaction and reduces the attractiveness of the same job in other organizations (Herrbach et al., 2004). Carmeli's results (2005) suggest that external prestige significantly contributed to explaining the variance in affective organizational commitment by 11%, while PEP was negatively related to continuance commitment (Casper et al., 2011). Data from Podnar's study (2011) indicated that the degree of PEP does not necessarily correlate with the level of employees'

organizational commitment. Finally, other findings (Kang et al., 2011) suggested that PEP was a predictor of organizational commitment but not career commitment.

1.2 Perceived Supervisor Support

Perceived supervisor support is defined as "the general belief regarding the extent to which supervisors value managers' contributions and care about their well-being" (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002, p. 565). If managers receive support from their supervisors, it will result in enriching their careers (Baird & Kram, 1983; Greenhouse et al., 1990). Results have shown that perceived supervisor support has a positive effect on affective commitment (Casper et al., 2011; Kang et al., 2014; Stan & Virga, 2021). Stan and Virga (2021) found a positive effect of perceived supervisor support on normative commitment to the organization in a sample of educational staff. In another study, statistically significant predictive factors of perceived supervisor support were found to explain the variance in organizational commitment ($\beta = 0.67$, $p < 0.001$) (Wang, 2014).

1.3 Basic Psychological Needs

Basic Psychological Needs (BPN) are constructs within the framework of Self-Determination Theory (SDT), including the need for competence, the need for relatedness, and the need for autonomy (Deci & Ryan, 2000). SDT defines the need for autonomy as an individual's need to act and behave with a sense of control over their own actions, accompanied by a sense of psychological freedom (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Van den Broeck et al., 2016). The need for relatedness is satisfied when individuals perceive themselves as members of a group, experiencing a sense of belonging and developing close relationships with others (Van den Broeck et al., 2016). Lastly, the need for competence is defined as the "need for a sense of mastery over the environment and the need for skill development" (Van den Broeck et al., 2016, p. 4).

The study by Stan & Virga (2021) shows that BPN for relatedness and autonomy significantly explain the variance in affective commitment, while only the basic psychological need for relatedness signifi-

cantly predicts normative commitment to the organization in a sample of educational staff. Results from Onishi et al. (2019) indicate a statistically significant positive correlation between the satisfaction of basic psychological needs and career commitment among nurses. Results from another study showed that the need for competence is negatively correlated with affective commitment to the organization (Fugate et al., 2004; Van den Broeck et al., 2016).

1.4 One-dimensional model of commitment by Klein and colleagues

Klein and colleagues (Klein et al., 2012) aimed to create a more precise model to establish a "unified and relevant construct for understanding and managing organizational behaviour" (Klein et al., 2012, p. 131). Accordingly, they define commitment as "a voluntary psychological bond that reflects dedication and responsibility towards a specific goal" (Klein et al., 2012, p. 137).

1.5 Organizational Commitment

Broadly speaking, "organizational commitment is the psychological bond of an employee to the organization that employs them" (Klein & Park, 2015, p. 334). Porter and colleagues state that organizational commitment can be characterized by three factors: (1) belief in and acceptance of the goals and values of the organization, (2) willingness to invest significant efforts for the benefit of the organization, and (3) a desire to maintain membership in the organization (Porter et al., 1974). Numerous studies also indicate a positive correlation between organizational commitment and job performance (Chughtai & Zafar, 2006). High levels of organizational commitment can also have a positive impact on employees' work behaviour (Cohen, 2007).

1.6 Career Commitment

Career commitment refers to the "development of personal career goals, attachment to them, identification with them, and involvement in them" (Colarelli & Bishop, 1990, p. 159).

The results of Poon's study (2004) showed that career commitment predicts subjective career success in terms of career satisfaction, as well as objective career success in the form of earning potential. Additionally, Ballout's study (2009) presents data indicating a high correlation between career commitment and career self-efficacy, as well as between career commitment and career satisfaction. In other words, individuals with lower career commitment are more likely to change careers (Poon, 2004).

2. Method

2.1 Sample

A total of 287 participants were tested, out of which 161 were female (56.1%). The age range varied from 18 to 62 years, with work experience ranging from two months to 39 years, and the length of employment in the current organization ranging from one month to 39 years. Regarding the ownership structure of the organization where the participants were employed, 41.8% worked in the public sector, while 58.2% worked in the private sector.

2.2 Research Procedure

The study was conducted in 2020 in the territories of the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Srpska, using paper-pencil methods and an online questionnaire through the "SoSci Survey" platform. All participants met the criteria for employment and provided personal consent to participate in the study. The questionnaire emphasized the anonymity of all data collected in this research. Participants were informed about the purpose of the study and the purpose of their participation.

2.3 Instruments

Perceived characteristics of the work environment. *Perceived external prestige* was measured using the scale (PEP) (α = .73; Herrbach, Mignonac & Gatignon, 2004). *Supervisor support* was assessed using the perceived supervisor support scale (SSS) (α = .95; Greenhaus et al., 1990).

Organizational and career commitment. Both constructs were assessed using the KUT scale (Klein et al., 2012). The organizational commitment scale (α = .92), as well as the career commitment scale (α = .95), demonstrated a satisfactory level of internal consistency.

Satisfaction of basic needs at work. The degree of satisfaction of basic psychological was measured using the Work-related Basic Need Satisfaction scale (W-BNS) (Van den Broeck et al., 2010). Subscales showed a satisfactory level of reliability for all three subscales: autonomy (α = .72), competence (α = .78), and relatedness (α = .80).

2.4 Hypotheses

Three alternative hypotheses have been identified:

H1: Perceived characteristics of the work environment and Basic Psychological Needs (BPN) significantly explain the variance in organizational commitment and/or career commitment after controlling for organizational position.

H2: There is a statistically significant independent contribution of perceived characteristics of the work environment in explaining the variability in organizational commitment and/or career commitment.

H3: There is a statistically significant independent contribution of BPN in explaining the variability in organizational commitment and/or career commitment.

2.5 Data processing

All data collected in the questionnaires were entered and processed within the SPSS v26 software. To examine the predictive power of perceived characteristics of the work environment and basic psychological needs in predicting employee commitment to the organization and career, a multiple regression analysis was conducted. The variable "organizational position" was converted into a dummy variable, where the position of an employee carried a value of 0, and that of a manager carried a value of 1. The reliability of scales was tested using Cronbach's alpha coefficient. The effects of the control variable within the regression anal-

ysis were not taken into account due to potential confounding variables ("nuisance parameters") (Hünermund & Beyers, 2020).

3. Results

Table 1 shows the results of bivariate correlation of constructs, together with the reliability of the utilized psychometric scales. Noticeably, the perceived characteristics of the work environment significantly correlate with basic psychological needs.

Table 1: Intercorrelation and internal consistency of used scales[a]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	α
1. Organizational Commitment							.92
2. Career Commitment	.308**						.95
3. PEP	.299**	.307**					.73
4. Supervisor Support	.402**	.222**	.372**				.95
5. Relatedness	.535**	.131*	.212**	.454**			.80
6. Competence	.311**	.249**	.265**	.136*	.359**		.78
7. Autonomy	.515**	.271**	.329**	.403**	.507**	.558**	.72

*p <.05; **p < .01; [a]n = 269; α – Cronbach's Coefficient of Internal Consistency

3.1 Characteristics of the work environment and BPN as predictors of organizational commitment

After controlling for the variable "organizational position", the results of the second block of the first regression model, as shown in Table 2, indicate a significant prediction of organizational commitment, explaining an additional 18% compared to the control variable. Individually, supervisor support, as well as PEP, make a significant positive contribution in explaining the variance, with PEP showing a slightly stronger contribution.

By incorporating BPN in the third block, a statistically significant change in the prediction of organizational commitment is observed, with BPN explaining an additional 19% of the criterion variable's variance. The overall model explains 40% of the total variance in organizational commitment. Predictors Relatedness and autonomy contribute positively to the overall model, while competence did not achieve statistical significance. Components of perceived characteristics of the work environment in the third block did not make a significant contribution.

Table 2: Regression Model - Perceived characteristics of the work environment and BPN at work as predictors of organizational commitment

	Predictors	β	R^2	F	Δ R^2	ΔF
1	Organizational position	.18**	.03	9.49**		
2	Organizational position Supervisory support PEP	.16** .33**	.21	23.51**	.18	29.52**
3	Organizational position Supervisory support PEP Relatedness Competence Autonomy	.10 .11 .33** -.01 .26**	.40	28.73**	.19	27.02**

* - p <.05; ** - p < .01;

3.2 Characteristics of the work environment and BPN as predictors of career commitment

The results of the second regression model presented in Table 2 indicate that supervisor support and PEP significantly predict organizational commitment, explaining 10% of the variance in career commitment after controlling for the organizational position. Predictors differ in the impact they have on the dependent variable – supervisor support

has a statistically significant positive contribution, while PEP does not significantly contribute to the model. Together, according to the findings in Tables 1 and 2, the predictors explain about 12.4% of the variance in commitment. PEP positively and significantly predicts career commitment, while supervisor support does not significantly explain the variance in career commitment. Also, the predictive power of organizational position weakened slightly after introducing the PEP and supervisor support variables. However, PEP does not have a significant individual contribution.

By including BPN in the third block, although the prediction significantly changes, the change itself is not particularly large, only 3%. It is also noted that none of the components of BPN has a significant contribution. Again, only supervisor support has a statistically significant positive contribution. The combined effect of predictor variables in the second regression model is significant and amounts to 15.5%.

Table 3: Regression Model - Perceived characteristics of the work environment and BPN at work as predictors of career commitment

	Predictors	β	R^2	F	Δ R^2	ΔF
1	Organizational position	.16*	.02	6.66*		
2	Organizational position Supervisory support PEP	 .25** .12	.12	12.51**	.10	15.1*
3	Organizational position Supervisory support PEP Relatedness Competence Autonomy	 .20** .11 -.07 .13 .10	.15	7.98**	.03	3.14*

4. Discussion

With this study, we aimed to examine to what extent perceived characteristics of the work environment and BPN explain the variability of commitment to career and organization using the target-free model by Klein et al. (2012). The influence of the organizational position variable was controlled to avoid differences in the level of commitment to the organization and career between managers and executives, as previous findings (Cho & Mor Barak, 2008) showed that individuals in higher positions are more committed to the organization than those at lower levels of the organizational structure.

The variability of the commitment to the organization construct is significantly explained by the variance of PEP, contrary to the findings of Podnar (2011). However, the study by Kang and colleagues (2011) supports these findings, as well as the results of Carmeli (2005). Supervisor support makes a statistically significant positive contribution. Therefore, the findings imply that employees highly value the organization's prestige, and the practical implication is that organizations should continuously improve their performance to retain and further motivate their employees.

The obtained statistical significance between supervisor support and organizational commitment, measured by Klein's target-free model, is consistent with another theoretical approach used by Casper et al. (2011). Furthermore, our findings confirm the results of Stan & Virga (2021) and Wang (2014), but not the findings of Kang et al. (2011) related to career commitment. Findings on perceived supervisor support indicate the importance of nurturing this form of leadership in the organization.

The results suggest that BPN for relatedness and autonomy predict organizational commitment, while BPN for competence is not statistically significant. Accordingly, allowing participation in decision-making, providing choices in task performance, and fostering the development of stable social relationships among employees will result in a greater readiness of employees to commit to the organization and its goals. With this research, we were not able to reproduce the findings of Fugate et al. (2004; Van den Broeck et al., 2016).

Regarding the results of the regression model concerning career commitment, we can conclude that none of the three BPN predict career commitment. Findings on the relationship between BPN and organizational commitment clearly indicate the importance of developing and nurturing organizational culture. However, additional research is necessary before the aforementioned assertion can be implemented in practice. The implications of the significance of autonomy in the overall model of organizational commitment suggest the need to monitor the trend of developing modern, more flexible ways of organizational work that emphasize the freedom of thought and action of employees within their roles in the company.

The absence of a significant contribution of BPN in explaining the variance of career commitment should be considered in the course of candidate or employee appraisal: understanding BPN will not provide insight into how dedicated an individual will be to their job and personal development in that field.

Couple instruments displayed an exceptionally high Cronbach's alpha (.92, .95, and .95), which is a reliable indicator of unnecessary content duplication among items, suggesting redundancy rather than homogeneity (Streiner, 2003). Next, sales used from Klein's model (2015) aren't cross-culturally adapted which raises additional concerns.

Future research can enhance the model by including more control variables and expanding the number of constructs related to perceived characteristics of the work environment.

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POJEDINI ANGLICIZMI U SRPSKIM REKLAMAMA

Apstrakt: Engleski jezik je prepoznat kao jezik međunarodne komunikacije (*lingua franca*) i nesumnjivo utiče na ostale jezike, pa tako i na srpski jezik. Usled snažnog uticaja, javljaju se anglicizmi koji su prirodna pojava međusobnog kontakta engleskog i srpskog jezika. Ovaj rad ukazuje na to u kojoj meri engleski jezik, kroz marketing, utiče na vokabular korišćen u srpskim reklamama. Taj uticaj se prvenstveno prepoznaje kroz upotrebu anglicizama a glavni merni instrument je kriterijum opravdanosti. Navedeni primeri iz istraživanja nastoje da odgovore na ključna pitanja u ovom radu: (1) šta tačno znači status globalnog jezika ili *lingua franca*? (2) šta karakteriše engleski jezik u marketingu? (3) u kojoj meri engleski jezik utiče na srpske reklame i kakvi anglicizmi se pojavljuju u reklamama? (4) da li je upotreba anglicizama opravdana? (5) šta se može zaključiti iz rezultata istraživanja?

Ključne reči: *anglicizmi, marketing, reklame, kvalitet znanja, jezici u kontaktu*

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1. Uvod

Engleski jezik je dominantan jezik i utiče na sve ostale jezike širom planete. Može se reći da je baš takav uticaj presudan i povezan s ostalim sferama života, pa tako engleski jezik, sem na ostale jezike, utiče i na svakodnevni život, obrazovanje, modu, nastanak novih trendova u svim oblastima, komunikaciju, posao, marketing – te posebno na određeni deo marketinga – jezik koji se koristi u svrhe reklamiranja.

Priroda svakog jezika i jeste u njegovom razvoju, što se ogleda u korišćenju novih reči i značenja. Takođe, svaki jezik, u fazi promene, prihvata nove reči, sintagme, koncepte iz drugih jezika (u ovom slučaju iz engleskog jezika). Može se slobodno reći da se promene u jeziku dešavaju na dnevnom nivou, ali se može desiti da korisnikova neinformisanost o značenjima novih reči i izraza, anglicizama, dovede do nepravilne upotrebe reči u kontekstu i otežane komunikacije na svakodnevnom nivou.

2. Engleski kao globalni jezik

Engleski je zadržao poziciju globalnog jezika dvadeset prvog veka. Jezik dobija status globalnog ukoliko ostvari posebnu komunikacijsku ulogu koja se primeti u svakoj zemlji. Takva uloga se najviše uočava u zemljama u kojima se govori engleski jezik i gde on ima status maternjeg jezika – Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, Kanadi, Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, Irskoj, Australiji, Novom Zelandu, Južnoj Africi i na nekoliko ostrva Kariba. Ipak, ovo ne znači da se engleski kao maternji jezik govori širom sveta, što implicira da samo ovaj kriterijum ne može jeziku dati globalni status. Jezik može postati globalni ukoliko ga društvo prihvati i odluči da mu da poseban status, iako to društvo ima malo izvornih govornika ili ih uopšte nema.

Postoje dva načina koja mogu učiniti jezik globalnim. Prvi način je da jezik postane drugi jezik i bude dopuna postojećem maternjem jeziku. Ovo podrazumeva da drugi jezik postane zvanični jezik države i koristi se kao sredstvo komunikacije državnih službi, pravosuđa, medija i obrazovnog sistema. Danas engleski jezik ima status zvaničnog jezika u preko sedamdeset država. Dejvid Kristal (David Crystal) objašnjava da postoji nekoliko načina kako da jezik postane zvanični:

> Može biti jedini zvanični jezik određene države, ili može deliti ovakav status sa ostalim jezicima. Može imati i polu-zvanični status, što podrazumeva da se koristi samo u određenim oblastima, ili, pak, biti zamena za neki drugi jezik dok istovremeno zadržava određeni zvanični status. Mnoge zemlje formalno u svom ustavu određuju status jezika (Indija, na primer), neke uopšte to ne čine (Britanija, na primer). U pojedinim zemljama, pitanje da li uopšte pravno urediti status jezika ostaje prilično problematično – što je uočljivo u SAD-u (Crystal, 2003: 5).

Drugi način je tzv. prioritizacija stranog jezika i podučavanje istog. Prioritizacija jezika pruža mogućnost za učenje deci koja kreću u školu, te odraslima koji se nikada nisu susreli s ovim jezikom – dobijaju priliku da ga nauče. Postoji nekoliko razloga zbog kojih bi određeni jezik imao prioritet kao strani jezik. To su istorijski i politički razlozi, te želja za trgovinskim, kulturološkim i tehnološkim kontaktom.

Pored navedenih postoje i ostali faktori koji utiču na dobijanje statusa globalnog jezika. Status jezika se ne utvrđuje na osnovu broja njegovih govornika; u tom smislu, važnija je činjenica ko su tačno ti govornici. Kroz istoriju, latinski je postao međunarodni jezik, ali se to nije dogodilo zbog toga što je bilo više Rimljana. Razlog zašto je latinski jezik ostao glavni jezik leži u moći rimokatoličanstva. Pored toga, glavni faktori u osamnaestom i devetnaestom veku, koji prate globalni razvoj privrede i ekonomije, jesu vojna moć i ekonomska snaga. Industrijski rast pratio je razvoj međunarodnog marketinga i reklamiranja, što je i osiguralo navedeni status engleskom jeziku.

Početkom devetnaestog veka Britanija je bila industrijska i trgovačka sila. Pored toga, pred kraj devetnaestog veka ekonomija SAD je bila najproduktivnija i brzo se razvijala u svetu. Tokom dvadesetog veka prisustvo SAD na svetskoj sceni je održavano i promovisano najviše kroz ekonomsku nadmoć nove supersile. U ovom periodu ekonomija je bila glavna pokretačka snaga, zamenivši politiku. Valuta koja je pratila dešavanja bila je američki dolar a jezik iza čitavog ovog koncepta je bio engleski jezik (Crystal, 2003: 11).

Engleski jezik, pored statusa globalnog jezika, ima status jezika globalne komunikacije, tj. status *lingua franca*. To je jezik koji ispunjava komunikacijsku funkciju. Još od davnina ljudi koji su hteli da trguju koristili su prilagođeni i jednostavniji jezik poznat još i kao pidžin, koji je kombinovao različite elemente njihovih jezika. Neki jezici su samo u određenim delovima sveta zadržali status *lingua franca* – svahili (kisvahili), arapski, španski, francuski, engleski, hindi i portugalski. Prilikom osnivanja različitih međunarodnih institucija (Svetska banka, UNESCO, UNICEF, SZO i Međunarodna agencija za atomsku energiju) bilo je neophodno izabrati jedan jezik koji će služiti za komunikaciju. Baš u ovom periodu engleski jezik je postao *lingua franca*.

Već je pomenuta važnost engleskog jezika u današnjem svetskom društvu. Engleski je jezik koji posreduje u međunarodnim poslovima, ali i jezik opšte komunikacije. Jedan od važnih elemenata svakog poslovanja je marketing a on svakako zavisi od engleskog jezika.

3. **Engleski kao *lingua franca* u marketingu**

U dvadesetom veku globalizacija utiče na industrijski razvijene zemlje i reklame se pojavljuju u različitim publikacijama. Tokom devetnaestog veka marketinški stručnjaci dolaze do zaključka da je „slogan“ veoma važan deo reklame, kao i poslovno ime (ime marke koju predstavlja). Mnogi poznati proizvodi stiču svoju popularnost u ovom periodu, na primer koka-kola, ford, kodak i kelog. Usled rasta i razvoja tržišta medijske kuće šalju svoje predstavnike u druge zemlje, što je kao rezultat imalo širenje i korišćenje engleskog jezika na globalnom nivou. Ovo je bio momenat kada je uticaj engleskog jezika prepoznat, usled njegovog prisustva čak i u državama gde engleski jezik nema zvaničan

status. U dvadeset prvom veku značaj engleskog jezika nije smanjen, pa tako danas poznate robne marke mogu da komuniciraju sa svojim kupcima širom sveta. Ova činjenica potvrđuje da je engleski jezik *lingua franca* u marketingu.

Stručnjaci za marketing potvrđuju da se on ne sastoji samo od proizvoda, pozicioniranja tog proizvoda i promocije, te dodaju da jezik kojim se koriste ima važnu ulogu u celokupnom procesu. Postoji pet alatki za promociju koje koriste jezik a ujedno stvaraju vezu između proizvođača i potrošača. One uključuju:

1. *Reklamiranje (Advertising)* – bilo koja plaćena promocija ideja, proizvoda ili usluga sponzorstvom (bez ličnog kontakta).
2. *Lična prodaja (Personal selling)* – prodaja koja uključuje lični kontakt i prezentaciju u svrhu prodaje proizvoda i stvaranja veze sa potrošačima.
3. *Promocija prodaje (Sales promotion)* – kratkoročne akcije preduzete u cilju podsticanja kupovine ili prodaje proizvoda i usluga.
4. *Odnosi sa javnošću (Public relations)* – podrazumeva stvaranje veze sa različitim potrošačima kako bi se očuvala jasna slika o robnoj marki dok se istovremeno kontrolišu nepovoljne priče i događaji koji bi mogli naškoditi kompaniji.
5. *Direktni marketing (Direct marketing)* – direktna veza sa pažljivo biranim potrošačima u cilju dobijanja određenih odgovora ili negovanja trajnih odnosa sa potrošačima putem sledećih kanala komunikacije: telefon, mejl, fax, internet, i drugi (Kotler, Wong, Saunders, Amstrong, 2005: 719).

S obzirom da marketing teško funkacioniše bez jezika od velike važnosti je spomenuti da se ključni koncept marketinga odnosi na slanje poruke od proizvođača do potrošača. Poznati dijagram komunikacije, koji je objasnio Bugarski (1996), i dijagram koji objašnjava Kotler i njegovi saradnici (2005) pružaju nam istu ideju.

Pošiljalac poruke je lice koje namerava da promoviše proizvod ili uslugu (kompaniju). Kompanija (pošiljalac) odlučuje da promoviše proizvod ili uslugu putem reklame (poruka) a reklama vrši funkciju kodiranja (encoding function), što podrazumeva da kompanija ili marketinška agencija biraju izraze i ilustracije koje će preneti poruku. Poruka

(reklama) se šalje putem TV i/ili društvenih mreža (komunikacijski kanal koji je odabrala kompanija). Poruka se šalje ciljnoj grupi potrošača ili potencijalnim kupcima (primaoci) i oni vrše funkciju dekodiranja poruke, tj. potrošači tumače poruku (sa istim značenjem kada je kodirana). Kada je poruka dekodirana potrošači daju povratnu informaciju, što konkretno znači da su zapamtili reklamu, pozvali kompaniju da kupe proizvod/uslugu ili žele da dobiju više informacija o konkretnom proizvodu i/ili usluzi. Poslednji element je šum, što znači da potrošači nisu na pravi način tumačili poruku ili da su pak isključili TV ili nisu bili prisutni na društvenoj mreži u tom momentu, pa takva poruka, tj. reklama nije došla do njih.

Može se zaključiti da uspešna komunikacija zavisi od procesa kodiranja i dekodiranja, kao i da je engleski jezik srž marketinga.

4. **Istraživanje i rezultati**

Cilj ovog rada je da se identifikuju i analiziraju često korišćeni anglicizmi u reklamama. Reklame su plasirane na nekoliko kanala društvenih mreža – YouTube, Instagram, televiziju i veb-stranice kompanija. Istraživanje je urađeno u Srbiji u drugoj polovini 2022. godine. Sakupljeni su rezultati na osnovu kojih je formirana sledeća hipoteza: *Srpske reklame sadrž*e više sirovih anglicizama od očiglednih anglicizama, dok skriveni anglicizmi *brojčano čine najmanju grupu anglicizama.*

Analiza materijala podeljena je na tri dela. Prvi deo analize odnosi se na razvrstavanje materijala u sedam kategorija: (1) hrana i piće, (2) lepota i zdravlje, (3) usluge, (4) obrazovanje, (5) proizvodi, (6) poslovi, i (7) ostale reklame. Pomenute kategorije formirane su na osnovu delatnosti kompanija. Istraživanjem je zaključeno da je ukupan broj reklama 91 a procenat udela reklama u svakoj kategoriji predstavljen je u Grafikonu 1.

Drugi deo istraživanja predstavlja ukupan broj anglicizama po kategorijama (sirovi, očigledni i skriveni anglicizmi). Analiza materijala dovela je do sledećih zaključaka:

- Ukupan broj anglicizama u svim reklamama je 111;
- Broj anglicizama u svakoj kategoriji je: 71 sirov anglicizam, 27 očiglednih anglicizama, 13 skrivenih anglicizama.

Treći deo istraživanja fokusira se na kriterijum opravdanosti koji je bio detaljan i precizan, zbog čega je kategorizacija korišćena za ovaj rad sužena i usmerena u dve kategorije:

1. Neopavdani anglicizmi – reči koje se mogu prevesti koristeći se morfo-sintaksičkim i semantičkim svojstvima srpskog jezika ili mogu biti zamenjene već postojećim domaćim ili odomaćenim rečima i izrazima (uključuje potpuno neopravdane anglicizme i neopravdane anglicizme);
2. Opravdani anglicizmi – reči koje donose nova značenja i koncepte u sistem srpskog jezika. Takođe, reči koje prate principe jezičke ekonomije (uključuje uslovno opravdane anglicizme, opravdane i potpune opravdane anglicizme) (Prćić, 2019).

Analizirani materijal je podeljen u dve grupe – neopravdani anglicizmi i opravdani anglicizmi. Kategorija neopravdanih anglicizama podeljena je na nekoliko potkategorija koje su omogućile da se prikupljeni materijal lakše analizira. Podtkategorije neopravdanih anglicizama i tipovi mogu se pronaći u Tabeli 1.

Ovo su neki od neopravdanih anglicizama, koji se nalaze u pomenutim kategorijama, a svi primeri mogu biti zamenjeni već postojećom domaćom rečju:

Skalp – očigledan anglicizam; može biti zamenjen frazom koža glave.

Kondicioner – očigledan anglicizam; umesto navedenog anglicizma, može se upotrebiti izraz regenerator.

Multiputno osiguranje – skriveni anglicizam; može se zameniti domaćom rečju višenamensko putno osiguranje.

Rent a car – sirov anglicizam; može biti zamenjen frazom iznajmiti automobile.

Newsletter – sirov anglicizam; može biti zamenjen domaćom rečju bilten.

Master Assistant and Business MVP – sirovi anglicizmi; mogu biti zamenjeni sintagmama poslovni vođa ili vođa tima.

E-commerce – sirov anglicizam; može biti zamenjen terminom onlajn trgovanje.

Startap priče – očigledni anglicizam; može biti zamenjen domaćim terminom priče početnika.

NLP Basic – sirov anglicizam; može biti zamenjen sa neuroligvističko programiranje za početnike.

Corporate event – sirov anglicizam; može biti zamenjen terminom zabava kompanije.

Nasuprot potkategorijama neopravdanih anglicizama, opravdani anglicizmi nisu analizirani kreiranjem potkategorija. Broj opravdanih anglicizama je 15. Ovo su neki od primera koji se mogu naći u kategoriji opravdanih anglicizama:

SAAS – sirov anglicizam; prati pravila jezičke ekonomije, tj. kraći je od domaće reči.

DevOps posao – sirov anglicizam; prati pravila jezičke ekonomije, tj. kraći je od domaće reči.

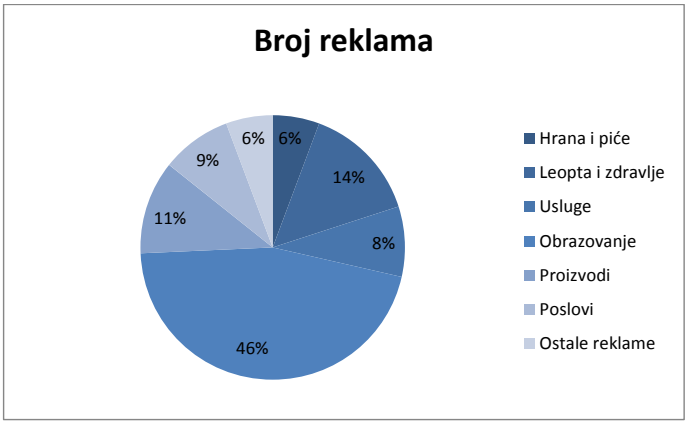
Vebinar – očigledni anglicizam; anglicizam koji se koristi u adaptiranoj formi, na taj način donosi novi koncept u srpski jezik.

Digitalni marketing – skriveni anglicizam; anglicizam koji se koristi u adaptiranoj formi i na taj način donosi novi koncept u srpski jezik.

Strategija digitalnog nastupa – skriveni anglicizam; anglicizam koji se koristi u adaptiranoj formi i na taj način donosi novi koncept u srpski jezik.

Analiza neopravdanih i opravdanih anglicizama daje jasnu sliku jezika koji se koristi u srpskim reklamama, dok u isto vreme potvrđuje teoriju jezika u kontaktu (Grafikon 3). Neopravdani anglicizmi ukazuju na tendenciju pozajmljivanja stranih reči i izraza koji nisu prilagođeni jeziku koji pozajmljuje ili su prividno prilagođeni. Takvi anglicizmi mogu biti zamenjeni domaćom rečju ili izrazom. S druge strane, opravdani anglicizmi mogu obogatiti jezik koji pozajmljuje.

Grafikon 1



Grafikon 2

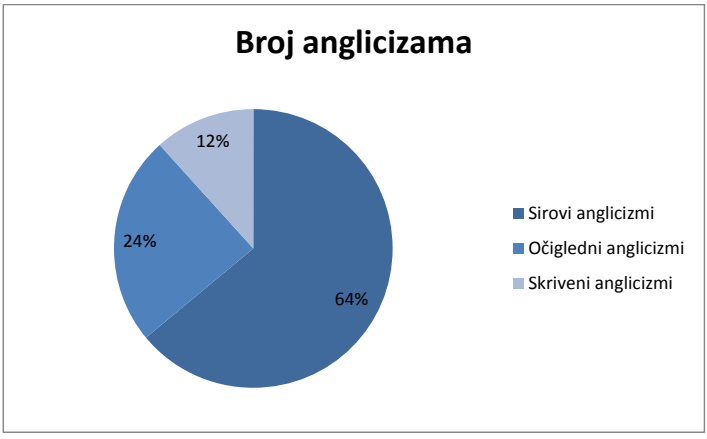
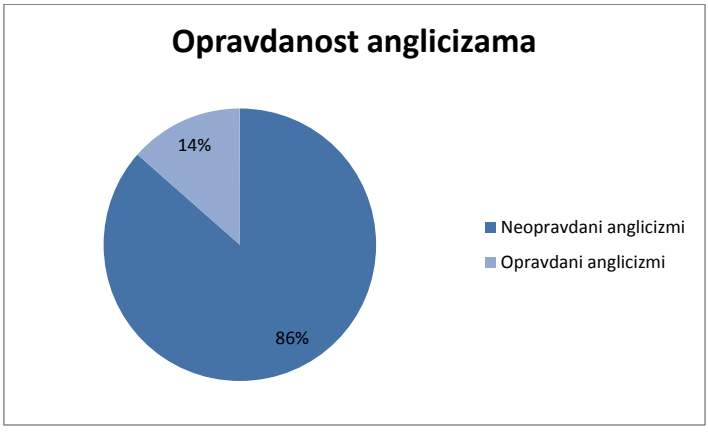


Tabela 1

Potkategorije neopravdanih anglicizama	Broj anglicizama
Lepota i proizvodi za lepotu	17
Proizvodi i usluge	17
Poslovna terminologija	23
Obrazovanje	19
Ostali anglicizmi	20
Ukupan broj neopravdanih anglicizama	96

Grafikon 3



5. Zaključna razmatranja

Glavna funkcija jezika je komunikacija. Iako ona deluje kao jednostavan proces, znanje povezano sa uspešnošću komunikacijskog procesa bi koristilo i pošiljaocu i primaocu poruke. Jezik je glavno sredstvo u procesu komunikacije. Znanje o glavnim elementima komunikacije,

kodiranju i dekodiranju poruka bilo bi od velike važnosti u svrhu marketinga, ali samo znanje nije dovoljno. Pored elemenata komunikacijskog procesa, pošiljalac i primalac bi trebalo da se fokusiraju na reči, sintagme i strukture koje se koriste u komunikaciji.

Kada posmatramo marketing stručnjake možemo videti da oni koriste jezik kako bi prosledili poruku. U tom procesu slanja poruke jedan aspekt je zanemaren. Poruke koje se šalju putem reklama nisu samo obične poruke, već se reči, sintagme i koncepti u reklamama koriste kao obrazovno sredstvo, budući da stvaraju određeni registar kojim se kasnije služe deca i odrasli.

Istraživanje pokazuje da se takav registar najviše sastoji od anglicizama. Jezik koji koriste sastoji se od 64% sirovih anglicizama, 24% očiglednih anglicizama i 12% skrivenih anglicizama. Dalje istraživanje je ispitalo opravdanost pomenutih anglicizama i dovelo do saznanja da 86% registra pripada neopravdanim a 14% opravdanim anglicizmima. Nakon generalnog uvida, koje je ponudilo ovo istraživanje, može se zaključiti da bi uključivanje pedagoških implikacija bilo veoma korisno. Razlog za to je očigledan. Ako posmatramo društvo možemo zaključiti da mlađe generacije većinu svog vremena provode ispred televizora ili na društvenim mrežama. Usled toga slobodno se može reći da na njihov jezik utiču engleski jezik, kao i reklame koje sadrže anglicizme. Kao što je istraživanje pokazalo, takve reklame najviše sadrže neopravdane anglicizme, dok je mali broj anglicizama opravdan i zbog toga bi bilo korisno da postoje materijali za učenje, kao i predavanja na ovu temu. Proces predavanja i te kako može biti zanimljiv i interaktivan. Nastavnik može podići svest učenika o neopravdanim upotrebama anglicizama, dok istovremeno pomaže učenicima da dostignu potpunu jezičku kompetenciju.

Istraživanje je ukazalo na neopravdanu upotrebu anglicizama i važnost odgovarajućeg edukativnog materijala. Ova analiza bi mogla podstaći i buduća istraživanja u ovom polju.

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SOME ANGLICISMS IN SERBIAN ADVERTISEMENTS

Abstract: English has long been established as the language of international communication (*lingua franca*) while influencing other languages, including Serbian. Therefore, anglicisms are the natural consequence of English and Serbian being in contact. This paper shows to what degree English as the language of marketing influences the language used in some Serbian advertisements. This influence may be identified via the use of anglicisms while the main evaluation instrument is the degree of justification. Together with examples from the research, this paper aims to provide answers to the following questions: (1) What is global language and *lingua franca*? (2) What are the characteristics of English for marketing? (3) To what degree does English influence Serbian advertisements and what are the types of anglicisms in Serbian advertisements? (4) Is the use of anglicisms justified? (5) Which conclusions could be drawn from the research?

Keywords: anglicisms, marketing, advertisements, quality of knowledge, languages in contact

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1. Introduction

As a global language, English has an impact on all spheres of life: everyday life, education, fashion, industry trends, communication, business, and marketing, including the language of advertising.

The nature of every language is to develop and evolve, which is most evident in the usage of new words, phrases and concepts. In this process, every language adopts new concepts and words/phrases from other languages (in this case from English). Such changes occur on a daily basis; however, a lack of awareness of new words/anglicisms may lead to incorrect usage of new words or communication difficulties evident in the everyday communication.

2. English as a global language

English has retained its status as a global language into the twenty-first century. A language has the status of a global language if it develops a special role that is evident in every country. Such a role is most evident in countries where English is spoken as a mother tongue: United States of America, Canada, United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and several Caribbean countries. This does not mean that English is spoken as a mother tongue all over the world, which implies that a language cannot gain a global status based on this criterion only. A language can become a global one if communities/countries decide to accept the language and give it a special status, even though there are few or no native speakers.

This can occur in two ways. First, language can be introduced as a "second language", acting as a complement to the mother tongue. The second language is the official language of the country, and it is used as a medium of communication in domains such as government, law courts, media, and the educational system. Nowadays, English is the official language in over seventy countries. David Crystal elaborates that there are several ways in which language can be made official:

> It may be the sole official language of a country, or it may share this status with other languages. And it may have a 'semi-official' status, being used only in certain domains, or taking second place in other languages while still performing certain official roles. Many countries formally acknowledge a language's status in their constitution (e.g. India); some make no special mention of it (e.g. Britain). In certain countries, the question of whether the special status should be legally recognized is a source of considerable controversy – notably, in the USA (Crystal, 2003: 5).

Secondly, language can be made a priority in foreign language teaching. Prioritizing language entails offering learning opportunities: primarily to schoolchildren, or even to adults. There are several reasons for prioritizing a particular language – historical tradition, political expediency, and the desire for commercial, cultural, and technological contact.

Besides, there are other factors which contribute to global language status. The status of a language is not determined by the number of speakers, but by the fact of who those people are. Throughout history, Latin became the international language, but not because the Romans were more numerous. The reason why Latin remained the leading language lied in the power of Roman Catholicism. Another factor, apart from military might, is the economic power of a country that would maintain and expand it. This was always a key factor and, in the 18th

and 20th centuries, due to global economic development. The growth of the competitive industry was followed by the growth of international marketing and advertising which resulted in the well-established status of English.

In the early 19th century, Britain was the world's leading industrial and trading country. Furthermore, at the turn of the 20th century, the U.S. economy was the most productive and the fastest growing in the world.

During the twentieth century, this world presence was maintained and promoted almost single-handedly through the economic supremacy of the U.S.A. as the new superpower. Economics replaced politics as the chief driving force. And the language behind the US dollar was English (Crystal, 2003: 11)

Significantly, English is also a *lingua franca*. *Lingua franca* refers to a language that has served as a means of communication over a long time. People who intended to trade used adopted and simplified language, known as pidgin, which combined different elements of their languages. Some *lingua francas* gained status but only in certain parts of the world – Swahili, Arabic, Spanish, French, English, Hindi, and Portuguese. When some international organizations were created (World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF, the World Health Organization, and International Atomic Energy Agency) there was a need to adopt a single *lingua franca* to facilitate communication in such a context. In this period, English, together with a number of other languages, became a *lingua franca*.

Nowadays, English is the intermediary language and language of communication for business purposes. Marketing, for instance, is an area of business in which English is dominant.

3. **English as a *lingua franca* in marketing**

In the nineteenth century, globalization led to the usage of advertisements in publications, especially in more industrialized countries. During the same century, marketing specialists concluded that "slogan" was a really important part of advertising, as well as the famous "trade name". Many famous products developed their popularity and became

famous at the time, such as Coca-Cola, Ford, Kodak, and Kellogg. Due to industrial and market growth, the 'outdoor media' started to spread internationally which resulted in the global use of English. This led to advertisements in English being predominant even in countries where English has no official status. Nowadays, famous brands communicate with audience all over the world by using English which confirms that English is the *lingua franca* in marketing.

Marketing experts confirm that marketing is not only related to the product, product placement, and promotion, but that language plays a significant role in the whole process. According to marketing experts, five promotion tools help in building producer-customer relationships by using language :

1. *Advertising* – any paid form of no personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods, or services by an identified sponsor.
2. *Personal selling* – personal presentation by the firm's sales force to make sales and build customer relationships.
3. *Sales promotion* – short-term incentives to encourage the purchase or sale of a product or service.
4. *Public relations* – building good relations with the company's various public by obtaining favorable publicity, building up a good 'corporate image', and handling or heading off unfavorable rumours, stories, and events.
5. *Direct marketing* – direct connections with carefully targeted individual consumers both to obtain an immediate response and to cultivate lasting customer relationships – the use of telephone, mail, fax, email, the Internet, and other tools to communicate directly with specific consumers.

(Kotler, Wong, Saunders, Amstrong, 2005: 719)

Since there is no marketing without a language, it is important to mention that the most important feature of language in marketing is to send a message from producer to consumer. The famous communication diagram provided by Bugarski (1996) and the communication diagram provided by Kotler et al. (2005) explain the same idea.

The sender of a message is a party who intends to promote a product or a service (a company). The company (the sender) chooses to present a product or a service through an advertisement (message) and the advertisement performs an encoding function (the company or marketing agency chooses words and illustrations that would convey the intended message). The message (advertisement) is sent through TV or social media (a channel the company has chosen). The message is transmitted to the target audience or potential customers (receiver(s)) and such audience performs the function of decoding – the customer interprets the message (in the same sense as it is encoded by the sender). When the message is decoded, customers perform the function of feedback: they remember the advertisements, call the company to buy a product/service, or they want to be provided with more information. The last element is noise which means that customers did not interpret the message in the same way, or they were tired so they turned off the TV, or could not be on social media so they missed the advertisement.

Therefore, it can be concluded that successful communication is dependent upon encoding and decoding processes, making language the core ingredient of marketing.

4. Research and results

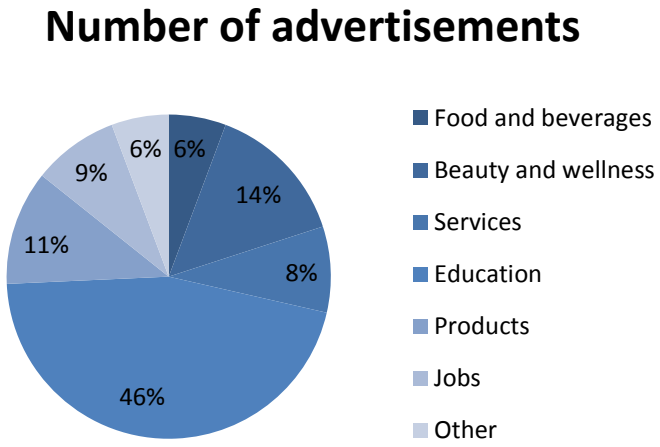
This paper aimed to determine and analyze frequently used anglicisms in commercials posted on several advertising social media platforms (YouTube, Instagram), websites, and television. The research was done in Serbia during the second half of 2022. The results were obtained by analyzing gathered material, and the following hypothesis was proposed:

Serbian advertisements contain a higher number of raw anglicisms than of obvious anglicisms, while hidden anglicisms are the smallest group of anglicisms numerically.

The analysis of the material was divided into three stages. The first stage of analysis included the division of material into seven categories: (1) food and beverages, (2) beauty and wellness (health), (3) services, (4) education, (5) products, (6) jobs, and (7) other advertisements.

The categories were formed based on the industry. The total number of advertisements was 91 and the percentage regarding the share of advertisements in every category is presented in Graph 1.

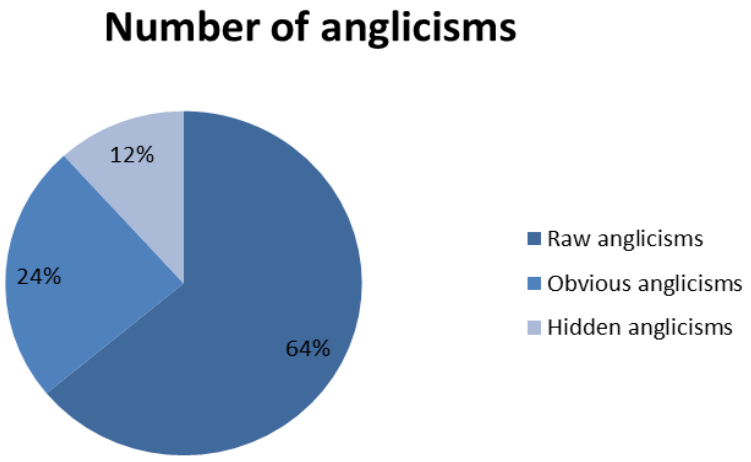
Graph 1



In the second stage of the analysis, the total number of anglicisms was classified according to their type (raw, obvious, and hidden anglicisms). Such analysis provided the following insights:

- The total number of anglicisms in all categories is 111.
- The number of anglicisms in each category (raw anglicisms – 71, obvious anglicisms – 27, hidden anglicisms – 13).
- The percentage of anglicisms in each category is presented in Graph 2.

Graph 2



The third stage of the research was focused on the justification criteria which were detailed and precise; therefore, the categorization used for this paper regarding the justifiability criterion is narrowed and classified into two categories:

1. Unjustified anglicisms – the words that can be translated by using morphosyntactic and semantic properties of the Serbian language or that can be replaced with the already existing domestic or naturalized word (includes fully unjustified anglicisms and unjustified anglicisms).
2. Justified anglicisms –words that introduce new meanings or concepts into the Serbian language system; words that follow postulates of language economy (includes conditionally justified anglicisms, justified anglicisms, and fully justified anglicisms) (Prćić, 2019).

The analyzed material was divided into two groups of unjustified and justified anglicisms, while the category of unjustified anglicisms needed to be divided into subcategories which enabled further analysis. Table 1 shows the subcategories of unjustified anglicisms and the number of anglicisms.

Table 1

Subcategories of unjustified anglicisms	Number of anglicisms
Beauty and beauty products	17
Products and services	17
Business terminology	23
Education	19
Other	20
Total number of unjustified anglicisms	96

In the following sections, we give some examples of unjustified anglicisms in every category that should be replaced with domestic words:

Skalp – obvious anglicism; should be replaced with domestic term "koža glave".

Kondicioner – obvious anglicism; instead domestic term "regenerator" should be used.

Multiputno osiguranje – hidden anglicism; should be replaced with domestic term "višenamensko putno osiguranje".

Rent a car – raw anglicism: should be replaced with domestic term "agencija za iznajmljivanje vozila ili iznajmljeno vozilo".

Newsletter – raw anglicism; should be replaced with domestic term "bilten".

Master Asisstant and Business MVP – raw anglicisms; should be replaced with domestic term "rukovodilac" or "vođa tima".

E-commerce – raw anglicism; should be replaced with domestic term "elektronska trgovina ili elektronsko poslovanje".

Startap priče – obvious anglicism; should be replaced with domestic term "priče početnika".

NLP Basic – raw anglicism; should be replaced with domestic term "neuroligvističko programiranje za početnike".

Corporate event – raw anglicism; should be replaced with domestic term "korporativna proslava".

Justified anglicisms were not divided into subcategories. The number of justified anglicisms is 15. Below are some examples of justified anglicisms that could be found in this category:

SAAS – raw anglicism; follows the postulates of language economy, i.e., it is shorter than domestic word.

DevOps posao – raw anglicism; follows the postulates of language economy, i.e., it is shorter than domestic word.

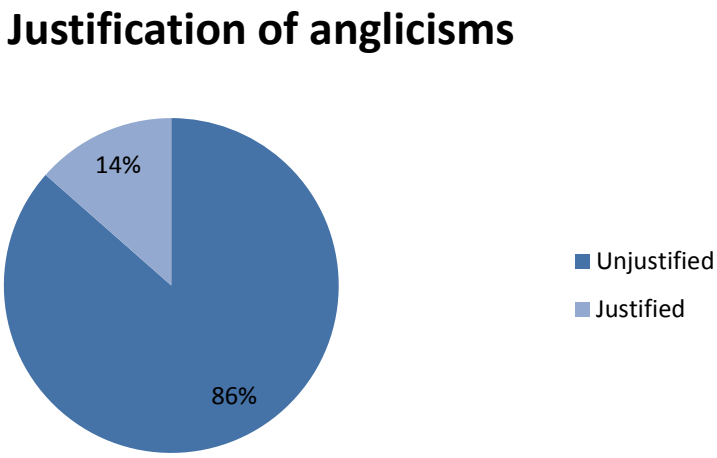
Vebinar – obvious anglicsm; used in adopted form which introduces a new concept in Serbian language.

Digitalni marketing – hidden anglicism; used in adopted form which introduces a new concept in Serbian language.

Strategija digitalnog nastupa – hidden anglicism, used in adopted form which introduces a new concept in Serbian language.

Unjustified and justified anglicisms mirror the language of Serbian advertisements and confirm the theory of languages in contact (*Graph 3*). Unjustified anglicisms present the tendency of borrowing foreign terms with no adaptation or just a mere adaption, while those examples could be replaced with domestic terms. Justified anglicisms, however, can enrich the borrowing language.

Graph 3



5. Conclusion

The main purpose of any language is communication. Although it seems like a simple process, knowing what constitutes a successful communication process would benefit both the sender and the receiver of the message. Understanding the encoding and decoding process will surely benefit the communication process used for marketing purposes, but such knowledge is not enough. Both the sender and receiver might want to go beyond simple communication and focus on the words, phrases and structures used in such communication.

Bearing in mind that marketing experts use language to transfer the message, one important aspect is left out. Advertisements are more than messages; the words, phrases and concepts are being communicated in an educational manner which results in forming a kind of register used by adults and youth.

The research showed that this register consisted of anglicisms mainly. The register consists of 64% of raw anglicisms, 24% of obvious anglicisms and 12% of hidden anglicisms. Further research examined the justifiability of those anglicisms and concluded that there is 86%

of unjustified anglicisms and only 14% of justified anglicisms. We can conclude that there are many educational implications to this: younger generations spend most of the time during the day in front of the TV or on social media. Therefore, the youth is directly influenced by English and the commercials containing anglicisms. Since it was proven that most of the anglicisms were used unjustifiably while a small percentage of anglicisms were used justifiably, instructional materials containing anglicisms would benefit the teaching and learning process. The process of teaching and learning could be engaging and interactive. The teacher could raise awareness of unjustified use of anglicisms, while helping students achieve overall language competence.

This research demonstrated the unjustified uses of anglicisms in Serbian and the value of results for educational purposes. This analysis could hopefully contribute to the future research in this field.

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SHVATANJA O PRAVNO NEPOSTOJEĆIM UPRAVNIM AKTIMA U SRPSKOJ NAUCI UPRAVNOG PRAVA

Abstrakt: Predmet ovog rada su osnovna gledišta srpske upravnopravne nauke o pravno nepostojećim upravnim aktima. Nakon uvodnog izlaganja učinjen je kraći osvrt na postanak i razvoj teorije nepostojanja u upravnom pravu a zatim su analizirana shvatanja srpskih pravnih pisaca o tom pravnom pitanju. Autor zaključuje da, uprkos uticaju francuske pravne misli i oblikovanju jedne originalne domaće pravne teorije, ideje o pravno nepostojećim upravnim aktima nisu našle odjeka u srpskoj nauci upravnog prava. Prema vladajućem gledištu, koje se odrazilo i na stanje zakonodavstva, ono što se naziva nepostojećim pravnim aktom nije upravni akt i ne može da predstavlja njegovu posebnu kategoriju, odnosno postojanje pravno nepostojećih upravnih akata je suvišno pored postojanja kategorije ništavih upravnih akata.

Ključne reči: upravni akt, teorija nepostojanja, pravno nepostojeći upravni akt, zakonitost, pravna sigurnost

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1. Uvod

Zasnovanost upravnog akta na zakonu, kao jedno od njegovih konstitutivnih obeležja, podrazumeva da se upravni akt donosi na osnovu zakona, da su zakonom određeni njegova forma i sadržina, da je zakonom uređen postupak po kome se donosi i da njegova zakonitost podleže oceni od strane suda (Milkov, 1997; Vasiljević & Vukašinović Radojičić, 2019). Shodno tome, postoji pretpostavka zakonitosti upravnog akta koja uključuje i pretpostavku njegove pravno-tehničke ispravnosti i pretpostavku njegove celishodnosti sve dok od strane nadležnog organa u odgovarajućoj proceduri ne bude uklonjen iz pravnog poretka kao nezakonit (Lilić, Kunić, Dimitrijević & Marković, 1999).

Premda logika pravnog poretka nalaže da svi pravni akti treba da budu pravno valjani, uprava, kao ljudska delatnost, može imati za posledicu da pojedini upravni akti sadrže u sebi neku grešku (Milosavljević, 2017). Takvi upravni akti se nazivaju pogrešnim upravnim aktima a njihov opstanak u pravnom poretku uslovljen je težinom učinjene greške u postupku njihovog donošenja. Pogrešni upravni akti se mogu podeliti na neuredne (sadrže faktičku ili tehničku grešku) i protivpravne (sadrže pravnu grešku). Protivpravni upravni akti se u skladu sa prirodom (vrstom) greške dalje mogu razvrstati na nezakonite i necelishodne, a nezakoniti, s obzirom na težinu greške, na rušljive i ništave upravne akte.

U nauci upravnog prava ukazuje se i na postojanje jedne posebne vrste akata koji sadrže greške takve prirode i težine da isključuju mogućnost njihovog pravnog postojanja. Francuska pravna nauka je za takve akte skovala naziv „nepostojeći akti" (*actes inexistantes*).

Cilj ovoga rada je da ispita osnovna gledišta o pravno nepostojećim upravnim aktima u srpskoj upravnopravnoj nauci.

2. Teorija o nepostojećim upravnim aktima (tzv. teorija nepostojanja)

U pravnom životu nekih zemalja, pre svega u sudskoj praksi i pravnoj nauci, koristi se pravni izraz „nepostojeći akti", čime se nastoji da se tim izrazom označe pravni akti koji to zapravo nisu. Termin je sam po sebi protivrečan, kao i sadržaj pojma koji pokušava označiti.

Ideja o pravnom nepostojanju akata vuče korene iz rimskog prava a prvi put je naučno sistematizovana (*Karl Salomo Zachaire*) kao tzv. teorija nepostojanja u prvoj polovini 19. veka u oblasti privatnog prava (Tomić, 1999a). Kroz sudsku praksu recipirana je u upravno pravo u Francuskoj u drugoj polovini 19. veka s težnjom da se omogući da uz upravne sudove i redovni sudovi mogu da ispituju zakonitost upravnih akata obeleženih krupnim greškama. U okviru upravnopravne nauke, krajem 19. veka, afirmisao ju je E. Laferier (*Edouard Laferriere*) sa ciljem da uvede jedan novi, najteži oblik poremećaja upravnog delovanja koji se razlikuje od ništavosti koju određuje kao tužbom izazvano, oročeno sudsko intervenisanje.

Tipičnim oblikom nepostojećih upravnih akata smatraju se akti grube, naročito privatne uzurpacije vlasti (Rivero, 1980; Chapus, 1985). Međutim, interesantno je da je Državni savet, suprotno vladujućem mišljenju francuske pravne nauke, akte privatne uzurpacije vlasti oglašavao ništavim, a ne pravno nepostojećim (C. E., 20. I 1911, *Naudet*).

Prema praksi francuskih sudova, pravno nepostojeći upravni akti su akti koji sadrže grubu i ozbiljnu grešku bilo u pogledu izdavaoca akta, bilo u pogledu predmeta ili sadržine akta. Prvu grupu akata čine: akti postavljenja koji uvode jedno lice u javnu službu, ne onu koju zaista treba da vrši već da bi moglo da obavlja neku drugu funkciju ili da uživa izvesne privilegije (C. E., 30. VI 1950, *Massonnaud*); akti koji ignorišu starosnu granicu funkcionera (C. E., 03. II 1956, *Fontbonne*), nasilno ponašanje uprave (*voie de fait*) pri izvršenju (T. C., 27. VI 1966, *Guigon*); akti koji predstavljaju grubo zadiranje uprave u delokrug sudstva (C. E., 31. V 1957, *Rosan-Girard*). Drugoj grupi pripadaju akti neodređenog ili nejasnog predmeta (T. C., 06. VI 1934, *Consorts Durand*; C. E., 22. VI 1931, *Munio*) i akti besmislene sadržine (T. C., 27. VI 1966, *Guigon*).

Državni savet takav akt ne kvalifikuje kao nezakonit i ne poništava ga, već konstatuje da je „ništav i bez ikakvog efekta" ili da je „ništav i nije ni nastao" (Breban, 2002). Ključna razlika u odnosu na ništave akte je u nepostojanju bilo kakvog roka za konstataciju njihovog nepostojanja. Nezakonitost nepostojećeg akta može se utvrđivati u svako doba – administracija ga može ukloniti u svakom trenutku, a sud o njima može odlučivati bez obzira na rok. Takvim aktima se, bez obzira na njihov predmet, ne ustanovljavaju prava.

Pretpostavka zakonitosti ne važi u pogledu pravno nepostojećih upravnih akata, jer se uzima da takvi akti pravno ne postoje (Dimitrijević, 1963). Građani ne duguju pokornost takvim aktima, mogu ih ignorisati, ali je poželjno da oni na čija prava i interese utiču, zbog svoje pravne sigurnosti, pokrenu postupak njihove kontrole pred nadležnim sudom.

Sudska praksa još uvek nije izgradila čvrste stavove o pravno nepostojećim upravnim aktima, a sudije pribegavaju teoriji nepostojanja samo izuzetno kada primena uobičajenih pravnih sredstava, zbog proteka roka, nije dovoljna (Breban, 2002). Zbog toga, stiče se utisak, teorija nepostojanja u Francuskoj ima više teorijski, nego praktični značaj.

3. Osnovna shvatanja u srpskoj nauci upravnog prava

3.1. Mihailo Ilić

Pri određenju pravno nepostojećih akata, Mihailo Ilić (1998) polazi od teze da „pravni akt jeste izjava volje kojom se vrši jedna legalna vlast s ciljem da se stvori jedno pravno dejstvo" i zaključuje da „svaki pravni akt pretpostavlja legalnu vlast, i izjava volje nije ništa drugo do vršenje ove vlasti" (str. 179). Ključni elementi njegovog učenja su izjava volje i legalna vlast (Ilić, 1998). Ako nedostaje jedan od ova dva elementa, reč je o nepostojećem pravnom aktu; akt koji nije izdat od legalne vlasti predstavlja akt uzurpacije vlasti. Ako ipak postoje izjava volje i legalna vlast, ali je volja nepravilno izražena i vlast nepravilno izvršena, onda je reč o nepravilnom aktu koji je posledica prekoračenja vlasti.

Stanovište o uzurpaciji vlasti Ilić (1928) kasnije koriguje u tezi da svaka nenadležnost administrativnih službenika znači odsustvo legalne vlasti, ali ona istovremeno ne mora značiti i uzurpaciju vlasti. Kada je administrativni službenik izašao iz nadležnosti administrativnih organa i zakoračio u delokrug sudske ili zakonodavne vlasti, reč je o aktu uzurpacije vlasti. Međutim, ako administrativni službenik zakorači u nadležnost drugog administrativnog službenika, reč je o aktu prekoračenja vlasti; ipak, ako je nenadležnost očita, tako da nikakve sumnje o tome ne može biti, takav akt može se smatrati kao nepostojeći. „Prema tome", zaključuje Ilić (1928), „kao nepostojeći administrativni akt imao bi se

smatrati onaj akt koji je donet ili bez ikakve legalne vlasti, ili na osnovu legalne vlasti koja uopšte ne pripada administrativnim službenicima" (str. 138).

Pravno nepostojeće akte Ilić (1928) svrstava u nepravilne akte, uz napomenu da je „njihova nepravilnost tako velika, da usled nje i nema pravnih akata" (str. 137). Ipak, među njima opaža razliku i u pogledu pravnog dejstva. Nepravilan administrativni akt, i pored izvesne nepravilnosti, proizvodi pravna dejstva, pa njegova nepravilnost može biti osnov za njegov poništaj. „Naprotiv, nepostojeći administrativni akt, samim tim što je nepostojeći, nije u stanju proizvesti nikakvo pravno dejstvo" (str. 138). Takav akt, smatra Ilić (1928), nema potrebe „ništiti" (str. 138), a svaki zainteresovani može se u svako doba pozivati na njegovo nepostojanje (Ilić, 1998). „Pojedinac, koga se takav akt tiče", rezonuje Ilić (1928) „nije dužan osvrtati se na njega, već može postupati kao da nije ni donet" (str. 138).

Uz već pomenuti akt, kojim je administrativni službenik izašao iz svoje nadležnosti i zakoračio u delokrug sudske ili zakonodavne vlasti, kao primere pravno nepostojećih akata Mihailo Ilić (1928) navodi: 1) akt lica koje nema svojstvo administrativnog službenika; 2) akt o davanju odobrenja na pravne akte kojima, prema zakonu, nije potrebno nikakvo odobrenje (npr. rešenje ministra finansija o odobrenju oblasnog budžeta nakon isteka roka), akt donet bez neophodnog odobrenja više ili nadzorne vlasti i akt kolektivnog organa čiji je izbor, kao nepravilan, bio poništen pre njihovog donošenja; 3) akt predsednika republike koji ne sadrži premapotpis nadležnog ministra.

Ilustrativan primer pravno nepostojećeg akta zbog odsustva legalne vlasti Ilić (1928) u našoj sudskoj praksi nalazi u aktu ministra o otpuštanju činovnika pet dana posle smrti. Ostajući dosledan svom učenju o legalnoj vlasti, kvalifikaciju takvog akta kao pravno nepostojećeg objašnjava time da bi u slučaju propuštanja tužbe udovica umrlog (otpuštenog) službenika mogla smatrati da taj akt nije ni donet i zahtevati priznavanje prava na porodičnu penziju. Ako joj to pravo ne bi bilo priznato mogla bi u svako doba pokrenuti administrativni spor pri čemu bi „Državni savet imao utvrditi, da je akt o otpuštanju mrtvog službenika pravno nepostojeći i udovi priznati pravo na penziju" (str.

140). Naprotiv, ako bi se akt o otpuštanju mrtvog službenika smatrao nepravilnim, a u situaciji da tužba za poništaj nije podneta, takav akt bi, i pored nepravilnosti, zadržao svojstva administrativnog akta i nastavio bi da proizvodi svoje dejstvo a to znači da bi udovici bilo uskraćeno pravo na porodičnu penziju.

3.2. **Laza Kostić**

Laza Kostić (1935), u okviru svoje klasifikacije nepravilnih upravnih akta, uspostavljene prema vrsti i snazi njihovih nedostataka, pored neurednih, oborivih i ništavih akata, u posebnu kategoriju podvaja i „nepostojeće akte" (str. 489–490).

Međutim, već pri njihovom određenju, suprotno izloženoj klasifikaciji koja uključuje „nepostojeće akte" kao tip nepravilnih upravnih akata, Kostić (1935) takvim aktima odriče svojstvo upravnog akta kada kaže: „Nepostojeći akti (*actes inexistantes*) samo su prividni akti; oni izgledaju kao upravni akti, ali u stvari to nisu niti mogu biti. Oni su jedna fikcija, jedna šimera upravnih akata" (str. 491). Protivrečnost dolazi do punog izražaja u rečenici: „*Nepostojeći* ili *apsolutno nevredeći* akti su oni *upravni* akti (kurziv, D.S.) koji nisu mogli nikako ni proizvesti svoje dejstvo" (str. 493), budući da pravno dejstvo predstavlja jedno od obeležja upravnog akta kao pravnog akta (Kostić, 1936). Komentarišući *Valesovo* upozorenje o logičnoj nepravilnosti izraza „nepostojeći akt" (jer tu 'atribut ruši supstantiv'), Kostić (1936) objašnjava: „I zaista, ovakav izraz na prvi mah daje utisak jedne *contradictio in adjecto*: akt predstavlja jednu stvarnost, kako stvarnost može ne postojati? Ali je ovde reč o pravnom nepostojanju, i o nepostojanju upravnog akta (a ne ma kakvog akta). Postoji nešto spolja, što Zakon ne priznaje i ne snabdeva sa pravnom važnošću. Postoji akt ali bez pravnog značaja, dakle ne pravni i ne upravni akt. Pravno to su nepostojeći akti" (str. 243, f. 1).

Čini se da bi ovo stanovište dobilo na jasnoći napomenom da je reč o „takozvanim" nepostojećim upravnim aktima, tj. aktima koji zbog odsustva pravnog dejstva nemaju svojstvo (u)pravnog akta, ali da se u interesu pravne sigurnosti uzima (pretpostavlja) da imaju svojstvo upravnog akta kako bi mogli biti poništeni.

Laza Kostić (1935) nam dalje javlja da Nemci takve i slične akte nazivaju „nedejstvujući akti ili akti bez dejstva (*unwirksame Akte*)" (str. 493) i podvlači da od njih treba razlikovati „akte koji ne mogu proizvesti dejstvo usled nekih faktičkih smetnja, kao na pr. izgon nekog stranca iz zemlje koga nijedna susedna zemlja neće da primi" (str. 493).

Pravno nepostojeće akte (Kostić, 1935) prepoznaje u različitim aktima lica koja su uzurpirala vlast: 1) aktu privatnog lica (tzv. Kepenički akti);[2] 2) aktu koji donese otpušteni ili penzionisani službenik, destituirani javni organ, uz napomenu „razume se posle njegovog razrešenja, jer sve do razrešenja smatra se kao faktički službenik čije radnje, baš zbog trećih lica, imaju pravni značaj" (str. 494); 3) svakoj radnji javnog organa koja prelazi krug njegove osnovne funkcije (akt koji je donet od strane člana zakonodavnog tela ili sudije).

Laza Kostić (1936) zaključuje da nepostojeće akte ne treba „naročitim poništajem obesnaživati" (str. 239),[3] ali ipak konstatuje da se u praksi često nailazi na poništavanje takvih akata kada postoji sumnja da li se radi o nepostojećim ili ništavim aktima ili kada je nepostojećem aktu data takva forma da pojedinac može misliti da je reč o aktu koji bi mogao proizvoditi dejstvo.

3.3. **Nikola Stjepanović**

Nikola Stjepanović (1978) u okviru deobe nezakonitih upravnih akata na rušljive (oborive) i ništave podvlači da samo određena nezakonitost prouzrokuje ništavost. Ništava rešenja privremeno proizvode u praksi pravno dejstvo, ali samo dok nadležni organ ne utvrdi njihovu ništavost, a on to može učiniti u svako doba. Sve dok se ne oglasi ništavim, stranka je dužna da se pokori takvom rešenju, pod uslovom da je ono steklo izvršnost.

[2] Jedan obućar je obukao oficirsku uniformu kapetanskog čina, preuzeo komandu nad jednim odredom vojske, zatvorio opštinsku upravu u mestu Kepenik (Nemačka), oduzeo novac iz kase i izdao čitav niz naredbi koje su pravno bez značaja, predstavljaju pravno nepostojeće akte.

[3] „Pisci koji upoređuju mane upravnih akata sa bolestima na čovečijem organizmu, ništavne akte prikazuju kao mrtvorođenčad, a nepostojeće kao lutku, čoveka od kartona. Kod mrtvorođenih treba utvrditi smrt, za lutku nije potrebno reći da nije čovek" (str. 239).

Stjepanović (1978) smatra da je akt uzurpacije vlasti pravno nepostojeći i da stranka takav akt može ignorisati bez rđavih pravnih posledica, a nije potrebno ni da nadležni organ konstatuje da takav akt ne postoji.

3.4. **Slavoljub Popović**

Popović, Petrović i Prica (2011) problemu takođe pristupaju sa pozicije deobe na rušljive (oborive) i ništave upravne akte.

Popović i dr. (2011, str. 199) navode da se u francuskoj pravnoj nauci pod pravno nepostojećim aktom podrazumeva akt koji sadrži tako tešku grešku koja je još teža od one koja povlači ništavost akta. Ni francuska pravna nauka a ni sudska praksa još uvek nisu povukle oštru granicu između ništavih i nepostojećih upravnih akata. U jednom smislu „nepostojeći akt" je onaj akt koji nije ni postojao i on može biti poništen bez ikakvih uslova u pogledu roka, a u drugom smislu „nepostojanje" označava osobito tešku nezakonitost akta, krajnji stupanj ništavosti, čime teorija o „nepostojećim" upravnim aktima postaje još konfuznija.

Kritički pretresajući navedenu teoriju, Popović i dr. (2011) postavljaju pitanje: „Od kog stepena nepravilnosti se ništavost transformira u nepostojanje?" (str. 200). Oni konstatuju da se u francuskoj pravnoj nauci kao slučaj nepostojećeg akta navodi „teška povreda nadležnosti, tj. uzurpacija vlasti (str. 200). Popović i dr. (2011) zaključuju „da mi nemamo potrebe za konstrukcijom 'nepostojećih' upravnih akata pored pojma ništavih upravnih akata" (str. 200).

3.5. **Pavle Dimitrijević**

Pavle Dimitrijević (1983), u svom udžbeniku, nezakonite akte razvrstava prema težini pravnih nedostataka na: 1) rušljive upravne akte koji sadrže lakše pravne nedostatke i 2) ništave upravne akte koji sadrže teže nedostatke koji trajno utiču na punovažnost takvih akata. Ništavost određuje kao posledicu najtežih pojava nezakonitosti do kojih može doći prilikom donošenja upravnih akata, a pravno nepostojeće upravne akte čak i ne spominje.

Međutim, Dimitrijević (1963) na drugom mestu obrađuje uporednopravna iskustva sa pravno nepostojećim upravnim aktima. Skica njegovog izveštaja izgleda ovako:

a) *Francuska*. Pravno nepostojeći akti se vezuju za akte uzurpatora i svrstavaju se u apsolutno ništave upravne akte (*actes inexistants*). Kao takvi, ne mogu se konvalidirati i uprava može u svako doba konstatovati „njihovo nepostojanje tj. njihovu ništavost" (str. 39). Najčešće se javljaju u obliku: akta upravnog organa kojim je rešio spor iz nadležnosti suda; akta donetog od lica koji nema ovlašćenje da odlučuje; akta koji je jedan ministar doneo umesto drugog i akta kod kog postoji očigledna nezakonitost. Njihovo pravno dejstvo, kako navodi Dimitrijević (1963), svodi se na to da: niko ne mora da im se pokorava; tužba podignuta protiv takvog akta kod državnog saveta nije tužba zbog prekoračenja vlasti i nije potrebno učešće advokata; akti doneti u izvršenju nepostojećih akata su i sami nepostojeći; slučaj nepostojanja mogu utvrditi i redovni sudovi i, pošto se radi o očiglednoj nezakonitosti, ne moraju ga tretirati kao prejudiciono pitanje i izvršenje takvog akta predstavlja *voie de fait*.

b) *Nemačka*. Nezakoniti upravni akti se razvrstavaju na: ništave upravne akte (*nichtige Verwaltungsakten*) i „poništljive", tj. rušljive upravne akte (*aufhebbare Verwaltungsakten*) koji se još nazivaju i pobojnim upravnim aktima (*anfechtbare Verwaltungsakten*) (Dimitrijević, 1963). Od njih treba razlikovati tzv. nepostojeće upravne akte za koje, oslanjajući se na gledište Ernsta Forštofa (*Ernst Forsthoff*), veli da „nemačko pravo uopšte ne želi da koristi poseban tehnički termin, jer to nisu nikakvi upravni akti već 'privatna deljenja (delanja, prim. D.S.) kvalifikovana kaznenim propisima'" (str. 49).

3.6. **Ratko Marković**

Ratko Marković (1995), pri razvrstavanju pogrešnih upravnih akata, navodi da se u teoriji spominju i nepostojeći upravni akti. Takvi akti su izraz uzurpacije vlasti i „potiču od subjekta koji je grubo uzurpirao vlast koja mu ne pripada ni po kom osnovu" (str. 220). Ne mogu biti ništavi zbog toga što ih uopšte nema, pa ih organ koji se upušta u njihovu kontrolu neće oglasiti ništavim, već nepostojećim. „Za razliku od ništavog akta koji faktički postoji samo što je bez pravne važnosti, ne-

postojeći upravni akti", zaključuje Marković (1995, str. 220), „nemaju ni faktičku egzistenciju".

3.7. **Bogoljub Milosavljević**

U okviru klasifikacije pogrešnih akata, Bogoljub Milosavljević (2017) spominje da se u teoriji ukazuje i na mogućnost pojave tzv. nepostojećih upravnih akata, kao naročite vrste nezakonitih upravnih akata. S osloncem na dominantna teorijska stanovišta, Milosavljević (2017) beleži osnovne informacije: *nepostojeći upravni akti* pre nalikuju teorijskoj konstrukciji nego realnosti i zakon ih ne pominje, ali njihovo postojanje nije nemoguće. To bi bili tobožnji, a ne pravi upravni akti, jer kod njih nisu ispunjene ni elementarne pretpostavke da postanu pravni akti. Za njih se samo tvrdi da su upravni akti, a oni to stvarno ne mogu biti. Kao primer za takve akte uzima se slučaj uzurpacije vlasti od strane privatnog lica, kada ono neovlašćeno izdaje akte za koje tvrdi da su upravni. Takvi akti pravno ne postoje, pa ne mogu ni da proizvode bilo kakva pravna dejstva. Ako se takav akt i pojavi, on bi, prema preovlađujućem mišljenju, ipak trebalo da bude poništen zbog interesa pravne sigurnosti (str. 258).

3.8. **Dragan Milkov**

Milkov i Radošević (2021) svoje gledište o nepostojećim upravnim aktima započinju kratkim osvrtom na francusko pravo i pravnu nauku (*Jacqueline Morand-Deviller*, *Pierre Bourdon*, *Florian Poulet*, *Gay Braibant*): očite i najteže greške dovele su do izdvajanja jedne posebne kategorije upravnih akata koji se nazivaju nepostojećim aktima; Državni savet konstatuje da su takvi akti izvan prava i bez ikakvog pravnog efekta, ne nazivajući ih nezakonitim; za razliku od nezakonitih upravnih akata koji mogu da se ponište u određenom roku, nepostojanje upravnog akta može da se konstatuje u svako doba.

Milkov i Radošević (2021) potpuno su saglasni sa mišljenjem Ive Krbeka da je odnosu na francusko pravo nepotrebno izdvajanje pravno nepostojećih akata u onim pravima u kojima već postoji podela na ništave i rušljive upravne akte, te da njihovo dodavanje ne donosi ništa

novo, već stvara dodatnu konfuziju. Ukazuju da se u pokušaju odvajanja pravno nepostojećih akata od ništavih akata pribegava spornom razlikovanju u pogledu toga koji od njih postoje pravno, koji faktički, a koji čak ni faktički (Milkov & Radošević, 2021), i postavljaju pitanje „kako bi se u taj kriterijum 'faktičkog' i 'pravnog' postojanja upravnih akata uklopili oni koji su rušljivi i po čemu bi se oni razlikovali od ništavih upravnih akata" (str. 9, f. 47).

U nastojanju da stvari pojednostave, Milkov i Radošević (2021) saopštavaju: nije smisao u tome šta postoji pravno a šta faktički – smisao je u tome da ono što se naziva „nepostojećim pravnim aktom" nije upravni akt i ne može da predstavlja njegovu posebnu kategoriju. Ukoliko je ono što se označava kao 'nepostojeći upravni akt' pravno relevantno, a može da bude, onda je to neka druga pravna činjenica, koja dovodi do nekih drugih pravnih posledica. Njome se možda ne zasnivaju upravnopravni odnosi, ali mogu da se zasnuju neki drugi pravni odnosi. To što neka pravna činjenica ne postoji za upravno pravo i nema obeležja upravnog akta, ne znači da je ona pravno nevažna i da uopšte nema nikakvu vrednost (str. 9). Svoje stanovište podupiru Forštahofovim zaključkom da akti uzurpacije vlasti obućara u poznatom slučaju „Kepenik" uopšte ne predstavljaju upravne akte (čak ni one ništave), već da se radi o radnjama privatnog lica koje mogu da izazovu krivičnopravne posledice (str. 9, f. 48).

3.9. **Zoran Tomić**

Zoran Tomić je prvi pravni pisac, ne samo u srpskoj, već i jugoslovenskoj nauci upravnog prava, koji je osmislio jedno afirmativno i zaokruženo učenje o pravno nepostojećim upravnim aktima.

Na osnovu rezultata svog istraživanja, Zoran Tomić (1999b) je ponudio nacrt jedne (u to vreme „jugoslovenske") pravne teorije o pravno nepostojećim upravnim aktima koja bi se, u sažetom obliku, mogla izložiti ovako:

1) Nezakoniti upravni akti u našem pravu mogli bi se podeliti na: a) „relativno rušljive" upravne akte koji bi obuhvatali pravne osnove za poništenje rešenja po žalbi i za poništenje i ukidanje rešenja po

osnovu službenog nadzora; b) „apsolutno rušljive" upravne akte koji bi obuhvatali većinu slučajeva koje ZUP kvalifikuje ništavim i c) „ništave" upravne akte koje smatra pravno nepostojećim upravnim aktima a koji bi obuhvatali dva slučaja koje ZUP kvalifikuje ništavim: (1) kada je u upravnom postupku odlučeno o pravnoj stvari pripadajućoj nekoj sasvim drugoj (a ne upravnoj) državnopravnoj funkciji, posebno onoj sudskoj i (2) rešenje koje faktički nije moguće izvršiti;

2) Pravno nepostojanje upravnog akta posledica je krajnje krupnih, „prethodnih" i izrazitih pravnih neostataka, pa „njihovo prepoznavanje i ozvaničenje mora da bude široko postavljeno i krajnje olakšano zbog duboke deformacije takvih ataka uperenih na pojedince, na pravni poredak, na pravnu sigurnost posebno, a „objavljivanje njihovog nepostojanja", u slučaju potrebe, „strogo deklarativno" (str. 171).

3) Slučajevi pravno nepostojećih upravnih akata mogu a ne moraju biti propisani zakonom, a njihova predvidivost bi se rešavala primenom *de plain droit*, „uz primereno sudsko izgrađivanje, odnosno dograđivanje – a respektujući izvesne doktrinarne postavke" (str. 171);

4) Sinonim za pravno nepostojeći akt je pravno ništav akt zbog toga što je i jezički i pojmovno reč o nečemu što „nije pravno ni rođeno, te pravno ne znači ništa" (str. 171). Međutim, „to pravno nenastalo može da liči na upravnopravni akt, da ga oponaša, da stvara faktičke posledice na koje se katkad mora pravno odgovoriti" (str. 171);

5) „*Pravnom nepostojanju upravnog akta, u smislu francuske koncepcije, po vokaciji je bliska pravna nedejstvenost upravnog akta (tzv. apsolutna ništavost) kako je tumači austrijska sudska praksa, kao i nemačka zakonska ništavost upravnog akata*" (kurziv, Z.T.) (str. 171);

6) Tipovi pravno nepostojećih upravnih akata su: a) pravno-tekstualno ili, pak, procesno-pravno nezavršeni akt („u pripremi"); b) pravno besmislen, odnosno nerazumljiv akt; c) faktički neizvršiv akt; d) privatno prigrabljivanje (uzurpiranje) upravno-javne vlasti; e) jasno i nesumnjivo upravno zahvatanje u sudsku ili zakonodavnu (ili neku drugu) državnu funkciju; f) očigledan i posebno ozbiljan formalno-pravni konstitutivni nedostatak akta;

7) Pravni režim pravno nepostojećih akata oslanja se na sledeće uporišne tačke:

(a) bez pretpostavke zakonitosti – pravno nepostojeći upravni akti bi se mogli ignorisati i od strane uprave i od strane građana, ali bi aktivan otpor njihovoj primeni išao na rizik onoga prema kome je taj akt uperen;

(b) nezastarevanje zahteva za pravnom konstatacijom, kao i same konstatacije pravnog nepostojanja upravnog akta – svako bi mogao u svako doba da se obrati sa zahtevom za otklanjanje neizvesnosti u prirodu nekog sumnjivog upravnopravnog čina;

(c) mogućnost obraćanja svakom, i upravnom i neupravnom, mesno nadležnom sudu radi pružanja pravne zaštite od pravno nepostojećih akata. Čim bi pred njega bio iznet „odgovarajući zahtev", sud bi bio ovlašćen i dužan da u hitnom postupku utvrdi pravno (ne)postojanje akta. Taj „odgovarajući zahtev" značio bi uvođenje, po ugledu na nemačko pravo, posebne tužbe kojom bi se tražilo utvrđivanje pravnog nepostojanja (pravne ništavosti) jednog upravnog akta, a u stvari lažnog, odnosno prividnog upravnopravnog čina;

(d) značaj i smisao merodavne sudske odluke u pogledu pravnog nepostojanja – nije u pitanju presuda o pravnom pitanju, već presuda o činjeničnom pitanju;

(e) pravne posledice utvrđenog pravnog nepostojanja jednog navodno upravnog akta bile bi: pružanje primerenog obeštećenja žrtvama i ustanovljavanje odgovornosti počinioca;

(f) katalog članova porodice pravno nepostojećih akata ne bi trebalo da bude zakonski zatvoren – sud bi trebalo da ima mogućnost njegovog izgrađivanja, dograđivanja i tumačenja, uz oprez da ne zakorači u, uglavnom precizno utvrđenu, zonu rušljivosti (apsolutne i relativne). Uzgred, neki bi se razlozi pravnog nepostojanja sami po sebi podrazumevali, bez zakonskog sudskog ili evidentiranja (pismeno sastavljeno kao „upravno rešenje" od strane nadležnog organa, u kojem je ispuštena sama izreka odluke – pravno je ništa);

8) Učenje o pravno nepostojećim upravnim aktima oslanja se na sva tri meritorna učesnika pravnog života: naučne stavove koji treba da pruže teorijska opravdanja; zakonodavstvo, koje treba da definiše bitne konstitutivne sastojke upravnog akta i okolinskih pojmova na planu pravne manljivosti upravnih akata, ali i nekih karakterističkih slučajeva

početne pravne nevažnosti upravnog akta; i sudsku praksu, od koje se očekuje da razrađuje i dopunjava teoriju nepostojanja na praktičnom planu, posebno da protumači nejasne slučajeve.

Konačno, Tomić (1999b) zaključuje:

Ukratko: pravno nepostojanje nije stupanj protivpravnosti, odnosno nezakonitosti (nevaljanosti) upravnopravnog akta, već činjenično stanje nedovoljne količine pripremne pravne i upravne suspstance – potencijalno varljive spoljašnjosti – koje je, zbog nepremostivih prethodnih elelementarnih normativnih prepreka, omelo pravno rađanje jednog upravnopravnog čina, pa time i svaki njegov pravni uticaj (str. 186).

4. Zaključak

Uprkos značajnom uticaju francuske pravne misli, ideje teorije o pravno nepostojećim upravnim aktima nisu se primile na tlu Srbije. Takvi akti nisu bili poznati zakonodavstvu Srbije ni u periodima njene samostalnosti, ni u periodu zajedničke države. Pri inventaru sudske prakse može se naići na poneki „akt" koji bi se, prema merilima francuske sudske prakse i pravne nauke, mogao smatrati „pravno" nepostojećim, ali naši sudovi su takve akte redovno poništavali.

Poslenici srpske upravnopravne nauke, osim nekoliko izuzetaka, nisu celovitije obrađivali pitanje pravno nepostojećih upravnih akata. Pored promišljanja Mihaila Ilića i Laze Kostića s početka 20. veka, pitanjem pravno nepostojećih upravnih akata na prelomu 20. i 21. veka studioznije se bavio jedino Zoran Tomić, čije učenje predstavlja jednu dobro osmišljenu, argumentovanu i zaokruženu pravnu teoriju. U međuvremenu, pravno nepostojeći upravni akti su u domaćoj upravnopravnoj literaturi spominjani usputno, uglavnom u udžbenicima upravnog prava, kao uporedna upravnopravna iskustva ili teorijsko-pravne tvorevine.

Bez obzira na njenu sistematičnost i originalnost, pravna teorija Zorana Tomića (u to vreme jugoslovenska) o pravno nepostojećim upravnim aktima ipak nije našla odjeka u našem zakonodavstvu. U nauci upravnog prava i dalje su dominantna suprotna gledišta, bilo da tvrde

da ono što se naziva nepostojećim pravnim aktom nije upravni akt i ne može da predstavlja njegovu posebnu kategoriju, bilo da tvrde da pored postojanja kategorije ništavih upravnih akata nema potrebe za postojanjem i pravno nepostojećih upravnih akata.

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SCHOLARLY VIEWS ON LEGALLY NON-EXISTENT ADMINISTRATIVE ACTS IN SERBIAN ADMINISTRATIVE LAW

Abstract: The paper gives an overview of Serbian administrative law scholarship regarding legally non-existent administrative acts. After the introductory remarks, the paper offers a concise overview of the origins and evolution of the theory of legal non-existence in administrative law, followed by an analysis of the perspectives of Serbian legal scholars on this matter. I conclude that, despite the influence of French legal thought and the development of an original Serbian legal theory, the concept of legally non-existent administrative acts has not gained traction in Serbian administrative law scholarship. According to the prevailing view, which is also reflected in the current state of legislation, what is referred to as a non-existent legal act is not an administrative act and cannot be considered a distinct category thereof. In other words, the concept of legally non-existent administrative acts is deemed redundant alongside the existing category of null-and-void administrative acts.

Keywords: administrative act, theory of non-existence, legally non-existent administrative act, legality, legal certainty

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1. Introduction

The legal foundation of an administrative act, as one of its constitutive features, implies that the act must be issued in compliance with the law, its form and content must be prescribed by the law, the procedure for its adoption must be regulated by the law, and its legality must be subject to judicial review (Milkov, 1997; Vasiljević & Vukašinović Radojičić, 2019). Accordingly, there is a presumption of the legality of an administrative act — which encompasses both the presumption of its legal and technical correctness, as well as its appropriateness — until it is declared illegal by the competent authorities in the appropriate procedure removed from the judicial system (Lilić, Kunić, Dimitrijević & Marković, 1999).

Although the logic of the judicial system requires that all legal acts be legally valid, administration, as a human activity, may lead to the issuance of administrative acts that contain errors (Milosavljević, 2017). Such administrative acts are referred to as erroneous administrative acts and their existence within the judicial system is contingent upon the gravity of the error made during their adoption. Erroneous administrative acts can be classified into flawed (containing factual or technical errors) and unlawful (containing legal errors). Unlawful administrative acts can, in accordance with the nature (type) of the error, be further classified into illegal and invalid acts, with illegal acts, depending on the severity of the error, being categorized as voidable and null-and-void administrative acts.

In administrative law scholarship, there is also mention of a particular type of act that contains errors of such nature and severity that they preclude the possibility of its legal existence. French legal scholarship has coined the term "non-existent acts" (*actes inexistants*) for such acts.

This paper aims to explore the key perspectives on legally non-existent administrative acts within Serbian administrative law scholarship.

2. The theory of non-existent administrative acts (the so-called theory of non-existence)

In some countries, particularly in judicial practice and legal scholarship, the term "non-existent acts" is used to refer to legal acts that are, in fact, not legal. This term is inherently contradictory, as is the concept it seeks to describe.

The concept of the legal non-existence of acts originates from Roman law and was first systematically developed as the so-called theory of non-existence by Karl Salomo Zachariae in the early 19th century, within the field of private law (Tomić, 1999a). This concept was integrated into French administrative law through judicial practice in the second half of the 19th century. The goal was to enable not only administrative courts but also ordinary courts to assess the legality of administrative acts marked by significant errors. This theory was popularized within administrative law scholarship by Édouard Laferrière in the late XIX century, as he sought to introduce the most severe form of administrative dysfunction — distinct from nullity — characterized by lawsuit-initiated court intervention within a fixed timeframe.

Acts involving gross, particularly private, usurpation of power are considered a typical form of non-existent administrative acts (Rivero, 1980; Chapus, 1985). Interestingly, contrary to the prevailing view in French legal scholarship, the Council of State declares acts of private usurpation of power to be null-and-void, rather than legally non-existent (C. E., 20. I 1911, *Naudet*).

According to French court practice, legally non-existent administrative acts are those that involve a gross and serious error, whether in relation to the authority issuing the act, its subject matter, or its content. The first group of acts includes appointment acts that place an individual into public service — not for the position they are meant to occupy, but rather to allow them to perform a different function or to grant them specific privileges (C. E., 30. VI 1950, *Massonnaud*); acts that disregard the age limit for public officials (C. E., 03. II 1956, *Fontbonne*), violent administrative behavior (*voie de fait*) during enforcement (T. C., 27. VI 1966, *Guigon*); acts that represent a gross intrusion by the administration into the domain of the judiciary (C. E., 31. V 1957, *Rosan-Girard*).

The second group includes acts with an undefined or unclear subject matter (T. C., 06. VI 1934, *Consorts Durand*; C. E., 22. VI 1931, *Munio*) and acts with nonsensical contet (T. C., 27. VI 1966, *Guigon*).

The Council of State does not qualify such an act as illegal and does not annul it, but rather states that it is null-and-void and without any effect or that it is null-and-void and has not even come into existence (Breban, 2002). The key difference compared to null-and-void acts lies in the absence of any time limit for declaring their non-existence. The illegality of a non-existent act can be determined at any time — the administration may remove it at any moment and the court may rule on it regardless of any time limit. Such acts, regardless of their subject matter, do not establish rights.

The presumption of legality does not apply to legally non-existent administrative acts, as it is assumed that such acts do not legally exist (Dimitrijević, 1963). Citizens are not obligated to comply with such acts and may ignore them; however, it is advisable for those whose rights and interests are affected, for the sake of their own legal certainty, to initiate proceedings for their review before the competent court.

Judicial practice has not yet firmly established a stance on legally non-existent administrative acts and judges only refer to the theory of non-existence in exceptional cases, when ordinary legal recourse is inadequate due to the expiration of the time limit (Breban, 2002). Therefore, the theory of non-existence in France appears to be more significant in theory than in practice.

3. Fundamental viewpoints in Serbian administrative law scholarship

3.1. Mihailo Ilić

In defining legally non-existent acts, Mihailo Ilić (1998) starts from the premise that a legal act is a declaration of will through which legal authority is exercised to produce legal effects. He further concludes that every legal act presupposes legal authority, with the declaration of will serving merely as the exercise of that authority (p. 179). The key elements of his teaching are the declaration of will and legal authority (Ilić, 1998). If either of these elements is absent, the act in question is deemed

legally non-existent; an act issued without legal authority constitutes an act of usurpation of power. If, however, both the declaration of will and legal authority are present, but the will is improperly expressed or the authority is misapplied, the act in question is considered irregular, as it stems from an overextension of authority.

Ilić (1928) later revised his stance on the usurpation of power by proposing that any lack of jurisdiction on the part of administrative officials signifies an absence of legal authority; however, this does not necessarily constitute usurpation of power. When an administrative official acts beyond the jurisdiction of administrative bodies and encroaches upon the domain of judicial or legislative authority, the act in question constitutes an act of usurpation of power. However, if an administrative official encroaches upon the jurisdiction of another administrative official, the act constitutes an overreach of power. Yet, if the lack of jurisdiction is so clear that no reasonable doubt can arise, such an act may be deemed legally non-existent. Ilić concludes that, accordingly, an administrative act should be considered legally non-existent if it is issued either in the complete absence of legal authority or based on authority that does not belong to administrative officials in any capacity (p. 138).

Ilić (1928) classifies legally non-existent acts as irregular acts and notes that their irregularity is so profound that, consequently, they do not constitute legal acts at all (p. 137). However, he distinguishes between them in terms of their legal effect. While an irregular administrative act, despite its irregularities, still produces legal effects, its irregularity can serve as grounds for its annulment (p. 138). In contrast, a legally non-existent administrative act, by virtue of its non-existence, cannot produce any legal effect (p. 138). According to Ilić, such an act does not need to be "annulled" (p. 138), and any interested party may invoke its non-existence at any time (Ilić, 1998). An individual affected by such an act is not required to acknowledge it and may act as though it had never been issued (p. 138).

In addition to the act mentioned above, by which an administrative official exceeds their authority and steps into the domain of judicial or legislative power, Mihailo Ilić (1928) cites the following as examples of legally non-existent acts: 1) an act by a person who does not hold the status of an administrative official; 2) an act granting approval for legal

acts that, according to the law, do not require any (e.g., a decision by the Minister of Finance approving the regional budget after the deadline has expired), an act made without the necessary approval from higher or supervisory authorities, and an act by a collective body whose election was annulled as irregular before the act was adopted; 3) an act by the President of the Republic that lacks the countersignature of the competent minister.

An illustrative case of a legally non-existent act due to the absence of legal authority, as discussed by Ilić (1928), can be found in Serbian judicial practice involving a minister who issued an act dismissing a civil servant five days after his death. Remaining consistent with his teaching of legal authority, Ilić (1928) explains the qualification of such an act as legally non-existent by suggesting that, in the event of the widow of the deceased (dismissed) civil servant failing to file a lawsuit, she could regard the act as never having been issued and seek the recognition of her right to a family pension. If her right were not recognized, she could initiate an administrative dispute at any time, with the State Council being required to determine that the act of dismissing the deceased civil servant was legally non-existent and grant the widow the right to a pension (p. 140). On the other hand, if the act of dismissing the deceased civil servant were considered irregular, and no annulment lawsuit were filed, such an act, despite its irregularities, would retain its characteristics as an administrative act and continue to produce its effects. This would mean that the widow would be denied the right to a family pension.

3.2. Laza Kostić

Laza Kostić (1935) classifies irregular administrative acts based on the type and severity of their deficiencies, distinguishing a separate category for "legally non-existent acts" alongside flawed, annulable, and null-and-void acts (pp. 489-490).

However, in defining these acts, contrary to the previously outlined classification that includes "legally non-existent acts" as a type of irregular administrative acts, Kostić (1935) denies such acts the status of an administrative act by stating that non-existent acts (*actes inexistantes*) are merely apparent acts — they may resemble administrative acts, but

in reality, they are not and cannot be considered as such. They are a fiction, a mere chimera of administrative acts (p. 491). This contradiction becomes fully apparent in the statement that *legally non-existent* or *absolutely invalid* acts are those *administrative acts* (italics added by D.S.) that could in no way have produced their legal effects (p. 493), given that legal effect is one of the defining characteristics of an administrative act as a legal act (Kostić, 1936). Commenting on *Vales's* warning about the logical inconsistency of the term "non-existent act" (since the attribute negates the noun), Kostić (1936) explains that, indeed, at first glance, such an expression appears to be a *contradictio in adjecto*: an act represents a reality — how can a reality not exist? But this case concerns legal non-existence and the non-existence of an administrative act, rather than just any act. There is something external that the law does not recognize or endow with legal significance. An act exists without legal effect — therefore, it is neither a legal nor an administrative act. Legally, these are non-existent acts (p. 243, fn. 1).

It seems that this position would gain clarity with the remark that it concerns "so-called" legally non-existent administrative acts — i.e., acts that, due to the absence of legal effect, do not possess the characteristics of an administrative/legal act. However, in the interest of legal certainty, they are assumed to have the status of an administrative act so that they can be annulled.

Laza Kostić (1935) further explains that the Germans refer to such acts and similar ones as non-effectuating acts or acts without effect (*unwirksame Akte*) (p. 493) and emphasizes that they should be distinguished from acts that cannot produce effect due to certain factual obstacles, such as the expulsion of a foreigner from the country when no neighboring country is willing to accept them (p. 493).

Kostić (1935) identifies legally non-existent acts in various acts of individuals who have usurped power: 1) acts of a private individual (referred to as Köpenick acts);[2] 2) acts issued by a dismissed or retired of-

[2] A cobbler put on a captain's officer uniform, assumed command of a military unit, closed the municipal administration in the Köpenick district of Berlin, took money from the treasury, and issued a series of legally meaningless orders, all of which constituted legally non-existent acts.

ficial, or a removed public body, with the clarification that this applies after their dismissal, as until dismissal they are considered a de facto official whose actions, due to third parties, carry legal significance (p. 494); 3) any action of a public body that exceeds the scope of its primary function (an act issued by a member of a legislative body or a judge).

Laza Kostić (1936) concludes that legally non-existent acts should not be deprived of force by a special annulment (p. 239).[3] However, he notes that in practice, such acts are often annulled when there is uncertainty about whether they are legally non-existent or null-and-void, or when a legally non-existent act is presented in a way that might lead an individual to believe that it could produce legal effects.

3.3. **Nikola Stjepanović**

Nikola Stjepanović (1978), in his classification of illegal administrative acts into voidable (annulable) and null-and-void, highlights that only specific types of illegality result in nullity. Null-and-void resolutions produce legal effects only until the competent authority declares them null-and-void, which can be done at any time. The party must comply with the resolution until it is declared null-and-void, provided it has become enforceable.

Stjepanović (1978) holds that an act of usurpation of power is legally non-existent and the party may disregard it without legal repercussions, with no need for the competent authority to declare such act's non-existence.

3.4. **Slavoljub Popović**

Popović, Petrović, and Prica (2011) also examine the issue through the lens of the distinction between voidable (annulable) and null-and-void administrative acts.

[3] Authors who compare the flaws of administrative acts to diseases in the human body depict null-and-void acts as stillborns and legally non-existent acts as mannequins, or cardboard dolls. In the case of stillborns, the death must be established, while for the mannequin, it is unnecessary to state that it is in fact not human (p. 239).

Popović et al. (2011, p. 199) state that in French legal doctrine, legally non-existent acts are those that contain an error more severe than one that would lead to the nullity of the act. Neither French legal doctrine nor judicial practice has yet established a clear distinction between null-and-void and legally non-existent administrative acts. In one interpretation, a "legally non-existent act" is one that never existed and can be annulled without any time limitations. In another, "non-existence" denotes an exceptionally severe illegality — the highest degree of nullity, which creates additional confusion within the theory of "legally non-existent" administrative acts.

Popović et al. (2011), in their critical review of the aforementioned theory, question the point at which the severity of irregularity transforms an act from being null-and-void to legally non-existent. They note that French legal doctrine considers an act to be legally non-existent when it involves a severe violation of authority, i.e., usurpation of power. Ultimately, the authors go on to conclude that there is no need for the concept of 'legally non-existent' administrative acts in addition to the notion of null-and-void administrative acts (p. 200).

3.5. **Pavle Dimitrijević**

In his textbook, Pavle Dimitrijević (1983) classifies illegal acts based on the severity of their legal defects into: 1) voidable administrative acts containing minor legal flaws, and 2) null-and-void administrative acts containing more serious defects that permanently affect the validity of such acts. He defines nullity as the consequence of the most severe forms of illegality that can arise when issuing administrative acts, without even addressing the concept of legally non-existent administrative acts.

However, Dimitrijević (1963) addresses comparative legal experiences with legally non-existent administrative acts in another part of his work. The summary of his report is as follows:

a) *France.* Legally non-existent acts are associated with acts of usurpers and are classified as absolutely null-and-void administrative acts (*actes inexistants*). As such, they cannot be subsequently validated

and the administration can at any time declare their non-existence, i.e., their nullity (p. 39). They most commonly appear in the form of: an act of an administrative body resolving a dispute within the jurisdiction of the court; an act issued by a person without the authority to decide; an act issued by one minister instead of another; and an act with an obvious illegality. As Dimitrijević (1963) notes, the legal effect of such acts is limited to the following: no one is required to comply with them; a lawsuit filed against such an act before the State Council is not a claim for abuse of power and legal representation is not required; acts issued in execution of legally non-existent acts are themselves legally non-existent; the issue of non-existence can be determined by regular courts and, since an obvious illegality is in question, they are not required to treat it as a prejudicial matter and the enforcement of such an act constitutes *voie de fait*.

b) *Germany*. Illegal administrative acts are classified into: null-and-void administrative acts (*nichtige Verwaltungsakten*) voidable administrative acts (*aufhebbare Verwaltungsakten*) which are also referred to as overturnable administrative acts (*anfechtbare Verwaltungsakten*) (Dimitrijević, 1963). These should be distinguished from so-called legally non-existent administrative acts, which, drawing on Ernst Forsthoff's perspective, he describes as acts that German law does not want to classify under a specific technical term, because they are not administrative acts at all but private actions, as defined by criminal provisions (p. 49).

3.6. Ratko Marković

Ratko Marković (1995), in classifying erroneous administrative acts, mentions that legally non-existent administrative acts are also discussed in legal theory. Such acts are an expression of usurpation of power and originate from a subject who has blatantly usurped power that does not belong to them by any means (p. 220). They cannot be null-and-void because they do not exist at all, so the authority engaging in their review will not declare them null-and-void, but rather legally non-existent. He goes on to coclude that legally non-existent administrative acts lack even factual existence, in contrast to null-and-void acts, which, though factually existant, have no legal validity (p. 220).

3.7. **Bogoljub Milosavljević**

In his classification of erroneous acts, Bogoljub Milosavljević (2017) also mentions the theoretical possibility of a distinct category of illegal administrative acts — legally non-existent administrative acts. Drawing on dominant theoretical viewpoints, he observes the following key points: *legally non-existent administrative acts* are more akin to a theoretical construct than a reality, and while the law does not explicitly mention them, their existence is not impossible. These would be supposed, rather than actual, administrative acts, as they fail to meet even the basic requirements necessary to qualify as legal acts. These are merely asserted to be administrative acts, but in reality, they cannot qualify as such. An example would be the usurpation of power by a private individual, unauthorized to issue acts, who claims them to be administrative acts. Such acts do not legally exist and therefore cannot produce any legal effects. If such an act does appear, it should, according to prevailing opinion, be annulled in the interest of legal certainty (p. 258).

3.8. **Dragan Milkov**

Milkov and Radošević (2021) begin their perspective on legally non-existent administrative acts with a brief overview of French law and legal doctrine (*Jacqueline Morand-Deviller*, *Pierre Bourdon*, *Florian Poulet*, *Gay Braibant*): obvious and most severe errors have led to the establishment of a distinct category of administrative acts known as legally non-existent acts; The Council of State determines that such acts lie outside the law and produce no legal effect, without classifying them as illegal; unlike illegal administrative acts, which can be annulled within a specific timeframe, the non-existence of an administrative act can be established at any time.

Milkov and Radošević (2021) fully agree with Ivo Krbek's view that, in comparison to French law, there is no need to distinguish legally non-existent acts in legal systems that already have a division between null-and-void and voidable administrative acts. They argue that adding such a category does not introduce anything new, but rather creates further confusion. They note that attempts to distinguish legally non-exist-

ent acts from null-and-void acts rely on the contentious differentiation between those that exist legally, those that exist factually, and those that do not even have factual existence. They raise the question of how the criterion of 'factual' and 'legal' existence would apply to voidable acts and how they would differ from null-and-void administrative acts (p. 9, fn. 47).

In an effort to clarify the matter, Milkov and Radošević (2021) assert that the focus should not be on distinguishing between what exists legally vs. factually. Rather, the key point is that what is referred to as a "legally non-existent act" is not an administrative act, and as such, it cannot constitute a separate category within them. If what is referred to as a "legally non-existent administrative act" has legal relevance, as it may, then it constitutes a different legal fact, one that leads to different legal consequences. While this fact may not establish administrative legal relationships, it could give rise to some other legal relationships. A legal fact that is not recognized under administrative law and does not qualify as an administrative act does not necessarily have to be legally irrelevant or without value (p. 9). They support their position by referencing Forsthoff's conclusion that the acts of power usurpation by the shoemaker in the well-known Köpenick case do not constitute administrative acts (not even null-and-void ones), but rather actions of a private individual that could lead to criminal consequences (p. 9, fn. 48).

3.9. Zoran Tomić

Zoran Tomić is the first legal scholar, not only in Serbian but also in Yugoslav administrative law, to develop a comprehensive and affirmative theory on legally non-existent administrative acts.

Based on the results of his research, Tomić (1999b) proposed a draft of a (then "Yugoslav") legal theory on legally non-existent administrative acts, which, in its concise form, could be presented as follows:

1) Illegal administrative acts in Yugoslav law could be divided into: a) "relatively voidable" administrative acts, which would encompass the legal grounds for annulment of decisions based on appeals and for annulment and revocation of decisions through official supervision; b) "absolutely voidable" administrative acts, which would include most

cases that the Administrative Procedure Act (APA) classifies as null-and-void; c) "null-and-void" administrative acts, which he considers legally non-existent administrative acts and which would include two cases that the APA classifies as null-and-void: (1) when a decision in the administrative procedure concerns a legal matter belonging to an entirely different (non-administrative) legal function, particularly a judicial one, and (2) a decision that is factually impossible to enforce;

2) The legal non-existence of an administrative act arises from severe, "prior," and extreme legal defects. Consequently, their recognition and formalization must be broadly framed and considerably simplified due to the significant distortion such acts cause, impacting individuals, the legal system, and particularly legal certainty. The declaration of their non-existence, when required, should be strictly declaratory (p. 171).

3) Cases of legally non-existent administrative acts may or may not be prescribed by law. Their foreseeability would be addressed through the application of *de plain droit*, complemented by appropriate judicial development and refinement, all while respecting certain doctrinal principles (p. 171);

4) A synonym for a legally non-existent act is a legally null-and-void act, as both linguistically and conceptually it refers to something that has never been legally born and therefore bears no legal significance (p. 171). However, this legally non-existent entity may resemble an administrative act, imitate it, and create factual consequences that sometimes require a legal response (p. 171);

5) *The legal non-existence of an administrative act, according to the French concept, resembles the legal ineffectiveness of an administrative act (the so-called absolute nullity), as interpreted by Austrian judicial practice and the German statutory nullity of an administrative act* (italics added by Z.T.) (p. 171);

6) The types of legally non-existent administrative acts are: a) incomplete acts either in terms of their linguistic/legal formulation or in the procedural/legal finalization ("in preparation"); b) a legally nonsensical or unintelligible act; c) a factually unenforceable act; d) the private usurpation of administrative-public power; e) a clear and unequivocal administrative encroachment upon judicial, legislative, or another state

function; f) a clear and particularly serious constitutive defect in terms of both form and legal validity of the act;

7) The legal framework governing legally non-existent acts rests on the following key principles:

(a) without the presumption of legality — legally non-existent administrative acts could be disregarded by both the administration and citizens. However, any active resistance to their enforcement would be at the risk of the individual against whom the act is directed;

(b) the non-expiry of requests for legal determination, as well as the determination of the legal non-existence of an administrative act — anyone could at any time submit a request to clarify the nature of some questionable administrative legal action;

(c) the possibility for anyone to turn to any court, both administrative and non-administrative, with jurisdiction *ratione loci* to seek legal protection from legally non-existent acts. As soon as an "appropriate request" is presented to it, the court would be authorized and obligated to determine the legal (non)existence of the act in an expedited procedure. This type of request would involve the introduction, following the model of German law, of a specific lawsuit to determine the legal non-existence (legal nullity) of an administrative act, that is, a false or illusory administrative legal action.

(d) the significance and purpose of the relevant court ruling regarding legal non-existence lies not in a judgment on a legal issue, but rather in a ruling on a factual matter;

(e) The legal consequences of establishing the legal non-existence of an alleged administrative act would be: providing appropriate compensation to the victims and determining the liability of the perpetrator;

(f) the list of types of legally non-existent acts should not be closed by law. Courts should have the flexibility to develop, expand, and interpret it, while being careful not to overstep into the mostly precisely defined realm of voidable acts (both absolute and relative). Some reasons for legal non-existence would be self-evident, without the need for legal or judicial recording (for example, an "administrative decision" issued by the competent authority in which the operative part of the decision is omitted — legally null);

8) The theory of legally non-existent administrative acts is built upon the three key components of legal life: academic perspectives that offer theoretical justifications; legislation that should define the essential elements and related concepts concerning legal deficiencies of administrative acts, as well as certain typical cases of initial legal irrelevance of such acts; and judicial practice, which is tasked with refining and expanding the theory of non-existence in practical terms, especially in interpreting ambiguous cases.

Finally, Tomić (1999b) concludes:

In brief, legal non-existence is not simply a degree of unlawfulness or illegality (invalidity) of an administrative act. Rather, it refers to a factual condition in which there is an insufficient amount of preparatory legal and administrative substance — potentially misleading on the surface — which, due to insurmountable prior normative barriers, prevents the legal formation of an administrative legal act, and as a result, consequently, any of its legal effects (p. 186).(p. 186).

4. Conclusion

Despite the significant influence of French legal thought, the ideas of the theory of legally non-existent administrative acts did not take root in Serbia. Such acts were not recognized in the legislation of Serbia, whether during its periods of sovereignty or as part of Yugoslavia. A review of judicial practice may reveal certain "acts" that, under the standards of French judicial practice and legal doctrine, could be deemed "legally" non-existent. However, Serbian courts have consistently annulled such acts rather than recognizing their non-existence.

With few exceptions, Serbian administrative law scholars have not undertaken a comprehensive analysis of the issue of legally non-existent administrative acts. Aside from the reflections of Mihailo Ilić and Laza Kostić in the early 20th century, Zoran Tomić was the only scholar to undertake a more in-depth study of legally non-existent administrative acts at the end of the XX and begining of the XI century. His work presents a well-conceived, thoroughly argued, and coherent legal theory. Meanwhile, in domestic administrative law literature, legally non-exist-

ent administrative acts have been largely referenced in passing, primarily in administrative law textbooks, either as examples from comparative administrative law or as theoretical legal constructs.

Despite its systematic approach and originality, Zoran Tomić's legal theory on legally non-existent administrative acts (then part of Yugoslav legal thought) failed to gain traction in Serbian legislation. Opposing viewpoints still dominate in administrative law theory. Some argue that what is referred to as a legally non-existent administrative act is not an administrative act and cannot constitute a separate category, while others contend that, alongside the category of null-and-void administrative acts, there is no need for the existence of legally non-existent administrative acts.

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PROCENA DESNIČARSKE AUTORITARNOSTI: ADAPTACIJA RWA SKALE (DESNIČARSKE AUTORITARNOSTI) NA SRPSKI JEZIK

Apstrakt: U poslednjih 16 godina desničarska autoritarnost (RWA) u porastu je širom sveta, što podstiče naučne radnike da i dalje proučavaju ovaj fenomen. Jedno od ključnih pitanja bavi se merenjem ovog konstrukta. U ovom istraživanju pokušali smo da jednu od najčešće korišćenih skala adaptiramo na srpski jezik. Na velikom uzorku opšte populacije pokušali smo da repliciramo strukturu upitnika, da bismo, na kraju, došli do sopstvenog rešenja za problem strukture. Testirali smo adaptaciju u odnosu na konstrukte koji se smatraju relevantnim, kao što su verovanja u teorije zavere i izbegavanje bolesti da bismo dodatno potvrdili adaptaciju i u tome smo postigli delimičan uspeh. Potrebna su dalja istraživanja na raznovrsnijim populacijama da bi se utvrdio stepen uticaja srpske kulture na konstrukt autoritarnosti, odnos sa drugim konstruktima i merenje. Za sada smo adekvatno adaptirali skalu tako da se može koristiti u daljim istraživanjima.

Ključne reči: *desničarska autoritarnost, konzervativizam, izbegavanje bolesti, zavera, merenje*.

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1. Uvod

Mogućnost da se širok spektar fenomena, od društvenog, političkog do međugrupnog ponašanja može predstaviti kao jedinstvena dimenzija ličnosti pod nazivom autoritarnost prvi put je predstavljena 1950. godine (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). Rad ovih autora rezultirao je kreiranjem F skale (F kao fašizam), koja je trebalo da meri desničarsku autoritarnost kao dimenziju ličnosti. Ova skala je od početka bila podložna psihometrijskim problemima i bilo je pokušaja da se konstrukt ponovo osmisli i izmeri drugačijim, preciznijim instrumentom, kao što su skala dogmatizma (D) (Rokeach, 1954) i skala konzervativizma (C) (Wilson, 1973).

Altemajerovo istraživanje iz 1981. godine ključno je doprinelo načinu procene autoritarnosti. Altemajer je konstruisao skalu desničarske autoritarnosti (RWA scale), a iz njene upotrebe proistekao je veliki broj istraživanja u poslednje četiri decenije. Istraživanja su pokazala da je ova skala značajan prediktor određenih socio-psiholoških konstrukata koji su povezani sa autoritarnošću, kao što su verski fundamentalizam, agresija, nekonformizam i devijantnost, etnocentrizam i generalizovane predrasude (Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010). Individue sa niskim rezultatima na RWA skali su generalno liberalnije i otvorenije ka individualnim slobodama, samoizražavanju i demokratiji (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2018). U skorije vreme, tokom pandemije COVID-19, na odnos RWA i antiimigrantskih stavova i nacionalizma uticao je nivo pretnje od zaraznih bolesti sa kojima se suočavala populacija (Hartman et al., 2021).

Sledeći ideje Adorna i saradnika (1950), Altemejer (1981) je konstruisao RWA skalu na osnovu tri sopstvena originalna koncepta. Prvi je autoritarna agresivnost koja odgovara konkretnoj agresiji koju individua želi da usmeri na pojedince i grupe koje su vlasti označile kao subverzivne za uspostavljeni poredak. Drugi je autoritarna submisivnost koja predstavlja sveukupnu spremnost da se ponaša i postupa na način koji propisuju organi vlasti. Treći koncept je konvencionalnost koja predstavlja snažnu posvećenost održavanju tradicionalnih vrednosti i obrazaca ponašanja. Ova tri konstrukta se još nazivaju i autoritarnost, konzervativizam i tradicionalizam (Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010; Duckitt & Bizumic, 2013).

Prvobitno, skala je imala nekoliko konstrukata isprepletenih u jednu kompozitnu dimenziju, osobinu ličnosti pod nazivom desničarska autoritarnost (RWA) (Altemeier, 1981; Altemeier, 1988; Altemeier, 1996). To je postignuto kreiranjem složenih, dugih ajtema koji su dvostruki ili čak trostruki. Ovi složeni ajtemi, kao i merenje tri konstrukta kao jedna dimenzija bili su predmet mnogo kritika sa psihometrijske tačke gledišta (Dunvoodi & Funke, 2016). Usledili su mnogi pokušaji da se redefiniše skala modifikovanjem strukture, rekonceptualizacijom, smanjenjem stavki i kreiranjem novih pojedinačnih stavki. Danas postoji potreba da se naprave kratki, ali interno konzistentni instrumenti kako bi se zadovoljile potrebe savremenih psiholoških empirijskih istraživanja. Jedan od prvih uspešnih pokušaja bio je instrument Zakrisonove (Zakrisson 2005). RWA skala je smanjena na 15 stavki, dok su ajtemi izmenjeni. Prepravljeni su da budu jednostruki i skraćeni na jednu rečenicu. Iako postoje tri subskale, autorka koristi skalu kao jedinstveni skor i pokazala je očekivanu korelaciju sa orijentacijom ka socijalnoj dominaciji.

O poreklu desničarske autoritarnosti i srodnog joj fenomena socijalne dominacije postoje mnoge teorije, od psihoanalitičke (Adorno, Frenel-Brunsvick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950), Bandurinog društvenog učenja (Altemeier, 1981) do evolutivne (Claessens, Fisher, Chaundhuri, Siblei, & Atkinson, 2020). Postoje i teorije da genetski lokusi koji kontrolišu fleksibilnost u obradi informacija i kogniciji imaju određeni uticaj na ideološku orijentaciju pojedinca, a možda i oni lokusi koji regulišu strah i anksioznost (Hatemi et al., 2011). Genetski uticaji su nedavno potvrđeni istraživanjem sa blizancima, koje tvrdi da je desničarska autoritarnost više određena nasleđem nego socijalna dominacija (Kandler, Bell & Reimann, 2016). Još jedna studija sa blizancima je nedavno pokazala da se povezanost desničarske autoritarnosti i crta ličnosti HEXACO modela „iskrenost" i „otvorenost za iskustvo" uglavnom mogu objasniti genetskim faktorima (de Vries, Vesseldijk, Karinen, Jern, & Tibur, 2021). Ove genetske korelate prate neurološki korelati: postoji izveštaj da prednji cingularni korteks sadrži više sive mase kod osoba koje nemaju visok nivo desničarske autoritarnosti, zapreminski, nego kod konzervativno orijentisanih, kao i da je povećanje zapremine desne amigdale povezano sa konzervativizmom (Kanai, Feilden, Firth, & Rees, 2011).

Desničarska autoritarnost je ponekad povezivana sa sklonošću ka teorijama zavere, ako se zavere definišu kao saradnja među moćnicima da bi se postigli zlokobni ciljevi uz pomoć obmane (Adorno, Frenel-Brunsvick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Vood & Grei, 2019), ali je bilo i nekih rezultata koji se razlikuju od ove paradigme. Desničarska autoritarnost je jači prediktor sklonošću kao teorijama zavere koje idu u korist a ne protiv državnih vlasti. Visoki rezultati na skali RWA u snažnoj su korelaciji sa verovanjima da postoje zavere vezane za genetski modifikovanu hranu, klimatske promene, vakcinaciju i evoluciju u Sjedinjenim Državama (Kerr & Vilson, 2021) i, generalno, sa odbacivanjem naučnih saznanja. S obzirom na neodređenost u teoriji smatrali smo da je pametno da testiramo hipotezu da je RWA povezan sa verovanjem u teorije zavere, posebno pošto je usled pandemije COVID-19 nastao veliki broj teorija zavere. Primećeno je da su percipirane opasnosti po društvo kao što je pandemija povećale uticaj RWA na stavove kao što su nacionalizam i antiimigrantsko raspoloženje. Kako se anksioznost zbog pandemije povećava, ona smanjuje ekspresiju RWA u populaciji (Hartman et al., 2021). Tokom trajanja pandemije aktivirali su se određeni aspekti ponašanja, kao što je bihejvioralni imuni sistem koji promoviše izbegavajuće ponašanje, kako bi zaštitio pojedinca od bolesti, a koji ima pozitivnu korelaciju sa društvenim konzervativizmom (Terrizzi, Shook, & McDaniel, 2013).

2. Cilj

Cilj ove studije bio je da se potvrdi verzija RWA skale Zakrisonove (Zakrisson, 2005) i utvrdi odnos RWA stavova i verovanja u teorije zavere i izbegavanje bolesti.

3. Metod

Uzorak se sastojao od 532 učesnika koji su popunili internet anketu koja je slobodno kružila društvenim mrežama u periodu od dve nedelje. Kao žensko izjasnilo se 421 (79,1%) a prosečna starost učesnika bila je 34,4 godine (min = 18; max = 80; SD = 12,31). Što se tiče radnog statusa, 175 ispitanika (32,9%) su studenti, 40 (7,5%) je nezaposleno, 208

(57,9%) je zaposleno, 9 (1,7%) su penzioneri. Osim toga, postavili smo nekoliko pitanja u vezi sa statusom vakcinacije i verovanjima u vezi sa zaverama. Baterija testova sastojala se od skale percipirane podložnosti bolesti (PVD) i skale desničarske autoritarnosti (RWA). U obradi podataka koristili smo metode kao što su deskriptivna statistika, nezavisni uzorak t-test, korelacija, ANOVA, eksplorativna i konfirmatorna faktorska analiza.

U istraživanju smo koristili nekoliko indikatora kako bismo utvrdili da li je predložena struktura dobar fit. Jedna od njih je srednja kvadratna greška aproksimacije (RMSEA). Postavili smo maksimalnu prihvatljivu vrednost na 0,08, dok smo uzeli < 0,05 da odražava dobar fit modela (Browne & Chudeck, 1993). Dalje smo koristili uporedni indeks uklapanja (CFI) i Taker – Luisov indeks (TLI) da odredimo stepen odgovarajućeg fita. Za oba indeksa smatrali smo da vrednosti od najmanje 0,90 ukazuju na prihvatljiv fit modela, dok vrednosti od 0,95 i više predstavljaju zadovoljavajuće rešenje (Bentler, 1990; Tucker & Levis, 1973). Poslednja dva korišćena parametra su Akaike informacioni kriterijum (AIC) i Baisian informacioni kriterijum (BIC), gde su modeli sa nižim AIC-om i BIC-om pokazatelji boljeg fita (Akaike, 1987; Schvarz, 1978).

Skala percipirane podložnosti bolesti (PVD; Duncan, Schaller, & Park, 2009) jeste skala od petnaest ajtema koja se sastoji od dve podskale, percipirane infektivnosti (PI) i averzije klica (GA). Prva podskala se sastoji od sedam („Uopšteno govoreći, veoma sam podložna prehladi, gripu i drugim zaraznim bolestima.“) i druga od osam („Zaista mi smeta kada ljudi kijaju bez pokrivanja usta.“) stavki. Odgovori se daju zaokruživanjem broja na Likertovoj skali od sedam stavki. Skala je uspešno prilagođena srpskom jeziku (Rokvić & Karan, 2021). Unutrašnja konzistentnost za PI skalu je bila dobra, sa Kronbahovom alfa vrednošću od .83, ali za GA podskalu malo zaostaje sa Kronbahovom alfa vrednošću od .7.

Skala desničarske autoritarnosti (RWA; Zakrisson, 2005) jeste skala od petnaest ajtema na kojoj se odgovori daju na skali od sedam poena. Uglavnom se koristi kao kompozitni rezultat, ali ima tri komponente: konvencionalizam („Našoj zemlji su potrebni slobodni mislioci, koji će imati hrabrosti da se suprotstave tradicionalistima, čak i ukoliko

to učini mnoge nezadovoljnim", obrnuti rezultat) koji ima pet ajtema, zatim autoritarna agresivnost („Ukoliko društvo to želi, dužnost je svakog istinskog građanina da pomogne da se elimiše zlo koje truje našu zemlju iznutra") koja se sastoji od četiri ajtema, i autoritarna submisivnost („Bilo bi dobro da su novine cenzurisane kako ljudima ne bi mogao biti dostupan destruktivan i odvratan sadržaj") koji se sastoji od šest ajtema.

4. Rezultati

Prvo smo testirali originalni model RWA Zakrisonove (Zakrisson, 2005) kako bismo videli da li struktura upitnika važi u srpskom prevodu (model 1). Nakon što smo utvrdili da model ne odgovara propisanim kriterijumima, prešli smo na nasumičnu podelu uzorka na dva poduzorka kako bismo izvršili eksploratornu i konfirmatornu faktorsku analizu. U poduzorku 1 (N = 256, učesnice 198 (77,3%) i prosečna starost 34,67 (SD = 12,49)) uradili smo eksploratornu faktorsku analizu (KMO = .818; X^2 (df) = 1048.596 (105); $p < .001$) a rezultati su predstavljeni u Tabeli 2. Kao što vidimo, subskala autoritarne submisivnosti, komponenta 3, zadržala je svoju prvobitnu strukturu, ali postoje promene u drugim i možemo videti dodatnu komponentu koja se odvaja od konvencionalnosti. Iako ima samo dve stavke, njihova opterećenost je bila velika i kada se analizira suština stavki nazvali smo novostvorenu subskalu „cenzura". U drugom poduzorku (256 učesnika, 198 (77,3%) žena, prosečna starost učesnika je 34,67 (SD = 12,49)) nastavili smo dalje da potvrđujemo validnost ovog modela korišćenjem konfirmatorne faktorske analize. Ovaj model iteracije nazivamo 2. Rezultati se mogu videti u Tabeli 1. Takođe, testirali smo iteraciju skale s jednim faktorom na kompletnom uzorku i nazvali ovaj model 3. Dalje smo koristili četvorofaktorski model, tj. model 2 koji je pokazao najbolja metrička svojstva u našim istraživanjima.

Tabela 1: *Indeksi fita modela za konfirmatornu faktorsku analizu RWA.*

	X^2 (df)	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	AIC	BIC
Model 1	423.355 (87)	.835	.801	.085	489.355	630.484
Model 2	168.765 (84)	.922	.903	.061	407.100	371.100
Model 3	826.324 (90)	.639	.578	.124	886.324	1014.623

Tabela 2: *Rezultati eksploratorne faktorske analize na poduzorku 1.*

Ajtem	Komponenta			
	1 – agresivna autoritarnost	2 – konvencionalnost	3 – submisivna autoritarnost	4 – cenzura
RWA13	.858			
RWA1	.732			
RWA11	.703			
RWA15	.699			
RWA3		.726		
RWA9		.687		
RWA5		.644		
RWA10		.635		
RWA6			.750	
RWA2		.307	.646	
RWA14			.618	
RWA4			.609	
RWA8		-.459	.562	
RWA12				.856
RWA7				.851

Deskriptivna statistika na celom uzorku pokazuje da je najveći rezultat detektovan na subskali autoritarne agresivnosti (4,63; SD = 1,45), zatim na podskali cenzure (3,49; SD = 1,83) i na podskali konvencionalnosti (3,10; SD =1,35), a najniži rezultat na podskali autoritarne submisivnosti (2,96; SD = 1,09). Ukupni rezultat iznosi 3,49 (SD = ,95) na skali od 1 do 7. Odgovori na pitanja u vezi sa COVID-19, vakcinacijom i sl. predstavljeni su u Tabeli 3. U Tabeli 4. prikazane su razlike u agresivnoj i submisivnoj autoritarnosti, konvencionalizmu, cenzuri i kompozitnim vrednostima rezultata RWA u pogledu pitanja koja se odnose na teorije zavere i COVID-19. Tabela 5. prikazuje korelacije između merenih konstrukata.

Tabela 3: *Pitanja koja se odnose na teorije zavere i COVID19.*

Pitanja	Da N (%)	Ne N (%)
Da li ste vakcinisani? (Q1)	396 (74,4%)	136 (25,6%)
Da li je COVID-19 rezultat zavere? (Q2)	85 (16%)	447 (84%)
Da li postoji globalna zavera sa ciljem da se kontroliše svetska populacija? (Q3)	226 (42,5%)	306 (57,5%)
Da li je COVID-19 veštački stvoren? (Q4)	225 (42,3%)	307 (57,3%)
Da li postoji međunarodna zavera protiv Srba? (Q5)	92 (17,3%)	440 (82,7%)
Da li verujete medicini kao nauci? (Q6)	485 (91,2%)	47 (8,8%)
Da li koristite alternativnu medicinu? (Q7)	216 (40,6%)	316 (59,4%)

Tabela 4: *Razlike u RWA vrednostima kod pitanja koja se odnose na zavere i COVID-19.*

	Agresivna autoritarnost	Konvencionalnost	Submisivna autoritarnost	Cenzura	RWA ukupno
	Značaj razike između odgovora da i ne (p).				
Q1	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
Q2	$p = .005$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
Q3	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
Q4	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p = .001$
Q5	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
Q6	$p = .339$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p < .001$
Q7	$p < .001$	$p < .001$	$p = .279$	$p < .001$	$p = .007$

Tabela 5: *Korelacije između RWA konstrukata i drugih merenih varijabli, kao što su starost ispitanika, stepen religioznosti, politička orijentacija, poštovanje državnih mera prevencije tokom pandemije COVID-19 i PVD subskale.*

	RWA ukupni skor	Agresivna autoritarnost	Konvencio-nalnost	Submisivna autoritarnost	Cenzura
Izloženost zarazi	-.10*	-	-	-.11*	-
Averzija prema klicama	-	-	-	-	-
Pridržavanje COVID-19 mera	-.18**	-.10*	-.22**	-.13**	-
Stepen religioznosti	.52**	..36**	.61**	.21**	.26**
Politička orijentacija	.41**	.29**	.41**	.32**	.11**
Uzrast ispitanika	-.19**	-	-.15**	-.22**	-.19**

*p < .05; **p < .01

5. Diskusija

Pokazalo se da je adaptacija i upotreba ove skale izazovan zadatak. Iako i Zakrisonova (Zakrisson, 2005) koristi skalu samo kao kompozitni skor, ona je ipak skratila i izmenila ajteme tako da budu jednostruki i time je, zapravo, napravila podskale. Takođe, izvršila je potvrdnu faktorsku analizu kako bi dokazala svoj model. U novijim adaptacijama skale kompozitni skor se uopšte ne upotrebljava (Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010; Dunvoodi & Funke, 2016), te nismo bili sigurni kako da koristimo ovu skalu. S obzirom da početna namera autora nije bila sasvim jasna, odlučili smo da koristimo oba pristupa. Tretirali smo je kao da ima tri podskale i tako je i modelovali, uklanjajući ajteme sve dok nismo postigli odgovarajući fit modela, ali smo u interpretaciji podataka koristili i kompozitni rezultat. S druge strane, iako smo postigli adekvatan fit model koji se uklapa u konfirmatornu faktorsku analizu, shvatili smo da unutrašnja konzistentnost subskala ne odgovara standardima u potpunosti, dok je alfa vrednost na celoj skali odgovarajuća, što dodatno komplikuje stvari.

Zatim smo pokušali da proizvedemo alternativno rešenje na osnovu naših podataka. Uzorak smo podelili da bismo izvršili eksplorativnu faktorsku analizu i odredili broj i sastav faktora otkrivenih ovom analizom. Na naše veliko iznenađenje otkrili smo četiri a ne tri faktora. Bili su prisutni svi tradicionalni faktori, posebno submisivna autoritarnost, ali se kao četvrti faktor pojavio novi faktor vezan za cenzuru. Prisustvo novog faktora pokazuje da učesnici sada cenzuru smatraju društvenim fenomenom odvojenim od tradicionalnih autoritarnih koncepata. Takvi nagoveštaji se možda mogu naći u radu Kostela i saradnika (Costello et al., 2022) koji istražuje levičarsku autoritarnost, a jedan od novootkrivenih konstrukata bila je cenzura odozgo nadole. Možda je posledica vremena u kome živimo i to da sada cenzuru smatramo zasebnom konstrukcijom koju bi trebalo više uzeti u obzir prilikom razmatranja budućih istraživanja u ovoj oblasti.

Evaluaciju modela do kog smo došli u prvom poduzorku izvršili smo putem potvrdne faktorske analize u drugom poduzorku i utvrdili da je adekvatan i da je u skladu s našim postavljenim kriterijumima. Pokazalo se da jednodimenzionalni model ima najnepovoljnije metričke karakteristike, pa je stoga odbačen. Ipak, prema uputstvima autora, uzeli smo u obzir kompozitni skor, jer većina istraživanja i dalje koristi kompozitni skor RWA kao referentnu tačku.

Za procenu nivoa RWA koristili smo suptilniji pristup, što znači da nismo koristili samo kompozitni skor, već smo razmatrali rezultate na nivou podskala. Otkrili smo da je agresivna autoritarnost najizraženija osobina u našem uzorku, za njom sledi cenzura, a najniži skorovi se ostvaruju na submisivnoj autoritarnosti. Ovo donekle odgovara rezultatima ranijih istraživanja (Duckitt & Bizumic, 2013) koji su pokazali da u populaciji postoji niska stopa submisivne autoritarnosti i visoka stopa agresivne autoritarnosti. Ovo poređenje moramo uzeti s rezervom jer su uzorkovanja rađena u razmaku od skoro jedne decenije a korišćena su dva različita instrumenta. Takođe, u pomenutoj studiji uzorak su činili studenti, a u našoj opšta populacija. Ipak, i dalje stoji da su rezultati slični, što nam daje neku predstavu o stabilnosti konstrukta u srpskoj populaciji tokom vremena.

Iako se pokazalo da je RVA nedosledan prediktor sklonosti ka teorijama zavere (Wood & Gray, 2019) i dalje se smatra dobrim prediktorom verovanja u zavere vezane za države i vlade. Pošto su naša pitanja

vezana za zavere u skladu sa pozitivnim stavovima o establišmentu, na primer „Da li postoji globalna zavera sa ciljem da se kontroliše svetska populacija?“, pretpostavili smo da će postojati veza između odgovora na ova pitanja i nivoa RWA. Pitanja su bila formulisana kao pitanja „da/ne“ tako da smo koristili t-test da odredimo statističku značajnost u RWA podskali i nivoima kompozitnih skorova. Bili smo u pravu. Pokazalo se da gotovo polovina stanovništva veruje u teorije zavere vezane za opštu populaciju, COVID-19 ili srpski narod. U samo dva slučaja nije bilo razlike u nivoima RWA, pri čemu su oni koji veruju u zavere imali više nivoe RWA. Kod agresivne autoritarnosti nije bilo varijacija između onih koji veruju u medicinu kao nauku, a kod submisivne autoritarnosti nije bilo razlike između onih koji koriste i ne koriste metode alternativne medicine. To je bilo u skladu sa našim očekivanjima, te rezultati dodatno potvrđuju validnost prevoda.

Međutim, povezanost RWA i percipirane podložnosti bolestima za nas je predstavljala iznenađenje. Ranije je utvrđeno da je bihejvioralni imuni sistem povezan sa društveno konzervativnim uverenjima (Terrizzi, Shook, & McDaniel, 2013) i da je izbegavajuće ponašanje sastavni deo bihejvioralnog imunog sistema (Duncan, Schaller, & Park, 2009). Percipirana podložnost bolestima povezana je sa gađenjem, a to je potvrđeno i u srpskoj populaciji (Rokvić & Karan, 2021), a emocija gađenja je povezana sa političkim konzervativcima (Shook, Ford, & Boggs, 2017). Osim toga, u jednom preglednom radu je nedavno jasno naglašeno da je odnos između izbegavanja bolesti i RWA potvrđen (Osborne, Costello, Duckit, & Sibeli, 2023). Naši nalazi nisu potvrdili pomenutu tvrdnju. Ovo može biti artefakt stanovništva ili kulturna odlika srpskog stanovništva ili možda postoje još veće nijanse autoritarnosti koje ukazuju na to da određene kulturne varijacije RWA mogu, ali ne moraju, biti povezane sa izbegavanjem bolesti. Potrebno je dalje testiranje ove hipoteze, kao i njeno ponovno testiranje na različitim uzorcima srpskog stanovništva kako bismo videli da li možemo da ponovo dobijemo iste rezultate ili su oni artefakt anketirane populacije.

Politička orijentacija (ka levici, odnosno desnici) koju prijavljuju ispitanici očekivano je u značajnoj korelaciji sa desničarskim autoritarizmom. Zanimljivo je da je korelacija daleko slabija nego što smo očekivali na osnovu literature (Rattazzi, Bobbio, & Canova, 2007), što bi moglo

značiti da ispitana populacija nedovoljno razume teorijsku podelu na levicu i desnicu. Cenzura ima veoma nisku korelaciju sa političkom orijentacijom, što može da znači da ova novootkrivena faceta autoritarnosti zapravo nije povezana sa političkom orijentacijom, već je nezavisan faktor. Potrebno je dalje testiranje koncepta cenzure da bi se preciznije utvrdio odnos sa političkom orijentacijom i drugim konstruktima u političkoj psihologiji.

Još jedan zanimljiv nalaz jeste niska negativna korelacija između starosti ispitanika i desničarske autoritarnosti, dok se u dostupnoj literaturi navodi da postoji niska pozitivna korelacija (Hartman et al., 2021). Zanimljivo je da kada se kompozitni skor razloži na podskale ne postoji korelacija između agresivne autoritarnosti i starosti, što možemo tumačiti time da je populacija svih uzrasta zasićena osećajem ugroženosti i da drugi faktori, osim uzrasta (kojima se ova studija ne bavi), određuju nivoe agresivne autoritarnosti. Druge dve facete negativno korespondiraju sa starosnim dobom ispitanika, što se objašnjava društvenim i ideološkim promenama u Srbiji u poslednjih 40 godina: tranzicijom društva iz komunizma u demokratiju, koju su pratili strašni ratovi. Očekivano, ovako burna istorija ostavila je traga na psihi mladih generacija, a to bi mogao biti razlog negativne korelacije između starosti i RWA. Potrebna su dalja istraživanja u oblasti autoritarnosti kako bi se temeljno ispitao ovaj koncept i njegove facete u odnosu na srpski kulturni milje, kao i specifične veze sa determinantnim i drugim faktorima, osnovom ličnosti i odnosom sa drugim relevantnim konstruktima.

6. Zaključak

Skraćena skala RWA, koju je kreirala Zakrisonova (2005), adekvatna je za upotrebu na srpskom jeziku iako u modifikovanoj formi. Objasnili smo prednosti i nedostatke korišćenja podskala u odnosu na korišćenje kompozitnog skora. Budućim istraživačima ostavljamo da odluče na koji način će koristiti ovu skalu. RWA rezultati su veći kod pojedinaca koji veruju u navedene teorije zavere, a najviši kod onih koji veruju da postoji posebna međunarodna zavera protiv Srbije.

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Prilog 1.

Skala desne autoritarnosti (RWA scale)

Pokažite koliko se slažete sa svakom idejom u sledećem upitniku tako što ćete zaokružiti jedan od sledećih brojeva. Molim Vas, uradite upitnik brzo, Vaš prvi instinkt je obično najbolji.

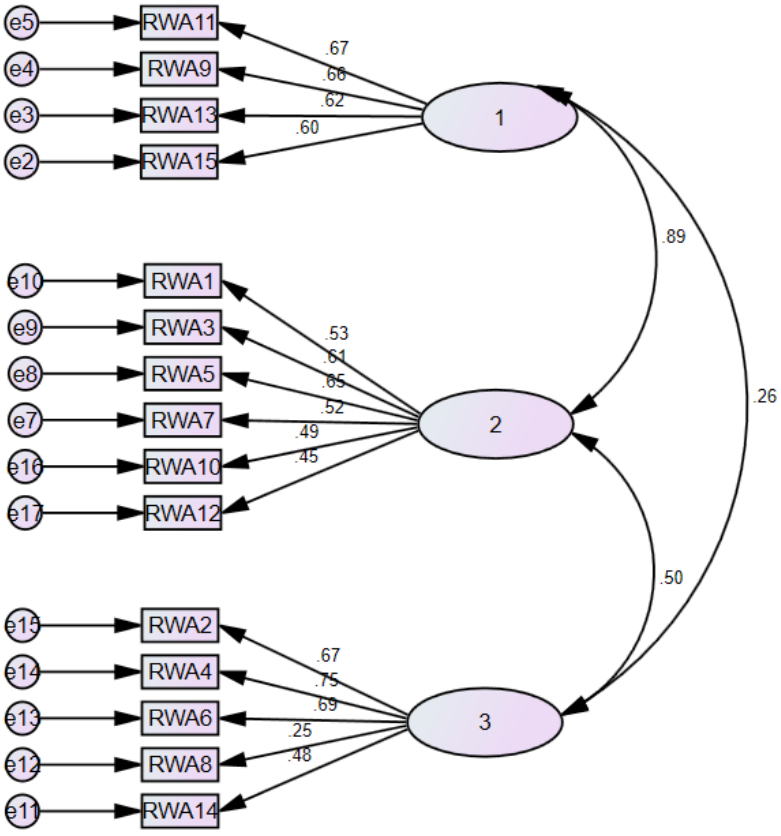
1 – Jako sam protiv 2 – Značajno se ne slažem 3 – Pomalo se ne slažem 4 – Neutralan/na sam

5 – Pomalo se slažem 6 – Dosta se slažem 7 – Potpuno se slažem

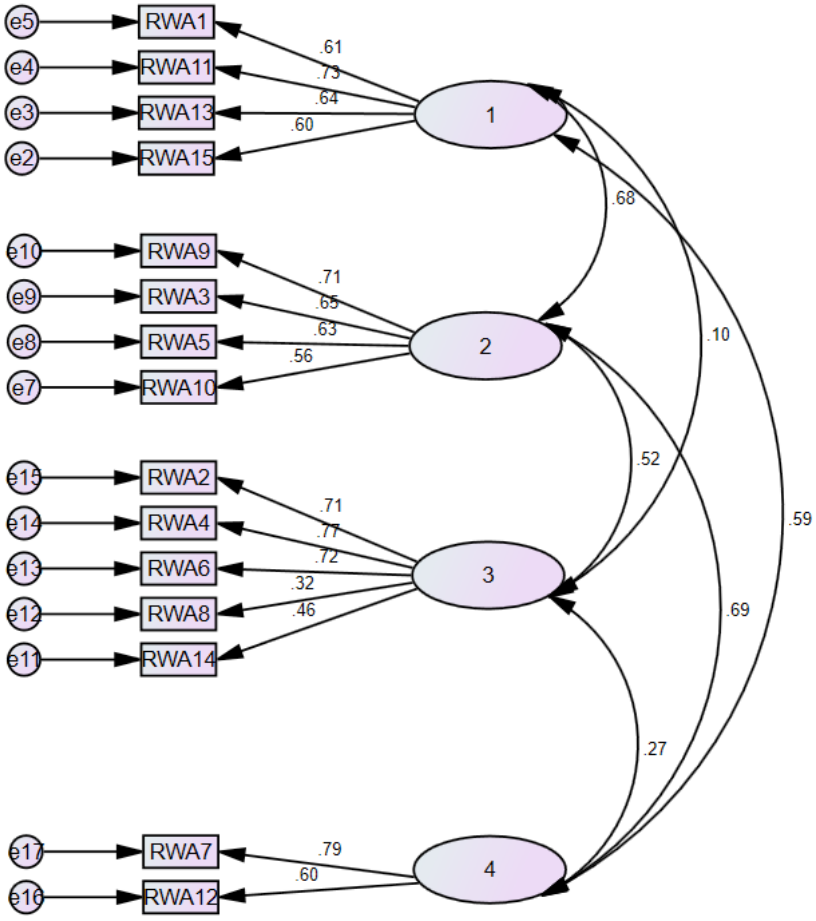
1. Našoj zemlji je potreban snažan vođa koji bi uništio radikalne i nemoralne struje koje postoje u našem društvu danas.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Našoj zemlji su potrebni slobodni mislioci koji će imati hrabrosti da se suprotstave tradicionalistima, čak i ukoliko to učini mnoge nezadovoljnim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Stari način života i stare vrednosti i dalje prestavljaju najbolji način da se živi.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Bilo bi dobro za naše društvo ukoliko bismo pokazali tolerantnost prema neoubičajenim vrednostima i mišljenjima.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Božiji zakoni prema abortusu, pornografiji i braku moraju biti striktno praćeni pre nego što bude prekasno i prekršitelji moraju biti kažnjeni.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Društvo mora da pokaže otvorenost prema ljudima koji misle drugačije umesto vere u jakog lidera, svet, u principu, nije zao i opasan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Bilo bi dobro da su novine cenzurisane kako ljudima ne bi mogao biti dostupan destruktivan i odvratan sadržaj.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Mnogi dobri ljudi dovode u pitanje državnu politiku, kritikuju crkvu i ignorišu „normalan način života“.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9. Treba više odavati čast našim precima zbog načina na koji su stvorili ovo društvo, u isto vreme treba sprečiti one sile koje pokušavaju da ga unište.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Ljudi bi trebalo da obraćaju manje pažnje na Bibliju i religiju, i da stvore svoje sopstvene moralne standarde.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Postoje mnogi radikalni i nemoralni ljudi koji pokušavaju da unište stvari i društvo treba da ih zaustavi.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Bolje je prihvatiti postojanje loše literature nego cenzuru.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Činjenice pokazuju da moramo biti oštriji prema kriminalu i seksualnom nemoralu kako bi se održali red i zakon.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Situacija u društvu danas bi bila bolja da se prema bundžijama ophodimo s razumevanjem i s humanošću.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Ukoliko društvo to želi, dužnost je svakog istinskog građanina da pomogne da se elimiše zlo koje truje našu zemlju iznutra.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

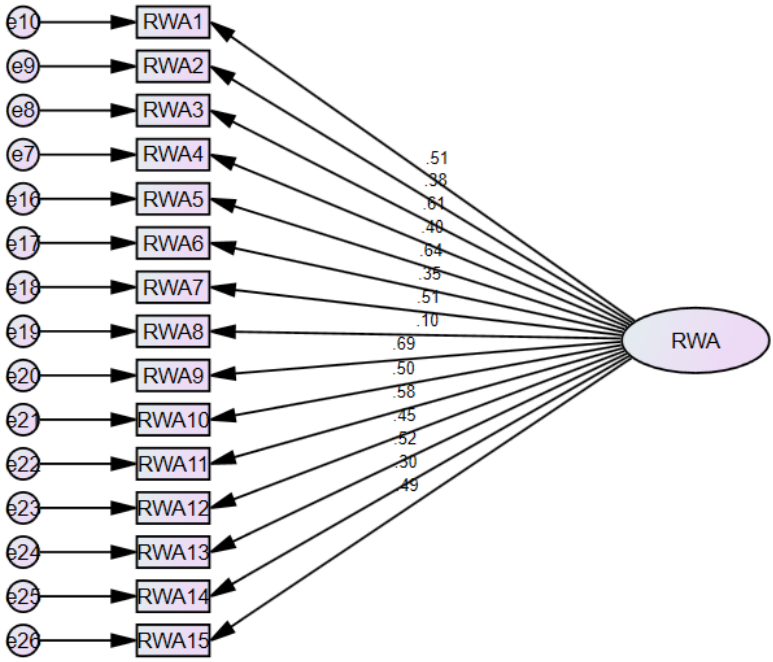
Prilog 2.



Slika 1. Model koji predlaže originalni autor, model 1.



Slika 2. Model koji sugeriše naše istraživanje, model 2.



Slika 3. Jednofaktorski model, model 3.

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MEASURING RIGHT-WING AUTHORITARIANISM, THE SERBIAN ADAPTATION OF THE RIGHT WING AUTHORITARIANISM SCALE (RWA)

Abstract. Over the last 16 years we have seen the rise of right wing authoritarianism across the world giving us new urgency to further study the phenomenon. One of the key issues is measurement of the construct and in our study we attempt to adapt one of the most used scales to the Serbian language. In a large sample of the general population we have attempted to replicate the structure of the questionnaire, ultimately reaching our own solution to the structure problem. We have tested the adaptation against constructs that are deemed relevant such as conspiracy beliefs and disease avoidance to further validate the adaptation and received partial success. Further research on more diverse populations is needed to determine what exactly is the influence of the Serbian cultural background on the authoritarianism construct, its relationship with other constructs and its measurement, but for now we can say that we have reached a satisfactory adaptation of the scale that can be used in further research.

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Key words: Right Wing Authoritarianism, Conservatism, Disease avoidance, Conspiracy, Measurement.

1.1 Introduction

The possibility that a wide range of phenomena, from social, political to intergroup behavior, can be represented as a single dimension of an individual's personality called authoritarianism was first introduced in 1950 (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford). A culmination of their work is the so called F (Fascism) scale that is supposed to measure the right-wing authoritarianism as a personality dimension. From the beginning it was beset by psychometric problems and there were attempts to reconfigure the construct and measure it in a different, more precise instrument such as the Dogmatism (D) scale (Rokeach, 1954) and the Conservatism (C) scale (Wilson, 1973).

A real breakthrough in the measurement of authoritarianism was achieved with seminal work by Altemeyer (1981) who constructed the Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale (RWA). A great body of work has been performed by using this scale over the last four decades. Research has shown that the scale is a significant predictor of certain socio-psychological constructs that are connected to authoritarianism such as religious fundamentalism, aggression, nonconformity and deviance, ethnocentrism and generalized prejudice (Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010). Individuals with low scores on the RWA scale are generally speaking more liberal, leaning towards individual freedoms, self-expression and democracy (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2018). More recently during the COVID19 pandemic the association between RWA and anti-immigrant attitudes and nationalism were influenced by the level of threat from infectious diseases that faced the population in question. (Hartman, et al, 2021).

Following the ideas of Adorno et al. (1950), Altemeyer (1981) constructed the RWA scale based on three of the original concepts proposed by the aforementioned author. The first one is authoritarian aggression that corresponds to concrete aggression that a person wants to direct at individuals and groups that are marked as subversive to the established order by proper authorities. The second one is authoritarian

submission that represents an overall willingness to behave and act in a way prescribed by the proper authorities. The third is conventionalism that represents a strong commitment to uphold traditional values and behavior patterns. Alternatively this three constructs have been called authoritarianism, conservatism and traditionalism (Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010; Duckitt & Bizumic, 2013).

The original concept of the scale was that it had several constructs intertwined into one composite dimension, a personality trait called right-wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1981; Altemeyer, 1988; Altemeyer, 1996). This was achieved by creating complex, long items that are double or even triple barreled. This and the fact that three constructs are measured as a single dimension has caused a lot of criticism from the psychometric point of view (Dunwoody & Funke, 2016). This has led to many attempts to redefine the scale by modifying the structure, re-conceptualizing, reducing the items and creating new single barrel items. Most notably there is a modern need to create short but internally consistent measures to cater to the needs of modern psychological empirical research. One of the more notable early attempts to achieve just this is the one made by Zakrisson (2005). In this attempt the scale has been reduced to 15 items, the items themselves underwent a change. They were remade to be single barrel, and shortened to be single sentence. While there are three subscales, the author uses the scale as a single score, and it has shown expected correlation with the social dominance orientation measures.

With regards to the origins of RWA and social dominance orientation, a closely related phenomenon, there are many theories, from the psychoanalytic (Adorno, Frenel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950), Bandura's social learning (Altemeyer, 1981) to evolutionary (Claessens, Fisher, Chaundhuri, Sibley, & Atkinson, 2020). Also there are genetic underpinnings, the genetic loci that control flexibility in information processing and cognition have some influence in ideological orientation of an individual, and perhaps those loci that regulate fear and anxiety (Hatemi, et al., 2011). The genetic underpinning have been corroborated by a recent twin study that emphasizes RWA heritability over social dominance orientation heritability (Kandler, Bell, & Reimann, 2016). Also a recent twin study has shown that the connections

between RWA and HEXACO model traits honesty and openness to experience are mostly explained by genetic factors (de Vries, Wesseldijk, Karinen, Jern, & Tybur, 2021). These genetic correlates are followed by neurological ones, where there is a report that the anterior cingulate cortex contains more gray matter in individuals who do not have high RWA scores , volume vise, than in the conservatively oriented and that the increase in volume of the right amygdala is associated with conservatism (Kanai, Feilden, Firth, & Rees, 2011).

Right-wing authoritarianism has been inconsistently brought into connection with conspiracy theorizing, if we define conspiracies as collaboration among the powerful to achieve sinister ends through deception and malefaction (Adorno, Frenel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Wood & Gray, 2019), but there have also been some results that differ from this paradigm. RWA is a stronger predictor of pro-, rather than anti-establishment conspiracy theories. High scores on the RWA scales correlate strongly with beliefs about conspiracies surrounding, genetically modified food, climate change, vaccination, and evolution in the United States (Kerr & Wilson, 2021), and in rejection of science in general. Given the ambiguity in the theory we found it prudent to test the hypothesis that RWA is connected to conspiracy theorizing, especially since the COVID19 pandemic has been a source of so many of them. Also it has been noted that perceived threats to the society such as the pandemic have increased the influence or RWA on attitudes such as nationalism and anti-immigrant sentiment. As anxiety about the pandemic increases, it moderates the expression of RWA in the population (Hartman et al., 2021). Finally the ongoing pandemic has placed into focus certain aspects of behavior, the behavioral immune system, that promotes avoidant behavior in order to protect the individual from disease, and that is positively connected to social conservatism (Terrizzi, Shook, & McDaniel, 2013).

2.1 Aim

The aim of this study was to validate the Zakrisson (2005) version of the RWA scale, and determine the relationship of RWA attitudes with conspiracy theories beliefs and disease avoidant behavior.

3.1 Method

The sample consisted out of 532 participants that have filled-in the internet survey that circulated freely on social networks for a period of two weeks. Out of them, 421 (79.1%) have declared themselves as female and the average age of the participant was 34.4 (min = 18; max=80; SD=12.31). With regards to the employment status 175 (32.9%) are students, 40 (7.5%) are unemployed, 208(57.9%) are employed, 9(1.7%) are retired. Other than this we have asked several questions regarding vaccination status and beliefs regarding conspiracies. The battery of tests consisted out of the Perceived Vulnerability to Disease (PVD) Scale and the Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Scale. In processing data we used the methods such as descriptive statistics, independent sample *t*-test, correlation, ANOVA, exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis.

In our procedure we have used several indicators of that allow us to determent if the proposed structure is good fit. One of them is the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). We placed the maximum acceptable value at .08, while we took <0.05 to reflect a good model fit (Browne & Chudeck, 1993). Further we used the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) in order to determine the goodness of fit. For both indexes we considered values of at least 0.90 to indicate an acceptable model fit, while values of 0.95 and above represent a good solution (Bentler, 1990; Tucker & Lewis, 1973). The last two parameters we used were the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and the Baysian Information Criterion (BIC) where models with lower AIC and BIC are considered to be indicators of better model fit (Akaike, 1987; Schwarz, 1978).

Perceived Vulnerability to Disease Scale (PVD; Duncan, Schaller, & Park, 2009) is a 15 item scale consisting out of two subscales, Perceived Infectability (PI) and Germ Aversion (GA). The first subscale consist out of seven ("In general, I am very susceptible to colds, flu and other infectious diseases.") and the second out of eight ("It really bothers me when people sneeze without covering their mouths.") items. The item responses are measured on a seven item Likert scale. The scale has been successfully adapted to the Serbian language (Rokvic & Karan, 2021). Internal consistency for the PI scale was good, with the Cron-

bach's alpha value of .83, but for the GA subscale it is a bit lagging with a Cronbah alpha value of .7.

Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWA; Zakrisson, 2005) is a 15 item scale where responses are measured on a seven point scale. It mostly uses as a composite score but it has three components. One of them is conventionalism ("Our country needs free thinkers who will have the courage to stand up against traditional ways, even if this upsets many people", reverse scored) that has five items, then there is authoritarian aggression ("If the society so wants, it is the duty of every true citizen to help eliminate the evil that poisons our country from within") consisting out of four items, and finally authoritarian submission ("It would be best if newspapers were censored so that people would not be able to get hold of destructive and disgusting material") consisting of six items.

4.1 Results

First we tested the original model for RWA provided by Zakrisson (2005) in order to see if the structure of the questionnaire holds in the Serbian translation (model 1). After determining that the model does not fit the proscribed criteria, we have proceeded to proceeded to randomly split the sample into two subsamples in order to perform exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis on them. In subsample 1 (N=256, female participants 198(77.3%) and average age 34.67 (SD=12.49)) we have performed exploratory factor analysis (KMO=.818; X^2 (df)=1048.596(105); p<.001) and the results are presented in Table 2. As we can see the subscale authoritarian submission, component 3, has kept its original structure, but there are changes in others and we can see an additional component detaching itself from conventionalism. Although it only has two items, their loading were high and when analyzing the substance of the items we have called the newly minted subscale censorship. We proceeded to further confirm the validity of this model in the second subsample (256 participants, 198 (77.3%) female, average age of the participant is 34.67 (SD=12.49)) by using confirmatory factor analysis. We call this iteration model 2. The results can be found in Table 1. We have also tested a single factor iteration of the scale on the

complete sample and called this model 3. In our further investigations we used the four factor model, in other words model 2 that showed the best metric properties in our investigations.

Table 1. *Model fit indices for confirmatory factor analysis of the RWA*

	X^2 (df)	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	AIC	BIC
Model 1	423.355 (87)	.835	.801	.085	489.355	630.484
Model 2	168.765 (84)	.922	.903	.061	407.100	371.100
Model 3	826.324 (90)	.639	.578	.124	886.324	1014.623

Table 2. Results of the exploratory factor analysis on subsample 1

Item	Component			
	1 – aggressive authoritarianism	2 – conventionalism	3 – submissive authoritarianism	4 – censorship
RWA13	.858			
RWA1	.732			
RWA11	.703			
RWA15	.699			
RWA3		.726		
RWA9		.687		
RWA5		.644		
RWA10		.635		
RWA6			.750	
RWA2		.307	.646	
RWA14			.618	
RWA4			.609	
RWA8		-.459	.562	
RWA12				.856
RWA7				.851

With regards to descriptive statistics, calculated on the entire sample, the highest score was detected on the Authoritarian aggression subscale (4.63; SD=1.45) then on the Censorship subscale (3.49; SD=1.83) then on the Conventionalism subscale (3.10; SD=1.35) and finally the lowest score was on the Authoritarian submission subscale (2.96; SD=1.09) with the total score of 3.49 (SD=.95) on a scale of 1 to

7. Answers to questions regarding COVID19, vaccination status and other similar queries can be found in table 3. The differences in aggressive and submissive authoritarianism, conventionalism, censorship and the composite RWA score values with regards to questions relating to conspiracy theories and COVID19 are found in table 4. Correlations between the measured constructs are found in table 5.

Table 3. *Conspiracy and COVID19 related questions.*

Question	Yes N(%)	No N(%)
Are you vaccinated? (Q1)	396 (74.4%)	136 (25.6%)
Is COVID19 a conspiracy? (Q2)	85 (16%)	447 (84%)
Is there a global conspiracy aiming at controlling the world's population? (Q3)	226 (42.5%)	306 (57.5%)
Is COVID19 an artificial creation? (Q4)	225 (42.3%)	307 (57.3%)
Is there an international conspiracy against Serbia? (Q5)	92 (17.3%)	440 (82.7%)
Do you believe in medicine as a science? (Q6)	485 (91.2%)	47 (8.8%)
Do you use alternative medicine methods? (Q7)	216 (40.6%)	316 (59.4%)

Table 4. *Differences in RWA construct values with regards to conspiracy and COVID 19 related questions*

	Aggressive authoritarianism	Conventionalism	Submissive authoritarianism	Censorship	RWA total
	Significance of the difference between yes and no answers to the questions (p).				
Q1	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001
Q2	p=.005	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001
Q3	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001
Q4	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001	p=.001
Q5	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001
Q6	p=.339	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001	p<.001
Q7	p<.001	p<.001	p=.279	p<.001	p=.007

Table 5. *Correlation between RWA constructs and other measured variables such as participant age, degree of participant religious beliefs, participant political orientation, participant adherence to government measures against COVID19 and PVD subscales.*

	RWA total score	Aggressive authoritarianism	Conventionalism	Submissive authoritarianism	Censorship
Personal Infectability	-.10*	-	-	-.11*	-
Germ Aversion	-	-	-	-	-
COVID19 measures adherence	-.18**	-.10*	-.22**	-.13**	-
Degree of religiosity	.52**	..36**	.61**	.21**	.26**
Political orientation	.41**	.29**	.41**	.32**	.11**
Participant age	-.19**	-	-.15**	-.22**	-.19**

*p<.05; **p<.01

5.1 Discussion

The adaptation and usage of this scale has proved to be a challenge. Although Zakrisson (2005) herself is using the scale only as a composite score, she did shorten and change the items so that they are single barrel thusly in effect creating subscales. Also she performed confirmatory factor analysis in order to prove her model. More recent adaptations of the scale abandoned the use of a composite score altogether (Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010; Dunwoody & Funke, 2016), therefore we were left with a question of how to use this scale. Given that the initial intent of the author was not completely clear we have decided to use both approaches. We have treated it as if it had three subscales and modeled it so, removing items until they achieved adequate model fit, but in data interpretation we have also used the composite score. On the other hand, although we have reached adequate model fit in confirmatory factor analysis, the internal consistency of the subscales is not

completely up to standard but the alpha value on the whole scale is, and this furthers our predicament.

This is when we tried to come up with an alternative solution based on our data. We have split the sample in order to perform exploratory factor analysis and determine the number and composition of factors detected by this analysis. Much to our surprise we have detected four not three factors. All the traditional factors were present in essence especially authoritarian submission, but a new factor that was connected to censorship has emerged as the fourth factor. This is a novelty telling us that participants now regard censorship as a societal phenomenon detached from traditional authoritarian concepts that it was considered to be a part of. An inkling of this can perhaps be found in the work of Costello et al (2022). They examined left wing authoritarianism and one of the construct detected was top down censorship. Perhaps this is a sign of the age that censorship is now considered a separate construct that should be taken more into account when considering future research in this area.

We have tested the model arrived at in the first subsample by performing confirmatory factor analysis in the second subsample and found that it was adequate and up to our set criteria. The unidimensional model proved to have the least favorable metric characteristics, so it was discarded. Never the less as per author instructions we have taken the composite score into account because most of the research still uses the composite score on the RWA as a reference point.

In estimating the levels of RWA we used a more nuanced approach, meaning that we did not just use the composite score, but have considered the results at the level of subscales. Looking at this we found that Aggressive authoritarianism is by far the most pronounced trait in our sample followed by censorship and the lowest scores are on submissive authoritarianism. This is somewhat in line with earlier findings (Duckitt & Bizumic, 2013) that have shown the population low on submissive authoritarianism and high on aggressive authoritarianism. We must take this comparison with a grain of salt though, because the sampling is almost a decade apart, two different instruments were used and as we sampled the general population the aforementioned study used

a population of students. Nevertheless it still stands that the results are similar giving us some idea of the stability of the constructs over time in the Serbian population.

Although RWA has been shown to be an inconsistent predictor of conspiracy related thinking (Wood & Gray, 2019), it is still considered to be a good predictor of what is considered establishment related conspiracies. Since our conspiracy related questions can be considered to be in line with a pro-establishment line, for example is there a global conspiracy aiming at controlling the world population, we hypothesized that there would be a relationship between the answers to these questions and RWA levels. The questions were phrased in a yes or no manner so we used the *t*-test to determine the statistical significance in RWA subscale and composite score levels. We were not disappointed. Almost half of the population had some kind of conspiracy beliefs, either regarding the general population, COVID19 of in fact against the Serbian people themselves. In only two cases there was no difference in RWA levels with those believing in conspiracies having higher RWA levels. Aggressive authoritarianism did not vary between those believing in medicine as a science and Submissive authoritarianism showed no difference between those using and not using alternative medicine methods. This is in line with expectations and the results give further credence to the validity of the translation.

What however was surprising was the relationship between RWA and perceived vulnerability to disease. It has been established that the behavioral immune system is linked with socially conservative beliefs (Terrizzi, Shook, & McDaniel, 2013) and that avoidant behavior is an integral part of the behavioral immune system (Duncan, Schaller, & Park, 2009). Perceived vulnerability to disease is connected to disgust, and this is confirmed in the Serbian population (Rokvić & Karan, 2021), and the emotion of disgust has been connected to political conservatives (Shook, Ford, & Boggs, 2017). In addition, a recent theoretical review has clearly stated the relationship between disease avoidance and RWA is well established (Osborne, Costello, Duckit, & Sibely, 2023). Our findings did not corroborate the abovementioned assertion. Why is this we are not entirely sure, this could be an artefact of the population or a cultural distinction of the Serbian population, or perhaps there are even

further subtleties in authoritarianism that indicate that particular cultural flavors of RWA may or may not be connected to disease avoidance. At present further testing of this hypothesis is needed and retesting in different facets of the Serbian population itself to see if we can replicate these findings or are they an artefact of the population surveyed.

As expected, self-reported political orientation (left or right) highly correlated with right-wing authoritarianism. That is interesting is that the strength of the correlation is far lower than literature has lead us to expect (Rattazzi, Bobbio, & Canova, 2007). This could mean that the surveyed population does not have a clear enough understanding of the theoretical division on the left and right. Also what is interesting is that censorship had a very low correlation with political orientation. This could mean that this newly detected facet of authoritarianism is in fact not related to political orientation but is a thing in itself. Further testing of the censorship concept is needed to determine its precise relationship with political orientation and other constructs in political psychology.

What we find very interesting is the low negative correlation between age and right-wing authoritarianism, when the available literature suggests low positive correlation (Hartman et al., 2021). What is also interesting is that when the composite score is broken down to subscales there is no correlation between aggressive authoritarianism and age. This can be interpreted that the population is saturated by the sense of threat all across the age groups and that other factors than age direct the levels of aggressive authoritarianism that have not been researched in this study. Other two facets correspond negatively with age and this could be explained by social and ideological changes in Serbian in the last 40 years with a change from communism to democracy that has been marred by several terrible wars. Such turbulent recent history has left a mark on the psyche of young generations, as one might expect considering the circumstances, and this might be the reason for a negative correlation between age and RWA. Further research in the field of Authoritarianism is needed to thoroughly understand the concept and its facets with regards to the Serbian cultural milieu and to understand its distinct connections with determining and contributing factors, personality basis and relationship with other relevant constructs.

6.1 Conclusion

The RWA short scale created by Zakrisson (2005) is viable to use in the Serbian language, albeit in a modified capacity. We have explained the pros and cons of using the subscales versus using the composite score and we leave it to future researchers' discretion to make the choice how to use this scale. RWA scores are higher in individuals that subscribe to all of the tested conspiracy scenarios, and highest in those that believe that there is a specific international conspiracy against Serbia.

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Appendix 1.

Skala desne autoritarnosti (RWA scale)

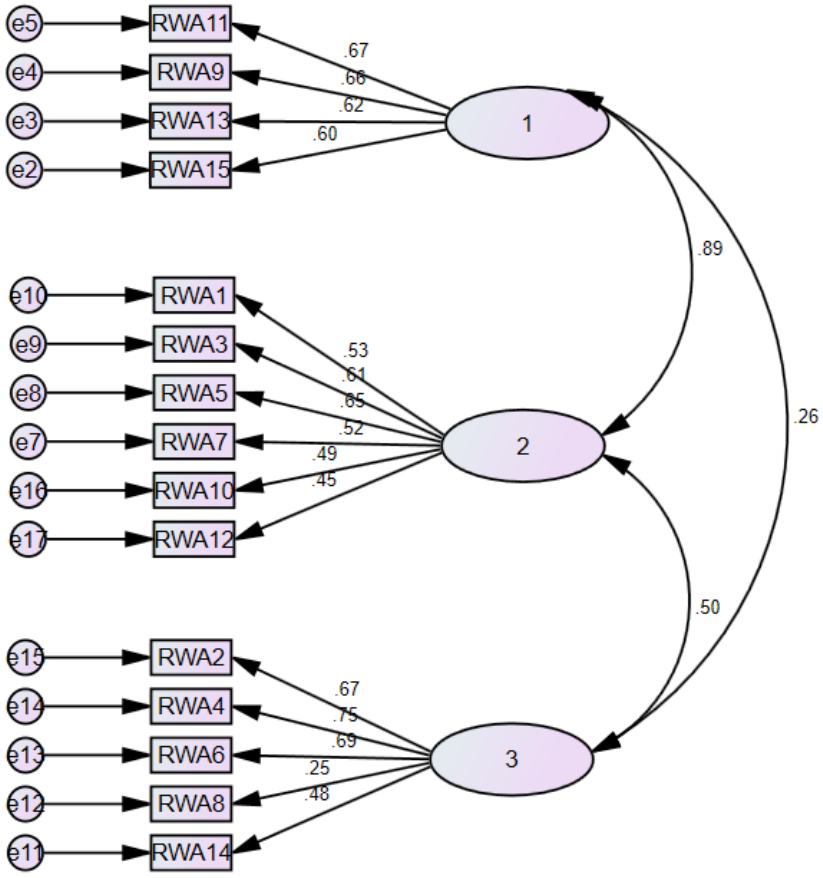
Pokažite koliko se slažete sa svakom idejom u sledećem upitniku tako što ćete zaokružiti jedan od sledećih brojeva. Molim Vas uradite upitnik brzo vaš prvi instinkt je obično najbolji.

1 – Jako sam protiv 2 – Značajno se ne slažem 3 – Pomalo se ne slažem 4 – Neutralan/na sam 5 – Pomalo se slažem 6 – Dosta se slažem 7 – Potpuno se slažem

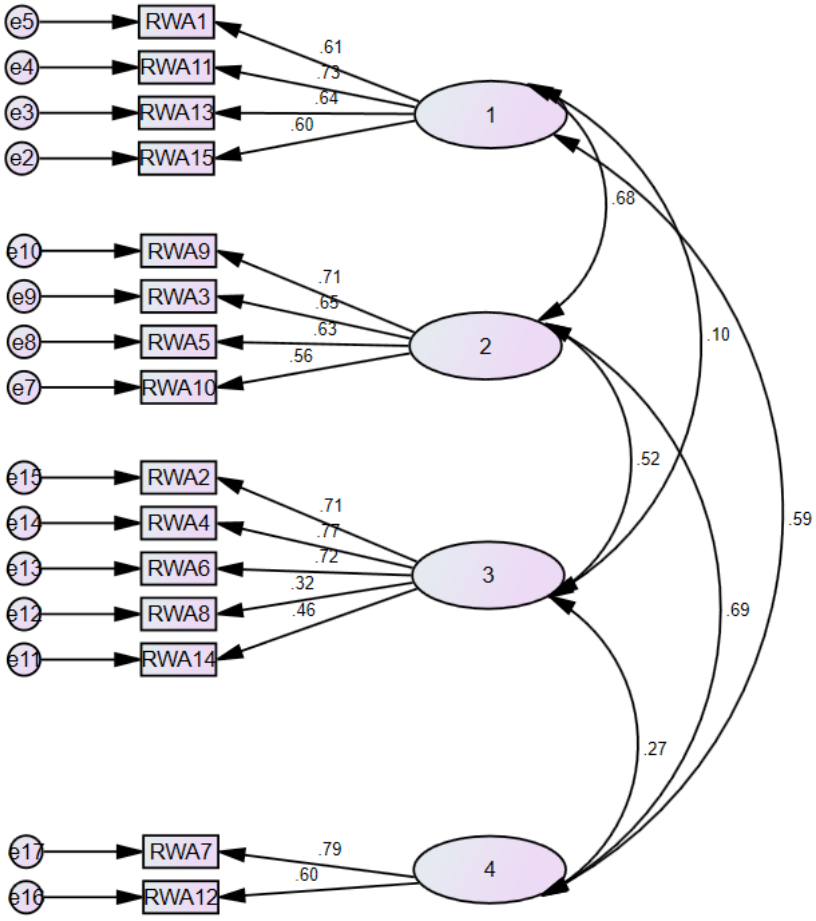
1. Našoj zemlji je potreban snažan vođa koji bi uništio radikalne i nemoralne struje koje postoje u našem društvu danas.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Našoj zemlji su potrebni slobodni mislioci, koji će imati hrabrosti da se suprotstave tradicionalistima, čak i ukoliko to učini mnoge nezadovoljnim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Stari način života i stare vrednosti i dalje prestavljaju najbolji način da se živi.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Bilo bi dobro za naše društvo ukoliko bismo pokazali tolerantnost prema neoubičajenim vrednostima i mišljenjima.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. Božiji zakoni prema abortusu, pornografiji i braku moraju biti striktno praćeni pre nego što bude prekasno, i prekršitelji moraju biti kažnjeni.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Društvo mora da pokaže otvorenost prema ljudima koji misle drugačije umesto vere u jakog lidera, svet u principu nije zao i opasan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Bilo bi dobro da su novine cenzurisane kako ljudima ne bi mogao biti dostupan destruktivan i odvratan sadržaj.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Mnogi dobri ljudi dovode u pitanje državnu politiku, kritikuju crkvu i ignorišu "normalan način života".	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Treba više odavati čast našim precima zbog načina na koji su stvorili ovo društvo, u isto vreme trebamo sprečiti one sile koje pokušavaju da ga unište.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Ljudi bi trebalo da obraćaju manje pažnje na Bibliju i religiju, i da stvore svoje sopstvene moralne standard.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Postoje mnogi radikalni i nemoralni ljudi koji pokušavaju da unište stvari, i društvo treba da ih zaustavi.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Bolje je prihvatiti postojanje lose liverature nego cenzuru.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Činjenice pokazuju da moramo biti oštriji prema kriminalu I seksualnom nemoralu, kako bi se održali red i zakon.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Situacija u društvu danas bi bila bolja da se prema bundžijama ophodimo sa razumevanjem i humanošću.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Ukoliko društvo to želi, dužnost je svakog istinskog građanina da pomogne da se elimiše zlo koje truje našu zemlju iznutra.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

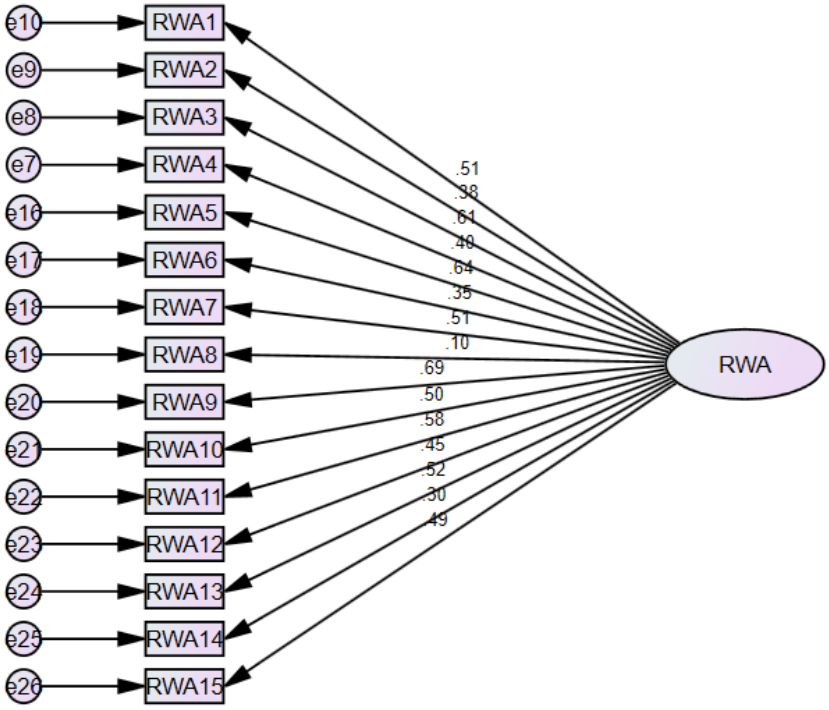
Appendix 2.



Graph 1. The model proposed by the original author, model 1.



Graph 2. The model proposed by our examinations, model 2.



Graph 3. The single factor model, model 3.

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PREDSTAVLJANJE U LOKALNOJ POLITICI U SRBIJI – NEJASNE GRANICE I PLURALNE ULOGE[2]

Rezime: U ovom tekstu razmatram na koji način izabrani i neizabrani predstavnici razumeju svoju ulogu u specifičnim okolnostima lokalne politike u Srbiji. Oslanjajući se na Kinov koncept nadgledajuće demokratije (*monitory democracy*), koji naglašava pomeranje od predstavljanja ka nadziranju, i Sejvardovo konstruktivističko razumevanje predstavljanja, pokazujem na koji način akteri pokušavaju da unaprede svoj položaj u centralizovanom, personalizovanom i semi-autoritarnom političkom okruženju. Nalazi istraživanja pokazuju da se i izabrani i neizabrani predstavnici sve više orijentišu na nadzornu i kontrolnu funkciju, te da su njihovi odnosi sa građanima često neformalni. Deo aktera, prvenstveno iz polja civilnog društva, koristi taktiku igranja više uloga kako bi poboljšao svoju poziciju i ostvario svoje i interese grupa koje predstavlja.

Ključne reči: *predstavljanje, Srbija, lokalna samouprava, nadgledajuća demokratija, civilno društvo*.

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1. Uvod

Veza između građana i donosilaca političkih odluka jedan je od osnovnih kvaliteta demokratije. U modernim konceptima demokratije akcenat razmatranja je najčešće na procesu artikulacije interesa, te njegovom prenošenju u institucije, i na uticaju na donete odluke (Lajphart, 2003), ali dolazi i do promene fokusa ka nadziranju i kontroli političkih, ali i društvenih i ekonomskih centara moći (Diamond, 2008). Ova promena je rezultat ekonomskog razvoja i političkog konsenzusa, te smanjenih ideoloških razlika koje su obeležile politiku u razvijenim demokratijama na prelazu iz 20. u 21. vek (Katz & Mair, 1995). Paralelno se razvija pluralno polje civilnog društva i društvenih pokreta, ali i čitav niz privremenih i povremenih aktera koji u javnosti zagovaraju određene stavove i interese. Ove aktere razumemo kao predstavnike uprkos odsustvu formalnog legitimiteta (nisu izabrani).

Iako su ove promene karakteristične za zemlje stabilnih postindustrijskih demokratija, navedeni trendovi se prelivaju i u tranzicione, mlade demokratije. Tako se, nasuprot stabilnosti, zbog koje se na Zapadu fokus prebacuje na nadgledanje, u Istočnoj Evropi nadgledanje i kontrola moći razumeju i kao način da se nove demokratske institucije dodatno ojačaju. Takođe, nedostatak legitimiteta izabranih predstavnika i populistički narativi otvaraju prostor za nove, ne-partijske lidere i aktere koji politiku shvataju na drugačiji, provokativniji i performativniji način. Sve ovo u zbiru vodi ka određenoj konvergenciji starih i tranzicionih demokratija i njihovih političkih praksi.

U ovom tekstu razmatram na koji način se razume predstavnička uloga u Srbiji u specifičnim okolnostima koje karakterišu period od dolaska SNS na vlast u Srbiji, sa posebnim fokusom na politiku na nivou lokalnih samouprava. Pod specifičnim okolnostima podrazumevam niz povezanih karakteristika koje proizilaze iz načina na koji SNS upravlja državom. Pre svega reč je o umanjenju kvaliteta demokratije (Levitsky & Way, 2020) koje podrazumeva otežan rad predstavnika građana kroz sužen institucionalni i medijski prostor, koncentraciju moći u rukama predsednika države nasuprot egzekutivnoj i legislativnoj grani vlasti, te marginalizaciju civilnog društva na nacionalnom nivou (Vuković 2020; Tepavac, 2020). Iako se otežani rad pre svega odnosi na opozicione

predstavnike, može se pretpostaviti da autoritarne tendencije umanjuju i kapacitet predstavnika koji predstavljaju stranke većine. Ove karakteristike se razvijaju u već uspostavljenom centralizovanom uređenju sa elementima partokratije (Orlović, 2009); sa druge strane, politiku u Srbiji već odavno karakteriše izuzetno nisko poverenje u politiku, političare i institucije (Stojiljković, 2019). Svi ovi trendovi dodatno su ojačani nizom kriza (ekonomska, migrantska itd.) koje su rezultirale stabilokratskim okvirom (Bieber, 2018) koji je svoj puni kapacitet ostvario tokom pandemije Kovid-19 kroz autoritarne tendencije i ugrožavanje pluralizma (Petrović, 2020).

Imajući sve ovo u vidu, u ovom tekstu istraživački fokus pomeramo na lokalnu politiku sa ciljem da utvrdimo kako predstavnici razumeju svoju ulogu, naročito u kontekstu visoke personalizacije i naglašene uloge lidera koji „pokrivaju" nacionalnu politiku. Osnovna radna pretpostavka jeste da su na lokalnom nivou manje razlike između aktera, da su nešto uticajnije grupe građana koje dolaze iz polja civilnog društva, ali i stranaka opozicije, te lokalni pokreti i inicijative. Ovakvim pristupom se dodatno osvetljava nivo politike koji nije dovoljno istražen u Srbiji.

Empirijski podaci koje koristim prikupljeni su kroz 75 dubinskih polustrukturiranih intervjua sa izabranim i neizabranim predstavnicima (pod neizabranim predstavnicima se podrazumevaju predstavnici organizacija civilnog društva, aktivisti i predstavnici neformalnih grupa) od kojih je najveći deo aktivan u lokalnoj politici ili je bar delom karijere bio vezan za lokalni nivo. Neki od sagovornika su bili na više funkcija istovremeno (npr. odbornici i narodni poslanici) ili su tokom karijere obavljali različite funkcije (npr. prvo su bili građanski aktivisti da bi nakon toga bili izabrani na funkciju odbornika). Ovo je naročito bitno u kontekstu političkih okolnosti u vreme sprovođenja istraživanja, a pre svega bojkota izbora 2020. od strane većeg broja opozicionih stranaka, jer su mnoge lokalne skupštine bile bez ijednog predstavnika opozicije. Intervjui su sprovedeni u periodu od septembra 2020. godine do juna 2022. godine u 16 opština i gradova u Srbiji, uz vođenje računa o ravnomernoj teritorijalnoj zastupljenosti različitih delova zemlje (uključujući i etničku strukturu stanovništva), o zastupljenosti naselja različite veličine i adekvatnom balansu između predstavnika vlasti i opozicije.

U prvom delu rada izložiću osnovne teorijske koncepte koji će biti korišćeni u analizi, a zatim ukratko predstaviti osnovne dimenzije političkog konteksta koji određuju predstavljanje u Srbiji, nakon čega sledi analiza nalaza o političkom predstavljanju i diskusija o rezultatima.

2. Teorijski okvir problema

Predstavljanje je velika tema u političkim naukama. Obuhvata brojna pitanja koja, između ostalog, uključuju odnos predstavnika i predstavljenih, osnov legitimiteta predstavnika, ulogu predstavnika u političkom sistemu i pitanje odgovornosti predstavnika. Ova pitanja postavljaju se u kontekstu izabranih i formalnih predstavnika koji dolaze iz političkih partija i državnih institucija, ali i kada govorimo o civilnom društvu i polju neizabranih, neformalnih, privremenih i/ili povremenih predstavnika.

U ovom tekstu posmatram reprezentaciju kroz dva zanimljiva i komplementarna pristupa. S jedne strane, koristim koncept tzv. nadgledajuće demokratije (*monitory democracy*) Džona Kina (John Keane), koji naglašava povećanje pažnje usmerene na nadzornu i kontrolnu funkciju savremenih demokratija i smanjenje fokusa na formalne predstavničke institucije, izbore i izborne procese i otvaranje prostora za neformalne i neizabrane predstavnike. Sa druge strane oslanjam se na Majkla Sejvarda (Michael Saward) koji predstavljanje posmatra kroz konstruktivistički pristup i naglašava njegovu fluidnost, performativnost i mogućnost adaptacije kroz promene oblika predstavljanja u zavisnosti od publike. Obe koncepcije naglašavaju pomeranje predstavljanja od klasične birači – izbori – parlament logike ka neformalnom, vaninstitucionalnom, multidimenzionalnom razumevanju reprezentacije.

Prvi koncept na koji se oslanjam jeste Kinova ideja o nadgledajućoj demokratiji (*monitory democracy*), kao sve važnijoj formi demokratije. Njegov osnovni argument jeste pomeranje sa predstavljanja ka nadziranju (Keane, 2011). Ovde je reč o temeljnoj promeni u, pre svega, starim demokratijama, koja obeležava prelazak iz 20. u 21. vek. Kako to i Flinders tvrdi, reč je o tranziciji od reprezentativne ka nadzirućoj demokratiji koja odslikava pomeranje pažnje sa obezbeđivanja dobara od strane izabrane vlasti na kontrolisanje, posmatranje i nadziranje politi-

čara i procesa donošenja odluka zasnovanog na ideji da se političarima ne sme verovati (Flinders, 2011, str. 607).

Kin smatra da je nadgledajuća demokratija doba javnomnjenskih istraživanja, fokus grupa, deliberativnih javnosti i istraživanja zadovoljstva publike (Keane, 2011), što sve omogućava da se različita mišljenja jasnije čuju. Pluralizam glasova indirektno utiče i na razumevanje uloge predstavljanja nasuprot klasičnom razumevanju oslonjenom na ideju jedan glas – jedan interes – jedan predstavnik (gde se konceptualno podrazumeva da birač ima jedan dominantni identitet iz kog proizilazi njegova partijska afilijacija i/ili izborno ponašanje), dolazimo do ideje „jedna osoba, mnogo interesa, mnogo glasova, mnogo predstavnika". Zbog svega ovoga Kin naglašava ulogu neizabranih predstavnika (uključujući i poznate ličnosti koje određenim političkim pitanjima daju dodatnu vidljivost), čime se približava uticajnim teoretičarima reprezentacije koji posmatraju predstavljanje u znatno širem okviru od formalnih predstavničkih institucija.

Jedan od takvih pristupa je i Sejvardov (Saward, 2014) konstruktivistički zaokret koji podrazumeva aktivan proces konstruisanja socijalnih odnosa između predstavljenih i predstavnika. Predstavljanje se razume kao proces tokom kojeg se uspostavlja odnos između grupa i predstavnika. Sejvard naglašava performativnost ovog procesa i akcenat stavlja na iznošenje predstavničkih tvrdnji (*representative claims*) i pozicioniranje predstavnika koje ima za cilj da obezbedi pristanak predstavljenih. Istovremeno, tokom ovog procesa, može dolaziti i do stvaranja (grupnih) identiteta onih koje predstavnik tvrdi da predstavlja, čime se obe „strane" predstavljanja razumeju na fluidan način. Ovo se dobro vidi i kroz koncept promene oblika (tzv. *shape sfiting*). Naime, Sejvard ukazuje na mogućnost predstavnika da menjaju svoje uloge i način na koji se obraćaju publikama: „Predstavnik je politički akter koji tvrdi (ili za koga se tvrdi) da predstavlja kroz strateško oblikovanje svoje ličnosti i politiku za konkretne ciljne grupe i publike" (Saward, 2014, str. 723). Sejvard naglašava da nemaju svi jednaku mogućnost prilagođavanja, niti da se svi predstavnici odlučuju na ovakve taktike. Promena pristupa je najčešće ishod političke situacije, karakteristika predstavnika i njegove procene situacije. Oslanjanje na predstavničke tvrdnje olakšava i razmatranje neizabranih predstavnika u koje, pored predstavnika civilnog društva,

Sejvard ubraja i stručnjake i eksperte koji se pojavljuju u javnom prostoru, te neizabrane aktere poput monarha ili verskih lidera.

3. Politički kontekst u Srbiji

Politički kontekst koji određuje predstavljanje na lokalnom nivou ima nekoliko ključnih elemenata. S jedne strane, reč je o institucionalnim faktorima koji određuju nadležnosti lokalnih aktera – lokalnih samouprava i institucija, kao i način izbora lokalnih predstavnika. Ovaj pravni okvir je relativno nepromenljiv poslednjih godina, a pre svega nakon izmena način izbora gradonačelnika iz 2007. godine kada se prešlo na skupštinsko biranje naspram dotadašnjeg direktnog izbora.

Drugi krug faktora proizilazi iz institucionalnog dizajna, ali je osnažen političkom praksom i političkom kulturom. Tu, pre svega, mislim na ustrojstvo najvažnijih aktera – političkih partija, i na njihovu centralizovanu organizaciju. Istraživanja jasno pokazuju da su partije organizovane oko neospornih lidera, da su centralizovane i da lokalni odbori ne uživaju skoro nikakav stepen autonomije (Kovačević, 2022), čak ni u odnosu na stvari za koje bi bilo očekivano da je imaju – izbor koalicionih partnera ili kandidata za lokalne izbore. Zbog svega ovoga lokalne kampanje se retko vode sa lokalnim temama, već se oslanjaju na lidere stranaka i njihovu popularnost (Lončar & Stojanović, 2016).

Ipak, najvažniji element konteksta proizilazi iz višegodišnje dominacije Srpske napredne stranke u partijskom sistemu Srbije (Spasojević & Stojiljković, 2020), što vodi ka vlasti „naprednjaka" u skoro svim gradovima i opštinama u Srbiji, te priličnoj marginalizaciji opozicionih i „ne-naprednjačkih" aktera. Istovremeno, ovim se sve alternativne grupe građana, pokreti i inicijative, ali i akteri civilnog društva u užem smislu snažno usmeravaju ka saradnji sa „naprednjacima", pa čak i kooptaciji od strane SNS. Dalje, SNS je organizovana oko izuzetno popularnog lidera – Aleksandra Vučića, čija popularnost nadilazi sve druge stranačke funkcionere. To se ogleda i u izbornim kampanjama kada se nacionalnim liderima i temama pokrivaju lokalne teme, lokalni lideri i lokalna sporenja.

Konačno, zbog prirode „naprednjačke" vlasti dolazi i do značajnih autoritarnih tendencija i opadanja kvaliteta demokratije, naročito

u periodu nakon predsedničkih izbora 2017. godine. Nedemokratske tendencije se osećaju i na lokalnim nivou. Zbog svega ovoga je deo opozicionih stranaka bojkotovao lokalne i parlamentarne izbore održane 2020. godine, što je rezultiralo skoro potpunim odsustvom opozicionih odbornika u lokalnim parlamentima (Bursać & Vučićević, 2021), te ojačalo vaninstitucionalne oblike političke borbe, a samim tim i politički značaj neizabranih predstavnika, odnosno aktera iz polja civilnog društva. Uprkos svemu ovome, lokalne političke scene pokazuju kakvu-takvu dinamiku i predstavljaju zanimljivo istraživačko polje.

4. Nalazi i diskusija

Empirijska građa za ovu studiju dolazi iz dubinskih polustrukturiranih intervjua sa predstavnicima lokalnih samouprava (odbornici i gradonačelnici), nevladinih organizacija i neformalnih grupa građana koje imaju komunikaciju sa predstavnicima lokalnih vlasti. Intervjui su izabrani kao metod prikupljanja informacija, jer omogućavaju dubinski uvid u razumevanje procesa predstavljanja, u odnose u koje stupaju predstavnici i dileme sa kojima se suočavaju. Nalazi su podeljeni u tri grupe – prvo se fokusiram na percepcije odbornika o njihovim ulogama u gradskim parlamentima, zatim prelazim na to kako civilno društvo razume svoj predstavnički položaj, da bih u poslednjem delu razmatrao da li se predstavljanje razume kao unapred definisana aktivnost i u kojoj meri u Srbiji možemo da primetimo promene o kojima govore Kin i Sejvard.

4.1. Ograničene nadležnosti – kanal komunikacije i kontrola štete

Uloga odbornika u gradskim skupštinama je dosta specifična. S jedne strane, oni formalno predstavljaju građane u institucijama, dok sa druge strane istraživanja pokazuju da građani imaju shvatanje da se odbornici „ne pitaju mnogo", pa je fokus njihove pažnje najčešće na gradonačelnicima i predsednicima opština (Lončar, Spasojević & Vučićević, 2022). Drugi faktor, koji određuje položaj odbornika, ima vrednosni sloj. Naime, u javnosti se često može čuti interpretacija da lokalni

problemi nisu politički, ni ideološki, već komunalni, što suštinski znači da ne postoji spor oko toga da li neke mere treba sprovesti (tj. nema sukobljenih mišljenja), već samo kojim redosledom, odnosno prioritetom se sprovode. Imajući navedeno u vidu nije neočekivan nalaz da se izabrani predstavnici u lokalnim skupštinama fokusiraju na kontrolu i nadziranje izvršne vlasti (pod čime se podrazumevaju organi lokalne samouprave, ali i organi sa republičkog nivoa), a manje na zalaganje za politike koje proizilaze iz programa ili konkretne nove projekte. Jedna od ispitanica čak ističe da njena odbornička grupa nema posebne interese:

> „Nikada se nismo vodili samo interesima, zapravo i nema tu nekih velikih interesa naše političke grupacije, nego da prosto pre svega kada govorimo o trošenju novca, budžeta građana, da onda svi imamo pravo da određujemo kako ćemo da ga trošimo, da ukažemo na to ako se ne troši nenamenski." (odbornica, Paraćin)

Na sličan način razmišlja i odbornik vladajuće većine sa velikim iskustvom u politici:

> „Mi kao odbornici možemo samo da utičemo na korekcije ukoliko su prepoznate određene manjkavosti u predlozima odluka pa da ih poboljšamo po kvalitetu, da ukažemo tamo gde formalno-pravno nešto nije u redu. Suštinski je problem što odbornik može samo da animira organe grada da svoj posao odrađuju bolje." (odbornik, Užice)

Ovakav fokus je vidljiv i kada izabrani predstavnici govore o svojim vezama sa civilnim društvom koje se, takođe, vrlo često svodi na funkciju nadgledanja. Kada je reč o strankama vlasti, one civilno društvo koriste kao izvor informacija o potencijalnim problemima, dok ih opozicija razume kao resurs za podatke i teme koje mogu da pokreću u lokalnim skupštinama.

> „Imali smo odličnu saradnju sa ljudima iz inicijative *Sačuvajmo planinske reke Kraljeva*. Oni su nama dostavljali informacije, pošto su ljudi više upućeni od nas, i dokumentaciju, tako da

> smo mi to iznosili na skupštinskoj govornici, organizovali sastanak sa predstavnicima izvršne vlasti.“ (odbornik opozicije, Kraljevo).

U ovom slučaju vidimo da su izabrani predstavnici kanal komunikacije za građane i civilno društvo sa formalnim institucijama, a mnogo manje akter politike koji predlaže rešenja i inicijative. Ovde je najčešće reč o problemima koji zahtevaju rešenje ili reakcije na višem nivou, kroz promenu akata, reagovanje ministarstava ili slične poteze. Sa druge strane, kada je reč o individualnim problemima, građani se više obraćaju direktno organima koji mogu da im pomognu, kao i gradonačelnicima koji imaju najveća ovlašćenja (Lončar, Spasojević, & Vučićević, 2022). Kada je reč o odbornicima vladajuće većine, oni sebe vide kao konstruktivnu korekciju vlasti, dok opozicija svoju kritiku vidi kao sastavni deo političke borbe. Ipak, čini se da je u oba slučaja reč o iznuđenom fokusu na nadzor i kontrolu usled konteksta koji ne podstiče programsko delovanje. Ove tendencije su snažnije u manjim i siromašnijim mestima, gde se posebno vidi značaj republičkog nivoa kao osnovnog izvora finansija.

4.2. Pomeranje civilnog društva ka nadziranju

Položaj organizacija civilnog društva u odnosu na institucije lokalne samouprave ispitanici ocenjuju kao dosta loš. Sa jedne strane postoji formalno prepoznavanje značaja civilnog društva od strane predstavnika vlasti, ali i niz ograničenja u komunikaciji. Tako se može čuti da su organizacije civilnog društva poželjan partner, ali se vrlo često takav položaj dovodi u pitanje kada je reč o konkretnim pitanjima i kada predstavnici civilnog društva osporavaju neke odluke gradskih organa.

> „Nevladin sektor i civilni sektor imaju i te kako bitnu ulogu, u smislu promovisanja jedne lokalne samouprave. Ako vi primite predstavnike civilnog društva, nevladinog sektora, njihova priča i njihov glas i te kako su bitni u sagledavanju da li je Vranje lokalna samouprava u koju treba verovati, da li ima jedan korektan odnos prema građanima i prema civilnom društvu itd.“ (predstavnik lokalne vlasti, Vranje).

> „Problem je politizacija, i problem je što se kroz razne inicijative, odnosno peticije promovišu usko stranački interesi, pa čak i lični interesi u okviru stranke, što onda predstavlja negaciju svega onoga što je, odnosno što bi trebalo da bude princip.“ (odbornik gradske većine, Užice).

Ipak, institucionalni okvir je takav da se sve više povećava formalni prostor za saradnju izabranih i neizabranih predstavnika, jer se u sve većem broju situacija zahteva učešće predstavnika civilnog društva – bilo da je reč o zakonodavnim konsultacijama (javne rasprave i slušanja) ili o izradi lokalnih akcionih planova. Iskustva ispitanika su različita – neke organizacije imaju pozitivna iskustva, neke su imale utisak da su uključene zarad ispunjavanja forme, a neki ispitanici su se žalili zbog uključivanja GONGO-va, tj. nevladinih organizacija koje su bliske vladajućim strankama.

Zbog ovakvog odnosa, mnoge organizacije civilnog društva akcenat stavljaju na nadgledanje i kontrolu rada vlasti, jer procenjuju da je to deo lokalne politike na koju još uvek mogu imati kakav-takav uticaj:

> „… Mnogo se plaše medija. Mi smo objavili vest o jednom odborniku iz Napredne stranke koji je 400 dana bio u parlamentu i nijednom se nije javio. I mi smo to jednostavno podelili kao informaciju i odmah su ga napali ovi iz medija – rekorder, najveći ćutolog i to je rezultiralo da se u narednih 30 dana 14 puta javio. Nama je to bilo fascinantno.“ (organizacija civilnog društva, Niš).

> „Kako smo mi postali vidljiviji, tako su i ljudi počeli da se javljaju, sad baš udaramo jako, izbacujemo afere i onda im to smeta. Samo stižu podaci, pišu nam ljudi… Sad imam materijala za dve godine.“ (organizacija civilnog društva, Kragujevac).

Za razliku od izabranih predstavnika, tj. odbornika opozicije, ovakav položaj aktera civilnog društva je uobičajen i „prirodan“, jer se oni često bave nadzornim i kontrolnim funkcijama, rade kao „watch-dog“ organizacije ili podržavaju uzbunjivače i zviždače iz drugih organizacija (Kleut & Spasojević, 2015).

4.3. Promena oblika i nejasne granice uloga

Posebno zanimljivi nalazi iz istraživanja se odnose na fleksibilnost predstavljanja. Ono se pojačava u manjim zajednicama u kojima „svako svakoga poznaje" i gde formalni odnosi često popuštaju pred interpersonalnim komuniciranjem i neformalnim odlučivanjem. Nekada je u pitanju biranje jednostavnijih načina, nekad ukorenjena politička tradicija, a nekad i želja da se uveća diskreciona moć onih koji su na vlasti.

Sejvardova ideja promene oblika nastaje kao posledica razumevanja predstavljanja kao fluidnog, promenljivog i živog odnosa između predstavljenih i onih koji ih predstavljaju. Granice između analitički i teorijski razdvojivih pojmova, kao što su država, partije i civilno društvo, postaju dosta porozne kada razmatramo odnose u manjim političkim zajednicama, gde dolazi do interpersonalnih odnosa koji nadilaze formalne pozicije aktera.

Jedan deo promene uloga izazvan je i nedostatkom medijskih sloboda i manjkom medijskog pluralizma (Milojević & Krstić, 2018). Zbog toga neke organizacije civilnog društva pokušavaju da uspostave svoje nezavisne kanale komunikacije. Zanimljivi su primeri organizacije *Forca* (Požega) koja je pokrenula popularni podkast kako bi promovisala teme od lokalnog značaja, subotičkog portala *Slobodna Subotica* ili *Timočke inicijative* koja je tokom ponovljenih lokalnih izbora 2017. godine obavljala ulogu lokalnih medija kroz organizovanje suočavanja kandidata i predizborne debate.

Ispitanici ističu da lokalni portali imaju značajan uticaj jer se obraćaju zajednici koja je već delimično upoznata sa problemima:

> „Kroz te lokalne medijske slike može da se razbije ta generalna slika koja se prezentuje u Srbiji, a pritom nisu skupe te stvari i vrlo lako građani prepoznaju šta je istina na lokalu, naročito jer svi znamo neke stvari, i kad neko progovori o tome, onda svima je jasno da je taj bio u pravu." (predstavnik civilnog društva, Subotica)

Ipak, za ovaj rad je mnogo važnije trajnije ili taktično menjanje pozicija i uloga od strane istih aktera, pa ću, kao ilustraciju, iskoristiti slučajeve dva portala koji su proizašli iz aktivizma izabranih predstavnika

i organizacija civilnog društva – *Niške inicijative* i *Slobodne Subotice*, te pribojsku organizaciju *Primus*.

Niška inicijativa je nastala iz grupe odbornika koji su mandat osvojili 2016. godine, kao deo liste *Dosta je Bilo – Saša Radulović*, ali su kasnije nastavili da funkcionišu kao zasebna odbornička grupa. Nakon što je opozicija proglasila bojkot lokalnih izbora 2020. godine, njihov aktivizam se delimično pomera u polje civilnog društva (kroz osnivanje organizacije) i medijsko polje (pokretanje portala). Potreba za medijskim prostorom javila se još za vreme odborničkog mandata, jer su postojeći mediji bili orijentisani na stare partije.

Drugi povezan razlog pokretanja sopstvenog portala su informacije i priče do kojih su odbornici dolazili tokom svog rada a za koje nisu uspevali da zainteresuju većinu klasičnih medija. Najveći deo informacija odbornici su dobijali tokom redovnog rada na skupštinskim sednicama, ali je pravi izazov bio pronalaženje podataka u hrpama materijala kojima su zasipani odbornici pred svaku sednicu. Ovaj problem je odranije poznat iz drugih istraživanja o parlamentu (Orlović, 2012) koja ukazuju na taktiku vladajućih stranaka da opoziciju nadigraju velikom dinamikom rada i malim resursima koji su im na raspolaganju. Zbog toga se i odbornički i poslanički rad u velikoj meri svodi na istraživanje i pretragu podataka, čime se približava istraživačkom novinarstvu ili naučnom istraživanju, što potvrđuje Kinove ideje o stavljanju akcenta na nadzorne aktivnosti, na uštrb predstavljanja.

Imajući u vidu ovu multifunkcionalnost i preplitanje političkog, institucionalnog, civilno-društvenog i medijskog polja zanimljivo je istražiti kako akteri razumeju svoju poziciju. Srđan Nonić iz *Niške inicijative* ovu „promenu oblika" vidi kao taktiku političkog delovanja i ne smatra da je nužno napraviti izbor:

> „Ja sam građanski novinar, ja se bavim nekim temama interesantnim, ako zateknem nešto ja ću da se uhvatim za to kao pitbul. Zašto moraš da budeš samo aktivista i zašto moraš da budeš samo novinar ili zašto moraš samo da se baviš politikom… A evo, kad mislim, Đorđe Vukadinović je meni najfrapantniji primer, on je u politici i istraživanju javnog mnjenja i bavi se malo novinarstvom, zašto on mora da bude jedna od tri stvari."

Naravno, jako je zanimljivo pitanje: kako građani percipiraju ovakvu promenu uloga? U nedostatku odgovora od samih građana koristan je odgovor koji nam daje sam Srđan Nonić:

> „Ljudi, koji me poznaju i prate, oni i dalje misle da sam ja nešto u politici. Drugi mene vide kao aktivistu, treći me vide kao novinara. Oni apsolutno ne diferenciraju. Oni ne znaju šta je Niška inicijativa, iako ja tamo imam pres-konferenciju i registrujem medij, oni misle i dalje da smo mi neka politička opcija ili da smo mi neki poslanici negde. Oni vide brend i vide šta ti radiš, šta predstavljaš."

Na sličan način su zamagljene i uloge u slučaju Gorana Rekovića, aktiviste pribojske organizacije *Primus*, koji je ujedno i novinar i urednik Radio Polimlja i saradnik nekoliko nacionalnih medija:

> „Nisam siguran, pre te vide kao novinara nego kao aktivistu civilnog sektora, pa one grupacije sa kojima si radio, one te raspoznaju i kao jedno i kao drugo, mada, mislim, to i jeste mač sa dve oštrice… Gubi se deo toga gde si reprezent, pre te vide kao neku javnu ličnost… Ja mislim da je to dobro, jer sam godinama mogao lakše da promovišem civilno društvo i kod onih koji su protiv civilnog društva, prosto dobiju dugačiju percepciju, jer su na mene, kao novinara, navikli."

Igranje različitih uloga u zajednici otvara i etička i profesionalna pitanja, ali i ona koja se tiču odnosa prema vlastima u poretku koji se razume kao nedovoljno demokratski. Otvaranje prostora za organizacije civilnog društva i olakšavanje njihove komunikacije sa predstavnicima vlasti s jedne strane ojačava njihov položaj, ali sa druge strane doprinosi stvaranju slike da je sve u redu i legitimiše postojeći politički poredak:

> „Koliko ja manipulišem zbog lakše komunikacije sa predsednikom opštine, toliko on manipuliše sa mnom u prikazu da je sve u redu... Multifunkcionalnost se podrazumeva i tvoja tolerancija na sistem, na određene sistemske stvari koje radi ti omogu-

> ćava da pomogneš nekome i da uradiš nešto, jer ako te sistem odseče ti onda smanjuješ svoj uticaj. Da li ti sa takvim načinom rada prejeftino prodaješ to malo uticaja? To je vrlo velika dilema za civilno društvo." (civilno društvo, Priboj)

Ove dileme nisu karakteristične samo za neizabrane predstavnike, jer i deo izabranih predstavnika odlučuje da „ne sarađuje", što im smanjuje uticaj i manevarski položaj, pa se odlučuju na akcije koje su provokativne ili pokušavaju da humorom postignu rezultat.

> „Nek' te iznesu iz skupštine, ako ne možeš ništa da uradiš. Uzmi, iščupaj taj mikrofon, posvađaj se, opsuj sve, kaži 'vi ste najveći lopovi na svetu, isterajte me, uhapsite me', ako ništa drugo, ako ti sve izuzmu od mogućnosti da radiš, na kraju – nek' me uhapse. To je za mene način borbe." (odbornik opozicije, Niš)

Deo aktera civilnog društva sve više unosi performativnu dimenziju u predstavljanje, kroz igru, provokaciju, korišćenje mobilnog telefona za snimanje interakcija i prenose uživo. Time se proizvodi sadržaj koji je viralan i koji pokušava da nadoknadi manjak medijskog prostora, a istovremeno ne zahteva velike resurse. Performativnost je svakako sve prisutnija u politici i kao ishod novih i populističkih aktera koji pokušavaju da privuku pažnju javnosti i medija.

> „…Recimo da načelnica za građevinarstvo ne odgovara na pitanja, pozive, neće da me primi na razgovor i ja je sačekam u pola četiri, da izađe sa posla, i upalim kameru i pitam je: 'Kad mislite da počnete da odgovarate na pitanja građana, da li mislite da ste vi nedodirljivi? I onda ti napravim neprijatnu situaciju i onda ćeš da me primiš da sednem da razgovaram i da mi daš podatke, jer znaš da ću da dođem opet kod tebe." (predstavnik civilnog društva, Niš)

Konačno, kao jedan veoma prisutan oblik reagovanja na nedemokratske trendove i pritisak vladajućih stranaka na opozicione stranke vidimo i učestalu praksu da se na lokalne izbore izlazi u obliku grupa građana, iako je reč o kandidatima koji su u zajednici prepoznati kao

članovi ili bivši članovi nekih od opozicionih partija. Ovo se, takođe, može razumeti kao određena vrsta *shape-shiftinga*, gde se, usled slabog rejtinga i političkih pritisaka, partije kriju iza maski grupa građana, čime dodatno podstiču postojeće antipartijske sentimente.

5. Zaključna razmatranja

Nalazi istraživanja pokazuju da je predstavljanje na lokalnom nivou specifičan proces i da se mora dodatno istraživati kroz postupke koji su dizajnirani za ove forme. Važna istraživačka pitanja koja ostaju za budućnost odnose se pre svega na percepciju građana o tome šta njihovi predstavnici rade, te na to kako funkcionišu lokalne medijske sfere i koliku autonomiju imaju u odnosu na javnu sferu u Srbiji.

Iako su lokalne institucije podređene nacionalnim i iako nemaju visok stepen autonomije, same karakteristike lokalnih (političkih) zajednica uvećavaju pluralizam i bar delimično ograničavaju nadmoć vladajućih stranaka sa državnog nivoa. Jednostavno rečeno, reč je o manjim zajednicama u kojima se ljudi poznaju i imaju direktnu, interpersonalnu komunikaciju, čak i kada je reč o urbanim centrima sa preko 70.000 ili 80.000 stanovnika.

Ipak, specifičnosti lokalnih zajednica nisu dovoljno velike da promene dominantne tokove u društvu. Usled dominacije SNS-a i visoke partijske discipline, uloga izabranih i neizabranih predstavnika se sve više pomera ka kontroli i nadgledanju, jer je prostor za predstavljanje i zagovaranje specifičnih lokalnih politika i konkretnih rešenja izuzetno sužen. Na isti način se orijentišu i političke i civilne organizacije, što govori o uticaju ovog trenda na celokupno političko ponašanje i dominantne oblike političke participacije.

Posebno zanimljiva je i učestalost promene uloga i oblika koju uočavam kod predstavnika koji lako prelaze granice između javnog, stranačkog i civilno-društvenog angažmana, te ulaze i u medijsku sferu mešajući je sa političkom. Promena uloga se najčešće objašnjava ograničenim uslovima i željom da se smanje nejednakosti u političkom polju, ali je sasvim izvesno da se deo aktera odlučuje na promenu oblika iz načelnih, taktičkih razloga, i da bi se na sličan način ponašali i u drugačijim uslovima. Ishod ovakvih taktika je da se u mnogim slučajevima javljaju

nejasne granice između uloga i pozicija koje akteri zauzimaju, što utiče i na percepciju onih koje ti akteri predstavljaju, otvara neke moralne i vrednosne dileme, ali i dugoročno zamagljuje odnose koji su ionako pod uticajem neformalnog i vaninstitucionalnog.

Gledano iz teorijske ravni, nalazi pokazuju da se u Srbiji mogu jasno uočiti elementi nadgledajuće demokratije i snažan upliv pluralizacije interesa i predstavnika. Iz ugla kvaliteta demokratije jasno je da je reč o iznuđenim taktikama i da predstavničke institucije ne ispunjavaju svoje osnovne funkcije u značajnoj meri, odnosno da se nadgledajuća demokratija ne razvija kao postdemokratski fenomen, već kao nuspojava krize nekonsolidovanog sistema. Ipak, stvaranje mreže organizacija i aktera koji imaju kapacitete da nadgledaju i upozoravaju javnost jeste značajna karakteristika i predstavlja demokratski potencijal.

Takođe, nalazi pokazuju i značaj konstruktivističkog razumevanja predstavljanja – ono je sve fluidnije, performativno i pluralno, bez obzira što je prostor za zastupanje sužen i što je razdaljina između predstavnika i predstavljenih i dalje prilično velika. Štaviše, stiče se utisak da suženi prostor u institucionalnoj ravni podstiče vaninstitucionalne aktere, nove forme i prostore putem kojih predstavnici i vlasti i opozicije, ali i civilnog društva pokušavaju da reše problem sa kojim se suočavaju.

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REPRESENTATION IN LOCAL POLITICS IN SERBIA: UNCLEAR BOUNDARIES AND MULTIPLE ROLES

Abstract: This paper examines how elected and non-elected representatives understand their roles in the specific circumstances of local politics in Serbia. Relying on Keane›s concept of monitory democracy, which emphasizes the shift from representation to monitoring, and Saward›s constructivist understanding of representation, we demonstrate how political actors attempt to improve their position in a centralized, personalized, and semi-authoritarian political environment. Research findings indicate that elected and non-elected representatives are increasingly oriented towards a monitoring and oversight function, and their relationships with citizens are often informal. Some actors, primarily from civil society, employ a tactic of playing multiple roles to improve their position and achieve the interests of the groups they represent.

Keywords: *representation, Serbia, local self-government, monitory democracy, civil society*.

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1. Introduction

The relationship between citizens and political decision-makers is one of the fundamental qualities of democracy. In modern concepts of democracy, the focus is often on the process of articulating interests and their transmission to institutions and the impact on decision-making (Lijphart 2003). However, there has also been a shift in focus toward monitoring and overseeing political, social, and economic centers of power (Diamond 2008). This change resulted from economic development, political consensus, and reduced ideological differences that marked politics in developed democracies at the turn of the 20th to the 21st century (Katz & Mair 1995). Concurrently, a plural field of civil society and social movements develops, as well as a range of temporary and occasional actors who advocate particular standpoints and interests in public. We understand these actors as representatives despite the absence of formal legitimacy (they are not elected).

Although these changes are characteristic of stable post-industrial democracies, the mentioned trends also spill over into transitional young democracies. Due to the stability of Western democracies, their focus shifts to monitoring; in Eastern Europe, however, monitoring and oversight functions are seen as a way to strengthen new democratic institutions further. Additionally, the lack of legitimacy of elected representatives and populist narratives opened a space for new non-party leaders and actors who understand politics differently, more provocatively, and performatively. This collectively leads to a certain convergence of old and transitional democracies and their political practices.

In this paper, I examine how the representative role is understood in Serbia under specific circumstances in the period since the SNS (Serbian Progressive Party) came to power in Serbia, with a particular focus on politics at the level of local self-government. By specific circumstances, I mean a series of related characteristics stemming from how the SNS governs. First of all, it concerns the democratic backslide and authoritarian tendencies (Levitsky & Way 2020), which implies difficult working conditions for representatives of citizens through narrowed institutional and media space, concentration of power in the hands of the president of the state as opposed to the executive and

legislative branches of government, and marginalization of civil society at the national level (Vuković 2020; Tepavac, 2020). Although the representation problems primarily relate to opposition representatives, it can be assumed that authoritarian tendencies also reduce the capacity of representatives from majority parties. These characteristics develop in an already established centralized system with elements of partocracy (Orlović 2009); conversely, politics in Serbia has long been characterized by extremely low trust in politics, politicians, and institutions (Stojiljković 2019). All these trends have been further strengthened by a series of crises (economic, migrant, etc.) that have resulted in a stabilocratic framework (Bieber 2018) that reached its peak during the Covid-19 pandemic through authoritarian tendencies and endangering pluralism (Petrović 2020).

With all this in mind, this text takes a novel approach by shifting the research focus to local politics in Serbia. The aim is to determine how representatives understand their role, especially in the context of high personalization and the emphasized role of leaders who "cover" national politics. The basic working assumption is that there are no significant ideological differences between actors at the local level, that somewhat more influential groups of citizens come from the field of civil society as well as opposition parties, and local movements and initiatives. This unique approach sheds light on a level of politics that has not been sufficiently researched in Serbia.

Empirical data used in this paper were collected through 75 in-depth semi-structured interviews with elected and non-elected representatives (non-elected representatives are considered to be representatives of civil society organizations, activists, and representatives of informal groups), most of whom are active in local politics or at least part of their careers was tied to the local level. Some respondents held multiple positions simultaneously (e.g., local councilors and members of national parliament) or performed various functions throughout their careers (e.g., they were first civic activists before being elected councilors). Multi-role experience is particularly important in the context of the political circumstances at the time of conducting the research, especially the boycott of the 2020 elections by a larger number of opposition parties, as many local assemblies were without any opposition representatives.

Interviews were conducted from September 2020 to June 2022 in 16 municipalities and cities in Serbia, taking into account an even territorial representation of different parts of the country (including the ethnic structure of the population), representation of settlements of different sizes, and an adequate balance between representatives of the authorities and the opposition.

In the first part of the paper, I will present the basic theoretical concepts that will be used in the analysis. Then, I will briefly introduce the basic dimensions of the political context that determine representation in Serbia. Then, I will analyze the findings on political representation and discuss the results.

2. Theoretical Framework

Representation is a key topic in political sciences. It encompasses numerous issues, including the relationship between representatives and those represented, the basis of representatives' legitimacy, the role of representatives in the political system, and the question of representatives' accountability. These issues are raised in the context of elected and formal representatives from political parties and state institutions, as well as when discussing civil society and non-elected, informal, temporary, and/or occasional representatives.

In this text, I will analyze representation through two interesting and complementary approaches. On the one hand, I use the concept of so-called monitory democracy (John Keane), which emphasizes increased attention to the oversight function of modern democracies and the reduction of focus on formal representative institutions, elections, and electoral processes, and the opening of space for informal and non-elected representatives. On the other hand, I rely on Michael Saward, who views representation through a constructivist approach and emphasizes its fluidity, performativity, and adaptability through changes in the forms of representation depending on the audience. Both concepts highlight a shift from the classic "voter-elections-parliament" logic to an informal, extra-institutional, multi-dimensional understanding of representation.

Keane's idea of monitory democracy is an increasingly important form of democracy. His basic argument is the shift from representation to monitoring (Keane 2011). Here, we are talking about a fundamental change in primarily old democracies that marks the transition from the 20th to the 21st century. As Flinders also claims, it is a transition from representative to monitoring democracy, reflecting the shift of focus from ensuring goods by the elected government to scrutinizing, observing, and monitoring politicians and decision-making processes based on the idea that politicians cannot be trusted (Flinders 2011, p. 607).

Keane believes that the era of monitory democracy is the age of opinion polls, focus groups, deliberative publics, and audience satisfaction research (Keane 2011), allowing different opinions to be more clearly heard. The pluralism of voices indirectly affects the understanding of the role of representation – as opposed to the classical understanding based on the idea of one voice – one interest – one representative (where it is conceptually assumed that the voter has one dominant identity from which his party affiliation and/or voting behavior stem), we come to the idea of "one person, many interests, many voices, many representatives." Because of all this, Keane emphasizes the role of non-elected representatives (including celebrities who give additional visibility to specific political issues), thereby approaching influential theorists of representation who view representation in a significantly broader framework than formal representative institutions.

Saward's (2014) constructivist turn presupposes an active process of constructing social relations between the represented and representatives. Representation is understood as a process during which a relationship between groups and representatives is established; Saward emphasizes the performativity of this process and focuses on presenting representative claims and positioning representatives to secure the consent of the represented. Simultaneously, during this process, the creation of (group) identities of those claimed to be represented by the representative can occur. Thus, both "sides" of representation are understood in a fluid manner. This is also well illustrated through the concept of changing forms (the so-called *shape-shifting*). Namely, Saward points out the possibility for representatives to change their roles and

the way they address audiences - "a representative is a political actor who claims (or for whom it is claimed) to represent through strategic shaping of their personality and policies for specific target groups and audiences" (Saward 2014, p. 723). Saward emphasizes that not everyone has the same ability to adapt, nor do all representatives decide on such tactics. The change of approach is most often the result of the political situation, characteristics of the representative, and their assessment of the situation. Relying on representative claims also facilitates the consideration of non-elected representatives, among whom, in addition to civil society representatives, Saward includes experts and scholars who appear in public space and non-elected actors like monarchs or religious leaders.

3. Political Context in Serbia

The political context determining representation in Serbia at the local level has several key elements. On the one hand, institutional factors determine the competencies of local actors – local governments and institutions- and the mechanism of the election of local representatives. This legal framework (i.e., electoral system) has been relatively unchangeable in recent years, especially after the changes in the method of electing mayors in 2007, when the system shifted from direct to assembly election.

Another set of factors arises from the institutional design but is reinforced by political practice and political culture. Here, primarily, I refer to the structure of the most important actors – political parties and their centralized organization. Research clearly shows that parties in Serbia are organized around undisputed leaders, centralized and that local branches enjoy almost no degree of autonomy (Kovačević 2022), not even regarding issues that would be expected to have it – such as the choice of coalition partners or candidates for local elections. Because of all this, local campaigns are rarely conducted around local issues and often rely on national party leaders and their popularity (Lončar & Stojanović 2016).

Undoubtedly, the most influential element of the political context is the multi-year dominance of the Serbian Progressive Party in the party system of Serbia. This dominance, as evidenced by research (Spasojević & Stojiljković 2020), has led to the rule of the SNS in almost all cities and municipalities in Serbia, significantly marginalizing opposition and all non-SNS actors. Moreover, all alternative groups of citizens, movements, and initiatives, as well as actors from civil society in the narrow sense, are strongly inclined towards cooperation with the government and even co-optation by the SNS. The SNS, under the leadership of the immensely popular Aleksandar Vučić, organizes electoral campaigns that often overshadow local issues, local leaders, and local disputes.

Regrettably, the nature of the SNS government has given rise to significant authoritarian tendencies and a decline in the quality of democracy, particularly in the period after the presidential elections in 2017. These undemocratic tendencies are also observed at the local level. As a result, part of the opposition parties boycotted the local and parliamentary elections held in 2020, leading to an almost complete absence of opposition representatives in local parliaments (Bursać & Vučićević 2021). This has further strengthened extra-institutional forms of political struggle and thus the political significance of non-elected representatives, i.e., actors from the field of civil society. Despite these challenges, the local political scenes exhibit some dynamics and represent an intriguing research field.

4. Findings and Discussion

The empirical material for this study comes from in-depth semi-structured interviews with representatives of local governments (councilors and mayors), non-governmental organizations, and informal groups of citizens that have communication with local government representatives. Interviews were chosen as a method of gathering information because they allow us an in-depth understanding of the process of representation, the relationships that representatives enter into, and the dilemmas they face. The findings are divided into three groups –

first, I focus on the perceptions of councilors about their roles in local parliaments, then I move on to how civil society understands its representative position, and in the last part, I consider whether representation is understood as a predefined activity and to what extent we can observe changes in Serbia that Keane and Sayward talk about.

4.1. Limited Competencies – Communication Channels and Damage Control

The role of councilors in city assemblies is quite specific. On the one hand, they formally represent citizens in institutions; on the other hand, research shows that citizens understand that councilors "don't have much say," so their focus is most often on mayors and presidents of municipalities (Lončar, Spasojević & Vučićević 2022).

Another factor that determines the position of councilors has a value layer – namely, in public, it is often interpreted that local problems are not political or ideological but "communal", which essentially means that there is no dispute about whether certain measures should be implemented (i.e., there are no conflicting opinions), but only about the order or priority in which they are carried out. Bearing this in mind, it is not unexpected to find that elected representatives in local assemblies focus on oversight and monitoring the executive authority (under which are meant local self-government bodies and bodies at the republic level) and less on advocating for policies that arise from programs or specific new projects. One of the respondents even emphasizes that her group in the local parliament does not have special interests:

> "Interests have never guided us; actually, there aren't any significant interests of our political group, but rather we simply, first and foremost, when we talk about spending the citizens' budget money, then we all have the right to determine how we will spend it, to point out if it is not being spent for its intended purpose." (Councilor, Paraćin)

Similarly, a councilor from the ruling majority with extensive experience in politics thinks:

> "We as councilors can only influence corrections if certain shortcomings are identified in the proposed decisions, then we can improve them in terms of quality, to point out where legally something is not right. Essentially, the problem is that a councilor can only motivate city authorities to do their job better." (Councilor, Užice)

This focus is also visible when elected representatives talk about their connections with civil society, which is often reduced to a monitoring function. For ruling parties, civil society is used as a source of information about potential problems, while the opposition understands it as a resource for data and topics that can be raised in local assemblies.

> "We cooperated well with people from the initiative Save the Mountain Rivers of Kraljevo. They provided us with information since people are more informed than us and documentation so that we presented it at the assembly podium and organized a meeting with representatives of the executive authority." (Opposition councilor, Kraljevo)

In this case, elected representatives are a communication channel for citizens and civil society with formal institutions, and much less a policy actor who proposes solutions and initiatives. It is most often about problems that require a solution or reactions at a higher level through changing acts, reactions by ministries, or similar steps. On the other hand, when it comes to individual problems, citizens more often turn directly to authorities that can help them, as well as to mayors who have the most authority (Lončar, Spasojević & Vučićević 2022). When it comes to councilors from the ruling majority, they see themselves as a "constructive correction" to the authorities. In contrast, the opposition sees its criticism as an integral part of the political struggle. However,

it seems that in both cases, the focus is aimed at monitoring and oversight due to a context that does not incentivize programmatic-based action. These tendencies are stronger in smaller and poorer municipalities where the significance of the national level as the primary source of finance is obvious.

4.2. Shifting Civil Society Towards Monitoring

Respondents assess the position of civil society organizations in relation to local self-government institutions as quite poor. On one hand, the authorities formalize their recognition of civil society's importance, but there are also a number of communication limitations. So, it can be heard that civil society organizations are desirable partners, but such a position is very often questioned when it comes to specific issues and when civil society representatives challenge some decisions of city authorities.

> "The non-governmental and civil sectors have a very important role in promoting a local self-government. If you receive representatives of civil society, the non-governmental sector, their story and their voice are very important in assessing whether Vranje is a local self-government to be trusted, whether it has a correct relationship with citizens and with civil society, etc." (Representative of local authorities, Vranje).

> "The problem is politicization, and the problem is that through various initiatives or petitions, narrow party interests, and even personal interests within the party are promoted, which then represents a negation of everything that is or should be the principle." (Councilor of the city majority, Užice).

However, in recent years, the institutional framework provided formal space for cooperation between elected and non-elected representatives, as the participation of civil society representatives is required in an increasing number of situations – whether it is about legislative consul-

tations (public discussions and hearings) or the development of local action plans. The experiences of respondents vary – some organizations have positive experiences, some had the impression that they were included for the sake of formality, and some respondents complained about the inclusion of GONGOs, i.e., non-governmental organizations that are close to the ruling parties.

Because of such a relationship, many civil society organizations focus on monitoring and oversight the work of the authorities, assessing that this is a part of local politics where they can still have some influence:

> "...they are terrified of the media. We published a news story about one councilor from the Serbian Progressive Party who had been in the parliament for 400 days and had never spoken up. We simply shared this as information, and immediately, the media attacked him – the record-holder, the biggest silent one, and that resulted in him speaking up 14 times in the next 30 days. We found this fascinating." (Civil society organization, Niš).

> "As we became more visible, people started to contact us; now we are hitting hard, exposing scandals, and then the government cares. Information keeps coming, people write to us... now I have material for 2 years." (Civil society organization, Kragujevac).

Unlike elected representatives, i.e., opposition councilors, this position of civil society actors is usual and "natural" because they often engage in monitoring and controlling functions, work as watchdog organizations, or support whistleblowers from other organizations (Kleut & Spasojević 2015).

4.3. Shape-shifting and Unclear Role Boundaries

Particularly interesting findings from the research relate to the flexibility of representation. Flexibility and informality increase in smaller communities where "everyone knows everyone" and where formal relationships often give way to interpersonal communication and informal decision-making. Sometimes, it is a matter of choosing simpler methods, sometimes a deeply rooted political tradition, and sometimes a desire to increase the discretionary power of those in power.

Saward's concept of shape-shifting, which emerges from the understanding of representation as a fluid, variable, and living relationship between the represented and those representing them, has significant practical implications. It underscores how the boundaries between traditionally distinct entities such as the state, parties, and civil society can blur in smaller political communities, where interpersonal relationships often overshadow formal roles.

Part of the change in roles and shape-shifting is caused by a lack of media freedom and pluralism (Milojević & Krstić 2018). Because of this, some civil society organizations establish independent communication channels. Interesting examples include the organization *Forca* (Požega), which launched a popular podcast to promote topics of local importance, Subotica's portal *Slobodna Subotica*, or the Timok Initiative, which in the case of repeated local elections in 2017 performed the function of local media by organizing candidate presentations and pre-election debates.

Respondents emphasize that local portals have a significant impact because they address a community that is already partially familiar with the problems:

> "Through these local media images, you can break that general image that is presented in Serbia, and moreover, these things are not expensive, and citizens easily recognize what the truth is locally, especially because we all know some things and when someone speaks out about it, then it is clear to everyone that he was right." (Representative of civil society, Subotica)

However, for this study, it is much more important to illustrate more permanent or tactical changes in positions and roles by the same actors, so I will use the examples of two portals that emerged from the activism of elected representatives and civil society organizations - Niš Initiative and Slobodna Subotica, and the Priboj organization Primus.

The Niš Initiative originated from a group of councilors who won their mandate in 2016 as part of the list *Enough is Enough – Saša Radulović*, but later continued to function as a separate group in the local parliament. After the opposition declared a boycott of the local elections in 2020, their activism partially shifted into the field of civil society (through the founding of the organization) and the media field (launching a portal). The need for media space arose during the councilor's mandate because existing media were oriented towards old parties.

Another related reason for launching their portal was information and stories that councilors came across during their work, which were ignored by most of the traditional media. Most of the information was obtained by councilors during regular work at assembly sessions, but the real challenge was finding data in the pile of materials that councilors were swamped with before each session. This problem has long been known from other research on the parliament (Orlović 2012), which indicates the tactic of the ruling parties to outplay the opposition through a dynamic of work and the small resources available to them. Because of this, councilor and deputy work is largely reduced to research and data retrieval, which approaches investigative journalism or scientific research, thus confirming Keane's ideas about focusing on monitoring activities at the expense of representation.

Considering this multifunctionality and the intertwining of the political, institutional, civil society, and media fields, it is interesting to explore how actors understand their position. Srđan Nonić from the Niš Initiative sees this "shape-shifting" as a tactic of political action and does not consider it necessary to make a choice.

> "I am a citizen journalist; I deal with some interesting topics, and if I come across something, I will latch onto it like a pit bull. Why do you have to be only an activist, and why do you have to be only a journalist, or why do you have to deal only with politics... ...for example, when I think Đorđe Vukadinović is the most striking example to me, he is involved in politics and public opinion research and does a bit of journalism, why does he have to be one of 3 things?"

Of course, the question of how citizens perceive such a role change is very interesting. In the absence of answers from the citizens themselves, a helpful response is given by Srđan Nonić himself:

> "People who know me and follow me still think I am something in politics. Others see me as an activist, third as a journalist. They absolutely do not differentiate. They don't know what the Niš Initiative is even though I have a press conference there and register the media, they still think we are some political options or that we are some deputies somewhere. They see the brand and see what you do, what you represent."

Similarly, the roles are blurred in the case of Goran Reković, an activist from the Priboj organization Primus, who is also a journalist and editor of radio Polimlje and collaborates with several national media:

> "I am not sure they see you as a journalist rather than as an activist of the civil sector, but the groups with whom you have worked recognize you as both, although I think that is indeed a double-edged sword... You lose part of that where you are a representative, and they see you more as a public figure. I think that's good because, for years, I could more easily promote civil society even among those who are against a civil society simply they get a different perception because they are used to me as a journalist."

Playing different roles in the community opens up ethical and professional questions related to the relationship with the authorities in a system understood as insufficiently democratic. Opening space for civil society organizations and facilitating their communication with representatives of the authorities, on the one hand, strengthens their position, but on the other hand, contributes to creating an image that everything is fine and legitimizes the existing political order:

> "As much as I manipulate for easier communication with the president of the municipality, so much he manipulates me in showing that everything is fine... ...multifunctionality is implied, and your tolerance for the system, for certain systemic things it does, allows you to help someone and do something because if the system cuts you off, then you reduce your influence. Whether you are selling your little influence too cheaply with such a way of working... ...that is a huge dilemma for civil society" (Civil society, Priboj).

These dilemmas are not only characteristic of non-elected representatives; some elected representatives also decide not to "cooperate," which reduces their influence and maneuvering position. So, they opt for provocative actions or try to achieve results with humor.

> "Let them carry you out of the assembly if you can't do anything else, take the microphone and pull it out, kick up a fuss, curse and spit, tell them "you are the biggest thieves in the world", let them chuck me out, arrest me; if they take everything from you, every way to do your job, well then let them arrest me. That's my way of fighting" (Opposition councilor, Niš).

Some civil society actors increasingly introduce a performative dimension into representation through play, provocation, and using a mobile phone to record interactions and live broadcasts. This produces content that is viral and tries to compensate for the lack of media space while at the same time not requiring significant resources. Performativity is certainly becoming more prevalent in politics as an outcome of new and populist actors trying to attract public and media attention.

> "For example, let's say the head of construction does not answer questions, refuses to meet me for a discussion, and I wait for her at half past three to leave work, turn on the camera, and ask her when do you plan to start responding to citizens' questions, do you think you are untouchable. And then I create an uncomfortable situation for you, and then you will meet me to sit down to talk and give me data because you know I will come to you again." (Representative of civil society, Niš).

Finally, as a very common form of responding to undemocratic trends and pressure from ruling parties on opposition parties, we also see the frequent practice of participating in local elections in the form of groups of citizens. However, these are candidates recognized in the community as members or former members of some opposition parties. This can also be understood as a type of shape-shifting where parties hide behind the masks of groups of citizens due to low ratings and political pressures, thereby further encouraging existing anti-party sentiments.

5. Concluding Remarks

The research findings show that representation at the local level is a specific process that must be further investigated through procedures designed for these purposes. Important research questions that remain for the future relate to citizens' perceptions of what their representatives do, how local media spheres function, and how much autonomy they have in relation to the public sphere in Serbia.

Although local institutions are subordinate to national ones and do not have a high degree of autonomy, the characteristics of local (political) communities increase pluralism and at least partially limit the dominance of ruling parties from the national level.

However, the specific features of local communities are not significant enough to change the dominant trends in society. Due to the dominance of the SNS and strict party discipline, the role of elected and non-elected representatives is increasingly shifting towards oversight and monitoring because the space for representing and advocating spe-

cific local policies and concrete solutions is exceptionally narrow. Political and civil organizations are oriented in the same way, which confirms this trend's influence on overall political behavior and dominant forms of political participation.

One of the most interesting findings of this research is the frequency of shapeshifting that was observed among representatives who easily cross the boundaries between public, party, and civil society engagement and enter the media sphere, mixing it with politics. The change of roles is most often explained by limited conditions and the desire to reduce inequalities in the political field. However, it is certain that some actors would decide to change forms out of principled tactical reasons and behave similarly in different conditions. The outcome of such tactics is that, in many cases, there are unclear boundaries between the roles and positions that actors occupy, which affects the perception of those they represent, opens up some moral and value dilemmas, and, in the long run, blurs relationships that are already under the influence of informal and extra-institutional factors.

From a theoretical perspective, the findings show that elements of monitory democracy can be observed in Serbia, as well as a substantial influx of pluralization of interests and representatives. From the quality of democracy's viewpoint, it is clear that these are forced tactics and that representative institutions do not fulfill their essential functions to a significant extent, i.e., that monitory democracy does not develop as a post-democratic phenomenon but as a byproduct of a crisis in an unconsolidated democratic system. However, creating a network of organizations and actors capable of monitoring and alerting the public is significant and represents democratic potential.

The findings also show the importance of the constructivist understanding of representation – it is increasingly fluid, performative, and plural, even though the space for advocacy is narrowed and the distance between representatives and those represented is still quite large. Moreover, it seems that the narrowed space in the institutional sphere encourages extra-institutional actors, new forms, and spaces through which representatives, both government and opposition, as well as civil society, try to solve the problems they face.

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UGOVOR O OSNIVANJU DRUŠTVA SA OGRANIČENOM ODGOVORNOŠĆU

Rezime: Društvo sa ograničenom odgovornošću predstavlja najčešće korišćen oblik privrednog društva za obavljanje različitih privrednih delatnosti. Njegovo osnivanje putem isprava propisane sadržine, kao konstitutivna pretpostavka, regulisano je u nekim pravnim sistemima na sličan način, a u drugima uz određene specifičnosti. Radi se o tipu društva kojim je prvi put uveden institut ograničene odgovornosti osnivača pogodan za obavljanje delatnosti zasnovane na međusobnom poverenju njegovih članova. U ovom radu se istražuju opšte karakteristike ugovora o osnivanju društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću, njegova sadržina u srpskom i određenom broju uporednih prava i slabe tačke pravnog okvira Zakona o privrednim društvima koje bi se morale izmeniti i unaprediti, kao i potrebe donošenja građanskog zakonika u pogledu odredbi o građanskom ortakluku i pravila o pravnim licima.

Ključne reči: *osnivači, ugovor o osnivanju, bitni sastojci, privredno društvo, društvo sa ograničenom odgovornošću*

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1. Uvod

Privredno društvo predstavlja pojam kojim se opisuje opšti organizaciono-pravni oblik u kojem je moguće obavljati privredne delatnosti radi sticanja dobiti. Da bi moglo da stiče prava i preuzima obaveze u pravnom prometu, neophodno je da privredno društvo bude subjekt u pravu. Zato privredno društvo stiče status pravnog lica usvajanjem registracione prijave i donošenjem rešenja o registraciji (Zakon o postupku registracije u Agenciji za privredne registre, čl. 16; Zakon o privrednim društvima, čl. 3; Gesetz betreffend die Gesellschaften mit beschränkter Haftung, čl. 11) u Registru privrednih subjekata (Agencija za privredne registre u Srbiji, Trgovački registar Privredne komore u Holandiji ili Trgovački registar nadležnog Okružnog suda u Nemačkoj). Da bi se privredno društvo registrovalo i steklo pravni subjektivitet neophodna je izjava volje osnivača koji to čine osnivačkim aktom. Do trenutka registracije privrednog društva lica koja ga osnivaju imaju status osnivača a od trenutka registracije status članova tog društva (Ivanjko, Kocbek, 2003, str. 733).

Društvo sa ograničenom odgovornošću predstavlja pogodan pravni oblik za obavljanje privredne delatnosti. Zbog malog broja članova, relativno stabilne strukture članstva, potrebe postojanja međusobnog poverenja u pogledu jednoglasnog donošenja odluka i malog osnovnog kapitala potrebnog za osnivanje društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću (Jankovec, 1999, str. 63; Arsić, Marjanski, 2018, str. 154; Vasiljević, 2023, str. 321), ovaj oblik privrednog društva objedinjuje osobine društva lica i društva kapitala i prilagođen je za porodična privredna društva. Osim toga, ovaj oblik društva kapitala ima manje obaveza od otvorenog akcionarskog društva, a i upravljanje u društvu sa ograničenom odgovornošću je jednostavnije. Koliko je rasprostranjen ovaj oblik privrednog društva govori i podatak da je na poslednji dan 2022. godine u Srbiji bilo aktivno 115.888 društava sa ograničenom odgovornošću (Agencija za privredne registre, 2022, str. 9).

U ovom radu se istražuju opšte karakteristike ugovora o osnivanju društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću, sadržina ugovora o osnivanju u srpskom i određenom broju uporednih pravnih sistema i slabe tačke pravnog okvira Zakona o privrednim društvima koje bi se morale

izmeniti i unaprediti, kao i potrebe donošenja građanskog zakonika u pogledu odredbi o građanskom ortakluku i pravila o pravnim licima.

2. Opšte karakteristike ugovora o osnivanju

Polazeći od toga da društvo kapitala može osnovati jedno fizičko ili pravno lice, osnivački akt takvog društva sastavlja se u obliku odluke o osnivanju, a u obliku ugovora o osnivanju kada postoji veći broj osnivača. Bez obzira na broj osnivača, osnivački akt mora biti sastavljen u pisanoj formi *(forma ad solemnitatem)* i osnivači su dužni da svoje potpise overe pred javnim beležnikom. Izlaganja se u nastavku odnose na ugovor o osnivanju.

Ugovorom o osnivanju, članovi društva – osnivači se saglašavaju sa osnovnim zakonom propisanim sastojcima neophodnim za osnivanje privrednog društva i obavezuju se na uplatu određenog novčanog udela ili unos nenovčanog udela. Opšte pretpostavke punovažnosti ugovora važe i za ovu vrstu ugovora. Ugovorne strane treba da imaju potpunu poslovnu sposobnost i da izražavaju saglasnu izjavu volja. U pravnoj teoriji se pominju opšta osnivačka sposobnost i kvalifikovana osnivačka sposobnost koje postoje kada osnivač mora da ispunjava posebne pretpostavke utvrđene drugim zakonom (Arsić et al., 2018, str. 48). Pored toga, ugovor mora da bude sastavljen u pismenom obliku, da ima predmet i kauzu – cilj osnivanja. Pravne posledice ovog ugovora usmerene su na osnivanje privrednog društva, pa je u delu pravne teorije izraženo stanovište da se ugovorom o osnivanju stvara građanski ortakluk osnivača u pogledu njihovih prava i obaveza pre registracije privrednog društva (Jankovec, 1999, str. 44; Vasiljević, 2023, str. 64). Još je u Srpskom građanskom zakoniku iz 1844. godine bilo predviđeno da se ugovorom o ortakluku dva ili više ortaka sporazumevaju „da svoj trud ili i stvari svoje ulože na to, da korist, koja se otud dobije, među sobom dele“ (Srpski građanski zakonik 1844, čl. 723), „nameravajući da trguju pod zajedničkom firmom“ (Srpski trgovački zakonik 1860, čl. 23 st. 1). U prednacrtu Građanskog zakonika Republike Srbije iz 2019. godine taj cilj je opredeljen tako da se „Ugovorom o ortakluku obavezuju (se) uzajamno dva ili više lica da udruže određena sredstva ili svoj rad radi postizanja određenog zajedničkog cilja“ (Prednacrt Građanskog zakonika

Republike Srbije, čl. 845 st. 1), dok je pozitivnim pravom određeno da se to čini zbog osnivanja – registracije privrednog društva radi obavljanja delatnosti **u cilju sticanja dobiti** (Zakon o privrednim društvima, čl. 2).

S obzirom na karakteristike društava lica, u delu pravne teorije društvo sa ograničenom odgovornošću se naziva „inkorporisanim ortaklukom" (Vasiljević, Jevremović Petrović, Lepetić, 2020, str. 153; Vasiljević, 2023, str. 321), „kvaziortaklukom" ili „komanditnim društvom, bez komplementara" (Jerinić, 2012, str. 161; Vasiljević, 2023, str. 321). U delu strane pravne teorije društvo sa ograničenom odgovornošću naziva se i „intimnim društvom" zbog toga što se u njemu povezuje manji broj lica između kojih postoji odnos poverenja (Jankovec, 1999, str. 63). U Sloveniji se na osnivački akt društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću primenjuju odredbe Obligacijskog zakonika (čl. 990–1008) o društvenom ugovoru koji je posebna vrsta ortačkog ugovora sa bitnim sastojcima propisanim slovenačkim Zakonom o privrednim društvima (Zakon o gospodarskih družbah, čl. 474 st. 3). U tom smislu, osnivački akt društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću u Sloveniji ima karakteristike građanskog ortakluka. U Holandiji je izričito propisano da su direktori i privredno društvo solidarno odgovorni za obaveze preuzete pravnim poslovima u ime korporacije (društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću i akcionarskog društva) pre trenutka predaje regitracione prijave Trgovačkom registru, sa svim propisanim izvodima i dokumentima (Burgerlijk Wetboek, Boek 2 /Rechtspersonen/, čl. 180 st. 2).

U pravnoj teoriji se pominje i da se ugovor o osnivanju zasniva na međusobnom poverenju osnivača – *intuitu personae* (Jankovec, 1999, str. 45, 63; Vasiljević et al., 2020, str. 156; Vasiljević, 2023, str. 324). Ova osobina proizlazi iz pravila po kojem nijedan od članova društva ne može na treće lice preneti svoj udeo po ugovoru, osim uz saglasnost ostalih ugovarača kada se radi o društvima lica, odnosno bez eventualnog korišćenja prava preče kupovine ostalih članova društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću ili saglasnosti skupštine društva.

Ugovor o osnivanju podrazumeva zasnivanje određenih prava i obaveza osnivača koji mu daju obligaciono-pravni karakter. Tome u prilog govori i primena pravila o poslovnoj sposobnosti za zaključenje ugovora, saglasnosti volja ugovarača, predmetu ugovora i kauzi. Međutim, ugovornu teoriju o nastanku privrednog društva, koja je bila op-

šteprihvaćena u 19. veku, zamenila je institucionalna teorija o nastanku privrednog društva (Jankovec, 1999, str. 46). Ovo iz jednostavnog razloga što je minimalni broj bitnih sastojaka ugovora o osnivanju privrednog društva propisan Zakonom (o privrednim društvima). Zbog toga je osnivački akt ništav ako: 1) nema formu propisanu zakonom ili ako je 2) delatnost društva, koja se navodi u osnivačkom aktu, suprotna prinudnim propisima ili javnom poretku ili 3) ne sadrži odredbe o poslovnom imenu društva, ulozima članova, iznosu osnovnog kapitala ili pretežnoj delatnosti društva ili 4) su svi potpisnici u trenutku zaključenja osnivačkog akta bili pravno ili poslovno nesposobni (Zakon o privrednim društvima, čl. 13).

Prema danas prihvaćenoj institucionalnoj teoriji o nastanku privrednog društva, ugovor o osnivanju proizvodi statusno dejstvo kojem pravni poredak priznaje nastanak institucije privrednog društva čiji je pravni položaj regulisan zakonom. Osim toga, privredno društvo je samostalni subjekt u pravnom prometu koji ima individualna obeležja po kojima se razlikuje od drugih subjekata u pravu (Jankovec, 1999, str. 46). Imovina i upravljanje privrednim društvom su odvojeni od osnivača, jer volju privrednog društva ispoljavaju njegovi organi i lica koja ga zastupaju u pravnom prometu. Upravo činjenica da poverioci nemaju pravo da naplate svoja potraživanja prema društvu od članova društva svrstava društvo sa ograničenom odgovornošću u društvo kapitala (Jerinić, 2012, str. 161). U tom smislu, ugovor o osnivanju je samo pravni osnov za nastanak privrednog društva i toj svrsi su podređeni međusobni odnosi osnivača. Iz navedenog proizlazi da neregulisanje međusobnih prava i obaveza osnivača u ugovoru o osnivanju ne proizvodi posledicu njegove ništavosti ako sadrži bitne sastojke za registraciju i, samim tim, nastanak privrednog društva. Sa istim efektom i slovenačni Zakon o privrednim društvima sadrži odredbu po kojoj „društveni ugovor" treba da sadrži pravila o „potencijalnim obavezama" članova prema društvu i društva prema njegovim članovima (Zakon o gospodarskih družbah, čl. 474 st. 3 al. 5). Ovde treba imati u vidu da su osnivači ovlašćeni da ugovorom o osnivanju ili nekim drugim ugovorom urede svoje međusobne odnose samo u pogledu dispozitivnih pravila zakona koja im pružaju autonomiju a ne i u pogledu prinudnih odredbi zakona (Ivanjko, Kocbek, 2003, str. 737–738; Jerinić, 2012, str. 163–164). Isto

rešenje izraženo je u našem zakonodavstvu na sledeći način: „Članovi društva s ograničenom odgovornošću svoje međusobne odnose u društvu, kao i odnose sa društvom, uređuju slobodno, ako ovim zakonom nije drugačije uređeno“ (Zakon o privrednim društvima, čl. 140). Dosledna primena institucionalne teorije znači da se ugovorna svojstva ugovora o osnivanju pretvaraju u statusna svojstva, odnosno nestaju u trenutku registracije privrednog društva, a stanovište prihvataju i srpski najviši sudovi (Vasiljević, 2023, str. 65).

3. Previše ili premalo bitnih sastojaka?

Razmatranja o bitnim sastojcima ugovora o osnivanju ograničena su teorijskim i praktičnim pretpostavkama o njegovoj obaveznoj sadržini. U uporednom privrednom pravu postoji gotovo opšta saglasnost o obaveznim sastojcima ugovora o osnivanju. Jedan takav primer je Holandija po čijem Građanskom zakoniku ugovor o osnivanju društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću mora da sadrži poslovno ime, sedište i svrhu (delatnost) društva i punu ili skraćenu oznaku firme (Burgerlijk Wetboek, Boek 2 /Rechtspersonen/, čl. 177), podatke o visini osnovnog kapitala, nominalnom iznosu udela, uplaćenim i unetim udelima (Burgerlijk Wetboek, Boek 2 /Rechtspersonen/, čl. 178), osnivačima fizičkim licima (ime i prezime, datum i mesto rođenja i prebivalište) i pravnim licima (forma društva, poslovno ime i sedište) (Burgerlijk Wetboek, Boek 2 /Rechtspersonen/, čl. 196 st. 2 tač. b) i c).

Postoje i sastojci u jednom pravnom sistemu koji nisu pomenuti u drugima. Zakonima, kojima se propisuju obavezni sastojci ugovora o osnivanju, predviđaju se i neki koji su uslovno obavezne prirode. U Sloveniji su to, na primer, navođenje vremena trajanja društva, kada se ono osniva na određeno vreme, i potencijalne obaveze članova prema društvu i društva prema njegovim članovima. Radi se o uslovno obaveznim sastojcima koji se primenjuju samo kada je to neophodno. Isto važi i u srpskom pravnom sistemu, u kojem određivanje vremena na koje se osniva privredno društvo nije bitan sastojak ugovora o osnivanju. U srpskom pravu smatra se da je društvo osnovano na neodređeno vreme ako osnivačkim aktom, odnosno statutom nije drugačije određeno (Zakon o privrednim društvima, čl. 10 st. 2). Sa druge strane, u srpskom prav-

nom sistemu osnivački akt društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću ima jednu uslovno obaveznu odredbu. Tako osnivački akt, pored ostalog, treba da sadrži određivanje organa društva i njihovih nadležnosti. Međutim, ako se članovi osnivači ne sporazumeju o nadležnostima organa društva u osnivačkom aktu, organi društva imaju nadležnosti propisane Zakonom o privrednim društvima. U našoj pravnoj teoriji je s pravom ukazano na jednu spornu odredbu Zakona o privrednim društvima koja nepotrebno stvara konfuziju. Prema čl. 11 st. 5 pomenutog zakona, u društvu s ograničenom odgovornošću osnivačkim aktom se uređuje upravljanje društvom, pa je pravna dilema da li je osnivačkim aktom neophodno odrediti zastupnika društva i način zastupanja (Vasiljević, 2023, str. 327). Međutim, kontradiktornost pomenutih odredbi rešavana je u praksi Registra privrednih društava još pre osnivanja Agencije za privredne registre ili imenovanjem zastupnika privrednog društva u osnivačkom aktu ili u odluci o imenovanju zastupnika koji je dužan da overi i deponuje svoj potpis. Opisano rešenje regulisano je podzakonskim aktom o dokumentima potrebnim za registraciju pri Agenciji za privredne registre (Pravilnik o sadržini Registra privrednih subjekata i dokumentaciji potrebnoj za registraciju, čl. 10 st. 1 tač. 3). Praksa je pokazala a i pravna teorija prihvatila da je bolje imenovati zastupnika/e i način potpisivanja (širinu ovlašćenja) posebnom odlukom da bi se izbegla situacija u kojoj kasnije promene zastupnika dovode do obaveze izmene osnivačkog akta (Vasiljević et al., 2020, str. 157). Ukoliko osnivači iz nekog razloga žele da ograniče širinu ovlašćenja zastupnika privrednog društva, onda je to poželjno da učine na jedan od gore navedenih načina. Opšteprihvaćeno pravilo je da se neregistrovana ograničenja ovlašćenja zastupnika ne mogu isticati prema trećim savesnim licima, osim ako zakonom nije drugačije određeno (Prednacrt Građanskog zakonika Republike Srbije čl. 45 st. 4).

Osim zakonom propisanih bitnih sastojaka, osnivači, takođe, mogu da se sporazumeju i o brojnim drugim aspektima osnivanja i njihovih odnosa i time prošire sadržaj osnivačkog akta. Radi se o posebnim interesima članova društva u pogledu dodatnih ograničenja u vezi sa prenosom udela, drugačijih pravila o raspodeli dobiti ili većini potrebnoj za donošenje odluka itd. (Arsić et al., 2018, str. 155; Jerinić, 2012, str. 163; Vasiljević, 2023, str. 327–328).

Kada se radi o visini osnovnog kapitala neophodnog za registraciju društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću, u posmatranim pravnim sistemima postoje razlike koje idu od najmanjeg mogućeg iznosa (0,01 evro u Holandiji, 100 dinara u Srbiji) do nekog većeg iznosa (7.500 evra u Sloveniji ili 25.000 evra u Nemačkoj). Interesantno je da nemačko pravo razlikuje društvo sa ograničenom odgovornošću i preduzetničko društvo sa ograničenom odgovornošću, s tim da ovo drugo nema propisani iznos osnovnog kapitala. Iz navedenog se može zaključiti da što je manji iznos propisanog osnovnog kapitala to je manja mogućnost da poverioci naplate svoja potraživanja prema društvu. Zbog toga u slučajevima minimalnog iznosa osnovnog kapitala ne postoji garantna funkcija zaštite interesa poverilaca iz osnovnog kapitala društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću (Arsić et al., 2018, str. 154; Vasiljević, 2023, str. 334). Slaba garantna funkcija osnovnog kapitala društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću podstaknuta je u srpskom pravu po kojem novčani ulog prilikom osnivanja društva mora da se uplati u roku određenom u osnivačkom aktu a najkasnije u roku od pet godina (Zakon o privrednim društvima, čl. 46 st. 2 tač. 2). Međutim, potpuna sigurnost poverilaca u pogledu naplate potraživanja od društava sa ograničenom odgovornošću ne postoji ni kada je propisan veći iznos osnovnog kapitala, a propisivanje visine osnovnog kapitala prema obimu poslovanja društva praktično nije moguće (Vasiljević, 2023, str. 333). U našem starom privrednom pravu bilo je propisano da jedno fizičko lice može osnovati samo jedno jednočlano društvo sa ograničenom odgovornošću (Zakon o preduzećima iz 1996. godine, čl. 341 u vezi sa čl. 196). Ovo pravilo je trebalo da smanji opasnost od lakomislenog osnivanja nesolidnih društava (Jankovec, 1999, str. 63). U današnjem zakonodavstvu ne postoji takva odredba, pa je eventualna zaštita savesnih lica upitna.

Osnivači ugovorom o osnivanju mogu predvideti i druge sastojke koji ne utiču na punovažnost ugovora o osnivanju, jer oni, po zakonu, nisu neophodni za nastanak privrednog društva. To su dodatne uplate i sporedne činidbe.

Dodatne uplate u imovinu društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću predstavljaju institut ugovornog prava o kojem se osnivači mogu sporazumeti u ugovoru o osnivanju ili da odluku o tome povere u nadležnost skupštine. Treba imati u vidu da dodatne uplate ne služe povećanju

njegovog osnovnog kapitala (Zakon o privrednim društvima čl. 178 st. 3), već pokriću gubitaka ili namirenju poverilaca društva (Vasiljević et al., 2020, str. 161; Arsić et al., 2018, str. 175–176; Jerinić, 2012, str. 166). Osnivači se ne mogu sporazumeti da dodatne uplate budu u stvarima i pravima čija je vrednost procenjena u novcu, jer bi to bilo suprotno prirodi ovog instituta (Arsić et al., 2018, str. 174; Vasiljević et al., 2020, str. 161).

Sporedne činidbe se odnose na obavljanje određenih poslova ukoliko su oni neophodni za poslovanje društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću zbog posebnih veština, stručnog znanja, poznavanja tržišta ili „isporuke robe, pružanje usluga društvu, vođenja poslova društva i sl." (Arsić et al., 2018, str. 176–177; Vasiljević et al., 2020, str. 162). One se smatraju redovnim trgovačkim poslovima isporuke robe ili pružanja usluga za šta konkretni član ima pravo na tržišnu naknadu. Na njih se ne primenjuje pravilo srazmerne vrednosti udela u slučaju dodatnih uplata, već nezavisno, u skladu sa tržišnom vrednošću. Predmet ugovora o sporednoj činidbi može da bude sve što nije zabranjeno prinudnim propisima, javnim poretkom ili dobrim običajima, odnosno sve što može biti „punovažan predmet ugovornih odnosa" (Vasiljević et al., 2020, str. 162).

Jedna od nedopuštenih sporednih činidbi članova društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću je i mogućnost davanja zajma društvu. Prema prvobitnoj verziji Zakona o privrednim društvima, član društva ili sa njim povezano lice mogli su društvu dati zajam u svako doba (čl. 181). Međutim, stupanjem na snagu Zakona o bankama, 2005. godine, bilo je utvrđeno pravilo da niko osim banke ne može da se bavi davanjem kredita, osim ako je za to ovlašćen zakonom (čl. 5 st. 2). U slovenačkom i nemačkom pravu je poznata mogućnost da član društva odobri zajam društvu sa ograničenom odgovornošću (Zakon o gospodarskih družbah, čl. 498 i 499; Gesetz betreffend die Gesellschaften mit beschränkter Haftung, čl. 30), pa je neobično da je ta mogućnost brisana iz Zakona o privrednim društvima. Usled pomenute odredbe Zakona o bankama, mogućnost davanja zajma ne može biti predmet regulisanja ugovorom o osnivanju društva sa ograničenom odgovornošću.

4. Zaključak

Zakon o privrednim društvima pruža solidan pravni okvir za osnivanje društava sa ograničenom odgovornošću, pri čemu je nizak iznos osnovnog kapitala samo jedan od podsticaja za osnivanje porodičnih društava. Ipak, nepostojanje pravnih pravila o građanskom ortakluku bitno doprinosi konfuziji koja pravila bi trebalo primeniti na odnose osnivača u fazi „preddruštva", odnosno pre registracije privrednog društva. Zbog toga bi bilo neophodno što pre zakonski regulisati ugovor o ortakluku, odnosno usvojiti građanski zakonik Republike Srbije čiji je prednacrt utvrđen krajem maja 2019. godine. Neusklađenost odredbi Zakona o privrednim društvima u pogledu toga da li je osnivačkim aktom neophodno odrediti zastupnika društva i način zastupanja po čl. 11 st. 5 ili se primenjuje dispozitivna odredba čl. 141 o određivanju nadležnosti organa društva smatramo da treba tumačiti kao autonomiju volje osnivača da ugovorom o osnivanju ili posebnom odlukom imenuju zastupnika i širinu njegovog ovlašćenja. Drugo rešenje bi bilo brisanje odredbe čl. 11 st. 5 ili njena prilagođena formulacija. Analiza broja jednočlanih društava sa ograničenom odgovornošću, čiji je osnivač isto fizičko lice, i posledica višestrukog osnivačkog statusa bi ukazala na to da li i danas postoji potreba za zakonskim ograničenjem osnivačke sposobnosti fizičkog lica koje je već osnivač u nekom aktivnom društvu sa ograničenom odgovornošću. Fakultativni sastojci ugovora o osnivanju mogu da budu zastupljeni u manjoj ili većoj meri, što zavisi od interesa i potreba osnivača. Pritom, osnivači treba da vode računa o pravnom okviru koji se primenjuje u slučaju izbora jednih ili drugih odredbi i pravila ugovora o osnivanju.

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LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY'S MEMORANDUM OF ASSOCIATION

Summary: Limited liability company is the most used business structure. Establishing this type of company by adopting a set of documents as a constitutive assumption is common to most jurisdictions, but there are also certain variations. It is a type of company where the founder's limited liability was first introduced; doing business is based on the mutual trust between members. This paper examines the general characteristics of the memorandum of association of a limited liability company, comparing its contents in Serbian and several other jurisdictions. We discuss the weak points of the Serbian Companies Act framework which should be amended and improved, as well as the issue of adopting the Civil Code rules on civil partnership and legal entities.

Key words: *founders, memorandum of association, essential items, company, limited liability company*

1. INTRODUCTION

A company is a business structure which performs economic activities to make profit. Every company must become an entity to lawfully acquire rights and take on obligations from legal transactions.

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Therefore, a company acquires the status of a legal entity by adopting an application and delivering a decision on registration (Zakon o postupku registracije u Agenciji za privredne registre, Article 16; Zakon o privrednim društvima, Article 3; Gesetz betreffend die Gesellschaften mit beschränkter Haftung, Article 11) by the Companies' Register (Agency for Commercial Registers in Serbia, Chamber of Commerce Commercial Register in the Netherlands or Commercial Register of the District Court in Germany). To register and acquire legal subjectivity, a statement of the founders will in the memorandum of association is necessary. Until the entry, the persons establishing a company are founders and company's members from the registration (Ivanjko, Kocbek, 2003, p. 733).

A limited liability company is a suitable form of company combining the best features of a partnership and member's limited liability. Due to few members, the relatively stable membership, need for mutual trust for unanimous decision-making and low initial capital required for incorporation (Jankovec, 1999, p. 63; Arsić, Marjanski, 2018, p. 154; Vasiljević, 2023, p. 321), this structure combines the characteristics of a partnership and limited company adapted for family commercial companies. In addition, this structure has fewer obligations than a public joint-stock company, while management in a limited liability company is simpler. The widespread popularity of this structure is such that as of 31st December 2022, there were 115,888 limited liability enterprises in Serbia (Agencija za privredne registre, 2022, p. 9).

This paper examines the general characteristics of the memorandum of association of a limited liability company, its content in Serbian and a few comparative jurisdictions. We also discuss the weak points of the Serbian Companies Act framework to be amended and improved, as well as the issue of adopting the Civil Code rules on civil partnership and legal entities.

2. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MEMORANDUM OF ASSOCIATION

Since a limited company can be found by one natural or legal person, the memorandum of association should be drawn up in the form of a founding decision, and as the memorandum of association in case of multiple founders. Notwithstanding the number of founders, the memorandum of association should be in writing (*forma ad solemnitatem*) and their signatures certified by a notary public. The following passages refer to the memorandum of association.

With the memorandum of association, the company's members – the founders agree with the basic, legally prescribed elements necessary for the incorporation and bind themselves by the payment of a monetary or the entry of a non-monetary share. The general contract validity assumptions equally apply to this agreement. The contractors should possess the full legal capacity and express a mutual consent. The legal doctrine differentiates between general and qualified founding capacity, which exists if another law provides for the special requirements for a founder (Arsić, et al. 2018, p. 48). In addition, the contract must include a subject and cause – the goal of the incorporation in writing. The legal consequences of the contract focus on the establishment of a firm, the part of doctrine claims the memorandum of association creates a civil partnership of the founders regarding their rights and obligations before the company's registration (Jankovec, 1999, p. 44; Vasiljević, 2023, p. 64). In the former Serbian Civil Code 1844, a partnership meant that two or more partners agree "to invest their efforts or belongings to share the benefit obtained from it" (Srpski Građanski zakonik 1844, Article 723), and "intending to trade under a joint firm" (Srpski Trgovački zakonik 1860, Article 23(1)). In the Draft Civil Code of the Republic of Serbia 2019, that goal is determined as follows: "By way of a partnership agreement, two or more persons are mutually bound to combine means or their work to achieve a certain joint goal" (Prednacrt Građanskog zakonika Republike Srbije, Article 845(1)), while in the current law this is done to establish, i.e. register a company for performing activities **to make a profit**" (Zakon o privrednim društvima, Article 2).

With reference to the characteristics of partnership, a limited liability company is called "incorporated partnership" (Vasiljević, Jevremović Petrović, Lepetić, 2020, p. 153; Vasiljević, 2023, p. 321), "quasi-partnership" or "limited partnership, without general partners" (Jerinić, 2012, p. 161; Vasiljević, 2023, p. 321). Part of the foreign doctrine calls limited liability company as an "intimate enterprise" because it bonds few persons between whom there is a relationship of trust (Jankovec, 1999, p. 63). In Slovenia, rules of the Obligations Act (Articles 990–1008) on the partnership apply to a particular type of the company's agreement (memorandum of association) with essential items prescribed by the Slovenian Companies Act (Zakon o gospodarskih družbah, Article 474(3)). Accordingly, the memorandum of association of a limited liability company in Slovenia has the characteristics of a civil partnership. Likewise, the directors and the company in Netherlands are jointly and severally liable for the obligations undertaken in legal affairs on behalf of the company (limited liability company and joint stock company) before submission of the application to the Commercial Register, with all prescribed extracts and documents (Burgerlijk Wetboek, Boek 2 /Rechtspersonen/, Article 180(2)).

Doctrine also refers to the mutual trust of the founders (*intuitu personae*) as the ground of the memorandum of association (Jankovec, 1999, pp. 45, 63; Vasiljević, et al. 2020, p. 156; Vasiljević, 2023, p. 324). This stems from the rule that none of the firm members may transfer their share in the partnership to a third party, except when consented by the other associates. Equally, such authority is limited by the other members' pre-emption rights in a limited liability company or consent of the company's assembly.

The memorandum of association implies the establishment of the specific founder's rights and obligations, giving the Articles obligation nature. This is supported by the rules on civil capacity, agreement of the contractors' will, subject of the contract and cause. However, contractual theory on the origin of a company, prevailing in the 19th century, was replaced by institutional theory on the company origin (Jankovec, 1999, p. 46). Therefore, the minimum essential items in the memorandum of association are prescribed by the Law (on companies). To this end, memorandum of association is void if: 1) does not take the

legal form or 2) the company's activity is contrary to compulsory regulations or public order or 3) does not contain the business name, members' shares, the amount of the initial capital or the predominant activity or 4) contractors were legally or commercially incompetent when agreeing memorandum of association (Zakon o privrednim društvima, Article 13).

Currently accepted institutional theory about the company's creation claims the memorandum of association produces a status effect whereby the legal order recognizes the generation of the institution of a company whose position is regulated by law. In addition, a company is an independent organization in legal transactions which individual features distinguish it from other legal entities (Jankovec, 1999, p. 46). The firm's property and management are separate from the founder, because the company will in commercial dealing is expressed by its bodies and representatives. Essentially, creditors may not collect claims against the company from its members, which classifies the limited liability company into a corporation (Jerinić, 2012, p. 161). Therefore, a memorandum of association merely constitutes the basis for the creation of a company, while mutual relations of the founders are purposefully subordinated. Founders' failure to regulate the common interests in the memorandum of association does not produce its nullity if essential items for registration and, therefore, the company's creation is specified. With the comparable effect, the Slovenian Companies Act provides the "company agreement" should contain rules on the "potential obligations" of members to the company and vice versa (Zakon o gospodarskih družbah, Article 474(3), Article 5). One should be aware the founders may agree their relations in the memorandum of association or some other contract with regard to the dispositive provisions allowing them autonomy but are not permitted to depart from the mandatory statutory rules (Ivanjko, Kocbek, 2003, pp. 737– 738; Jerinić, 2012, pp. 163–164). The same is stated in Serbian legislation as follows: "Members of a limited liability company freely regulate their relations in and to the company, unless otherwise enacted by this Act" (Zakon o privrednim društvima, Article 140). The consistent application of the institutional theory transforms the contract features of the memorandum of association into status one. Consequently, contract properties disappear at the company registration, which view is also accepted by the Serbian highest courts (Vasiljević, 2023, p. 65).

3. ESSENTIAL ITEMS: TOO MANY OR TOO FEW?

Discussions about the essential items of the memorandum of association are limited by theoretical and practical assumptions regarding mandatory content. There is a prevailing agreement on the required items of the memorandum of association in comparative commercial law. Netherlands is a typical example where the Civil Code provides the memorandum of association of a limited liability company shall specify business name, seat and purpose (activity) of the company and a full or abbreviated form (Burgerlijk Wetboek, Boek 2 /Rechtspersonen/, Article 177), initial capital, nominal amount of shares, paid and entered (Burgerlijk Wetboek, Boek 2 /Rechtspersonen/, Article 178), founders, natural persons (name and surname, date and place of birth and residence) and legal persons (form of company, business name and registered office) (Burgerlijk Wetboek, Boek 2 /Rechtspersonen/, Article 196(2)b)c)).

There are also items in one legal system not mentioned in others. The legislation prescribing the mandatory components of the memorandum of association provides for some items of conditionally obligatory nature. For example, in Slovenia, these are the indication of the company duration when established for a definite period and the potential obligations of the members towards the company and vice versa. These comprise conditionally mandatory items applying when appropriate. Similarly, in Serbia the operation period a company is established is unessential in the incorporation document. In Serbian law, a company is founded for an indefinite period if the memorandum or Articles of association do not specify otherwise (Zakon o privrednim društvima, Article 10(2)). On the other hand, the memorandum of association has one conditional-mandatory provision. Among other things, it should provide for the company bodies and their competences. If founders do not agree on the competences of the company's bodies in a memorandum of association, they have the powers prescribed by the Companies Act. Serbian legal theory rightly pointed out one controversial provision of the Companies Act, which unnecessarily causes confusion. By Article 11(5) of the aforementioned law, the management of a limited liability company is structured by the memorandum, so the dilemma is

whether the company representative and the method of representation should be agreed upon in the memorandum of association (Vasiljević, 2023, p. 327). However, contradiction was resolved in the practice of the Business Register prior to the establishment of the Agency for Business Registers. It is now confirmed by appointing a company representative who must verify and deposit signature, which may be done either by the memorandum of association or decision. This is regulated by the bylaw on the documents required for registration with the Agency for Business Registers (Pravilnik o sadržini Registra privrednih subjekata i dokumentaciji potrebnoj za registraciju, Article 10(1)(3)). It has been shown in practice and accepted by the doctrine that it is more beneficial to name the representative and a range of authority by a separate decision. Appointing other representative in such a way prevents the necessity to amend the memorandum of association (Vasiljević, et al. 2020, p. 157). If, for some reason, founders wish to limit the representative range of authority, it is preferable to do so in one of the ways mentioned. The prevailing rule is that unregistered limitations of the representative's authority may not be asserted against honest third parties, unless the law provides otherwise (Prednacrt Građanskog zakonika Republike Srbije, Article 45(4)).

Besides the items prescribed by law, the founders may agree on numerous other aspects of the incorporation and their relationships and thereby expand content of the incorporation document. It is about the particular interests of the company members relating to additional restrictions for the transfer of shares, different rules on the profit distribution, the decision-making majority, etc. (Arsić, et al. 2018, p. 155; Jerinić, 2012, p. 163; Vasiljević, 2023, p. 327–328).

When it comes to the initial capital for the company registration, in the observed jurisdictions, there are differences ranging from the lowest possible (0.01 Euro in the Netherlands and 100 dinars in Serbia) to larger amounts (7,500 Euro in Slovenia or 25,000 Euros in Germany). Interestingly, German law distinguishes a limited liability company and an entrepreneurial limited liability company, the latter without a prescribed share capital sum. It can be concluded from this, the lower the initial capital, the scarcer the possibility for creditors to collect claims against the company. Therefore, in cases of a minor share capital, there is

no guarantee for protection of the creditor interests from the share capital of a limited liability company (Arsić, et al. 2018, p. 154; Vasiljević, 2023, p. 334). Weak guaranty function of the initial capital of a limited liability company is encouraged by the Serbian law, too. In Serbia, financial contribution at the company incorporation must be settled within the period specified in the memorandum of association, but no later than five years (Zakon o privrednim društvima, Article 46(2)(2)). However, there is no absolute security of creditors regarding the claims from limited liability companies, even when a larger initial capital is required, and prescribing this amount from the company revenue is practically impossible (Vasiljević, 2023, p. 333). In Serbian former commercial law, one natural person could establish only single member company with limited liability (Zakon o preduzećima 1996, Article 341 in conjunction with Article 196). This rule was supposed to reduce the danger of reckless establishment of unsound companies (Jankovec, 1999, p. 63). Since there is no such provision in current legislation, protection of conscientious persons remains questionable.

Founders can agree on other details in the memorandum of association without affecting its validity, because they are not compulsory by law for the incorporation. Those are additional payments and side performance.

Additional payments into the limited liability company assets represent an institute of contract law. Founders may agree on this in the memorandum or entrust such decision to the competence of the assembly. It should be borne in mind additional payments do not serve to increase the initial capital (Zakon o privrednim društvima, Article 178(3)), but to cover losses or company's creditors pay out (Vasiljević, et al. 2020, p. 161; Arsić, et al. 2018, pp. 175–176; Jerinić, 2012, p. 166). Founders may not agree on additional payments in monetary assessable things and rights, because it would be contrary to the nature of this institute (Arsić, et al. 2018, p. 174; Vasiljević, et al. 2020, p. 161).

Side performances refer to the specific tasks if necessary for the limited liability company's operations due to exceptional skills, know-how, knowledge of the market or "delivery of goods, provision of services to the company, corporate management, etc." (Arsić, et al. 2018,

p. 176–177; Vasiljević, et al. 2020, p. 162). Those represent the ordinary commercial activities of delivery of goods or provision of services, for which the member is entitled to market fare. Proportional share value for additional payments is inapplicable to them, but market value. Object of the side performance agreement can be anything not prohibited by compulsory regulations, public order or good customs, i.e. everything that may be a "valid subject of contractual relations" (Vasiljević, et al. 2020, p. 162).

One of the impermissible side performances of company members is granting a loan to the company. In the first version of the Serbian Companies Act, a member or a person related to him could give a loan to the company at any time (Zakon o privrednim društvima, Article 181). However, Serbian Banks Act 2005 introduced a rule that no one except the bank can engage in lending, unless authorized by law (Zakon o bankama, Article 5(2)). Company member is allowed to grant a loan to a limited liability company in Slovenia and Germany (Zakon o gospodarskih družbah, Articles 498 and 499; Gesetz betreffend die Gesellschaften mit beschränkter Haftung, Article 30), so it appears unusual such right was deleted from the Serbian Companies Act. Because of the aforementioned provision of the Banks Act 2005, granting a loan cannot be part of a memorandum of association of a limited liability company.

4. CONCLUSION

The Companies Act provides a sound framework for the incorporation of limited liability companies, where lower initial capital is merely one of the incentives for the establishment of family firms. However, the absence of legislation on civil partnerships significantly contributes to confusion as to which rules apply to the founders in the "pre-company" stage, i.e. before registration. Therefore, it appears necessary to regulate the partnership soon by adopting the Civil Code of the Republic of Serbia, which draft was decided at the end of May 2019. We believe inconsistency with the Companies Act regarding whether appointment of the company representative and the range of authority is required according to Article 11(5) or the dispositive wording of Article 141 on the determination of the company bodies competence, should be

interpreted as the founder's autonomy in the incorporation document or a standalone decision. Another solution would be to delete Article 11(5) or to amend wording. Analysis of the number of single-member limited liability companies of the same natural person and consequences of multiple founding status would indicate if restrictions on the incorporation capacity of an individual who is already the founder of an active limited-liability company are still needed. Optional items of the memorandum of association can be represented to a lesser or broader extent depending on the interests and needs of the founder. In doing so, the founders should check the applicable framework for choosing one or other provisions and rules of the incorporation document.

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VIŠEGENERACIJSKI GLASOVI U „LUDADAM“ UNIVERZUMU MARGARET ATVUD

Apstrakt: Ovaj rad ispituje glasove otpora protiv ugnjetavanja u trilogiji „Ludadam“ (*MaddAddam*) Margaret Atvud, kroz prizmu ekokritike i ekofeminizma, kao i kako ovi glasovi evoluiraju i šire se polazeći od jedne pripovedne perspektive zastupljene u prvom romanu trilogije koji nosi naziv „Antilopa i kosac“ (*Oryx and Crake*, 2003) do dualnih perspektiva prikazanih u drugom romanu, „Godini potopa“ (*The Year of the Flood*, 2009), te višegeneracijskih glasova, odnosno višestrukih perspektiva u poslednjem romanu, „Ludadam“ (*MaddAddam*, 2013). Iako bi se moglo tvrditi da se u prvom romanu zanemaruju međugeneracijske posledice klimatske krize i predstojeće apokalipse, jer su u središtu romana mladi, kao žrtve starih i pohlepnih, naredni romani teže da integrišu spektar perspektiva – mladih i starih, muških i ženskih, ljudskih i neljudskih. U trilogiji „Ludadam“ postaje jasno da prevazilaženje klimatske krize i njenih posledica zahteva prepoznavanje duboko usađenog hijerarhijskog dualizma ja/drugo. Ovde „ja“ ili „sopstvo“ simbolizuje privilegovane grupe – tipično su to ljudi iz viših ili srednjih slojeva društva, iz tehnološki i industrijski razvijenih sredina i uglavnom bele puti i muškog pola. „Drugo“ se odnosi na ugnjetavane grupe ljudi, kao što je prikazano u trilogiji: siromašne, iz radničke klase ili nerazvijene sredine, one koji nisu bele puti i one koje su ženskog pola. Da bi prebrodili krizu, protagonisti moraju uvideti da postoji međusobna povezanost svih oblika života, te, u skladu sa tim, i priznati vrednost svakog živog bića,

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bez obzira na njegovu starost, pol ili rod. Samo zajedničkim naporima preživeli mogu da započnu sa osnivanjem društva koje će biti utemeljeno na međusobnoj saradnji, a ne na ugnjetavanju.

Ključne reči: *trilogija „Ludadam", ekokritika, ekofeminizam, ugnjetavanje, višegeneracijski glasovi*

1. Uvod

Priroda i stav čoveka prema prirodi zauzimaju tematski značajno mesto u prozi i poeziji Margaret Atvud od prvog romana „Izranjanje" (*Surfacing*, 1972), preko njenog najznačajnijeg dela „Sluškinjina priča" (*The Handmaid's Tale*, 1985), pa sve do novije trilogije „Ludadam" (*MaddAddam*, 2003–2013), kao i novijih dužih i kraćih proznih dela. U sopstvenim delima, Atvudova često preispituje različita shvatanja prirode: priroda se pojavljuje kao sila protiv koje se ljudi bore kako bi opstali (zbirka pesama *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* (1970), kritička studija *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (1972), roman „Alijas Grejs" (*Alias Grace*, 1996)), kao carstvo koje treba osvojiti i pokoriti (romani „Izranjanje" (*Surfacing*, 1972) i „Život pre čoveka" (*Life Before Man,* 1980)), i kao žrtva eksploatacije (romani „Sluškinjina priča" (*The Handmaid's Tale*, 1985) i „Antilopa i kosac" (*Oryx and Crake*, 2003)). Kako navodi Hač (Hatch, 2000, str. 196), u delima Atvudove primećuje se dualni odnos prema prirodi: priroda se posmatra i kao mesto slobode, ali i kao mesto užasa, i kao žrtva i kao ubica. Istovremeno, primetna je sve veća zabrinutost zbog ekološke krize koju često prati i društveni kolaps, kao što se vidi u „Sluškinjinoj priči" i trilogiji „Ludadam".

Trilogija „Ludadam" predstavlja kompleksno delo koje je moguće svrstati u više žanrova: većina književnih kritičara (Hengen, 2006; Howells, 2006; Canavan, 2012; Watkins, 2012; Mohr, 2015; Mohr, 2017) svrstava ga u naučnu fantastiku, odnosno podžanr distopije. Sama autorka ova svoja dela naziva spekulativnom prozom zbog toga što se radnja odigrava u društvu sasvim sličnom zapadnoj civilizaciji s početka dvadeset prvog veka i bavi se sasvim savremenim temama poput hiperkonzumerizma, žudnje za večitom mladošću i neoliberalnog ekonomskog sistema motivisanog isključivo profitom (Sentov, 2021, str. 164).

Ova trilogija se takođe može svrstati u dela „klimatske književnosti“ (eng. *cli-fi*) (Hughes & Wheeler, 2013, str. 2), odnosno u podžanr naučne fantastike u kome se kritikuje težnja čovečanstva da dominira i uništava prirodu, što najčešće dovodi do uništenja globalnog ekosistema i nestanka biljnih i životinjskih vrsta, pa i samog čoveka. Osim toga, u trilogiji „Ludadam“ primetni su i elementi književnosti „ekokolapsa“: posledice uništenja životne sredine, izumiranje čovečanstva i kritika antropocentrizma u postapokaliptičnom svetu. Prema Makfarlandovoj (McFarland, 2021), književnost „ekokolapsa“ je podžanr koji tematski obrađuje klimatske promene kroz realistične narative koji istražuju posledice uništenja globalnog ekosistema, a jedan od njih je i izumiranje ljudske vrste. Kako navode Škobo i Đukić (2023, 2022), u ovim narativima se prikazuju uništeni ekosistemi u kojima ljudska vrsta više ne može da opstane, u cilju kritikovanja antropocentrizma i promovisanja ekološke svesti o međusobnoj povezanosti svih živih bića. Takva je i trilogija „Ludadam“ u kojoj je čitav ekosistem uništen usled zagađenja, klimatskih promena i drugih katastrofa uzrokovanih ljudskim aktivnostima. Uništenje ekosistema izazvano je i neslućenim razvojem nauke i tehnologije u svrhu ostvarenja profita. Protagoniste ove trilogije, stoga, zatičemo u potpuno razorenom svetu, gde oni pokušavaju da ponovo izgrade zajednice i društvene grupe, pri čemu se suočavaju sa brojnim spoljašnjim i unutrašnjim izazovima. Kao i mnoge priče sa postapokaliptičnom tematikom, u trilogiji bitno mesto zauzimaju i teme rađanja i reprodukcije pošto je opstanak ljudske vrste usko povezan sa biološkom sposobnošću, ali moralnom opravdanošću rađanja novog života u razorenom svetu.

Ipak, kako navodi Filipsova (Phillips, 2017, str. 140), u ekologiji krah ili kolaps ekosistema ne mora da označava apokalipsu ili konačno uništenje; ekosistemi se povremeno mogu urušiti, ali to nije i konačan kraj. Dakle, krah zapadne civilizacije u trilogiji „Ludadam“ ne mora da označava kraj sveta, već kraj perioda antropocena ili doba ljudi a istovremeno i priliku za oporavak ekosistema narušenih ljudskim aktivnostima (Ciobanu, 2014, citirano u Martin, 2019, str. 176; Phillips, 2017, str. 142). Osim za ekosisteme ovo važi i za ljudske i životinjske jedinke koje ih čine: neke dožive kolaps od koga se ne mogu oporaviti, dok su druge dovoljno otporne da mogu da prežive.

Prva dva romana u trilogiji opisuju događaje koji su doveli do izbijanja pandemije koja je desetkovala čovečanstvo. Poslednji deo trilogije fokusira se na moguće putanje ka oporavku i obnavljanju ekosistema i društva. U ovom romanu vesnici nade u bolju budućnost čovečanstva su Koščići (*Crakers*), humanoidi stvoreni putem genetskog inženjeringa koji su osmišljeni tako da žive u savršenom skladu sa prirodom. Takođe, nadu bude postupci određenih likova u romanu kao što su Tobi i Zeb koji se trude da stvore i neguju empatiju i solidarnost između različitih grupa kako bi stvorili novo, pravednije društvo u kom i ljudi i sva druga živa bića teže stvaranju ekološki skladnog sveta.

Cilj ovog rada je da analizira višegeneracijske glasove iz trilogije „Ludadam" i njihove reakcije na ekološku krizu. Kroz prizmu ekološke i ekofeminističke kritike analiziraćemo progresiju naracije polazeći od jedne pripovedne perspektive zastupljene u prvom romanu – „Antilopa i kosac" (*Oryx and Crake*, 2003) do dualnih perspektiva prikazanih u drugom romanu, „Godini potopa" (*The Year of the Flood*, 2009), te višegeneracijskih glasova, odnosno višestrukih perspektiva u poslednjem romanu – „Ludadam" (*MaddAddam*, 2013).

U radu će se analizirati međusobna povezanost ljudskih i drugih živih bića, kao i potencijal za suštinske promene u okolnostima ekološke krize, kao bitni principi ekofeminističke filozofije. Takođe, ova analiza će pokazati kako autorka svojim majstorskim pripovedanjem prepliće niti nade, empatije i otpornosti i time podstiče čitaoce da razmišljaju o dalekosežnim posledicama koje ljudske aktivnosti ostavljaju na životnu sredinu, kao i o neophodnosti osmišljavanja održivog i uravnoteženog suživota.

2. Ekofeministička kritika kao mesto susreta ekološke i feminističke misli

Ekofeminizam se krajem dvadesetog veka razvio iz ekološke kritike a danas je jedan od najuticajnijih pravaca u ekološkoj teoriji i praksi. Ovaj pravac je nastao kako iz ekološke, tako i feminističke filozofije a njegov glavni cilj je preispitivanje i kritikovanje patrijarhalnih obrazaca koji služe potčinjavanju kako žena, tako i prirode. U ekofeminizmu se naglašava suštinska veza između dominacije muškog roda nad ženskim,

s jedne strane, i uništavanja životne sredine, s druge strane, te se zastupa teza da čovečanstvo mora da promeni svoj način života i usvoji empatiju i održivost kao suštinske vrednosti. Jedna od najvažnijih premisa ekofeminizma je da sva živa bića, bez obzira na to kojoj vrsti pripadaju, imaju svoju neotuđivu vrednost i pravo na život. Poslednjih godina ekofeminizam sve više dobija na značaju kao pravac u književnoj i društvenoj kritici. Mnogi kritičari i naučni radnici prepoznali su demokratski duh ovog pravca, pa su principe ekofeminizma primenili na književnu kritiku i tako došli do originalnih teorijskih okvira i tumačenja (Murphy, 1995; Gaard and Murphy, 1998; Sandilands, 1999; Gaard, Estok, & Opperman, 2013).

Bitno je naglasiti da se ekofeminizam ne bavi samo pitanjima iz polja feminizma, već obuhvata i aktuelna pitanja zaštite, odnosno uništenja životne sredine. Ekofeministička kritika, takođe, teži da se distancira od „zapadnjačke“ perspektive koja se često sreće u feminističkom diskursu: ideja univerzalne „ženske prirode“ se odbacuje, a ističu se različita iskustva žena iz celog sveta (Zerbe Enns 2004, str. 154). Zahvaljujući toj inkluzivnosti, ekofeminizam se bavi kompleksnim i međusobno povezanim problemima koji proizilaze iz ekološke krize i društvene nejednakosti.

Umesto dominacije čoveka nad drugim živim bićima, ekofeminizam u prvi plan ističe neraskidivu povezanost između svih oblika života; umesto etike prava, etiku zaštite i odgovornosti; umesto doktrine napretka i razvoja, doktrinu saradnje i pomoći (v. Gaard, 1993; Warren, 1997; Mies & Shiva, 2014). Prema ekofeminističkim kritičarkama, uzroci ekološke krize leže u dominaciji čoveka nad svim što se percipira kao „drugo“ – „drugo“ može biti priroda, žene, deca, ljudi nebele rase, ljudi koji nisu sa Zapada, radnička klasa, siromašni i svi oni koji nemaju moć (Birkenland, 1993; Gaard, 1993; Kurth-Schai, 1997; Warren, 1997; Rowland, 2015; Hummel, 2019), što opet potiče iz androcentričnog pogleda na svet, po kome je čovek (tj. muškarac) centar sveta, dok sve „drugo“ postoji samo da bi mu služilo. Kako bi se pristupilo rešavanju krize, smatraju ekofeministkinje, čitav kulturološki i institucionalni aparat koji podržava ovakav pogled na svet mora se rasformirati, a uverenje da muškarci prirodno imaju pravo da upravljaju prirodom, ženama i „drugim“ mora se odbaciti (Birkenland, 1993, str. 17–20).

U književnosti su zaživeli mnogi ekofeministički principi, kao što se vidi u delima Margaret Atvud. Prema Roulandovoj (Rowland, 2015), upravo se u romanu „Ludadam" mogu naći mnogi principi ekofeminizma, koji mogu poslužiti kao putokazi ka rešenju kompleksnih društvenih, kulturnih i ekoloških problema opisanih u prva dva romana. Iako se može reći da se prvi roman „Antilopa i Kosac" fokusira samo na mlade kao žrtve gramzivosti starijih generacija i da se ne bavi intergeneracijskim posledicama klimatske krize, u druga dva romana pojavljuju se brojne narativne perspektive: mladi i stari, muškarci i žene, ljudi i pripadnici drugih živih vrsta. U trilogiji „Ludadam" postaje jasno da prevazilaženje klimatske krize i njenih posledica zahteva prepoznavanje duboko usađenog hijerarhijskog dualizma ja/drugo. Ovde „ja" ili „sopstvo" simbolizuje privilegovane grupe – tipično su to ljudi iz viših ili srednjih slojeva društva, iz tehnološki i industrijski razvijenih sredina i uglavnom bele puti i muškog pola. „Drugo" se odnosi na ugnjetavane grupe ljudi, kao što je prikazano u trilogiji: siromašne, iz radničke klase ili nerazvijene sredine, one koji nisu bele puti i one koji su ženskog pola. Da bi prebrodili krizu, protagonisti moraju uvideti da postoji međusobna povezanost svih oblika života, te, u skladu sa tim, i priznati vrednost svakog živog bića, bez obzira na njegovu starost, pol ili rod. Samo zajedničkim naporima preživeli mogu da započnu sa osnivanjem društva koje će biti utemeljeno na međusobnoj saradnji, a ne na ugnjetavanju.

3. Put od ekološkog kolapsa do obnove u trilogiji „Ludadam"

3.1. Antilopa i Kosac

U romanu „Antilopa i Kosac" opisane su posledice globalne pandemije koju je veštački stvorio genijalni naučnik s nadimkom Kosac, duboko razočaran u čovečanstvo. Tri glavna lika, Džimi, Kosac i Antilopa, odrastaju u iskvarenom potrošačkom društvu koje nemilosrdno eksploatiše i troši kako prirodne resurse, tako i ljudske živote. Iako je prikazan kao antagonist, Kosac je uveren da je čovečanstvo na ivici opstanka i da uništavanjem svog okruženja hrli ka samouništenju.

Glavni tok romana prati Snežnog (eng. *Snowman*), „poslednjeg čoveka na zemlji", koji je preživeo globalnu pandemiju. Osim njegove

svakodnevne borbe za opstanak, kroz sećanja Snežnog dobijamo uvid u njegov raniji život i društvo pre pandemije. Džimi, kako se Snežni ranije zvao, bio je sin naučnika, stručnjaka za genetsko inženjerstvo. U prepandemijskom društvu naučnici su radili za svemoćne korporacije koje su u potpunosti preuzele funkcije državnih organa. Uloga naučnika je bila da neprestano istražuju i uvode inovacije kako bi uvećali profit za korporacije. Postojale su dve društvene klase: jedna je bila privilegovana elita koju su činili rukovodioci korporacija i naučnici koji su radili za njih nastanjeni u luksuznim „Kompleksima“, naseljima sa jakim obezbeđenjem. Drugu su činili „obični ljudi“, lišeni moći i privilegija, koji su živeli u „plebejama“, nekadašnjim metropolama sada prenaseljenim i zagađenim. Ova društvena podela reflektuje se i kroz sve veći jaz između prirodnih i društvenih nauka – baš kao i u stvarnom svetu gde društvene nauke sve više gube na važnosti u odnosu na prirodne nauke i informacione tehnologije (Bergthaller, 2010). Ovaj jaz je živopisno predstavljen kontrastiranjem načina života i karijere Džimija, koji je bio nadaren za reči, i Kosca, koji je imao dara za prirodne nauke.

Džimi završava studije marketinga, ali teško nalazi poslove, dok Kosac, zahvaljujući svojoj genijalnosti, stiče diplomu prestižnog Instituta „Votson-Krik“ i dobija visoku poziciju u jednoj velikoj korporaciji, uživajući sve privilegije koje idu uz to. Međutim, iako je u početku njegova ambicija bila da poboljša svakodnevni život ljudi, Kosac ubrzo uviđa da je njegova uloga samo da korporacijama napravi što veći profit, što u njemu izaziva duboko razočaranje u ceo sistem i čovečanstvo u celini. Takođe, u njemu se budi želja da čovečanstvo natera da „počne iz početka“. Zajednička crta Kosca i Džimija je problematičan odnos prema majci: Džimi, čija je majka napustila porodicu, upušta se u površne emotivne veze i izbegava svaki dublji odnos kako ne bi bio povređen, dok Kosac usmerava svu svoju energiju na napredovanje u karijeri i kontrolisanje svakog aspekta svog života. Obojica usvajaju androcentrični pogled na svet koji karakteriše agresivnost, strah od pokazivanja osećanja i prezir prema osobinama koje se tradicionalno percipiraju kao ženske, kao što su empatija i saradljivost. Obojica žele i istu ženu koja dolazi iz potpuno drugačijeg miljea. Antilopa, kako je zove Džimi, još kao dete je prodata u seksualno ropstvo u nekoj neimenovanoj zemlji Trećeg sveta a kasnije je prokrijumčarena u SAD iz istih razloga. Antilopina životna

priča predstavlja suštu suprotnost privilegovanom životu glavnih junaka i naglašava kako se ranjive društvene grupe u ovom društvu tretiraju kao roba. Kosac i Džimi je takođe posmatraju kao predmet svojih želja, a ne kao ličnost: Džimi sebe zamišlja kao njenog spasioca, dok Kosac želi da iskoristi njenu traumu kako bi od nje napravio „Anđela smrti". U uverenju da ima rešenje za ekološku krizu, Kosac započinje dva paralelna projekta: prvi je stvaranje leka „ekstradost" (BlyssPlus), koji se promoviše kao čudesno sredstvo koje produžava mladost, povećava seksualnu želju, sprečava bolesti i štiti od začeća. Džimija stavlja na čelo marketinškog tima, dok je Antilopa zadužena za prodaju. Međutim, pilule sadrže i tajni sastojak – smrtonosnu varijantu virusa hemoragijske groznice. Veštački stvoren virus je namenjen tome da desetkuje čovečanstvo kako bi se stvorili uslovi da planetu naseli nova humanoidna vrsta – Koščići. U početku Kosac tvrdi da su oni samo ishod eksperimentisanja sa genetskim inženjeringom, ali zapravo planira da oni zamene ljudsku vrstu. Uloga Antilope u projektu je kompleksna: ona preuzima tradicionalno žensku ulogu majke koja brine o Koščićima i podučava ih, ali je istovremeno i poslovna žena koja prodaje smrtonosni „ekstradost" i tako doprinosi istrebljenju ljudske vrste (v. Martin, 2019, str. 178–180).

Antilopina životna priča i njena uloga u Koščevim projektima odražavaju kompleksnost položaja žene u potrošačkom društvu. Kao žena, Antilopa se neprestano suočava sa nekom vrstom dehumanizacije i komodifikacije – od seksualnog ropstva do promocije smrtonosne „ekstradosti", što predstavlja eksploataciju žene u patrijarhalnom društvu. Za Koščiće ona predstavlja majčinsku figuru, što je tradicionalna ženska uloga; s druge strane, Antilopa je uključena i u prodaju i distribuciju „ekstradosti", što govori da je ona istovremeno i žrtva i saučesnik u održavanju jednog korumpiranog sistema.

„Novi ljudi", Koščići, oličavaju ljudsku želju da dominira nad prirodom. Stvaranje Koščića otvara pitanja da li čovek preuzima božansku ulogu i kakve su posledice tolike moći. Posledice ovakvih postupaka sagledavamo preko Džimija, kao naratora koji svedoči društvenom kolapsu nakon pandemije. Džimijeva uloga pripovedača je izuzetno važna jer njegove priče prenose Koščićima iskustva i greške čovečanstva. Autorka posredno poručuje da je neophodno uspostaviti pravednije društvo zasnovano na jednakosti i održivosti koje prepoznaje povezanost između čoveka i prirode.

3.2. „Godina potopa“

Radnja romana „Godina potopa“ (2009) odvija se istovremeno s radnjom iz romana „Antilopa i Kosac“. Glavni likovi su Tobi i Ren, bivše članice verske sekte „Božji baštovani“, koje su preživele pandemiju. Kroz likove ovih dveju žena, jedne mlade i jedne sredovečne, dobijamo uvid kako u društvo kojim upravljaju korporacije, tako i u funkcionisanje „Božjih baštovana“. Ren je rođena i odrasla u luksuznim Kompleksima, ali sa desetak godina njena majka se priključuje „Baštovanima“ i odvodi je sa sobom. Kroz Reninu priču možemo da sagledamo dva suprotstavljena načina života: luksuzni život u Kompleksima koji se održava putem eksploatacije i ljudi i životne sredine, i skromni asketski život Baštovana koji, uprkos tome što podsećaju na „uvrnute fanatike“ (GP, 70), propovedaju održivost i očuvanje svih živih vrsta. Baštovani su posvećeni širenju svoje vere i očuvanju životne sredine a njihova filozofija se suprotstavlja antropocentrizmu i zastupa stanovište da je dobrobit svih živih bića jednako važna.

Lik Tobi u „Godini potopa“ i lik Džimija/Snežnog su povezani, ali i suprotstavljeni na više načina. Oba lika predstavljaju glavne naratore, odnosno događaji u oba romana se prikazuju iz njihove perspektive; oboje su izolovani, u naizgled bezizlaznom položaju; oba lika tokom izolacije prolaze kroz proces samospoznaje i preispitivanja svojih vrednosti i prioriteta. Međutim, dok Džimi postaje ogorčen i samodestruktivan, Tobi otkriva svoju unutrašnju snagu i rezilijentnost (Hummel, 2019, str. 2–3). Tobina životna priča jednako je strašna kao i Antilopina. U mladosti, Tobi se zaposlila u lancu prodavnica brze hrane *Tajni Burgeri* (*SecretBurgers*), gde se radnice konzumiraju i u prenesenom i u doslovnom smislu: šef Blanko ih prvo izrabljuje, zatim primorava na seksualne odnose, a zatim ih eliminiše i, kako se priča, koristi kao meso za burgere. Tobina priča predstavlja besprizornost sistema koji se održava eksploatacijom i konzumiranjem ljudskih bića, posebno onih koji se doživljavaju kao „drugo“: siromašnih, radničke klase, nebele rase i ženskog roda (v. Hummel, 2019, str. 1–2). Na sreću, Tobi su od ove sudbine spasili Baštovani i pružili joj utočište u napuštenoj stambenoj zgradi. Tamo Tobi upoznaje vođu grupe, Adama Jedan (Adam One). Slušajući njegove propovedi, upoznaje i neobičnu doktrinu Baštovana

koja predstavlja spoj nauke i religije. Iako njihova vera povremeno deluje pretenciozno, pa i apsurdno, ona je zasnovana na saosećanju i saradnji. Uprkos tome što u početku sumnja u verovanja Baštovana, Tobi na kraju postaje predvodnica preživelih Baštovana, spremna da se bori za bolju budućnost čovečanstva.

Iz perspektive ekofeminizma, „Godina potopa" kritikuje destruktivne posledice dominacije čoveka nad prirodom, a podstiče prihvatanje vrednosti kao što su povezanost, empatija i saradnja između ljudi i životne sredine. Kroz svoje rituale, učenja i održive prakse, Baštovani podižu svest o međusobnoj zavisnosti ljudi i prirode, podstičući saosećajniji odnos prema našoj planeti. Njihovo odbacivanje eksploatatorskog potrošačkog društva u skladu je sa ekofeminističkim principima, jer se Baštovani zalažu za pravedniji i održiviji način života.

3.3. „Ludadam"

U poslednjem romanu u trilogiji – „Ludadam", prepliću se prepandemijska prošlost i postpandemijska sadašnjost, u kojoj se preživeli članovi sekte Božjih baštovana bore za opstanak i uče da dele svoj životni prostor sa Koščićima, genetski modifikovanim životinjama i odbeglim robijašima. Roman takođe govori o pojavi radikalnog krila Božjih baštovana pod nazivom „Ludadam", koje se na kraju odvaja od sekte i nastavlja da se suprotstavlja vlastima kao ekoteroristička grupa. Kosac uspeva da privuče ovo radikalno krilo da se pridruži njegovom projektu „Rajski vrt" i stvori Koščiće. Nakon pandemije, preživeli „Ludadamovci" ponovo se sreću sa preostalim Božjim baštovanima. Priča o pustošenju koje su ljudi izazvali u svetu prirode i njihovoj borbi za opstanak u postapokaliptičnom svetu ispričana je višestrukim glasovima, ljudskim i neljudskim. Grupa preživelih, koja se sastoji od članova Božjih baštovana, „Ludadamovaca" i autsajdera, poput Džimija, uči da živi zajedno, sarađuje i prilagođava se kako bi preživela uprkos različitim životnim dobima i ponekad suprotstavljenim stavovima. Glavni narator je i dalje Tobi koja, pomoću svog autoriteta i snažne empatije prema svim živim bićima, preuzima ulogu predvodnice i moralnog središta grupe.

Drugi narator je Zeb, osnivač „Ludadama“, koji je odrastao u atmosferi negiranja devastacije životne sredine i raspada društvenog sistema. Zebov otac bio je osnivač verske sekte Petrolejska crkva koja je propovedala da su nafta i druga fosilna goriva sveti darovi od Boga i da je ograničavanje ili zabrana njihove upotrebe protivno Bibliji, što predstavlja parodiju verskih grupa koje pod krinkom vere služe interesima korporativnog kapitala. Zeb i njegov polubrat Adam Jedan žrtve su zlostavljanja njihovog oca, korumpiranog lidera sekte koji manipuliše svojim vernicima a blati protivnike. Kao žrtve pohlepnih i korumpiranih, Zeb i Adam Jedan osećaju snažan otpor prema svojim roditeljima, što kasnije prerasta u međugeneracijsku borbu. Adam Jedan se odlučuje da osnuje Božije baštovane, ekološki pokret koji spaja hrišćansku doktrinu sa učenjem o zaštiti životne sredine. S druge strane, Zebu sve više počinje da smeta pacifistička priroda pokreta, te odlučuje da osnuje frakciju unutar Božjih baštovana pod nazivom „Ludadam“ koja koristi ekoterorizam da poremeti aktivnosti Korporacija. Zeba i Adama su, isto kao Kosca i Džimija, obmanjivali i izdali sopstveni roditelji. Zanimljivo je da su očevi sva četiri lika u određenoj meri bili uključeni u eksploatatorske prakse Korporacija Odluke koje donose njihovi sinovi i mogu se stoga posmatrati kao bunt protiv sistema koji predstavljaju njihovi očevi. Kao uzorni učenici i studenti, Adam i Kosac deluju kao da se ne bune protiv sistema. Međutim, obojica žele da spasu svet pri čemu često zanemaruju individualnu dobrobit svojih prijatelja i porodice, a usled svoje usredsređenosti na grandiozne planove ne mogu ili ne žele da sagledaju posledice svojih postupaka. Zeb i Džimi, s druge strane, prikazani su kao ljudi koji ne razmišljaju mnogo ni o moralu ni o opštem dobru i koji nalaze zadovoljstvo u pobuni protiv autoriteta. Međutim, kada se suoče sa teškim okolnostima, obojica pokazuju svoju pouzdanost i snalažljivost. Džimi preuzima odgovornost za brigu o Koščićima i zbližava se sa njima, dok Zeb, pored Tobi, postaje ključni oslonac u uspostavljanju nove zajednice. Iako ni jedni ni drugi ne izražavaju otvoreno zabrinutost za sudbinu čovečanstva, oni su sposobni da se brinu o drugima i da ih zaštite, što je od vitalnog značaja za izgradnju solidarnosti i negovanje saradnje unutar grupe.

Tobi, kao predvodnica novog pokreta, postaje moralno središte grupe i izvor vere u svetost i jednakost svih oblika života. Do kraja romana

Tobi preuzima ulogu posrednika između Baštovana, „Ludadamovaca" i Koščića i trudi se da uspostavi razumevanje i saradnju među različitim grupama. Ona se zalaže za formiranje saveza sa genetski modifikovanim svinjama, „svinjonima" (*Pig Ones*), kako bi se zajednički suprotstavili odbeglim robijašima. Njeno saosećanje i razumevanje prema ljudskim i neljudskim bićima odražavaju ekofeminističkи princip prepoznavanja inherentne vrednosti svih oblika života. Na kraju romana pojavljuje se glas još jednog naratora: to je Crnobradi, dečak Koščić koji je zavoleo Tobi i postao njen pomagač i posrednik u komunikaciji između Koščića, svinjona i „starih" ljudi. Koščići, naime, imaju sposobnost da razumeju jezik svinjona a svinjoni umeju da komuniciraju zahvaljujući ljudskim genima u svom genetskom kodu. Bića različitih vrsta, dakle, mogu da pronađu zajednički jezik i žive u miru i harmoniji. U skladu s tim, Tobi odlučuje da Crnobradog nauči čitanju i pisanju. Zatim on nasleđuje Tobin dnevnik i nastavlja da u njemu beleži događaje iz svakodnevnog života nove zajednice, poteškoće i uspehe, pa i rađanje prvih beba iz veza Koščića i „starih" ljudi. Na kraju romana, nakon smrti Tobi i Zeba, Crnobradi preuzima ulogu učitelja i predvodnika grupe zavetujući se da će njihove priče sačuvati za buduće generacije. Stapanjem dva narativna glasa, Tobi i Crnobradog, autorka poručuje da se znanje i briga o drugima prenose sa generacije na generaciju i bude nadu u zajednicu koja je zasnovana na empatiji i održivom razvoju.

4. Zaključna razmatranja

U trilogiji „Ludadam" Margaret Atvud poziva na transformativne društvene promene i upozorava na neodrživost antiekoloških stilova života (Canavan 2012; Mohr 2015). Prva dva romana opisuju degradaciju i konačnu propast ljudskog društva, što naizgled dovodi do konačnog izumiranja čovečanstva. Ipak, u poslednjem delu trilogije predstavljen je postljudski svet u kome mogu da koegzistiraju različite vrste: „stari ljudi", Koščići („novi" ljudi) i inteligentne hibridne životinje.

Autorka zagovara budućnost zasnovanu na saradnji, poštovanju i harmoničnom suživotu svih živih bića. Prevazilaženje ekološke krize i njenih posledica zavisi od toga da li ćemo prepoznati i preispitati hijerarhijski dualizam koji odvaja čovečanstvo od prirode. Prepoznavanje

međusobne povezanosti i inherentne vrednosti svih oblika života – bez obzira na starost, pol ili vrstu – od vitalnog je značaja za izgradnju društva zasnovanog na saradnji, a ne na represiji.

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MULTIGENERATIONAL VOICES IN MARGARET ATWOOD'S *MADDADDAM* UNIVERSE

Abstract: This paper examines the voices of resistance against oppression within Margaret Atwood's *MaddAddam* trilogy through the lenses of ecocriticism and ecofeminism. Our exploration traces the evolution and broadening of these voices, progressing from the singular narrative perspective in the first novel, *Oryx and Crake* (2003), to the dual perspectives presented in the second novel, *The Year of the Flood* (2009), and culminating in the multi-generational, even multi-species, voices in the final novel, *MaddAddam* (2013). While one might contend that the first novel appears to neglect the intergenerational repercussions of the climate crisis and impending apocalypse, focusing on the young victims of the old and the greedy, the subsequent novels strive to integrate a spectrum of perspectives – both young and elderly, male and female, human and non-human. Atwood's *MaddAddam* trilogy underscores that overcoming the climate crisis and its aftermath necessitates recognition of the deeply rooted hierarchical dualism of self/other. Here, the "self" symbolises privileged groups – typically upper- or middle-class, human, technologically and industrially developed, and predominantly white and male. The "other" encompasses oppressed groups, as portrayed in the trilogy: the poor, working-class, non-human animals, undeveloped, non-white, and female. To overcome the crisis, the protagonists must acknowledge their interconnectedness and

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the inherent value of all life, regardless of age, gender, or species. Only through collaborative efforts can the survivors initiate the construction of a society founded on collaboration rather than oppression.

Keywords: *MaddAddam* trilogy, ecocriticism, ecofeminism, oppression, multigenerational voices

1. Introduction

The themes of Nature and humanity's attitude to it have featured prominently in Margaret Atwood's fiction and poetry, from one of her earliest novels *Surfacing* (1972) to her seminal work *The Handmaid's Tale* (1985) to the more recent *MaddAddam* trilogy (2003-2013) to her later short and long fiction. In her non-fiction, fiction and poetry, Atwood has often examined various concepts of Nature: as a formidable force that humans struggle against for survival (*The Journals of Susanna Moodie* (1970), *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (1972), *Alias Grace* (1996)), as a realm to be dominated and conquered (*Surfacing* (1972), *Life Before Man* (1980)), and as a vulnerable victim of human exploitation (*The Handmaid's Tale* (1985), *Oryx and Crake* (2003)). As Ronald B. Hatch (2000, p. 196) notes, Atwood's works are characterised by a dual attitude towards Nature, seeing it at the same time as liberating and horrifying, a victim and a killer. Her writings have also become marked by a growing concern for the environmental crisis, which is often intertwined with societal collapse, as evident in *The Handmaid's Tale* and the *MaddAddam* trilogy.

The *MaddAddam* trilogy is a complex and multifaceted work that has garnered attention across various genres. While it has been categorised by scholars as science fiction, or its sub-genre of literary dystopia (Hengen, 2006; Howells, 2006; Canavan, 2012; Watkins, 2012; Mohr, 2015; Mohr, 2017), Atwood herself prefers to label it as speculative fiction. This distinction stems from its portrayal of a plausible 21st-century Western society entangled in contemporary issues like hyper-consumerism, youth obsession, and a profit-driven neoliberal economy (Sentov, 2021, p. 164). The trilogy also finds its place in the realm of

climate fiction, or "cli-fi," (Hughes and Wheeler, 2013, p. 2), a subgenre of science fiction that critically examines humanity's dominant and destructive attitude toward the natural world, often resulting in global ecosystem devastation and potential annihilation of both humans and other species. Additionally, the *MaddAddam trilog*y includes the elements of "ecocollapse" fiction as it examines the consequences of ecological devastation, the possibility of human extinction, and the critique of human exceptionalism in a post-apocalyptic world. It effectively explores the aftermath of environmental catastrophes and the ecological system collapses, many of which are the consequences of human-induced environmental catastrophes.

According to Sarah McFarland (2021), ecocollapse fiction is a subgenre of climate change fiction that presents realistic narratives exploring the consequences of ecological collapse, often leading to the possibility of human extinction. These stories, as argued by Milena Škobo and Jovana Đukić (2023, 2022), challenge human exceptionalism and emphasise ecological awareness through their portrayal of devastated ecosystems and the inability to sustain human life. The *MaddAddam* trilogy depicts a world where humanity has caused severe environmental degradation through genetic engineering, pollution, and other human-made disasters. The reckless pursuit of scientific progress has led to the destruction of natural ecosystems and brought the world to the brink of destruction, and surviving communities must grapple with the uncertainty of their future. It presents a world where the boundaries between nature and technology have blurred, resulting in denatured ecosystems and a loss of the natural world as it once existed. The characters in the trilogy navigate the aftermath of the ecological collapse and attempt to survive in the hostile environment. They also seek to rebuild communities and societies, facing challenges from both internal and external threats. Like other post-apocalyptic narratives, the trilogy includes symbolism related to birth and reproduction. The survival of humanity is closely tied to the possibility of new life, and characters grapple with the responsibility of bringing new generations into a damaged world.

On the other hand, as Dana Phillips (2017) notes, "ecologists recognise that natural systems can only be subjected to so much stress be-

fore they collapse, but their use of the term is less apocalyptic and more precise… For an ecologist, collapse is simply something that happens to natural systems from time to time. They crash like a desktop computer, but they don't burn like the *Hindenburg*" (p. 140). The collapse the *MaddAddam* trilogy depicts can be seen as not the end of the world, but the end of the Anthropocene; a chance for the ecosystem ravaged by human activity to reconstitute itself, using its natural resilience (Ciobanu, 2014, qtd. in Martin, 2019, p. 176; Phillips, 2017, p. 142). In many ways, this is true not only of the ecosystem but of human and non-human individuals that are part of it; they collapse, some of them never to recover, but those who are resilient bounce back, although they can never be the same.

While the first two novels in the series recount the events that lead to the breakout of the pandemic that decimated humanity, the final instalment shifts its focus towards a potential path of recovery and renewal. In this novel, the narrative explores the aftermath of the apocalyptic events and how the surviving characters are working towards establishing a more sustainable and cooperative way of life. Notably, the introduction of the Crakers, genetically engineered beings designed to live in harmony with nature, and the efforts of characters like Toby and Zeb to foster empathy and solidarity among different groups, exemplify a hopeful vision for the future. It presents a world that has the potential to rebuild and find harmony with nature, suggesting that through empathy, cooperation, and a shift in values, humanity and other beings can work together to create a more compassionate and ecologically balanced future.

This paper aims to explore the multigenerational voices present in the *MaddAddam* trilogy and their responses to the environmental crisis. Utilising an ecocritical and ecofeminist lens, the analysis will examine the trilogy's narrative progression, starting from the single-narrator perspective of the first novel *Oryx and Crake* to the complementary perspective of two narrators in the second novel, *The Year of the Flood*, and finally, to the emergence of multi-generational and multi-species voices in the concluding novel, *MaddAddam*.

By examining how the trilogy portrays the interconnectedness of human and non-human beings, as well as the potential for transform-

ative change in the face of environmental devastation, this paper will shed light on the ecofeminist principles interwoven throughout the narrative. Additionally, it will demonstrate how Atwood's masterful storytelling weaves together themes of hope, empathy, and resilience, inspiring readers to consider the profound impact of human actions on the natural world and the urgency for a more sustainable and harmonious coexistence.

2. The Intersection of Environmental Concern and Feminist Thought: An Overview of Ecofeminism

Ecofeminism, a prominent sub-branch of ecocriticism, emerged during the late 20th century and has since evolved into a multifaceted and powerful movement. Rooted at the intersection of environmental concern and feminist thought, ecofeminism aims to challenge patriarchal structures that perpetuate the exploitation of both women and the natural world. This perspective acknowledges the profound interconnectedness between gender-based oppression and ecological degradation, advocating for a more compassionate and sustainable way of life. Central to ecofeminism is the recognition of the inherent value and rights of all living beings, transcending species boundaries and emphasising the importance of coexistence. Over the years, ecofeminism has gained momentum, transforming into a potent force in literary and social criticism. Critics and scholars have eagerly embraced its democratic potential, integrating its principles with contemporary literary practices to develop original and insightful interpretations and theoretical frameworks (Murphy, 1995; Gaard and Murphy, 1998; Sandilands, 1999; Gaard, Estok, and Opperman, 2013). This transformative aspect of ecofeminism has led to profound shifts in the approaches to literature, social structures, and environmental issues, illuminating a path towards a more inclusive and sustainable future.

It is essential to recognise that the ecofeminist agenda extends beyond feminist concerns, encompassing pressing environmental issues. Scholars have actively sought to move beyond the Euro-American bias that sometimes dominates feminist discourse by rejecting the notion of a universal female 'nature' and embracing the diverse experiences of women worldwide (Zerbe Enns 2004, p. 154). This inclusivity allows

ecofeminism to address the complex and interconnected challenges posed by environmental crises and societal inequalities.

Ecofeminists stress the interconnectedness of all life forms, instead of domination of humanity over other life forms, ethics of care and responsibility instead of ethics of rights, cooperation, and subsistence instead of growth and progress (cf. Gaard, 1993; Warren, 1997; Mies and Shiva, 2014). Ecofeminism argues that the root of the environmental crisis is in the oppression of Man over Other, with Other identified as nature, women, non-white, non-Western, poor, working-class, underprivileged, powerless, children (Birkenland, 1993; Gaard, 1993; Kurth-Schai, 1997; Warren, 1997; Rowland, 2015; Hummel, 2019). This oppressive worldview emanates from the Masculinist or Androcentric view that Man (male) is at the centre of the universe and that Other(s) exist to be instruments of his will. In order to address this crisis effectively, ecofeminism advocates dismantling cultural and institutional infrastructures and value systems that uphold such views and replacing power-based structures. The belief in Man's entitlement to dominate nature, women, and Other based on power must be fundamentally challenged and abandoned (Birkenland, 1993, pp. 17-20).

Literature has become a powerful medium for exploring ecofeminist principles, with writers like Margaret Atwood serving as exemplary models of the effective integration of ecofeminism into literary practice. According to Lucy Rowland (2015), the novel *MaddAddam,* the final instalment of the trilogy, stands out as a compelling showcase of ecofeminist principles, offering potential solutions to the complex societal, cultural, and environmental challenges portrayed in the preceding novels. Although it may be argued that the first novel *Oryx and Crake* in the trilogy, ignores intergenerational repercussions of the climate crisis and impending apocalypse, focusing on the young victims of the old and the greedy, the other two novels strive to incorporate multiple perspectives, both of young and elderly, male and female, human and non-human. The *MaddAddam* trilogy shows that the environmental crisis and its aftermath can only be overcome by recognizing the deeply rooted hierarchical dualism of self/other, where self stands for the privileged groups, usually upper- or middle-class, human, technologically and industrially developed, and almost invariably white and male. "Other" are oppressed

groups, represented in the trilogy as the poor, working-class, non-human animal, undeveloped, non-white, and female. To overcome the crisis, the protagonists must acknowledge their interconnectedness and the inherent value of all life, regardless of age, gender, or species. Only by working together can the survivors begin to build a society based on collaboration and not oppression.

3. From Ecological Collapse to Hopeful Renewal: The *MaddAddam* trilogy

3.1. Oryx and Crake

The novel *Oryx and Crake* delves into the aftermath of a global pandemic, undeniably caused by human actions, specifically engineered by disillusioned genius scientist Crake. Within the story, the three central characters – Jimmy, Crake, and Oryx – navigate their youth amidst a morally corrupt and consumerist system that exploits both natural resources and human lives. Crake, initially portrayed as the antagonist, firmly believes that humanity is on the verge of depleting its resource base and heading towards self-destruction due to reckless environmental exploitation.

Primarily, *Oryx and Crake* presents a survival narrative, unfolding through the memories and flashbacks of Snowman, the protagonist who seemingly stands as the last man on Earth after the global pandemic decimates humanity. The novel's structure alternates between chapters detailing Snowman's struggle to adapt and find purpose in a desolate world and chapters that delve into his recollections of the world he once inhabited. Snowman, formerly known as Jimmy, was the son of a scientist specialised in genetic engineering. In this world, scientists worked for powerful multinational corporations that had replaced governments and wielded immense influence, continually pursuing new inventions and technologies to maximise profits. Society was split into two classes – the privileged elites, comprising CEOs and corporate scientists living in opulent "Compounds" with tight security, and the underprivileged masses dwelling in overcrowded and polluted "pleeblands," the remnants of former metropolitan cities.

This societal division mirrors the growing gap between the natural sciences and the humanities, reflecting a parallel situation in our own world where humanities struggle for significance while natural sciences and IT studies thrive (Bergthaller, 2010). Through satire and critique, *Oryx and Crake* offers a lens into this reality by contrasting the lives and career paths of Jimmy, a "word person" (OC 25), and his scientifically gifted friend, Crake.

Jimmy attends the rundown Martha Graham Academy, studying advertising but finding limited job prospects. In contrast, Crake quickly rises through the prestigious Watson-Crick Institute, landing a high-level role in a powerful corporation and enjoying a luxurious life within an elite Compound. Growing up in the privileged Compounds as the child of scientists shapes Crake's worldview. Although chosen to improve lives, he becomes disillusioned, realizing his role is purely profit-driven for the Corporations. His mother's betrayal and father's murder by the Corporations leave him emotionally scarred and mistrustful of others. Despite his intellectual brilliance, Crake views humanity as self-destructive and consumerist capitalism as fundamentally flawed, fuelling his desire to reset humanity and start anew. Both Crake and Jimmy's strained relationships with their mothers deeply shape their attitudes toward women. Jimmy, abandoned by his mother, seeks out shallow relationships to avoid commitment and emotional pain. Crake, emotionally detached and dismissive of empathy, channels his focus into competition, progress, and control. This leads him to adopt a masculinist worldview, marked by aggression, a fear of vulnerability, and disdain for qualities he associates with femininity, such as empathy and cooperation.

Oryx, whom both Jimmy and Crake desire to possess, comes from a vastly different background, having endured severe victimization as a child sold into sexual slavery from a poor Third-world country. Later trafficked to the U.S., her story starkly contrasts with the privileged lives of Jimmy and Crake, highlighting the commodification of the vulnerable in a consumerist society. Their relationships with Oryx reflect power dynamics: Jimmy sees himself as her "savior," while Crake, viewing her as an "Angel of Death," aims to harness her pain for his own ends. Both

men, shaped by privilege, seek to control her, driven by infatuation and distorted views.

Crake, convinced he can address the 21st century's environmental crises, creates two simultaneous projects. The first is the BlyssPlus pill, marketed as a wonder drug for youth extension, aphrodisiac effects, disease prevention, and birth control. Jimmy leads the ad campaign, while Oryx manages sales. However, the pill secretly contains the lethal "rogue hemorrhagic" virus (OC 325), designed to wipe out humanity for Crake's second project: the Crakers, a genetically engineered species meant to replace humans. Though Crake presents them as genetic experiments, he intends them as humanity's successors. Oryx plays a complex role, both as a caregiver and teacher to the Crakers and as a businesswoman promoting the deadly BlyssPlus pill, embodying traditionally feminine qualities while inadvertently aiding in destruction (cf. Martin, 2019, pp. 178-180).

Oryx's life as a victim of exploitation and her role in Crake's projects reflect the complex relationship between women and consumerist society. Her commodification and dehumanization—from being sold into sexual slavery to promoting the destructive BlyssPlus pill—symbolize the exploitation women endure within patriarchal systems. As a nurturing figure for the Crakers, she embodies traditional feminine traits, yet her involvement with the BlyssPlus pill underscores the dual role women often play in sustaining harmful systems. Oryx thus represents both victim and unwitting accomplice, critiquing the exploitation of women and nature and urging transformative change in society's treatment of both.

The engineered Crakers embody humanity's drive to control nature, mirroring a patriarchal desire for domination over the natural world. Intended to replace humans, their creation raises questions about the ethics of "playing God" and the consequences of such power. As the last of his kind, Jimmy witnesses the ruin left by a society rooted in greed and exploitation. His role as a storyteller is crucial, preserving human experiences for the Crakers and imparting lessons from a world irreversibly changed. Through Jimmy's perspective, the novel underscores the need for a more equitable, sustainable future, recognizing the interconnected well-being of women and the environment.

3.2. *The Year of the Flood*

The Year of the Flood (2009) covers a similar timeline as Oryx and Crake, following two survivors, Toby and Ren, both former members of the God's Gardeners sect, as they endure life after a fatal pandemic. The novel builds toward their reunion with other sect members, ultimately converging with Oryx and Crake's ending, revealing the outcome of Snowman's encounter with the survivors. Through Toby and Ren—two women a generation apart—it provides a deeper look into a society dominated by corporations and the inner workings of God's Gardeners, offering a broader perspective on the world left in the pandemic's wake.

Ren's story highlights the stark contrast between life in the Compounds and the pleeblands, having experienced both. Through her perspective, we see the luxury and privilege of the Compounds, which come at the expense of widespread poverty, rampant consumerism, and environmental exploitation. In contrast, the Gardeners' lifestyle—despite having "less appealing features one would expect from religious fanatics" (YF 739)—appears more relatable. As modern "hermits" (Percec, 2012, p. 51), they inhabit an abandoned building, wearing distinct uniforms and practicing survival skills, while valuing nature and community above all. Their beliefs in species equality, environmental preservation, and resource limitation offer a sustainable, compassionate alternative. The Gardeners' philosophy challenges the dominant Western focus on human survival, advocating instead for a holistic view that embraces the well-being of all living beings.

The character of Toby serves as a counterpart to the character of Jimmy/Snowman in *Oryx and Crake*. Like Jimmy, Toby assumes the role of the primary narrator of the novel, offering readers a first-hand account of the events that unfold. Both Jimmy and Toby find themselves in desperate situations, isolated in unfamiliar environments, which forces them to undergo profound self-reflection and re-evaluation of their beliefs and priorities. Unlike Jimmy who becomes embittered and self-destructive in the face of adversity, Toby showcases her inner strength and resilience in the apocalyptic aftermath (Hummel, 2019, pp. 2-3).

In some ways, Toby's backstory is no less horrifying than that of Oryx. As a young woman, Toby ends up working for a fast-food chain

SecretBurgers, which uses any and all proteins to make their products. Here, the female workers are metaphorically and then literally consumed in more ways than one: first overworked, then forced into an abusive relationship with the boss, Blanco, and finally disposed of, used up, and finally, as rumours have it, turned into burger meat. Toby's story exemplifies the ruthlessness of a system sustained, both metaphorically and literally, by unbridled exploitation and consumption of human beings, especially those deemed as "other" – poor, working-class, non-white, female, etc. (cf. Hummel, 2019, pp. 1-2).

Luckily, Toby is saved from this fate by the intervention of the Gardeners, who offer her refuge in an abandoned apartment building. There, Toby encounters the group's leader, Adam One, and through his lectures, she becomes acquainted with the Gardeners' peculiar blend of science and religious faith. While their beliefs may sometimes appear overbearing and absurd, the underlying message emphasises empathy and cooperation.

Despite her initial misgivings and perceived lack of faith, Toby blossoms into a true leader, capable of making tough choices to protect her fellow survivors and fight for a better future. Her determination leads her to reunite with Ren and venture beyond the Compounds to search for other surviving Gardeners. Toby emerges as a staunch believer in the Gardeners' doctrine, embracing the acceptance of human nature with all its virtues and flaws.

The ecofeminist perspective in *The Year of the Flood* critiques the destructive consequences of human dominance over nature and promotes a worldview that values interconnectedness, empathy, and cooperation between humans and the environment. Through their rituals, teachings, and sustainable practices, the Gardeners exemplify the interdependence of humans and the natural world, encouraging a more compassionate and respectful relationship with the planet. Their rejection of an exploitative consumerist society aligns with ecofeminist principles, as the Gardeners advocate for a more equitable and sustainable way of life. Toby's transformation into a leader and protector of her fellow survivors demonstrates her embodiment of qualities traditionally associated with femininity, such as nurturing, empathy, and cooperation. These quali-

ties stand in stark contrast to the aggressive and destructive behaviours displayed by some male characters, like the Painballers. The novel's portrayal of the Gardeners' beliefs and Toby's transformative journey calls for a more balanced and harmonious relationship with nature, underscoring the importance of embracing compassion and empathy to forge a sustainable and inclusive future.

3.3. *MaddAddam*

MaddAddam (2013) alternates between the pre-pandemic past and the post-pandemic present, where the survivors of the God's Gardeners sect struggle for survival and learn to share their living space with the Crakers, genetically spliced animals, and escaped Painballers. The novel also recounts the emergence of a more radical wing within God's Gardeners, called MaddAddam, which eventually splits from the sect and continues to oppose the government structures using eco-terrorism. In the end, this radical wing is enticed or blackmailed by Crake to join his Paradice project and create the Crakers. After the pandemic, the surviving MaddAddamites reunite with the remaining God's Gardeners. The story of the devastation the humans wreaked upon the natural world and their struggle for survival in the post-apocalyptic world is narrated through multiple voices, both human and non-human. The rag-tag group of survivors, consisting of members of God's Gardeners, MaddAddamites, and some outsiders, like Jimmy, learns to live together, cooperate, and adapt in order to survive, despite their different ages and sometimes opposing views. The primary narrator is still Toby, who, through her quiet authority and deep empathy for all living beings, assumes the role of the leader and the moral centre of the group.

Another voice is that of Zeb, the founder of MaddAddam, who offers a perspective of an abused child and young adult, growing up in an atmosphere of denial and hostility towards the reality of environmental devastation and social dissolution. Zeb's father was the founder of the religious sect Church of PetrOleum, which preaches that oil and other fossil fuels are holy gifts from God and that restricting or banning their use goes against the bible. The Church of PetrOleum is a parody of religious groups that, under the guise of faith, serve the interests

of corporate capital. It symbolises how corporate interests manipulate religious faith to justify environmental exploitation. The formation of God's Gardeners and MaddAddam as a resistance against such exploitative ideologies aligns with the ecofeminist aim of challenging systems that prioritise profit over the well-being of both people and the planet.

Both Zeb and his half-brother, Adam One, endure mental and physical abuse from their father, "the Rev," who is depicted as a grotesque caricature of Christian preachers. He manipulates his followers' harmful behaviors, justifying greed under the guise of piety: "Tell people what they want to hear, call yourself a religion, put the squeeze on for contributions, run your own media outlets (…) befriend or threaten politicians, evade taxes" (MA, 866). Beneath his self-righteous facade, the Rev's sadistic tendencies emerge. Both brothers, victims of the greedy and the corrupt, have their life choices shaped by trauma, instilling a profound distrust of adults, including their parents, who prioritize greed disguised as virtue. This distrust grows into an intergenerational struggle; for Adam, it manifests in founding God's Gardeners, a green movement that blends Christian doctrine with environmental teachings. This serves as a response to the Rev's exploitation of Biblical texts to justify environmental degradation.

On the other hand, Zeb becomes troubled by Adam's focus on patience and suffering in their struggle against a corrupt society. This discontent leads Zeb to rebel in various ways, including hacking the Corporations and engaging in borderline illegal activities to undermine their operations. His growing frustration with Adam's pacifism ultimately drives him to lead a rogue faction within God's Gardeners known as MaddAddam, which employs ecoterrorism to disrupt the Corporations' activities. As the story unfolds, the MaddAddamites are coerced into participating in Crake's Paradice project, becoming involved in the creation of both the BlyssPlus pill and the Crakers.

Like Jimmy and Crake in *Oryx and Crake*, Zeb and Adam have experienced betrayal and/or manipulation at the hands of their parents. Interestingly, the fathers of all four characters have been, to some extent, involved in the Corps' exploitative practices, using scientific knowledge and religious faith to further their interests. The life choices made by

their children can thus be seen as acts of rebellion or defiance against the system that their fathers represent. Adam and Crake may outwardly appear to conform to the system, being model students and seemingly aligned with its goals. However, both share a singular vision of saving the world, often overlooking the individual well-being of their friends and family in the process. Their narrow focus on their grand plans renders them wilfully or inadvertently blind to the consequences of their actions.

Zeb and Jimmy are depicted as devil-may-care individuals, often indifferent to morals or the greater good, embodying a form of (sometimes childish) rebellion against authority. However, when faced with dire circumstances, both show their reliability and resourcefulness. Jimmy takes on the responsibility of caring for the Crakers and forms a strong bond with them, while Zeb, alongside Toby, becomes a crucial pillar in establishing a new community. Although neither openly expresses concerns about humanity's fate, they demonstrate their capacity for care and protection, vital for building solidarity and fostering cooperation within their group. Despite their initial nonchalant attitudes, they emerge as essential contributors to the collective well-being and survival of their community.

Toby emerges as the true leader, taking on the role of the moral centre and the source of faith in the sanctity and equality of all life forms, replacing Adam One in this pivotal role. Her voice becomes a beacon of change, care, responsibility, solidarity, and spirituality. Throughout the novel, Toby assumes the role of a mediator between the Gardeners, MaddAddamites, and the Crakers, fostering understanding and cooperation among the different groups. She advocates for forming an alliance with the genetically modified pigs, known as "Pigoons" or "Pig Ones," in order to confront their common enemy, the Painballers. Her compassion and understanding toward both human and non-human beings reflect the ecofeminist principle of recognising the inherent value of all life forms.

Towards the end of the novel, another voice from a different generation and species joins Toby's narrative: that of Blackbeard, a Craker boy who forms a deep connection with her. He becomes her devoted helper,

serving as an interpreter between the old humans and the Crakers, as well as between humans and the Pig Ones. The Crakers' remarkable ability to understand the Pig Ones, due to their humanlike intelligence, signifies the potential for harmony and mutual understanding among different beings. This portrayal reinforces the ecofeminist notion of recognizing and respecting the value of all living beings, regardless of species.

Blackbeard inherits Toby's journal, continuing to write in it even as Toby has reservations about teaching him to read and write. As the story concludes, both Toby and Blackbeard narrate the unfolding events in their newly formed community, including the birth of Craker-human babies, crop planting, and their daily struggles. The novel ends with Blackbeard recounting the passing of both Zeb and Toby, vowing to ensure their stories are never forgotten. He assumes the responsibility of teaching the next generation to read and write in Toby's journal, preserving their memories and experiences for the future. The blending of Toby and Blackbeard's voices emphasizes the continuity of knowledge and care across generations, fostering hope for a more compassionate and sustainable world.

4. Concluding Remarks

The *MaddAddam* trilogy presents an allegorical call for transformative social change and serves as a poignant warning against anti-ecological lifestyles (Canavan 2012; Mohr 2015). The first two novels depict a degradation and final downfall of human society, seemingly leading to the ultimate extinction of humanity. Yet, the final instalment presents a post-human world, showcasing the potential for a new interspecies alliance between old humans, the posthumans represented by the Crakers, and the intelligent human/animal hybrids, the "Pig Ones."

The narrative progression from the singular voice in Oryx and Crake to the dual perspectives in The Year of the Flood and finally to the multi-generational and multi-species voices in MaddAddam emphasizes the interconnectedness of human and non-human beings. This evolution reflects the potential for transformative change in the face of environmental devastation, underscoring a collective responsibility toward one another and the natural world.

Atwood's exploration of hierarchical dualism—often articulated as the distinction between 'self' and 'other'—is pivotal to understanding the characters' journeys throughout the trilogy. The protagonists confront their own biases and the societal constructs that have long perpetuated oppression and exploitation. In Oryx and Crake, the stark division between the privileged and the marginalized is evident, yet as the narrative unfolds, characters like Jimmy, Zeb, and Toby begin to dismantle these boundaries. In The Year of the Flood, the Gardeners' eco-religious principles challenge the prevailing norms of consumerism and environmental degradation. By the time we reach MaddAddam, the blending of voices—humans, Crakers, and Pig Ones—illustrates a profound shift towards inclusivity and understanding.

This transformative vision offers a glimmer of hope, advocating for a future founded on cooperation, respect, and harmonious coexistence among all living beings. The trilogy asserts that overcoming the environmental crisis and its aftermath hinges on acknowledging and challenging the deeply rooted hierarchical dualism that separates humanity from nature. The protagonists' recognition of their interconnectedness and the inherent value of all life—regardless of age, gender, or species—is vital for building a society rooted in collaboration rather than oppression.

Through its ecofeminist lens, the trilogy critiques the exploitation of both women and nature, emphasizing the urgency of addressing these interconnected issues. Atwood's thought-provoking insights prompt readers to reflect on their impact and inspire a collective commitment to harmony with nature and one another. Ultimately, the MaddAddam trilogy serves as a powerful call to action, urging us to confront current challenges with a renewed sense of responsibility and hope for a more equitable and sustainable future.

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NACIONALIZACIJA POKRAJINSKIH IZBORA U VOJVODINI 2023. GODINE[2]

Apstrakt: Na širem evropskom planu, pokrajinski ili regionalni izbori obično se smatraju izborima drugog ranga: na njima je niža izlaznost i neretko se javlja posebna politička dinamika koja uključuje gubitak glasova za nacionalne vladajuće stranke, uz porast rejtinga protestnih, regionalnih ili novih aktera. Međutim, to nije slučaj sa izborima drugog ranga koji se održavaju istoga dana kad i nacionalni parlamentarni izbori: u tom slučaju, nacionalna politička dinamika obično preuzima primat i kontaminira rezultate na nižem nivou glasanja. To je upravo slučaj sa izborima za Skupštinu Vojvodine, koji su poslednji put održani samostalno, bez glasanja za Narodnu skupštinu ili predsednika Republike istog dana, davne 2004. godine. Autor će u radu pokazati da faktori poput datuma izbora i izbornog sistema utiču prvo na ponašanje izbornih aktera, a zatim i na nacionalizaciju izbornih rezultata i njihovo preslikavanje na pokrajinski nivo, te da je to bio slučaj i na izborima održanim u decembru 2023.

Ključne reči: *pokrajinski izbori, Skupština Vojvodine, nacionalizacija, Srbija, Vojvodina*

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1. Uvod

Poslednji izbori za Skupštinu AP Vojvodine održani su 17. decembra 2023. godine, istovremeno sa parlamentarnim izborima za poslanike u Narodnoj skupštini Republike Srbije, ali i lokalnim izborima u 65 gradova i opština širom Srbije (od kojih, zanimljivo, nijedna lokalna samouprava nije bila u Vojvodini – za skupštine 45 vojvođanskih gradova i opština se glasalo u junu 2024. godine). Izbori su, treći po redu, održani po proporcionalnom izbornom sistemu sa zatvorenim izbornim listama u celoj pokrajini, kao jednoj izbornoj jedinici u kojoj se bira ukupno 120 poslanika. Očekivanu pobedu na izborima odnela je Srpska napredna stranka, tj. njena koalicija koja je osvojila 66 poslaničkih mandata. Slede opoziciona koalicija Srbija protiv nasilja sa 30 mandata, manjinska lista Saveza vojvođanskih Mađara sa devet, Nacionalno-demokratska alternativa sa sedam, Socijalistička partija Srbije sa takođe sedam i sumnjivo manjinska (videti: Vučićević i Bursać, 2022a) – Ruska stranka sa jednim mandatom.

Cilj rada je da pokaže kako, u skladu sa teorijom o nacionalizaciji nižeg nivoa izbora, sličnosti u institucionalnom okviru, okolnostima izbora i ponašanju aktera proizvode gotovo identičnu političku dinamiku i, shodno tome, skoro identične izborne ishode na pokrajinskom i nacionalnom nivou. U narednom odeljku, upoznaćemo se sa teorijom o nacionalizaciji izbora i prethodnim istraživanjima na ovu temu, te ćemo postaviti osnovnu hipotezu rada, dok ćemo u odeljcima koji slede nakon toga analizirati okolnosti decembarskih izbora i uporediti njihove rezultate, dolazeći do zaključka da li je do nacionalizacije rezultata pokrajinskih izbora zaista došlo, što je u skladu sa teorijskim očekivanjima.

2. Teorijski i hipotetički okvir

Teorija o drugom rangu ili nižem nivou izbora (eng. *second-order theory*) potiče iz osamdesetih godina 20. veka (videti: Reif & Schmitt, 1980). Fokus tadašnjih istraživanja bio je na lokalnim ili regionalnim glasanjima koja su se dešavala u toku ili sredinom aktuelnog mandata nacionalnog parlamenta i nacionalne vlade, te na analizi njihovih efekata u vezi sa nacionalnom političkom dinamikom. U tom smislu, kla-

sično razumevanje drugog ranga izbora pretpostavlja da će izbori na nižem nivou imati određene zajedničke karakteristike u komparativnom okviru: niže interesovanje i nižu izlaznost glasača; slabiji učinak nacionalnih vladajućih partija koje su gubile glasove bilo zbog toga što su ih glasači na ovaj način disciplinovali za učinak na nacionalnom nivou ili upozoravali da se „uozbilje" (Simon, 1989), bilo zbog toga što bi glasači manje ozbiljno shvatali niži nivo izbora, te na njemu mnogi nisu glasali strateški, već u skladu sa svojim stvarnim političkim preferencijama ili simpatijama; a paralelno, dolazilo je i do povećanja salda glasova koji osvajaju opozicione, ali i različite regionalne, protestne, male ili nove partije i pokreti (Erikson & Filippov, 2001).

Ova teorija takođe nalaže da su navedeni efekti drugog ranga naglašeni onda kada su izbori nižeg nivoa organizovani ugrubo, sredinom nacionalnog izbornog ciklusa, te da su mnogo manje izraženi onda kada se izbori višeg i nižeg nivoa održavaju istovremeno. Autori tvrde da istovremeno glasanje podstiče kako aktere da unifikuju svoju izbornu ponudu na više nivoa, tako i glasače da se ponašaju kongruentno, te tradicionalni efekti izbora drugog ranga, u smislu izlaznosti i prelivanja glasova, nisu vidljivi na takvim glasanjima (videti: Romanova, 2014; Henderson & Romanova, 2016). Ipak, prema pojedinim autorima, stepen nacionalizacije često zavisi od toga da li se radi o regionalnim izborima u teritorijalnim jedinicama, u kojima postoje jake nadležnosti samoupravnih organa, te glasači imaju osećaj da njihov glas zaista ima uticaj na kreiranje politika koje će ih se ticati u budućnosti, ili, alternativno, u regionima u kojima postoji značajan kulturološki i neretko identitetski (najčešće jezički) rascep u odnosu na nacionalni nivo, te se u takvom okviru glasači lakše mogu odvojiti od razmišljanja o nacionalnoj areni politike onda kada donose svoje odluke (videti: Wyn Jones & Scully, 2006; Jeffery & Hough, 2009). U takvim okolnostima i lokalni politički akteri imaju podsticaj da kreiraju autohtonu izbornu ponudu nevezanu za nacionalnu dinamiku i centralne političke programe stranaka, što takođe utiče na niži stepen nacionalizacije (Thorlakson, 2009).

Mogli bismo da argumentujemo da Vojvodina nije tipičan primer takvog regiona. Uprkos autonomiji i određenim kompetencijama, te (ograničenim) budžetskim sredstvima, nadležnosti pokrajine nisu takve da bi kreirale zasebnu političku dinamiku, posebno ne u centralizova-

nom institucionalnom okviru i političkoj kulturi kakvi postoje u Srbiji. Takođe, eventualne regionalne razlike ne konstituišu političku distinkciju kakvu možemo videti na primerima postojanja etnički ili jezički homogenih regiona značajno različitih od ostatka države, što je, recimo, slučaj sa Kvebekom u Kanadi, pojedinim autonomnim zajednicama u Španiji, ili Flandrijom u Belgiji, gde je ova različitost osnov za praktično autonomne partijske sisteme koji postoje u kontrastu sa nacionalnom arenom, a neretko takvi autohtoni izrazi regionalne politike i učestvuju u istoj, kao predstavnici svojih regiona.

Na sve to u Srbiji se javlja i praktično usvojeni politički princip simultanog glasanja u jednom danu za više vertikalnih nivoa vlasti, gde se u stvari očekuje homogenizacija glasačkog ponašanja, u smislu efekata nacionalizacije glasanja i partijskog sistema u celini (na osnovu: Schakel, 2012). Šakel (2012) upravo i definiše nacionalizaciju kao centralizaciju političkih obrazaca na račun regionalnih posebnosti. Ovaj autor je u kolaboraciji (Schakel & Jeffery, 2013) sproveo detaljnu studiju koja je uključila 349 slučajeva regionalnih izbora održanih istovremeno sa nacionalnim glasanjem, te našao da ishodi istih umnogome odstupaju od tradicionalnog modela izbora drugog ranga, odbacujući tu teoriju kao praktično neprimenljivu na simultano održane izbore. U prevodu, kada se izbori održavaju istoga dana regionalna politička dinamika i regionalni obrasci glasanja jednostavno ne dolaze do izražaja.

To je upravo slučaj u Vojvodini. Kao što smo naveli, pokrajinski izbori su održani simultano sa parlamentarnim ili predsedničkim glasanjem 2008, 2012, 2016, 2020. i, najzad, 2023. godine, praktično uvezujući aktere i ishode pokrajinskog i nacionalnog nivoa izbora. Autori nivo nacionalizacije regionalnih izbora obično izražavaju kroz indeks disimilarnosti (eng. *dissimilarity index*), računajući razliku u apsolutnim brojevima između rezultata liste jedne partije na regionalnim izborima i rezultata liste iste te partije na nacionalnim izborima u datom regionu (videti: Pallares & Keating, 2003; Jeffery & Hough, 2009). Ovo pitanje nije naročito dobro istraženo u Srbiji. Jedini rad dosad delo je autora (Vučićević & Bursać, 2022b) koji su merili razlike u glasovima na istovremeno održanim parlamentarnim i vojvođanskim izborima u junu 2020. godine, zaključujući da je čak i u neobičnom kontekstu tih izbora (pandemija, bojkot značajnog dela opozicionih partija) došlo do

visokog nivoa nacionalizacije rezultata koji je naročito izražen u pogledu rezultata Srpske napredne stranke kod čijih glasača postoji najviši nivo slaganja glasačke odluke za Narodnu skupštinu i za Skupštinu Vojvodine. Budući da su navedeni autori nacionalizaciju merili i na nivou samog biračkog mesta, zaključili su da je u Vojvodini na delu veoma visok nivo nacionalizacije pri kojem se razlika između rezultata nacionalne i pokrajinske liste kandidovanih stranaka u velikom broju slučajeva nalazi tek u jednocifrenom broju glasova po biračkom mestu.

U skladu sa predstavljenom teorijom i empirijskim istraživanjima, postavićemo i osnovne hipoteze našeg istraživanja:

H1: Istovremeno održavanje pokrajinskih izbora u Vojvodini sa parlamentarnim izborima za Narodnu skupštinu Republike Srbije proizvodi visok nivo nacionalizacije pokrajinske političke dinamike;

H2: Istovremeno održavanje pokrajinskih izbora u Vojvodini sa parlamentarnim izborima za Narodnu skupštinu Republike Srbije proizvodi visok nivo nacionalizacije rezultata pokrajinskih izbora.

Hipoteze zahtevaju nekoliko objašnjenja koja se tiču operacionalizacije koja će uslediti u narednim odeljcima. Istovremeno održavanje izbora nije, naravno, jedini faktor koji utiče na nacionalizaciju, već se podrazumevaju i ranije navedene institucionalne i kontekstualne okolnosti, pre svega ujednačen izborni sistem, nizak nivo kompetencija pokrajinske autonomije i nizak „značaj" regionalne posebnosti, naročito u kontekstu stvaranja kulturološke ili etničke distinkcije određenog regiona od nacije u celini – iako moramo naglasiti da prethodno revidirana literatura smatra da je zajednički datum glasanja u stvari glavni faktor nacionalizacije. U srpskoj političkoj praksi to je česta pojava. Pokrajinski i lokalni izbori se obično zakazuju istog dana kada i parlamentarni, ponekad i predsednički, kako bi se, pre svega, efikasna mobilizacija glasova vladajućih stranaka odvijala na svim nivoima, utilizujući popularnost nacionalne liste i – važnije – nacionalnog lidera na nižim nivoima glasanja. U aktuelnoj koncepciji srpskog partijskog sistema to odgovara i fragmentiranoj i infrastrukturno slabo razvijenoj opoziciji, budući da su upitni lokalni kapaciteti opozicionih stranaka van nekoliko većih gradskih centara. Kao što smo već naveli, izbori nižeg nivoa ne privlače veliko interesovanje glasača i glasovi se često rasipaju, te (vladajućim)

partijskim akterima svakako znači održavanje izbora istoga dana, na stranu što se takva odluka obično opravdava ekonomskim uštedama.

Takođe, pomenuli smo i ujednačavanje izbornog sistema – naime u tri konsekutivna ciklusa izbora za Skupštinu Vojvodine (2004, 2008. i 2012. godine) korišćen je paralelni, tj. mešoviti sistem u kome su glasači imali dva glasa na raspolaganju: jedan na listovnom a drugi na nominalnom nivou, odnosno jedan su davali izbornim listama stranaka u celoj pokrajini kao jednoj izbornoj jedinici, gde se biralo 60 poslanika, a drugi su davali pojedinačnom kandidatu u svojoj jednomandatnoj izbornoj jedinici kojih je bilo ukupno 60 (svaka vojvođanska lokalna samouprava imala je bar jednog predstavnika, dok su veći gradovi bili podeljeni na više izbornih jedinica). Ovaj sistem je veoma ishitreno i bez mnogo javne rasprave promenjen 2014. godine u proporcionalni, sa jednom izbornom jedinicom i zatvorenim listama, kakav već postoji na nacionalnom nivou, a glavni argument, iznet tada, bio je upravo ujednačavanje izbornih pravila (na osnovu: Bursać i Vučićević, 2016), te su ignorisani svi mogući benefiti mešovitog sistema koji su se javljali u prethodna tri ciklusa a koji su izgubljeni u posledičnim glasanjima. Ti benefiti uključuju geografsku predstavljenost svih gradova i opština u Skupštini Vojvodine, sprečavanje preterane metropolizacije predstavljanja (tj. natpredstavljenosti Novog Sada u pokrajinskom predstavničkom telu), personalizaciju (barem dela) izabranih predstavnika za koje su građani glasali imenom i prezimenom u jednomandatnim jedinicama, kao i selekciju kvalitetnih kandidata – budući da su oni nominovani u jednomandatnim jedinicama birani kao pojedinci, a ne na zbirnoj partijskoj listi, te su stranke morale više da vode računa o tome koga predlažu. Ovo „ujednačavanje" za pitanje nacionalizacije u stvari znači dodatno gubljenje regionalne političke dinamike kroz podsticaje za aktere da se ponašaju strateški na oba nivoa, te kandiduju liste ili koalicije sličnog sastava i imena, što ćemo proveriti u narednom odeljku na primeru decembarskih izbora 2023. godine. Dodatno, uvođenje zatvorenih lista za izbor svih 120 poslanika uskraćuje personalizaciju politike kakva je bila moguća u ranijim jednomandatnim izbornim jedinicama u većinskoj komponenti mešovitog izbornog sistema, te olakšava kontaminaciju pokrajinske izborne dinamike nacionalnim liderima i narativom.

Hipoteze ćemo dokazivati na dva načina. U pogledu političke dinamike, upotrebićemo, pre svega, kvalitativnu komparativnu analizu, te ćemo porediti ponašanja aktera na dva nivoa tokom kampanje, u smislu stvaranja koalicija, imena lista, ličnosti nosilaca, rednih brojeva lista i tema kampanje. Nacionalizaciju rezultata ćemo dokazivati statističkom metodom, kroz kreiranje indeksa disimilarnosti, odnosno poređenja rezultata pokrajinskih i nacionalnih izbornih lista.

3. Nacionalizacija pokrajinske političke dinamike na izborima 2023. godine

Kako bismo procenili da li je došlo do nacionalizacije, uporedićemo nekoliko nivoa ponašanja aktera na izborima 2023. godine. Na decembarskim izborima za Skupštinu Vojvodine kandidovano je ukupno 13 izbornih lista. Od tih 13, čak 12 je nastupilo i na parlamentarnim izborima – samo je lista Lige socijaldemokrata Vojvodine nastupila isključivo u pokrajini. U četiri kriterijuma koji se tiču kandidature, a koje ćemo predstaviti, stranke pokazuju vrlo visok nivo nacionalizacije (videti: Tabela 1): radi se o sastavu koalicija, nazivima liste, imenima nosilaca i rednim brojevima na glasačkom listiću. Podaci koji slede preuzeti su sa veb prezentacija Republičke izborne komisije (RIK, 2024) i Pokrajinske izborne komisije (PIK, 2024).

Tabela 1: *Liste na pokrajinskim i parlamentarnim izborima 2023. godine*

Noseća stranka	Identičan sastav koalicije na oba nivoa	Naziv liste (APV)	Naziv liste (NSRS)	Broj liste (APV)	Broj liste (NSRS)	Nosilac (APV)	Nosilac (NSRS)
SNS	Da	A. Vučić – Vojvodina ne sme da stane	A. Vučić – Srbija ne sme da stane	1	1	A. Vučić	A. Vučić
SPS	Da	I. Dačić – Premijer Srbije	I. Dačić – Premijer Srbije	2	2	I. Dačić	I. Dačić
SRS	Da	Dr V. Šešelj – SRS	Dr V. Šešelj – SRS	3	3	V. Šešelj	V. Šešelj
Ruska stranka	Ne	Ruska stranka – Srbi i Rusi braća zauvek!	Ruska stranka – S. Nikolić	4	16	–	S. Nikolić
DSS – POKS	Da	Dr M. Jovanović – NADA za Srbiju – NADA za Vojvodinu – Srpska koalicija NADA (...)	Dr M. Jovanović – NADA za Srbiju – Srpska koalicija NADA (...)	5	5	M. Jovanović, V. Mihailović	M. Jovanović, V. Mihailović
SVM	Da	SVM – Za našeg Predsednika, za našu zajednicu, za budućnost!	SVM – Za našeg Predsednika, za našu zajednicu, za budućnost!	6	6	–	–
Srbija protiv nasilja	Da	Srbija protiv nasilja – M. Tepić – M. Brkić (...)	Srbija protiv nasilja – M. Tepić – M. Aleksić (...)	7	7	M. Tepić, M. Brkić	M. Tepić, M. Aleksić
DSHV – SPP	Da	T. Žigmanov – Ujedinjeni za pravdu – DSHV, U. Zukorlić – SPP – Bošnjaci Sandžaka	U. Zukorlić – Ujedinjeni za pravdu – SPP – Bošnjaci Sandžaka, T. Žigmanov – DSHV	8	8	T. Žigmanov, U. Zukorlić	U. Zukorlić, T. Žigmanov

LDP	Da	Č. Jovanović – Vojvodina mora drugačije	Č. Jovanović – Mora drugačije	9	17	Č. Jovanović	Č. Jovanović
NS	Da	Narodna stranka – Siguran izbor, ozbiljni ljudi – V. Jeremić, S. Kovačević, Dr S. Rašković Ivić, Đ. Vukadinović	Narodna stranka – Siguran izbor, ozbiljni ljudi – V. Jeremić, Dr S. Rašković Ivić, S. Kovačević, V. Gajić, M. Lipovac Tanasković	10	11	V. Jeremić, S. Kovačević, Dr S. Rašković Ivić, Đ. Vuka-dinović	V. Jeremić, Dr S. Rašković Ivić, S. Kovačević, V. Gajić, M. Lipovac Tanasković
Zavetnici – Dveri	Da	M. Đurđević Stamenkovski – B. Obradović – Nacionalno okupljanje – Državotvorna snaga (...)	M. Đurđević Stamenkovski – B. Obradović – Nacionalno okupljanje – Državotvorna snaga (...)	11	4	M. Đurđević Stamen-kovski, B. Obradović	M. Đurđević Stamen-kovski, B. Obradović
DJB – SDS	Da	S. Radulović (DJB) – B. Tadić (SDS) – A. Pejić (Otete bebe) – Dobro jutro Srbijo	S. Radulović (DJB) – B. Tadić (SDS) – A. Pejić (Otete bebe) – Dobro jutro Srbijo	12	12	S. Radulović, B. Tadić, A. Pejić	S. Radulović, B. Tadić, A. Pejić
LSV	–	Vojvođani – LSV – Vojvođani, Demokratska zajednica vojvođanskih Mađara, Zajedno za Vojvodinu – B. Kostreš	–	13	–	B. Kostreš	–

Kao što iz tabele vidimo, 11 od 12 aktera koji su nastupili na oba nivoa, nastupili su u potpuno istom sastavu bilo da se radi o (češće) koalicijama ili (ređe) samostalnim stranačkim listama, što je slučaj sa Savezom vojvođanskih Mađara, Narodnom strankom i Srpskom radi-

kalnom strankom. Jedinu razliku između dva nivoa predstavlja u stvari Ruska stranka koja je u pokrajini nastupila samostalno a na republičkom nivou u koaliciji sa Novom komunističkom partijom Jugoslavije, mada to nije bilo istaknuto u nazivu liste.

Od navedenih 12 aktera sa oba nivoa gotovo svi su usvojili identično ime izborne liste uz nekoliko manjih varijacija koje se odnose na korišćenje ili ubacivanje naziva Vojvodina u pokrajinsku listu (SNS, DSS – POKS, LDP) ili delimične promene u pogledu nosilaca liste, koje identifikujemo u tri slučaja: lista Srbija protiv nasilja je uz Mariniku Tepić, Miroslava Aleksića zamenila Mihailom Brkićem na pokrajinskom nivou; lista Narodne stranke je promenila dva nosioca u odnosu na republičku listu (od ukupno pet); dok je lista DSHV – SSP zamenila mesta svojim nosiocima Tomislavu Žigmanovu i Usame Zukorliću, verovatno računajući na veću podršku Hrvata koncentrisanih u Vojvodini u odnosu na Bošnjake koncentrisane mahom u centralnoj Srbiji. Jedina konkretnija promena izborne liste odnosila se opet na manjinsku Rusku stranku koja je na republičkom nivou navela ime nosioca Slobodana Nikolića, dok je na pokrajinskom nivou pored imena stranke pridodat slogan „Srbi i Rusi braća zauvek!".

Budući da Republička izborna komisija i Pokrajinska izborna komisija, po zakonu, određuju redosled na glasačkom listiću na osnovu redosleda podnošenja i proglašenja izborne liste, stranke teže da koordiniraju podnošenje na više nivoa kako bi ostvarile marketinške prednosti sticanja identičnog rednog broja na više listića i maksimizacije glasova koja iz toga ishodi, što takođe doprinosi nacionalizaciji. Brojevi na glasačkom listiću potpuno su identični za čak osam od ukupno 13 pokrajinskih aktera, dok zauzimanje istog mesta na pokrajinskom i republičkom listiću nije uspelo da pođe za rukom listama Ruske stranke, Liberalno demokratske partije, Narodne stranke i koalicije Dveri i Zavetnika uz već navedeni LSV koji nije nastupio na republičkom nivou. Prilikom analize brojeva lista treba uzeti u obzir i da je izborna ponuda na nacionalnom nivou bila veća, te da se tamo kandidovalo ukupno 18 izbornih lista.

Najzad, većina stranaka je predložila istovetne nosioce na oba nivoa: u osam slučajeva nalazimo ista imena nosilaca lista, dok još u dva

slučaja nailazimo na delimično podudaranje (radi se o listi Srbija protiv nasilja, gde je jedan od dva nosioca identičan, kao i o listi Narodne stranke, gde su tri nosioca identična na oba nivoa, dok su Vladimir Gajić i Marina Lipovac Tanasković sa republičke liste zamenjeni Đorđem Vukadinovićem u imenu pokrajinske liste). Lista Saveza vojvođanskih Mađara nema istaknutog nosioca ni na jednom nivou, lista Ruske stranke ima istaknuto ime nosioca Slobodana Nikolića samo na republičkom nivou, dok je lista LSV kandidovana samo na pokrajinskom nivou, gde je nosilac Bojan Kostreš. Zanimljivo je primetiti da se na čak devet izbornih lista za pokrajinske izbore nalaze imena nosilaca koji uopšte nemaju prebivalište, pa samim tim ni pravo da biraju ili budu birani u pokrajini, ali se njihovo ime u nazivu liste koristi kao mehanizam podizanja popularnosti iste kroz isticanje nacionalno popularnih političara, što je još jedan argument u prilog nacionalizaciji pokrajinskog partijskog sistema.

Najzad, dotaknimo se ukratko i narativa u izbornoj kampanji. Iako pojedini autori tvrde da analiziranje ponašanja u kampanji često upada u zamku subjektivnih percepcija istraživača (videti: Bouteca, D'heer, & Lannoo, 2017), ograničeni fokus ovog istraživanja sprečava razvoj zasebne kompleksne metodologije po ovom pitanju, te možemo izneti samo sažetu kvalitativnu procenu da je većina stranaka bila okrenuta nacionalnom narativu tokom izborne kampanje. Malo koji politički subjekt je vodio autonomnu pokrajinsku kampanju za Skupštinu Vojvodine baziranu isključivo na vojvođanskim temama. To je dodatno amplifikovano činjenicom da ujednačen i depersonalizovan izborni sistem ne nudi podsticaje kandidatima da se ističu pred glasačima sopstvenim temama i aktivnostima u kampanji. Po prirodi stvari, kampanje fokusirane na pitanja vezana za Vojvodinu vodila je isključivo LSV, budući da se ova regionalna stranka i kandidovala samo u pokrajini, kao i manjinske SVM i DSHV, budući da su njihova biračka tela (mađarska i hrvatska populacija) koncentrisana na teritoriji Vojvodine – mada se u ovom slučaju nije radilo toliko o pokrajinskim temama koliko o temama vezanim za manjinske zajednice, igrom slučaja bazirane u pokrajini. Srpska napredna stranka je koristila svoje medijske i organizacione prednosti da istakne percipirane uspehe postignute i u Vojvodini, te da vodi segmentiranu kampanju, ali, u tom slučaju, ne možemo oceniti da

se radi o isključivo pokrajinskoj kampanji, budući da su prezentovani rezultati obično vezivani za centralnu ličnost ove stranke – predsednika Republike Aleksandra Vučića. Ostatak narativa svih navedenih stranaka uglavnom se ticao nacionalnih tema, te je bio ujednačen na svim nivoima izbora. Pored toga, u kampanji je malo koja stranka promovisala pokrajinske kandidate, do nivoa da nijedna lista nije javno istakla kandidata za premijera Vojvodine pre izbora. Paradoksalno, naknadno izabrana pokrajinska premijerka Maja Gojković (SNS) nije se ni nalazila na izbornoj listi svoje stranke u Vojvodini.

4. Nacionalizacija rezultata pokrajinskih izbora 2023. godine

Niža izlaznost, kao uobičajena karakteristika izbora drugog ranga, u ovom slučaju se, očekivano, nije iskazala, budući da su izbori za republički i pokrajinski parlament održani istoga dana, te su efekti nižeg ranga time poništeni. Tako je na parlamentarne izbore na 1.776 biračkih mesta na teritoriji Vojvodine izašlo 989.252 birača, odnosno 59,53%, dok je na pokrajinske izbore, na istom broju biračkih mesta, izašlo 985.829 birača, tj. 59,03%, što je zanemarljiva razlika dva nivoa.

Kao što smo najavili, nacionalizaciju rezultata ćemo meriti kroz indeks disimilarnosti (eng. *dissimilarity index*) koji se izražava kroz razliku između rezultata pokrajinske liste i rezultata koji je nacionalna lista iste stranke ostvarila na teritoriji pokrajine (na osnovu: Pallares & Keating 2003; Jeffery & Hough, 2009; Schakel, 2012). Formulu za računanje indeksa preuzimamo od Šakela (2012):

$$Dissimilarity = \frac{1}{2}\sum_{i=1}^{n}|X_{iN} - X_{iR}|$$

pri čemu se računa suma apsolutnih razlika procenata koje svaka stranka osvoji na nacionalnim izborima na teritoriji pokrajine (iN) i pokrajinskim izborima (iR), a koja se deli sa dva da bi se izbeglo dvostruko brojanje istog glasa prilikom računanja razlike (gubitak jedne partije predstavlja dobitak druge). Hipotetičke vrednosti skora mogu da vari-

raju od 0 (potpuna jednakost rezultata partija na nacionalnom i pokrajinskom nivou, tj. potpuna nacionalizacija) do 100 (što bi značilo da nacionalne partije u pokrajini nisu uopšte osvojile glasove, već su sve glasove dobile stranke kandidovane samo na pokrajinskim izborima).

Rezultate stranaka ćemo predstaviti u dve varijante – kroz razliku u broju glasova (videti: Tabela 2) i kroz razliku u procentu glasova, na osnovu čega u stvari računamo indeks (videti: Tabela 3).

Tabela 2*: Razlika u glasovima osvojenim na pokrajinskim i parlamentarnim izborima na teritoriji Vojvodine*

Noseća stranka	Broj glasova (APV)	Broj glasova (NSRS)	Razlika
SNS	466.035	474.058	8.023
SPS	49.775	45.555	4.220
SRS	21.135	17.318	3.817
Ruska stranka	9.907	3.332	6.575
DSS –POKS	50.582	43.414	7.168
SVM	63.721	60.809	2.912
Srbija protiv nasilja	215.197	221.224	6.027
DSHV – SPP	4.979	3.657	1.322
LDP	3.221	2.179	1.042
NS	8.140	6.622	1.518
Zavetnici – Dveri	22.487	21.931	556
DJB – SDS	14.715	12.665	2.050
Liste koje su učestvovale samo na parlamentarnim izborima (6 lista)	–	46.548	46.548
Liste koje su učestvovale samo na pokrajinskim izborima (LSV)	24.625	–	24.625

Iz tabele i na osnovu razlika u glasovima možemo pretpostaviti da se radi o visokom nivou nacionalizacije rezultata. Za većinu lista ova razlika se nalazi tek u nekoliko hiljada glasova, a prelivanja se mogu objasniti različitom političkom ponudom na pokrajinskom i republičkom nivou. Primera radi, lista LSV je u Vojvodini verovatno preuzela neke od glasova koje je Srbija protiv nasilja dobila na republičkom nivou, a

isto tako pokret „Mi – Glas iz naroda“ dr Branimira Nestorovića, koji se nije kandidovao u pokrajini, sasvim sigurno može da objasni veliki deo razlike u glasovima SNS, SPS, SRS, Ruske stranke, liste DSS – POKS, ali i drugih. Uostalom, Nestorovićeva lista je odgovorna i za pojedinačno najveću razliku između dva nivoa, budući da je na parlamentarnim izborima osvojila preko 42.000 glasova na teritoriji Vojvodine.

Tabela 3: *Razlika u procentima osvojenim na pokrajinskim i parlamentarnim izborima na teritoriji Vojvodine i indeks disimilarnosti*

Noseća stranka	% glasova (APV)	% glasova (NSRS)	Razlika
SNS	47,31	47,97	0,66
SPS	5,05	4,61	0,44
SRS	2,15	1,75	0,4
Ruska stranka	1,01	0,34	0,67
DSS – POKS	5,14	4,39	0,75
SVM	6,47	6,15	0,32
Srbija protiv nasilja	21,85	22,38	0,53
DSHV – SPP	0,51	0,37	0,14
LDP	0,33	0,22	0,11
NS	0,83	0,67	0,16
Zavetnici – Dveri	2,28	2,22	0,06
DJB – SDS	1,49	1,28	0,21
Liste koje su učestvovale samo na parlamentarnim izborima (6 lista)	–	4,71	4,71
Liste koje su učestvovale samo na pokrajinskim izborima (LSV)	2,5	–	2,5
Indeks disimilarnosti			**5,83**

Razlika učinka izbornih lista koje su učestvovale na oba nivoa, kao što vidimo, ni u jednom slučaju ne prelazi 1% ukupnog broja glasova. Na osnovu prethodno navedene formule, izračunali smo da indeks disimilarnosti na parlamentarnim i pokrajinskim izborima 2023. iznosi 5,83, što je izuzetno niska vrednost koja navodi na zaključak o visokoj nacionalizaciji rezultata pokrajinskih izbora. Najveću odgovornost za vrednost indeksa nosi razlika između političke ponude između dva nivoa. Ova vrednost bi verovatno bila još niža da je lista Branimira Ne-

storovića učestvovala na pokrajinskim izborima, budući da bi u tom slučaju verovatno došlo do niskog nivoa volatilnosti njihovih glasača u pokrajini. U komparativnom okviru vrednost 5,83 je takođe veoma niska. Primera radi, autori koji su se bavili računanjem indeksa disimilarnosti na primeru regionalnih izbora u Španiji nailazili su na srednju vrednost disimilarnosti za ceo period, od 1982. do 2000. godine, koja se kretala od prosečne vrednosti 30,29 u politički i etnolingvistički distinktivnom regionu Navara do 7,73 u centralnom regionu Kastilja – La Manča (na osnovu: Pallares & Keating, 2003). Logično, indeks je bio viši u regionima koji se istorijski i kulturološki mogu definisati kao katalonski i baskijski.

Drugi autori su izračunali indeks disimilarnosti za Kanadu i Nemačku, takođe u sličnom periodu, od 1980. do 2002. godine: prosečna vrednost za Kanadu nikada nije pala ispod 20, dok je vrednost indeksa u Nemačkoj do sredine devedesetih godina iznosila između šest i deset u zavisnosti od izbornog ciklusa da bi nakon toga počela na videlo da izlazi posebna politička dinamika u istočnim saveznim državama, te su se vrednosti popele na 13,3 (1998. godine) i 15,4 (2002. godine) (videti: Jeffery & Hough, 2009). Isti autori navode i indeks disimilarnosti za Vels (1997. godine: 21,8; 2001. godine: 29,6) i Škotsku (12,5 i 23 za iste godine), što je opet mnogo više od vojvođanskog. Najzad, Šakel (Schakel, 2015) analizira disimilarnost za šest država centralne i istočne Evrope u periodu od 1990. do 2010. godine i, u kontekstu razlike između nacionalnih i regionalnih rezultata na teritoriji datih regija, nalazi da vrednosti indeksa gotovo nikada nisu padale ispod 20 u Hrvatskoj, Češkoj, Rumuniji i Slovačkoj, odnosno ispod 10 u Mađarskoj i Poljskoj. Sve ovo su značajno više vrednosti od onoga što smo zatekli na primeru pokrajinskih izbora 2023. u Vojvodini, te prostom komparacijom možemo potvrditi da su ovi izbori gotovo u potpunosti nacionalizovani.

5. Zaključak

Na osnovu dve povezane analize koje smo izveli, možemo ponoviti nalaz o visokom nivou nacionalizacije pokrajinskih izbora u Vojvodini kako u pogledu ponašanja izbornih aktera (kandidovanja identičnih stranaka i koalicija sa identičnim imenima lista, nosiocima, pa čak i

rednim brojevima na dva izborna listića, kao i vođenja nacionalizovane izborne kampanje), tako i u pogledu uticaja takvih okolnosti na birače, što se ogleda u visokom nivou podudarnosti, odnosno nacionalizacije izbornih rezultata. U tom smislu, potvrdili smo obe pretpostavljene hipoteze: onu o nacionalizaciji političke dinamike i ponašanja izbornih aktera (H1) i onu o preslikavanju rezultata između nacionalne i pokrajinske arene (H2).

Uzroke za to svakako treba tražiti u simultanom održavanju oba nivoa izbora istoga dana a zatim i u drugim uzrocima koji se odnose kako na ujednačavanje izbornih pravila, nizak nivo kompetencija pokrajine i relativno nizak nivo regionalne distinkcije. Ipak, da bi se ovi uzroci zaista potvrdili buduća istraživanja ove teme bi morala biti izvedena longitudinalno i uzeti u obzir više prethodnih izbornih ciklusa u Vojvodini, uključujući i one slučajeve kada pokrajinski izbori nisu održani istog dana sa parlamentarnim ili predsedničkim izborima, kao i one kada su primenjivana drugačija izborna pravila koja, očekivano, pružaju drugačije podsticaje akterima, za razliku od rigidnog i visoko centralizovanog proporcionalnog sistema sa zatvorenim listama. U takvom okviru mogli bismo da vidimo da li nailazimo na drugačije rezultate u pogledu indeksa disimilarnosti, te da zaključimo šta tačno može da izazove visoku nacionalizaciju koju smo svakako utvrdili i na izborima u decembru 2023. godine.

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NATIONALIZATION OF THE 2023 PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS IN VOJVODINA[2]

Abstract: On a wider level, provincial or regional elections in Europe are usually considered second-order elections: they have lower turnout and often a special political dynamic that includes a loss of votes for national ruling parties, with an increase in the ratings of protest, regional or new actors. However, when second-order elections are held on the same day as national parliamentary elections: in that case, national political dynamics usually take precedence and contaminate the results at the second-order elections. This happened in the case of the elections for the Assembly of Vojvodina, which were last held independently, without voting for the National Assembly or the President of the Republic on the same day, back in 2004. The article will show how factors such as the date of the election and the electoral system influencethe behavior of electoral actors, the nationalization of election results, and their transfer to the provincial level, and that this occurred in the elections held in December 2023.

Key words: *provincial , Assembly of Vojvodina, nationalization, Serbia, Vojvodina*

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1. Introduction

The last elections for the Assembly of AP Vojvodina were held on December 17, 2023, at the same time as the parliamentary elections for members of the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, but also local elections in 65 cities and municipalities across Serbia (of which, interestingly, none of the local governments were in Vojvodina – the assemblies of 45 Vojvodina cities and municipalities were voted in June 2024). The elections were held according to the proportional electoral system with closed electoral lists in the entire province, as one electoral unit in which a total of 120 deputies are elected. As expected, the elections were won by the coalition around Srpska napredna stranka (Serbian Progressive Party), which won 66 parliamentary mandates. They are followed by the opposition coalition *Srbija protiv nasilja* (Serbia against violence) with 30 mandates, the minority list of the Union of Vojvodina Hungarians with nine, Nacionalno-demokratska alternativa (National Democratic Alternative) with seven, Socijalistička partija Srbije (Socialist Party of Serbia) with seven, and the dubious minority list (see: Vučićević and Bursać, 2022a) Ruska stranka (Russian party) with one mandate.

The aim of the article is to show how, in accordance with the nationalization theory of the second-order elections, similarities in the institutional framework, election circumstances and actor behavior produce almost identical political dynamics and, consequently, almost identical electoral outcomes at the provincial and national levels. The following section introduces the theory of the nationalization of elections and previous research on this topic, and the basic hypothesis. In the sections that follow, we will examine the circumstances of the December elections and compare their results, coming to the conclusion whether the nationalization of the results of the provincial elections occurred.

2. Theoretical framework and hypothesis

The second-order elections theory emerged in the 1980s (see: Reif & Schmitt, 1980). The focus of research at the time was on local or regional elections held during or mid-mandate of the national parliament and government, and on the analysis of their effects in relation to na-

tional political dynamics. The traditional view of the second-order elections assumes that lower-level elections will share certain characteristics, such as lower interest and lower voter turnout, lower performance of national governing parties that lost votes, either because voters were "punishing" them for the low performance at the national level or warning them to "get their act together" (Simon, 1989), or because voters would take the second-order elections less seriously, and many would not vote strategically, but according to their actual political preferences. Another characteristic was the increase in the balance of votes won by opposition, as well as various regional, protest, new and small parties and movements (Erikson & Filippov, 2001).

This theory also states that the second-order effects are stronger when lower-level elections are organized roughly in the middle of the national election cycle, and are much less pronounced when higher- and lower-level elections are held simultaneously. The authors claim that simultaneous voting encourages the parties to unify their electoral offer at multiple levels and voters to behave congruently, and the traditional effects of second-order elections, in terms of turnout and vote spillover, are not observable (see: Romanova, 2014; Henderson & Romanova, 2016). However, according to some authors, the degree of nationalization often depends on whether it is about regional elections in territorial units, where there are strong competencies of self-governing bodies, and voters feel that their vote really has an influence on the creation of policies that will concern them in the future. Alternatively, in the regions characterized by a distinct cultural and linguistic identity, voters care less about national politics when making decisions (see: Wyn Jones & Scully, 2006; Jeffery & Hough, 2009). In such circumstances, local political actors also have an incentive to create an indigenous electoral offer unrelated to the national dynamics and central political programs of the parties, which also affects a lower degree of nationalization (Thorlakson, 2009).

We could argue that Vojvodina is not a typical example of such a region. Despite autonomy and certain competences, and (limited) budget resources, the provincial competences are not such as to create a separate political dynamic, especially not in the centralized institutional framework and political culture prevalent in Serbia. The existing

regional differences are not enough to create a distinct political culture, such as the ethnically or linguistically homogeneous regions significantly different from the rest of the country, e.g., Quebec in Canada, certain autonomous communities in Spain, or Flanders in Belgium. In these regions, there are autonomous party systems that stand in contrast to the national arena, although regional political entities often participate in national politics as representatives of their regions.

Moreover, Serbia has adopted the political principle of simultaneous voting in one day for several vertical levels of government, aiming to homogenize voting behavior, using the effects of the nationalization of voting and the party system as a whole (based on: Schakel, 2012). Shakel (2012) defines nationalization as the centralization of political patterns at the expense of regional distinctions. Schakel and Jeffery (2013) conducted a detailed study that included 349 cases of regional elections held at the same time as the national elections, and found that the results deviate greatly from the traditional model of second-order elections, rejecting the theory as practically inapplicable to simultaneous elections. In other words, when elections are held on the same day, regional political dynamics and voting patterns simply do not apply.

Vojvodina is the perfect example of this rule. As we mentioned, provincial elections were held simultaneously with parliamentary or presidential elections in 2008, 2012, 2016, 2020 and, finally, in 2023, tying together the actors and outcomes of provincial and national elections. Authors usually express the level of nationalization of regional elections through the dissimilarity index, calculating the difference in absolute numbers between the results of one party's list in regional elections and the results of the same party's list in national elections in a given region (see: Pallares & Keating, 2003; Jeffery & Hough, 2009). This issue has not been well researched in Serbia. The only study so far has been Vučićević and Bursać (2022b) who measured the differences in votes in the simultaneously held parliamentary and Vojvodina elections in June 2020, concluding that even in the unusual context of those elections (pandemic, many opposition parties boycotting the elections), there was a high level of nationalization of the results, which is particularly pronounced with regard to the results of the Serbian Progressive Party (*Srpska napredna stranka – SNS*), whose voters displayed the highest

level of agreement on voting decisions for the National Assembly and for the Vojvodina Assembly. Since the authors measured nationalization at the polling stations, they concluded that there is a very high level of nationalization at work in Vojvodina, where the difference between the results of the national and provincial lists of candidate parties can be expressed in the single-digit number of votes per polling station.

In accordance with the presented theory and empirical research, we propose two hypotheses:

H1: Simultaneous holding of provincial elections in Vojvodina with parliamentary elections for the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia produces a high level of nationalization of provincial political dynamics;

H2: Simultaneous holding of provincial elections in Vojvodina with parliamentary elections for the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia produces a high level of nationalization of the results of the provincial elections.

The hypotheses require several explanations regarding the operationalization that follows. Simultaneous elections is not, of course, the only factor that affects nationalization; other factors are also at play, above all a uniform electoral system, a low level of provincial autonomy competencies and a low "importance" of regional distinctiveness, especially in the context of creating a cultural or ethnic identity distinct from the nation as a whole. Still, we must emphasize that many scholars hold that the common voting date is in fact the main factor of nationalization. In Serbian political practice, this is a frequent occurrence. Provincial and local elections are usually scheduled on the same day as the parliamentary, and sometimes also presidential elections. This is done primarily to effectively mobilize the votes of the ruling parties at all levels, utilizing the popularity of the national list and – more importantly – the national leader at second-order elections. In the current party system, this is acceptable for the fragmented and weak opposition parties, since they have low outreach and poor infrastructure outside of several major cities. As we have already stated, second-order elections do not appeal much to voters so votes are often dispersed. The governing parties, therefore, always benefit from holding elections on the same day, usually justifying this decision as economically responsible.

We also mentioned the unification of the electoral system - namely, In three consecutive election cycles for the Assembly of Vojvodina (2004, 2008 and 2012), a parallel electoral system was used: it was a mixed system where voters had two votes at their disposal: one on the list, and the other on the nominal level. The first was for the electoral lists of parties in the entire province as one electoral unit, where 60 deputies were elected, and the other for individual candidates in their single-mandate electoral unit (60 in total – each local self-government in Vojvodina had at least one representative, while larger cities were divided into several electoral units). In 2014 this system was, hastily and without public debate, changed to a proportional system, with one electoral unit and closed lists, mirroring the national system. The main argument put forward at that time was precisely the unification of electoral rules (cf. Bursać & Vučićević, 2016), while all the potential benefits of the mixed system evident in the previous three cycles and were ignored and were consequently lost. Those benefits include the geographical representation of all cities and municipalities in the Assembly of Vojvodina, prevention of excessive metropolitanization of representation (i.e., over-representation of Novi Sad in the provincial assembly), and personalization (or partial personalization) of elected representatives for whom citizens voted by name in single-mandate units. Another benefit was the higher quality of candidates, since those nominated in single-mandate units were elected as individuals and not on a collective party list, the parties had to pay more attention to candidate selection. The nationalization strategy, therefore, results in the loss of regional political dynamics because it encourages political actors to run lists or coalitions with similar structures and names, as will be shown in the next section using the example of the December 2023 elections. Additionally, the introduction of closed lists for the election of all 120 deputies prevents the personalization of politics present in the earlier single-mandate constituencies in the mixed electoral system, and facilitates the contamination of provincial electoral dynamics with national-level leaders and narratives.

We set out to prove the proposed hypotheses in two ways. Regarding political dynamics, we will use a qualitative comparative analysis, and compare the behavior of actors on two levels during the campaign, in

terms of creating coalitions, list names, holders personalities, list numbers, and campaign topics. Regarding the nationalization of the results, statistical methods will be used, including a dissimilarity index, and the results of the provincial and national electoral lists will be compared.

3. Nationalization of political dynamics in the 2023 provincial elections

To detect whether nationalization occurred, we will compare actor behavior in the 2023 elections on various levels. In the December elections for the Assembly of Vojvodina, a total of 13 electoral lists were nominated. Of those 13, as many as 12 appeared in the parliamentary elections as well, with only the list of the Liga socijaldemokrata Vojvodine (Socialdemocrat League of Vojvodina - LSV) nominated at the provincial level. All parties show a very high level of nationalization on the four criteria concerning the candidacy (see: Table 1): the coalition structure, list names, list holder names, and the serial numbers on the ballot. The following data were taken from the web presentations of the Republic Election Commission (REK, 2024) and the Provincial Election Commission (PIK, 2024).

Table 1*: 2023 provincial and parliamentary elections lists*

Leading party	Identical coalition structure on both levels	List name (Autonomous Province of Vojvodina - APV)	List name (National Assembly of the RS-NSRS)	List no. (APV)	List no. (NSRS)	Holder (APV)	Holder (NSRS)
SNS	Yes	A. Vučić – Vojvodina ne sme da stane	A. Vučić – Srbija ne sme da stane	1	1	A. Vučić	A. Vučić
SPS	Yes	I. Dačić – Premijer Srbije	I. Dačić – Premijer Srbije	2	2	I. Dačić	I. Dačić
SRS	Yes	Dr V. Šešelj – SRS	Dr V. Šešelj – SRS	3	3	V. Šešelj	V. Šešelj
Ruska stranka	No	Ruska stranka – Srbi i Rusi braća zauvek!	Ruska stranka – S. Nikolić	4	16	–	S. Nikolić

DSS – POKS	Yes	Dr M. Jovanović – NADA za Srbiju – NADA za Vojvodinu – Srpska koalicija NADA (...)	Dr M. Jovanović – NADA za Srbiju – Srpska koalicija NADA (...)	5	5	M. Jovanović, V. Mihailović	M. Jovanović, V. Mihailović
SVM	Yes	SVM – Za našeg Predsednika, za našu zajednicu, za budućnost!	SVM – Za našeg Predsednika, za našu zajednicu, za budućnost!	6	6	–	–
Srbija protiv nasilja	Yes	Srbija protiv nasilja – M. Tepić – M. Brkić (...)	Srbija protiv nasilja – M. Tepić – M. Aleksić (...)	7	7	M. Tepić, M. Brkić	M. Tepić, M. Aleksić
DSHV – SPP	Yes	T. Žigmanov – Ujedinjeni za pravdu – DSHV, U. Zukorlić – SPP – Bošnjaci Sandžaka	U. Zukorlić – Ujedinjeni za pravdu – SPP – Bošnjaci Sandžaka, T. Žigmanov – DSHV	8	8	T. Žigmanov, U. Zukorlić	U. Zukorlić, T. Žigmanov
LDP	Yes	Č. Jovanović – Vojvodina mora drugačije	Č. Jovanović – Mora drugačije	9	17	Č. Jovanović	Č. Jovanović
NS	Yes	Narodna stranka – Siguran izbor, ozbiljni ljudi – V. Jeremić, S. Kovačević, Dr S. Rašković Ivić, Đ. Vukadinović	Narodna stranka – Siguran izbor, ozbiljni ljudi – V. Jeremić, Dr S. Rašković Ivić, S. Kovačević, V. Gajić, M. Lipovac Tanasković	10	11	V. Jeremić, S. Kovačević, Dr S. Rašković Ivić, Đ. Vukadinović	V. Jeremić, Dr S. Rašković Ivić, S. Kovačević, V. Gajić, M. Lipovac Tanasković

Zavetnici – Dveri	Yes	M. Đurđević Stamenkovski – B. Obradović – Nacionalno okupljanje – Državotvorna snaga (...)	M. Đurđević Stamenkovski – B. Obradović – Nacionalno okupljanje – Državotvorna snaga (...)	11	4	M. Đurđević Stamenkovski, B. Obradović	M. Đurđević Stamenkovski, B. Obradović
DJB – SDS	Yes	S. Radulović (DJB) – B. Tadić (SDS) – A. Pejić (Otete bebe) – Dobro jutro Srbijo	S. Radulović (DJB) – B. Tadić (SDS) – A. Pejić (Otete bebe) – Dobro jutro Srbijo	12	12	S. Radulović, B. Tadić, A. Pejić	S. Radulović, B. Tadić, A. Pejić
LSV	–	Vojvođani – LSV – Vojvođani, Demokratska zajednica vojvođanskih Mađara, Zajedno za Vojvodinu – B. Kostreš	–	13	–	B. Kostreš	–

As the table shows, 11 out of 12 parties have identical structures at both levels, as coalitions (more frequently) or independent party lists (less frequently), such as Savez vojvođanskih Mađara, Narodna stranka (People's Party) and Srpska radikalna stranka (Serbian Radical Party). The only difference between the two levels is, in fact, Ruska stranka, which appeared independently at the provincial level and at the national level in a coalition with Nova komunistička partija Jugoslavije (New Communist Party of Yugoslavia), although this was omitted from the list name.

Most actors adopted the identical name of the national electoral list with a few minor variations related to the use or insertion of Vojvodina in the provincial list name (SNS, DSS - POKS, LDP) or partial changes in terms of list holders, e.g., the Srbija protiv nasilja (Serbia against violence) list replaced Marinika Tepić with Miroslav Aleksić at the provincial level, the Narodna stranka list changed two candidates compared to

the national list (out of a total of five); while the DSHV-SSP list replaced its holders Tomislav Žigmanov and Usama Zukorlić, probably counting on the greater support of the Croats living in Vojvodina compared to the Bosniaks living mostly in central Serbia. The only concrete change in the electoral list was observed in the minority party Ruska stranka, where at the republican level Slobodan Nikolić was the list holder, whereas at the provincial level, the slogan "Serbs and Russians – Brothers forever!" was added to the name of the party.

Since the Republican Electoral Commission and the Provincial Electoral Commission, by law, determine the order on the ballot based on the order of submission and announcement of the electoral list, the parties tend to coordinate the submission at multiple levels to gain marketing advantages of having an identical ordinal number on multiple ballots and the resulting maximization of votes, which also contributes to nationalization. The numbers on the ballot are identical for as many as eight out of 13 provincial actors. Ruska stranka, Liberalno demokratska partija (Liberal Democrats), Narodna stranka, the Dveri-Zavetnici coalition, and LSV failed to obtain the same list number at both levels. When analyzing the list numbers, it should also be taken into account that the electoral offer at the national level was higher, i.e., 18 lists.

Moreover, the majority of parties proposed the same list holders at both levels: in eight cases we find the same names of the list holders, while in two more cases we come across a partial match (the Srbija protiv nasilja list, where one of the two holders is identical, as well as the Narodna stranka list, where the three holders are identical at both levels, while Vladimir Gajić and Marina Lipovac Tanasković from the republican list were replaced by Đorđe Vukadinović in the provincial list). The Savez vojvođanskih Mađara list did not have a prominent candidate at any level, the Ruska stranka list has the prominent name of the candidate Slobodan Nikolić only at the republican level, while the LSV list is nominated only at the provincial level, where the holder is Bojan Kostreš. Interestingly, as many as nine electoral lists for the provincial elections contain the names of candidates who do not have a place of residence at the province, and therefore no right to vote or be elected in the province, but their names are used to increase the popularity of the list by highlighting nationally popular politicians, which confirms the

hypothesis of the nationalization of the provincial party system.

Lastly, we will give a brief overview of the campaign narratives. Although some authors claim that campaign behavior analysis often falls prey to researchers' subjective perceptions (see: Bouteca, D'heer, & Lannoo, 2017), the limited focus of this study impedes the development of a separate complex methodology on this issue. Therefore, we can only present a brief qualitative assessment: most parties opted for the nationalist narrative during the election campaign. Few political entities have led an autonomous provincial campaign for the Assembly of Vojvodina based exclusively on Vojvodina issues. The existing uniform and depersonalized electoral system offers no incentives for candidates to reach out to voters with their own campaign themes and activities. The campaigns focused on issues related to Vojvodina were conducted exclusively by the LSV, since this regional party ran only in the province, as well as the minority SVM and DSHV parties, since their electorates (Hungarian and Croatian population) are concentrated on the territory of Vojvodina - although the focus was not the province itself, but minority communities, which happen to be based in the province. Srpska napredna stranka used its media and infrastructure leverage to highlight the perceived successes achieved in Vojvodina as well, and run a segmented campaign. However, this was not a province-oriented campaign, since the presented results are usually linked to the central figure of this party – the Serbian President Aleksandar Vučić. The rest of the narratives mainly concerned national issues, and were uniform at all levels of the election. Moreover, few parties promoted provincial candidates, and no list publicly nominated a candidate for Prime Minister of Vojvodina before the election. This lead to an absurd outcome: the elected provincial prime minister Maja Gojković (SNS) was not even on the electoral list of her party in Vojvodina.

4. Nationalization of 2023 provincial elections results

Lower turnout, typical of second-order elections, was not present in this case since the elections for the national and provincial assemblies were held on the same day, and the second-order effects were absent.

There were 989,252 voters (59.53%) at the parliamentary elections at 1,776 polling stations in Vojvodina, and 985,829 voters (59.03%) at the provincial elections, at the same number of polling stations, which is a negligible difference.

As noted above, the nationalization of the results will be measured through the dissimilarity index, expressed as the difference between the results of the provincial list and the results achieved by the national list of the same party on the territory of the province (based on: Pallares & Keating 2003; Jeffery & Hough, 2009; Schakel, 2012). The formula for calculating the index is taken from Shakel (2012):

$$Dissimilarity = \frac{1}{2}\sum_{i=1}^{n}|X_{iN} - X_{iR}|$$

The sum of the absolute percentage differences won by each party in the national elections in the territory of the province (iN) and the provincial elections (iR) is calculated, and then divided by two to avoid double counting of the same vote when calculating the difference (the loss of one party represents the gain of the other). Hypothetical score values can vary from 0 (complete equality of party results at the national and provincial level, i.e., complete nationalization) to 100 (meaning that the national parties in the province won no votes, and that all the votes were won by parties that ran only in the provincial elections).

The results of the parties will be presented as the difference in the number of votes (see: Table 2) and the difference in the percentage of votes, which is the basis for the index calculation (see: Table 3).

Table 2: Difference in the number of votes won in the provincial and parliamentary elections in Vojvodina

Leading party	No. of votes (APV)	No. of votes (NSRS)	Difference
SNS	466.035	474.058	8.023
SPS	49.775	45.555	4.220
SRS	21.135	17.318	3.817
Ruska stranka	9.907	3.332	6.575
DSS –POKS	50.582	43.414	7.168
SVM	63.721	60.809	2.912
Srbija protiv nasilja	215.197	221.224	6.027
DSHV – SPP	4.979	3.657	1.322
LDP	3.221	2.179	1.042
NS	8.140	6.622	1.518
Zavetnici – Dveri	22.487	21.931	556
DJB – SDS	14.715	12.665	2.050
Parliamentary elections only lists (6 lists)	–	46.548	46.548
Provincial elections only lists (LSV)	24.625	–	24.625

The differences in votes demonstrate a high level of nationalization of the results. For most of the lists, this difference amounts to only a few thousand votes, and the spillovers can be explained by the different political offer at the provincial and national level. For example, in Vojvodina, the LSV list probably took some of the votes that *Srbija protiv nasilja* received at the national level. Similarly, the *Mi – Glas iz naroda* (We – the Voice of the People) movement, led by Dr. Branimir Nestorović, who did not run in the province took the votes of the SNS, SPS, SRS, Ruska stranka, DSS - POKS list, and others. Nestorović's list is also responsible for the single largest difference between the two levels, since it won over 42,000 votes in Vojvodina in the parliamentary elections.

Table 3: Difference in the percentage of votes won in the provincial and parliamentary elections in Vojvodina and dissimilarity index

Leading party	% votes (APV)	% votes (NSRS)	Difference
SNS	47,31	47,97	0,66
SPS	5,05	4,61	0,44
SRS	2,15	1,75	0,4
Ruska stranka	1,01	0,34	0,67
DSS – POKS	5,14	4,39	0,75
SVM	6,47	6,15	0,32
Srbija protiv nasilja	21,85	22,38	0,53
DSHV – SPP	0,51	0,37	0,14
LDP	0,33	0,22	0,11
NS	0,83	0,67	0,16
Zavetnici – Dveri	2,28	2,22	0,06
DJB – SDS	1,49	1,28	0,21
Parliamentary elections only lists (6 lists)	–	4,71	4,71
Provincial elections only lists (LSV)	2,5	–	2,5
Dissimilarity index			**5,83**

The difference in the performance of electoral lists that participated at both levels never exceeds 1% of the total number of votes. We have calculated that the index of dissimilarity in the parliamentary and provincial elections in 2023 is extremely low, only 5.83, leading us to conclude that there was a high level of nationalization of the results in the provincial elections. The index value is mainly due to the difference between the political offer between the two levels. This value would probably be even lower if Branimir Nestorović's list participated in the provincial elections, since in that case there would probably be a low volatility of their voters in the province. The value of 5.83 is also comparatively very low. For example, authors who calculated the dissimilarity index in regional elections in Spain found a mean value of dissimilarity for the entire period (1982 to 2000), ranging from an average value of 30.29

in the politically and ethnolinguistically distinctive Navarre region to 7.73 in the central region of Castile-La Mancha (based on: Pallares & Keating, 2003). Naturally, the index was higher in regions that can be historically and culturally defined as Catalan and Basque.

Other authors calculated the index of dissimilarity for Canada and Germany from 1980 to 2002: the average value for Canada never fell below 20, while the value of the index in Germany until the mid-nineties was between six and ten, depending on the electoral cycle, after which a special political dynamic began to emerge in the eastern federal states, and these values rose to 13.3 (in 1998) and 15.4 (in 2002) (see: Jeffery & Hough, 2009). The same authors report the index of dissimilarity for Wales (1997: 21.8; 2001: 29.6) and Scotland (12.5 and 23 for the same years), which is again much higher than Vojvodina. Finally, Schakel (Schakel, 2015) analyzed the dissimilarity for six countries of Central and Eastern Europe from 1990 to 2010 and found, in the context of the difference between national and regional results in he given regions, that the values of the index almost never fell below 20 in Croatia, the Czech Republic, Romania and Slovakia, or below 10 in Hungary and Poland. All these are significantly higher values than in the 2023 provincial elections in Vojvodina: we can therefore confirm that these elections were almost completely nationalized.

5. Conclusion

Based on the two analyses above, we can confirm the high level of nationalization of the provincial elections in Vojvodina, both in terms of the behavior of electoral actors (identical parties and coalitions with identical list names, holders, and even serial numbers on two ballots, as well as running a nationalized election campaign), and in terms of the impact of such circumstances on voters, which is reflected in the high level of concordance, i.e., nationalization. Therefore, both hypotheses - the nationalization of political dynamics and the behavior of electoral actors (H1) and identical results on the national and provincial level (H2) – were confirmed.

The reasons for this include the simultaneous holding of both levels of elections on the same day, the unification of election rules, the low

level of competence of the province and the relatively low level of regional distinction. Nevertheless, in order to confirm these causes, future research on this topic would have to be conducted longitudinally and take into account several previous electoral cycles in Vojvodina, including the cases when provincial elections were not held on the same day as parliamentary or presidential elections, as well as those when different electoral rules were applied, providing different incentives to actors, in contrast to the rigid and highly centralized proportional system with closed lists. The results in terms of the dissimilarity index could then be compared and the exact causes of high nationalization, observed in the December 2023 elections, identified.

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PROPUSTI U SISTEMU BEZBEDNOSNE ZAŠTITE ODREĐENIH LIČNOSTI I OBJEKATA: STUDIJA SLUČAJA ATENTATA NA LORDA MAUNTBATENA

Abstrakt: Pored kraćeg normativno-teorijskog uvida u subjekte sistema zaštite lica i objekata u našoj zemlji, kao i letimičnog pregleda najčešćih oblika ugrožavanja bezbednosti određenih lica i objekata, u radu su posebno obrađeni sistemski propusti u obezbeđenju određenih lica i objekata na primeru studije slučaja ubistva lorda Mauntbatena. Cilj ovog rada je da ustanovi nivo operabilnosti domaćeg teorijskog koncepta sistema zaštite lica i objekata u prepoznavanju i otklanjanju sistemskih propusta, poput onih učinjenih prilikom obezbeđenja najviših članova britanske kraljevske porodice krajem sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka.

Ključne reči: *sistem zaštite, subjekti sistema, oblici ugrožavanja, propusti u obezbeđenju*

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1. Uvod

U današnjem globalizovanom svetu razumno je pretpostaviti da nacionalni sistemi zaštite određenih lica i objekata počivaju na istovetnim ili vrlo sličnim pravilima bezbednosne nauke i, što je još važnije, da funkcionišu na opšteprihvaćenim standardima i uzansama struke – barem kada je reč o državama sa demokratskim uređenjem. Razlike koje se mogu uočiti u pogledu određenih elemenata pojedinih nacionalnih sistema, načina njihovog organizovanja i nadležnosti državnih organa i službi koji obavljaju poslove zaštite najviših državnih zvaničnika i objekata od nacionalnog značaja, odraz su, pre svega, specifičnih normativnih, društvenih, istorijskih i kulturoloških osobenosti i uslovljenosti u razvoju država i njihovih nacionalnih sistema bezbednosti, pa tako i sistema zaštite lica i objekata kao podsistema nacionalne bezbednosti.

2. Sistem zaštite lica i objekata

Kada je reč o sistemu zaštite lica i objekata (SZLO), tj. njegovoj sadržini koja se izučava u okviru predmeta jedne, barem kod nas, mlade naučno-nastavne discipline (Daničić & Pilipović, 2018), tri njegove sastavne celine mogli bismo izdvojiti kao oblasti koje zaslužuju posebnu pažnju, u smislu teorijskog sagledavanja, dopunjavanja i upoređivanja sa rezultatima inostranih teorijskih istraživanja, dok bi njihovu održivost, u praktičnoj primeni, bilo neophodno permanentno proveravati i preispitivati u svakodnevnom postupanju državnih organa odgovornih za bezbednost lica i objekata. To su, prema našem dubokom uverenju, sledeće celine ili oblasti: a) oblici ugrožavanja određenih ličnosti[2], b) oblici suprotstavljanja i konkretne mere koje nadležni državni organi preduzimaju na zaštiti lica i objekata i, na kraju, za potrebe ovog rada, c) celina koja se odnosi na specifičnosti u zaštiti rezidencijalnih objekata.

U pogledu osnovnih karakteristika SZLO, pored mnogih kao što su složenost, organizovanost i uređenost, izdvojili bismo posebno suprot-

[2] Pod pojmom *određene ličnosti* pomenuti autori ovde misle na „… ličnosti, odnosno funkcionere koji su određeni odlukama nadležnih organa, a u odnosu na koje nadležni organi i službe bezbednosti preduzimaju određene mere obezbeđenja…“

stavljenost njegovih ciljeva zaštite i ciljeva nosilaca ugrožavanja bezbednosti lica i objekata, kao i osobenost da funkcionisanje SZLO zavisi najviše od ljudskog faktora (Stajić & Pajković, 2008).

3. Subjekti u sistemu zaštite određenih ličnosti i objekata

Pod subjektima SZLO Daničić i Pilipović (2018) smatraju u prvom redu policiju unutar MUP-a RS, zatim vojnobezbednosne organe i jedinice poput Vojnobezbednosne agencije, Vojnoobaveštajne agencije, Vojne policije i specijalnih jedinica Vojske Srbije i, posebno, Bezbednosno-informativnu agenciju (skrać. BIA) kao „najznačajniju ustanovu koja obavlja obaveštajne, kontraobaveštajne i druge poslove bezbednosti" (str. 104).

Pojedini autori, poput Pajkovića (2003), ne vrše ovakvu ili sličnu podelu subjekata koji su nadležni za zaštitu određenih ličnosti i objekata. Prema ovom autoru, odgovornost za preduzimanje mera i radnji na zaštiti određenih ličnosti i objekata leži na javnoj bezbednosti koja obavlja ove poslove samostalno ili u saradnji sa BIA i vojnim službama bezbednosti.

U nastavku izlaganja ukazaćemo na najvažnije subjekte sistema zaštite određenih lica[3] i objekata, shodno Uredbi o određivanju poslova bezbednosne zaštite lica i objekata (2013), a zatim ćemo se osvrnuti na najčešće oblike ugrožavanja lica i objekata i navesti neke od specifičnih načina njihove zaštite.

Članom 1 ove uredbe propisano je da „poslove bezbednosne zaštite, kako u zemlji tako i u inostranstvu, obavljaju: ministarstvo nadležno za unutrašnje poslove, Bezbednosno-informativna agencija, Vojnobezbednosna agencija, Vojna policija i jedinice Vojske Srbije".

U okviru Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova Republike Srbije (skrać. MUP RS) obavljanje policijskih poslova, među kojima su i poslovi bezbednosne zaštite određenih ličnosti i objekata, shodno članu 3, stav 1 i članu 30, stav 3, tačka 8 Zakona o policiji (2018), povereni su policiji, odnosno Direkciji policije u čijem se sastavu, prema Daničiću i Pilipoviću (2018), pored drugih organizacionih jedinica – uprava, nalaze i one koje, neposredno ili po potrebi, učestvuju u bezbednosnoj zaštiti odre-

[3] U radu će se koristiti i pojam *određena lica*, shodno pomenutoj Uredbi.

đenih ličnosti i objekata: „Jedinica za obezbeđenje određenih ličnosti i objekata, Žandarmerija, Specijalna antiteroristička jedinica, Helikopterska jedinica i Policijska brigada“ (str. 91).

U Zakonu o Bezbednosno-informativnoj agenciji (2018) ne navode se eksplicitno organizacione jedinice niti poslovi koji se u njima obavljaju, pa tako ni poslovi bezbednosne zaštite određenih lica i objekata. Unutrašnje uređenje, sistematizacija radnih mesta, pa samim tim i poslovi koji se obavljaju u BIA, uređeni su aktom koji donosi direktor Agencije uz prethodnu saglasnost Vlade Republike Srbije. U članu 7, stav 4 ZoBIA navodi se da su podaci sadržani u aktu tajni podaci, te da se oni regulišu posebnim zakonom kojim se uređuje tajnost podataka. S obzirom na to da je reč o modernoj civilnoj službi bezbednosti iliti (kolokvijalno) *tajnoj službi* ustrojenoj organizaciono i funkcionalno po najvišim bezbednosnim standardima, razložno je ustvrditi da unutar nje postoji posebna organizaciona jedinica nadležna za bezbednosnu i kontraobaveštajnu zaštitu sopstvenih ljudskih resursa i objekata. Ovo tim pre imajući u vidu član 2 Uredbe koji direktora BIA prepoznaje kao *određeno lice* kojem nadležni državni organi i službe pružaju bezbednosnu zaštitu.

Na sličan način zakonodavac je uredio okvir nadležnosti i poslova Vojnobezbednosne (skrać. VBA) i Vojnoobaveštajne agencije (skrać. VOA). U članu 6 Zakona o Vojnobezbednosnoj i Vojnoobaveštajnoj agenciji (2013) navodi se da VBA u okviru bezbednosne zaštite pored drugih obavlja i poslove bezbednosne zaštite snaga, objekata, sredstava i aktivnosti, zatim poslove bezbednosne zaštite drugih subjekata odbrane, kao i ostale poslove i zadatke bezbednosne zaštite. U segmentu kontraobaveštajne zaštite, VBA je, između ostalog, nadležna za kontraobaveštajnu zaštitu lica, objekata, aktivnosti i tajnih podataka Ministarstva odbrane (skrać. MO) i Vojske Srbije (skrać. VS). Članom 25 istog zakona propisani su poslovi i zadaci VOA, između kojih posebno bezbednosna zaštita sopstvenih aktivnosti, lica, objekata i dokumenata, kao i bezbednosna zaštita objekata Ministarstva odbrane i Vojske Srbije, ali i lica koja su od strane MO i VS službeno upućena u inostranstvo[4].

[4] Uredba ne prepoznaje VOA kao organ nadležan za bezbednosnu zaštitu lica i objekata. Članom 25 stav 1 tačkama 5 i 6 Zakona, VOA proširuje svoju nadležnost i smatra se jednim od subjekata u sistemu zaštite lica i objekata.

U postojećem sistemu zaštite lica i objekata nadležnost i službena ovlašćena Vojne policije, kao organa zaduženog za bezbednosnu zaštitu, bliže su određena u članu 53 stav 1 i stav 7 Zakona o Vojsci Srbije (2019), a članom 3 Pravilnika o ovlašćenim službenim licima Vojne policije način primene policijskih mera i radnji i policijskih ovlašćenja i obavljanja poslova i zadataka Vojne policije (2022), u smislu obavljanja poslova obezbeđenja najznačajnijih vojnih objekata i određenih lica, dokumenata i naoružanja i primene službenih ovlašćenja prema civilima kada njeni pripadnici obavljaju navedene poslove. U sastavu Vojne policije nalazi se i Odred vojne policije specijalne namene *Kobre* koji je zadužen za bezbednosnu zaštitu određenih lica i objekata od posebne važnosti. Pored ostalih, prioritet u radu ove jedinice počiva na preduzimanju preventivnih mera u realizaciji bezbednosne zaštite kao i na procenjivanju, planiranju i izvršavanju konkretnih zadataka na planu obezbeđenja ličnosti i objekata[5]. Još jedna jedinica Vojske Srbije uključena je kao važan subjekt u sistem zaštite lica i objekata. Reč je o Gardi Vojske Srbije čija je osnovna namena obezbeđenje vitalnih objekata sistema odbrane. Osim toga, pripadnici ove jedinice izvršavaju i zadatke koji se neposredno odnose na obezbeđivanje ljudstva i pokretnih stvari a, takođe, vrše i telekomunikaciono obezbeđenje ličnosti kada se nalaze u vojnim objektima od posebnog značaja a, po potrebi, i u drugim objektima[6].

4. Oblici ugrožavanja određenih ličnosti

Kada se govori o oblicima ugrožavanja određenih ličnosti, pogotovo onim najtežim, kao što su političko ubistvo, najčešće se misli na politički motivisano nasilje, tj. primenu nasilja u politici i to u onom vidu ispoljavanja koji, prema Dimitrijeviću (2017), „može služiti i osporavanju vladanja, svrgavanju vlasti i političkim promenama" (str. 23), dakle ne samo kao političko nasilje u funkciji održanja vlasti.

Mijalković, Bajagić i Popović Mančević (2023) političko nasilje vide kao „vrstu političkog čina, odnosno aktivnost" (str. 328), a u pogledu njegovog konkretnog načina ispoljavanja Simeunović (1983) navodi

[5] Opširnije vidi: www.vs.rs

[6] Isto.

oblike kao što su „pretnja silom, prinuda, pritisak, psihofizičko zlostavljanje, političko ubistvo, atentat i diverzija, nasilni protesti, pobune, neredi, nemiri, terorizam, subvencija, represija, teror, ustanak i rat“ (str. 35–36).

Nas, u prvom redu, ovde interesuju političko ubistvo i terorizam, kao oblici ispoljavanja političkog nasilja, tačnije ugrožavanja bezbednosti određenih ličnosti i to, kada je reč o terorizmu, posebno onaj oblik savremenog terorizma koji se koristi „tradicionalnim sredstvima i načinima izvršenja, u vidu bombaških napada, atentata i otmica“ (Bajagić, 2012, str. 98). Prema Hofmanu (2000), sam odabir meta, taktika i oružja terorista zavisi od njihove ideologije, unutrašnje organizacione dinamike i karaktera čelnih ličnosti, ali i niza drugih unutrašnjih i spoljnih faktora.

U iscrpnoj analizi 74 atentata na 68 najviših državnih predstavnika širom sveta u periodu od 1950. do 2006. godine, a s obzirom na mesto napada, način, sredstva i motive napada, ali i druge relevantne parametre, poput rastojanja između izvršioca i mete napada, Belić (2008, str. 166) u uvodnom razmatranju rezultata svog istraživanja iznosi sledeće: „Zajedničko za sve atentate na najviše državne predstavnike je da su bili ranije planirani i pripremljeni. Mesto napada najčešće je određeno detaljnom analizom organizatora atentata. U najvećem broju slučajeva to je mesto u blizini stanovanja, mesta rada ili ‘usko grlo’ – kritična tačka na redovnoj, **ustaljenoj trasi** kretanja. Slučajnost je isključena“. U pogledu sredstava koja su korišćena (str. 166) posredi su vatreno oružje (50%) i eksplozivne naprave (41,9%), dok su ideološki motivi u najvećem broju slučajeva bili pokretači za izvršenje atentata (str. 169).

5. Mere zaštite određenih ličnosti i mere zaštite određenih objekata

Brojni domaći autori (Daničić & Pilipović, 2018, 145–154; Pajković, 2003, 79–87; Stajić & Pajković, 2008, 75–82) vrše istovetnu ili sličnu podelu mera zaštite određenih ličnosti i to na: a) operativno-preventivne mere, b) mere fizičke (neposredne) zaštite, c) protivdiverzione, preventivno-tehničke i protivpožarne zaštite, d) biološko-hemijske mere i e)

mere zdravstvene zaštite. Sve navedene mere preduzimaju se na osnovu akata nadležnih državnih organa, a u zavisnosti od određene ličnosti prema kojoj se preduzimaju bezbednosne procene ugroženosti određene ličnosti, kao i brojnih okolnosti i činjenica od značaja za bezbednosnu zaštitu određene ličnosti. Takođe, saglasnost među pomenutim autorima postoji i u pogledu četiri stepena zaštite (prvi, drugi, treći i četvrti) koji se primenjuju u zavisnosti od konkretnog oblika i izvora pretnje po bezbednost određene ličnosti.

Saglasnost pomenutih autora postoji i u pogledu mera koje se preduzimaju u zaštiti određenih objekata (i terena). Reč je o objektima koje koriste određene ličnosti a mere su: a) mere protivdiverzione (i protivterorističke) zaštite, b) mere fizičke (neposredne i dubinske) zaštite, c) mere protivprislušne zaštite, d) mere tehničke zaštite, e) mere protivpožarne zaštite i f) sanitarno-tehničke, biološko-hemijske i mere zdravstvene zaštite.

U Uredbi o određivanju poslova bezbednosne zaštite određenih lica i objekata (2013), u članu 6 navedene su sledeće mere u okviru poslova bezbednosne zaštite: a) mere kontraobaveštajne zaštite; b) preventivno-bezbednosne mere; c) mere preventivno-tehničke zaštite; d) mere fizičke zaštite i e) mere preventivno-medicinske zaštite.

Nije nam ovde namera da govorimo o svakoj pojedinačnoj meri ponaosob, bilo da je reč o segmentu zaštite lica, ili objekata iz člana 2 i člana 3 Uredbe. Za potrebe ovog rada dovoljno je napomenuti da su u okviru mera zaštite određenih ličnosti, po našem sudu, najkompleksnije operativno-preventivne mere koje preduzimaju državni organi i službe odgovorni za bezbednosnu zaštitu ovih ličnosti, tj. mere kontraobaveštajne zaštite, u smislu člana 7 pomenute uredbe, dok su mere koje se primenjuju u sklopu fizičke i tehničke zaštite objekata, po svom obimu, sadržini i složenosti najzahtevnije. Ovde, pre svega, mislimo na ofanzivnu i defanzivnu komponentu kontraobaveštajne aktivnosti kako je vidi Bajagić (2015) – u smislu „razumevanja i neutralizacije svih aspekata obaveštajne aktivnosti neprijateljskih entiteta, prikupljanja informacija i sprovođenja drugih aktivnosti u cilju zaštite od špijunaže, sabotaže i ubistava…terorističkih akata“ (str. 82). Koje će mere (vrsta, obim) biti konkretno preduzete i u kom stepenu zavisi prevashodno od bezbedno-

sne procene o ugroženosti ličnosti – objekata i stepena tajnosti podataka relevantnih za njihovu bezbednosnu zaštitu. Pre donošenja odluke o primeni konkretnih mera, od suštinskog je značaja izvršiti ocenu bezbednosnog stanja i doneti bezbednosnu procenu o ugroženosti. Prema Subošiću i Daničiću (2012), „ocena se odnosi, uslovno rečeno, na *sadašnje vreme*, pri čemu se do nje dolazi na osnovu analize aktuelnih podataka iz prošlosti i na osnovu nje izvedene sinteze, pri čemu je ona osnov bezbednosnih procena" (str. 172). Za razliku od ocene bezbednosnog stanja, bezbednosna procena, kako to vide Krstić i Subošić, „predstavlja dokument koji sadrži sintetički zaključak o budućem stanju bezbednosnih pojava" ili „postupak koji spaja ocenjivanje bezbednosnog stanja i donošenje odluke o primeni mera bezbednosne zaštite određene ličnosti" (2018, str. 121). Zanimljivo je da Krstić i Subošić u svom radu, pored navođenja sadržaja bezbednosnih procena MUP-a, VBA, VOA i Vojne policije, isto to čine i u slučaju BIA i to, kako kažu, „uvidom u dokumenta [*sic!*] bezbednosnih procena ugroženosti određenih ličnosti i objekata koje izrađuje Bezbednosno-informativna agencija Republike Srbije" (str. 124–125)[7].

6. Studija slučaja: ubistvo lorda Mauntbatena

Ubistvo lorda Mauntbatena (Louis Mountbatten, 1st Earl Mountbatten of Burma, 1900–1979), visokog člana britanske kraljevske porodice, uz to i bliskog rođaka supruga tadašnje kraljice, kao i mentora današnjeg britanskog suverena, izazvalo je ne samo pažnju britanske i najšire svetske javnosti, već i ozbiljne polemike domaćih i stranih stručnjaka oko propusta i odgovornosti britanskih subjekata nadležnih za zaštitu članova kraljevske kuće. Napore ozbiljnih stručnjaka u rasvetljavanju pozadine ovog ubistva zamagljuju do danas i brojne teorije o zaveri, čak i u pogledu samih atentatora i njihovih motiva, iako je za ovaj teroristički akt odogovornost odmah na sebe preuzela Privremena irska republikanska armija (Provisional Irish Republican Army – PIRA). Kako navodi Simeunović (2009), reč je o terorističkoj organizaciji koja

[7] Autoru ovog rada, inače penzionisanom pripadniku BIA, ovakav, reklo bi se - *faul*, mada, striktno posmatrano iz akademskog ugla - *koristan faul* nije, iz razumljivih razloga, ni nakraj pameti.

je nastala dvadesetih godina prošlog veka podelom tada jedinstvene organizacije IRA na više krila „kao što su Provisional IRA, Real IRA, Official IRA i sl." i koja se od tada u javnosti predstavlja samo kao IRA (str. 172–175).

Američki *Njujork tajms* (The New York Times) (1979) preneo je među prvima zvaničnu izjavu irskih terorista koju je za *Asošijeted pres* (Associated Press) dala IRA u Dablinu 30. avgusta iste godine preuzimajući odgovornost za Mauntbatenovo ubistvo. U izjavi se ubistvo izvedeno eksplozivnom napravom kvalifikuje i „opravdava" kao „diskriminatorski čin da bi se engleskom narodu skrenula pažnja na kontinuiranu okupaciju" irske zemlje.

Drugi ugledni američki dnevni list, *Vašington post* (The Washington Post) (1979), fokusirao se na detalje samog terorističkog čina u kojem je meta terorista bio lord Mauntbaten i na povezanost ovog akta terorizma sa dva bombaška napada na britansku vojnu kolonu koja je IRA izvela istog dana samo pet sati nakon eksplozije u zalivu poluostrva Malamor (Mullaghmore Peninsula, County Sligo, Republic of Ireland) ubivši 18 vojnika i jednog civila u selu Vorenpoint (Warrenpoint, County Dawn, Northern Ireland).

Za potrebe ovog rada osvrnućemo se na one činjenice i podatke o kojima u stručnoj javnosti postoji konsenzus, u smislu njihove validnosti, a koji potiču iz javno dostupnih izvora, s obzirom na to da britanska vlada relevantnu dokumentaciju o ubistvu lorda Mauntbatena još uvek nije spremna staviti na uvid javnosti, pozivajući se na Zakon o slobodi informisanja iz 2000. godine (Freedom of Information Act 2000). Prema tvrdnjama istoričara Launija (2021), „mnogi vladini dosijei koji bi mogli da pruže uvid i objašnjenje ostaju zatvoreni … ili su uništeni".

Ipak, nesumnjivo utvrđene činjenice o atentatu su:

- vreme izvršenja: 27. avgust 1979. u 11.45;
- mesto izvršenja: otvoren zaliv poluostrva Malamor (Mullaghmore Peninsula), County Sligo, Republika Irska (skrać. RI);
- izvršioci: najmanje dva pripadnika Privremene irske republikanske armije – PIRA, od kojih je jedan Tomas Makmahon (Thomas McMahon);

- sredstvo i način izvršenja: eksplozivna naprava od oko 23 kg gelignita[8] podmetnuta prethodnog dana u devetometarski ribarski brod *Shadow V* i aktivirana daljinskim upravljačem;
- žrtve atentata: četvoro preminulih, troje ranjenih.

Pre nego što ukažemo na propuste britanskih (i irskih) organa bezbednosti u konkretnom slučaju zaštite lorda Mauntbatena i najužih članova njegove porodice, korisno je osvrnuti se na legislaciju Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva (skrać. UK) na planu suprotstavljanja terorizmu tokom sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka.

Kako navodi Vajt (2004), „sa stanovišta krivičnog prava, između 1969. i 1985. godine, postojao je jedan važan faktor u delatnosti snaga bezbednosti Severne Irske: policija i vojska izvodile su zajedničke operacije" (str. 237). Uvođenje prakse korišćenja krivičnog zakonodavstva, kao novog oblika borbe protiv terorizma, predložio je 1972. godine, među prvima, vrhovni sudija UK, baron Kenet Diplok (Kenneth Diplock, 1907–1985), sa ciljem da se snagama bezbednosti britanske krune u Severnoj Irskoj (skrać. SI) omoguće najširа ovlašćenja u pogledu hapšenja i pritvaranja osumnjičenih za terorizam i to bez sudskih naloga, odnosno bez vođenja sudskih procesa. Kada je reč o postupanju sudova, njima je omogućeno da vode tajne sudske postupke i donose presude na osnovu tajnog svedočenja.

Diplokov predlog je već sledeće godine prihvaćen i inkorporiran u Zakon o Severnoj Irskoj (vanredne odredbe) (*Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act* 1973 – EPA) koji je sve do 1995. godine više puta dopunjivan i menjan. Ovim zakonom policija je dobila šira ovlašćenja u smislu vođenja istrage i zaplene, kao i „da zaustavlja i ispituje civile, pa i da […] pritvara one koji su pod sumnjom da su teroristi" (2004, 236). Što se tiče vojske, ona je i dalje mogla pružati asistenciju policiji, osim u slučajevima hapšenja, dok je ovo ovlašćenje policija preduzi-

[8] Visoko eksplozivna želatinasta smesa nitroglicerina i nitroceluloze pomešana sa drvenom pulpom i šalitrom. U civilnoj upotrebi koristi se najčešće u kamenolomima.

mala prema osumnjičenim licima često bez propisanog naloga.

Imajući u vidu ovako široka ovlašćenja britanske policije i vojske u borbi protiv IRA, bez obzira na činjenicu na koju ukazuje Vang (2014, 72) komentarišući kritički stav Kristofera Endrjua (Christopher Andrew), pisca autorizovane istorije britanske službe bezbednosti MI5 (Security Service MI5), da se krajem sedamdesetih godina ova služba držala po strani od unutrašnjih problema u zemlji, posebno onih u Irskoj, očigledno da je britanski nacionalni sistem bezbednosti u periodu Hladnog rata pokazivao brojne organizacione i funkcionalne manjkavosti u segmentu bezbednosne zaštite najviših predstavnika države. U prilog ovakvoj oceni ukazuju i podaci sa zvaničnog sajta MI5 (Security Service MI5) da je ova služba 1974. godine angažovala samo 7,5% svojih resursa u borbi protiv terorizma, odakle je, po našoj oceni, pretila najveća opasnost po bezbednost štićenih ličnosti, dok je 52% resursa bilo angažovano u kontrašpijunaži, a 28% resursa na planu suprotstavljanja subverzivnim aktivnostima.

Za borbu protiv terorizma, ali i neposrednu ličnu zaštitu najviših britanskih državnih funkcionera i članova kraljevske porodice krajem sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka (i u današnje vreme[9]) na teritoriji UK (Engleska, Vels, Škotska i Severna Irska) bila je odgovorna Metropoliten policija (Metropolitan Police Service – MPS). S obzirom na činjenicu da je teroristički akt izveden na teritoriji Republike Irske, dvadesetak kilometara od severnoirske granice, za obezbeđenje lorda Mauntbatena i članova njegove porodice, kao i njegovog porodičnog zamka Klasiban (Classiebawn castle) nadležni su bili pripadnici lokalne policije u sastavu irske nacionalne policije i službe bezbednosti pod zvaničnim nazivom *Garda Siochána*. Prema pisanju Bi-Bi-Sija (British Broadcasting Corporation – BBC), od početka sedamdesetih godina prošlog veka njeni pripadnici obezbeđivali su zamak Klasiban samo u periodu kada bi u njemu boravio Mauntbaten, ne duže od mesec dana u godini.

[9] Organizacioni deo MPS, pod nazivom: Royalty Protection Group – SO14.

U vreme ubistva kraljičin rođak nije imao lično obezbeđenje, jer je smatrao da mu ono nije potrebno, a lokalna policija nije preduzimala neophodne mere zaštite ribarskog čamca koji je Mauntbaten koristio za odmor i razonodu, a koji se nalazio na vezu lokalnog javnog pristaništa u Malamoru.

Nasuprot svim ovim slabostima u funkcionisanju pojedinih elemenata britanskog i irskog sistema zaštite ličnosti i objekata, organi bezbednosti UK morali su raspolagati saznanjima o lordovoj potencijalnoj ugroženosti i, sledstveno tome, polazeći od inovirane bezbednosne procene i planova zaštite (sačinjenih nakon prestanka obavljanja javnih funkcija) preduzeti blagovremeno konkretne mere zaštite (samostalno ili u koordinaciji sa organima RI) tim pre što je IRA u svojim ranijim obraćanjima javnosti otvoreno targetirala najviše vladine funkcionere, vojske i policije UK, ali i članove kraljevske kuće, kao svoje stalne i legitimne mete. Ovo se posebno odnosi na lorda Mauntbatena, ličnost koju je ova teroristička organizacija oduvek smatrala značajnom *simboličkom* metom.

7. Zaključak

Polazeći od kraćeg uvida u subjekte i njihove nadležnosti u preduzimanju nekih od najznačajnijih mera na planu zaštite određenih ličnosti i objekata unutar našeg sistema, te najčešćih oblika ugrožavanja štićenih ličnosti i objekata od kojih mnogi predstavljaju izazov i realnu pretnju sa kojima se subjekti različitih nacionalnih sistema (pa i našeg) permanentno suočavaju, na primeru analize slučaja ubistva lorda Mauntbatena pokušali smo identifikovati i objasniti najočiglednije propuste u funkcionisanju subjekata odgovornih za bezbednost štićenih ličnosti i objekata u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu i Republici Irskoj.

Uvereni u korisnost potrebe za stalnim ukazivanjem na ovakve i slične propuste koji se, s vremena na vreme, javljaju i u našem sistemu zaštite lica i objekata, iznosimo na kraju rekapi-

tulaciju naših zaključaka:

- u sklopu operativno-preventivnih mera, posebno na planu prikupljanja kontraobaveštajnih i drugih podataka i saznanja relevantnih za bezbednosnu procenu ugroženosti Mauntbatena, odgovornost snose britanske civilne i vojne službe bezbednosti nadležne za suprotstavljanje terorizmu i ekstremizmu; očigledno da nadležne službe nisu imale dovoljno elemenata u bezbednosnoj proceni, a radi zaštite Mauntbatenove ličnosti tokom boravka i kretanja na području susedne države,
- na planu mera fizičke zaštite ličnosti izostalo je angažovanje neposrednog fizičkog obezbeđenja u vidu službenog (ili privatnog) pratioca/pratilaca ličnosti visokog člana kraljevske porodice; odgovornost za ovaj propust prevashodno snosi britanski MPS, ali i pripadnici irske Garde,
- takođe, nisu preduzete privremene ili *ad hoc* mere fizičke zaštite – obezbeđenja plovila koje je koristio lord Mauntbaten ili preduzimanje širih mera bezbednosne zaštite plovnog objekta angažovanjem nekog od strane zaposlenih lica/čuvara pristaništa u Malamoru,
- u okviru preventivno-tehničke zaštite nisu preduzete mere protivdiverzionog pregleda plovnog objekta u cilju otkrivanja minsko-eksplozivnih sredstava,
- i, na kraju, pripadnici irske policije i službe, osim reaktivnog odnosa u pogledu identifikovanja i hapšenja jednog izvršioca ovog terorističkog akta, nisu ispoljili proaktivan stav u preduzimanju mera preventivne bezbednosne zaštite visokog predstavnika susedne države tokom njegovog boravka na području pod njihovom kontrolom.

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PERSONS AND FACILITIES PROTECTION SYSTEM FAILURES IN THE CASE OF LORD MOUNTBATTEN'S ASSASSINATION

Abstract: After a brief normative-theoretical insight into the subjects of the persons and facilities protection system in Serbia, as well as a cursory review of the most common forms of endangering the safety of certain persons and facilities, this paper deals with systemic failures in the security of certain persons and facilities, using the example of the case study of the assassination of Lord Mountbatten, The aim of this paper is to establish the level of functionality of the theoretical principles governing the national protection system of persons and facilities, and whether they help identify and eliminate systemic failures. These failures will be examined using the case study of the security failures in the protection of the high-ranking members of the British royal family in the late 1970s.

Key words: protection system, subjects of the system, forms of endangerment, security failures.

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Introduction

In today's globalized world, it is reasonable to assume that national systems for the protection of certain people and facilities are based on the same or very similar rules of security science and, more importantly, that they function on generally accepted standards and professional conventions, at least when it comes to democracies. The differences observed in terms of certain elements of certain national systems, their organization and the authority of state bodies and services in charge of protecting the highest state officials and facilities of national importance are primarily a reflection of specific normative, social, historical and cultural features, the development of states and their national security systems, including the system of protection of persons and facilities as a subsystem of national security.

1. Persons and facilities protection system

Persons and facilities protection system (PFPS) is a part of a relatively new scientific discipline in Serbia (Daničić & Pilipović, 2018). There are three components that deserve special attention in terms of theoretical insight, supplementation, and comparison with the results of foreign theoretical research, while their sustainability, in practical application, would have to be permanently checked and re-examined in the daily actions of state bodies responsible for the safety of persons and facilities. We believe these are: a) forms of endangering certain persons[2], b) forms of prevention and specific measures taken by state authorities to protect persons and facilities and, finally, for the purposes of this research, c) the section dealing with the protection of residential buildings.

The main features of PFPS are, among others, its complexity, organizational structure and hierarchy. The features that stand out are: 1) the contrast between the protection objectives and the goals of those who threaten the safety of persons and facilities, and 2) that the functioning of the POPS depends mostly on the human factor (Stajić & Pajković, 2008).

[2] Here "...persons or officials designated as such by the competent authorities, for whose protection the competent authorities and security services undertake security measures..."

2. Subjekti u sistemu zaštite određenih ličnosti i objekata

According to Daničić and Pilipović (2018), the PFPS subjects are primarily the police within the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the RS, then military security authorities and units such as the Military Security Agency, the Military Intelligence Agency, the Military Police and special units of the Serbian Army and, in particular, the Security Information Agency (abbr. SIA) as "the most important institution in charge of intelligence, counterintelligence and other security tasks" (p. 104).

Some authors, such as Pajković (2003), avoid such classifications of subjects in charge of the protection of certain persons and facilities. According to this author, the responsibility for taking measures and actions to protect certain persons and facilities lies with public security, which performs these tasks independently or in cooperation with the SIA and military security services.

In the following sections, we will discuss the most important PFPS subjects, in accordance with the Decree on the assignment of jobs for the security protection of persons and facilities (2013), refer to the most common forms of endangering persons and facilities, and indicate some of the specific ways of their protection.

Article 1 of the Decree stipulates that "the jobs for the security protection of particular persons and facilities in the country and abroad directly performed by the Ministry responsible for internal affairs, the Security and Information Agency, the Military and Security Agency, the Military Police and the Serbian Armed Forces units."

Within the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia (abbr: MUP RS), the performance of police duties, including security protection of certain persons and facilities, in accordance with Article 3, para. 1 and Article 30, para. 3, point 8 of the Law on Police (2018), they are entrusted to the police, i.e. the Police Directorate. According to Daničić and Pilipović (2018), certain organizational units of the police also, directly or as necessary, participate in security protection of certain persons and facilities, such as Unit for security of certain persons and facilities, Gendarmerie, Special anti-terrorist unit, Helicopter unit and Police brigade (p. 91).

The 2018 Law on the Security Information Agency (abbr. Law on SIA) does not explicitly state organizational units or the jobs therein, including security protection of certain persons and facilities. The internal structure, workplace systematization, and thus the work performed in the BIA, are regulated by the Act issued by the Director of the Agency, with the approval of the Government of the Republic of Serbia. Article 7, paragraph 4 of the Law on SIA states that the data contained in the Act are confidential and regulated by a special law on the confidentiality of data. Since this is a modern civilian security service or, colloquially, secret service organized organizationally and functionally according to the highest security standards, it has a special organizational unit responsible for security and counterintelligence protection of its own human resources and facilities. For instance, Article 2 of the Decree recognizes the SIA Director as a designated person to whom the competent state authorities and services provide security protection.

The competences and tasks of the Military Security Agency (abbr. MSA) and the Military Intelligence Agency (abbr. MIA) are organized in a similar way. Article 6 of the Law on the Military Security and Military Intelligence Agency (2013) states that, within the framework of security protection, the MSA, besides other agencies, performs the tasks of security protection of forces, facilities, assets and activities, security protection of other defense subjects, as well as other security tasks and operations. In the segment of counterintelligence protection, the MSA is responsible for counterintelligence protection of persons, facilities, activities and secret data of the Ministry of Defense (abbr. MD) and the Serbian Armed Forces (abbr. SAF). Article 25 of the same law prescribes the duties and tasks of the MIA, such as the security protection of its own activities, persons, facilities and documents, e security protection of the facilities of the Ministry of Defense and the Serbian Armed Forces, as well as persons officially sent abroad by the Ministry of Defense and the Serbian Armed Forces[3].

[3] In the Decree MIA is not included as a competent body for the security protection of persons and facilities. However, the Law on the Military Security and Military Intelligence Agency, Art 25, para 1. Items 5 and 6, states that the MIA has competencies and is one of the subjects in the persons and facilities protection system.

In the existing system for the protection of persons and facilities, the jurisdiction and official authority of the Military Police, as the body in charge of security protection, are defined in more detail in Article 53, Paragraph 1 and Paragraph 7 of the Law on the Serbian Armed Forces (2019). Article 3 of the Rulebook on Authorized Persons of the Military Police stipulates the implementation of police measures, actions, and powers and performing the duties of the Military Police (2022). These duties include securing the most important military facilities and certain persons, documents and weapons and the application of official powers towards civilians when its members perform these duties. As part of the Military Police, the Kobra Special Purpose Military Police Detachment is responsible for the security protection of certain persons and facilities of special importance. This unit primarily on the undertakes preventive measures in the implementation of security protection, as well as the assessment, planning, and execution of specific tasks in terms of the security of persons and facilities[4]. Another unit of the Serbian Army, the Guard, is also an important subject in the system of protection of persons and facilities. Its main purpose is to secure vital objects of the defense system. In addition, the members of this unit perform tasks directly related to the security of personnel and movable property and perform telecommunications security of persons when they are in military facilities of special importance and, if necessary, in other facilities[5].

3. Endangerment of persons

Endangerment of persons can take various forms, but it most often involves politically motivated violence, a phenomenon which can also "serve to challenge the rule, overthrow the government and introduce political changes" (Dimitrijević, 2017: p. 23), so not only as political violence in the function of maintaining power.

Mijalković, Bajagić and Popović Mančević (2023: p. 28) see political violence as "a type of political act, i.e. activity" which can manifest as "threat of force, coercion, pressure, psychophysical abuse, political

[4] For more information, see: www.vs.rs

[5] Ibid.

assassination, assassination and sabotage, violent protests, riots, rebellions, terrorism, subsidy, repression, terror, uprising, and war" (Simeunović, 1983: pp. 35-36).

The focus of this study will be political murder and terrorism as manifestations of political violence, or more precisely, endangering the safety of certain persons. Concerning terrorism, the focus will be on the form of modern terrorism that uses "traditional means and methods of execution, in the form of bombings, assassinations and kidnappings" (Bajagić, 2012, p. 98). According to Hoffman (2000), the very selection of targets, tactics and weapons of terrorists depends on their ideology, internal organizational dynamics, and the character of the leaders, but also on a number of other internal and external factors.

Belić's study (2008, p. 166) offers a comprehensive analysis of 74 assassinations of 68 high-ranking officials worldwide, from 1950 to 2006, including the location, method, means and motives of the attack, as well as other relevant parameters such as the distance between the perpetrator and the target. In the discussion, Belić (2008: p. 166) states that "the common factor to all assassinations of the highest government officials is that they were meticulously planned and prepared. The place of the attack is usually determined by a detailed analysis of the organizers of the assassination. In most cases, it is a place near the target's home, workplace, or a "bottleneck" – a critical point on a regular, established route. There are no coincidences." Regarding the means that were used (Belić, 2008: p. 166), firearms (50%) and explosive devices (41.9%) were most used, while ideological motives were in most cases the driving force behind the assassinations (p. 169).

4. Protection of persons and facilities

Many Serbian authors (Daničić & Pilipović, 2018, 145-154; Pajković, 2003, 79-87; Stajić & Pajković, 2008, 75-82) make the same or similar division of protection measures for certain individuals into: a) operational- preventive measures, b) measures of physical (immediate) protection, c) anti-sabotage, preventive-technical, and fire protection, d) biological-chemical measures, and e) health protection measures.

All the measures are taken based on the decrees of the competent state authorities and depending on the specific person against whom they are taken, the security assessment of the threat of a specific person as well as numerous circumstances and facts of importance for the security protection of a specific person. Also, there is a consensus among the authors mentioned regarding the four levels of protection (first, second, third and fourth) which are applied depending on the specific form and source of the threat to the security of a certain person.

The authors are also in agreement regarding the measures taken to protect certain facilities (and terrain). These are facilities used by certain persons and the measures are: a) anti-sabotage (and anti-terrorist) protection measures, b) physical (immediate and in-depth) protection measures, c) anti-eavesdropping protection measures, d) technical protection measures, e) fire protection measures and f) sanitary-technical, biological-chemical and health protection measures.

According to the Decree on determining the jobs of security protection of certain persons and facilities (2013), Article 6 states the following measures a: a) counterintelligence protection measures; b) preventive and security measures; c) preventive technical protection measures; d) measures of physical protection, and e) measures of preventive medical protection.

It is not our intention to talk about each individual measure, whether it is the segment of protection of persons or facilities as stated in Article 2 and Article 3 of the Decree. For the purposes of this study, it is enough to say that according to the protection measures of certain persons the most complex operational and preventive measures undertaken by state bodies and services responsible for the security protection of these persons, i.e. counterintelligence protection measures, as stated in Article 7 of the Decree. The measures applied as part of the physical and technical protection of facilities, in terms of their scope, content and complexity, are the most demanding. Most of all, it is the offensive and defensive component of counterintelligence activity as defined by Bajagić (2015, p. 82): "understanding and neutralizing all aspects of intelligence activity of enemy entities, collecting information and conducting other activities in order to protect against espionage, sabotage

and murder... terrorist acts". Which measures (type, scope) will be taken and to what degree, depends above all on the security assessment of the threat to persons and facilities and the degree of confidentiality of data relevant to their security protection.

Before planning the implementation of specific measures, it is essential to assess the security situation and make a security assessment of the threat. According to Subošić and Daničić (2012, p.172), "the assessment refers to the present time, and is made based on the analysis of current data from the past and on the basis of the synthesis derived from it, whereby it is the basis of security assessments". In contrast to the assessment of the security situation, the security assessment "is a document that contains a synthetic conclusion about the future state of security phenomena" or "a procedure that combines the assessment of the security situation and making a decision on the implementation of security protection measures for a specific person" (Krstić and Subošić, 2018, p. 121). Interestingly, Krstić and Subošić (2018), besides stating the content of the security assessments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, MSA, MIA and Military Police, do the same with the SIA, and claim to have done so "by inspecting the documents [sic!] of security assessments of the vulnerability of certain individuals and facilities created by the Security and Information Agency of the Republic of Serbia" (Krstić and Subošić, 2018, pp. 124-125).[6]

Case study: The assassination of Lord Mountbatten

The assassination of Lord Mountbatten (Louis Mountbatten, 1st Earl Mountbatten of Burma, 1900-1979), a high-ranking member of the British royal family, as well as a close relative of Prince Phillip, Queen Elizabeth II's husband, and the mentor of current British sovereign, caused alarm in the UK and worldwide and was the subject of many debates regarding the omissions and responsibilities of British agencies responsible for the protection of members of the royal family. The efforts of serious experts to examine the background of this assassination

[6] Such a gaffe (although useful for research purposes) would be unimaginable for the corresponding author of this paper, a retired SIA officer.

have been obscured by numerous conspiracy theories, questioning even the assassins' identities and motives, although the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) immediately took responsibility for this terrorist act. IRA is a terrorist organization founded in the 1920s, which later split into several fractions "such as the Provisional IRA, Real IRA, Official IRA, etc.," although it is still commonly referred to only as IRA (Simeunović, 2009, pp. 172-175).

The New York Times was among the first media outlets to report the official statement of Irish terrorists given to the Associated Press by the IRA in Dublin on August 30, 1979, claiming responsibility for Mountbatten's death. The statement "justified" the murder by explosive device as "a discriminatory act to draw the attention of the English to the ongoing occupation" of Irish territory.

The Washington Post focused on the details of Lord Mountbatten's assassination and on the connection between this terrorist and two bombing attacks on a British military convoy carried out by the IRA on the same day, just five hours after the explosion in the bay of Mullaghmore Peninsula (County Sligo, Republic of Ireland), when 18 soldiers and one civilian were killed in the village of Warrenpoint (County Dawn, Northern Ireland).

For the purposes of this study, we will review only valid and credible facts and data, given that the British government has not made the documents related to Lord Mountbatten's assassination available to the public, according to the 2000 Freedom of Information Act. According to historian Launey (2021), "many government files that could provide insight and explanation remain closed ... or have been destroyed".

The established facts about the assassination are:

- time: August 27, 1979, 11:45 a.m.

- location: open bay of the Mullaghmore Peninsula, County Sligo, Republic of Ireland (abbr. RI)

- perpetrators: at least two members of the Provisional Irish Republican Army - PIRA, one of whom is Thomas McMahon

- means and method: an explosive device of about 23 kg of gelignite[7], planted the previous day in the nine-meter long fishing boat *Shadow V* and activated by remote control

- assassination victims: 4 dead, 3 wounded.

Before we discuss the failures of the British (and Irish) security authorities in protecting Lord Mountbatten and the closest members of his family, it is useful to look back at the UK legislation related to combating terrorism in the 1970s.

According to White (2004, p. 237), "from a criminal law perspective, between 1969 and 1985, there was one important factor in the operation of the Northern Ireland security forces: the police and the army carried out joint operations". The practice of using criminal legislation, as a new form of combating terrorism, was proposed in 1972by the Chief Justice of the UK, Baron Kenneth Diplock (1907-1985), with the aim of giving the security forces of the British Crown in Northern Ireland (abbr. NI) wider authority to arrest and detain terrorism suspects without court orders. The courts were allowed to conduct secret court proceedings and pass verdicts based on secret testimony.

Diplock's proposal was accepted and incorporated into the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act 1973 (EPA), which was amended several times until 1995. This law gave the police broader powers in terms of conducting investigations and seizures, as well as "stopping and interrogating civilians, and even ... detaining those suspected of being terrorists" (2004, 236). As for the military, it was still allowed to assist the police, except in cases of arrest, while this authority was exercised by the police against suspects, often without a warrant.

> Considering the wide authority of the British police and military in the fight against the IRA, it is evident that the British national security system, during the Cold War period, showed numerous organizational and functional deficiencies in security protection of the high-ranking officials, although Wang (2014, p. 72)

[7] A highly explosive gelatinous mixture of nitroglycerin and nitrocellulose, mixed with wood pulp and saltpeter. In civilian use, it is used most often in quarries.

mentions the critical stance of Christopher Andrew, author of the authorized history of the British Security Service MI5, who states that this service stayed away from internal problems in the UK, especially those in Ireland, in the late 1970s. In support of this assessment, data from the official website of MI5 indicate that in 1974, this service engaged only 7.5% of its resources in the fight against terrorism, which presented the greatest threat to the safety of protected persons, while 52% of resources were engaged in counterespionage and 28% of resources were engaged in countering subversive activities.

In the late 1970s the Metropolitan Police (MPS) has been the competent antiterrorist force, and the body charged with the immediate personal protection of the highest British state officials and members of the royal family in the UK. The terrorist act was carried out on the Republic of Ireland territory, about twenty kilometers from the Northern Irish border. The authority in charge of the security of Lord Mountbatten and his family members, as well as his family seat Classiebawn Castle, was the local police as part of the Irish National police and security services under the official name *Garda Siochána*. The BBC reported that since the early 1970s the local police forces had secured Clasiban Castle only during the Mountbattens' stay, no longer than one month a year. At the time of the murder, the Queen's relative did not have personal security, holding that he did not need it, and the local police did not take the necessary measures to protect the fishing boat that Mountbatten used for recreation and leisure, which was located at the local public pier in Mullaghmore.

Despite all the weak points in the British and Irish system of protection of persons and facilities, the UK security forces should have been aware of the lord's potential vulnerability. Consequently, concrete and timely protection measures should have been taken (independently or in coordination with RI authorities), starting from a new security assessment and protection plans (made after the termination of public functions).

This was essential since the IRA, in its earlier public addresses, openly targeted the high-ranking government officials, the UK army and the police, but also members of the royal family, as their permanent and legitimate targets. This was particularly true of Lord Mountbatten, a figure that this terrorist organization had always considered a significant symbolic target.

Zaključak

This study offers a brief insight into the subjects and their competences in undertaking some of the most significant measures in terms of the protection of certain persons and facilities in the Serbian security system and the most common forms of endangerment of protected persons and facilities. Many of these threats have challenged different national security systems (including Serbian). Using Lord Mountbatten's as a case study, we tried to identify and explain the most obvious failures in the functioning of entities responsible for the security of protected persons and facilities in the UK and Republic of Ireland.

Convinced of the usefulness of the need to constantly point out these and similar omissions that, from time to time, also occur in the Serbian system of protection of persons and facilities, we offer the following conclusions:

- as part of operational-preventive measures, especially regarding collecting counter-intelligence and other data and knowledge relevant to the security assessment of threats aimed at Mountbatten, the British civil and military security services responsible for countering terrorism and extremism are accountable: it is obvious that the competent services did not have enough elements in the security assessment, and in order to protect Mountbatten's person during his stay and movement in the territory of the neighboring country,

- on the plan of measures for physical protection of the person, there was no engagement of direct physical security in the form of an official (or private) personal companion/s of a high-rank-

ing member of the royal family; responsibility for this omission lies primarily with the British MPS, but also members of the Irish Guard,

- also, no temporary or *ad hoc* measures of physical protection were taken - securing the vessel used by Lord Mountbatten or undertaking wider security protection measures of the vessel by employing some of the employees/dock guards in Mullaghmore,

- as to preventive technical protection, anti-sabotage inspection of the vessel in order to detect mine-explosive devices was not performed.

Finally, members of the Irish police and service, apart from a reactive attitude in terms of identifying and arresting one of the perpetrators of the terrorist act, did not show a proactive attitude in undertaking preventive security protection measures for the high representative of the neighboring country during his stay in the area under their control.

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	U tekstu	U spisku literature
Knjiga		
Knjiga s jednim autorom	Prema Dimitrijeviću (1999, str. 64), … Kako navodi Dimitrijević (1999), „pomoću testova pokušava se utvrditi koliko su učenici savladali izvesno nastavno gradivo (testovi dostignuća). Cilj testiranja je, dakle, konačni rezultat procesa učenja i predavanja. U određenim prilikama to je i dovoljno" (str. 64).	Dimitrijević, N. (1999). *Testiranje u nastavi stranih jezika*. Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva.
Knjiga s dva autora	Prema tvrdnjama Đorđevića i Mitića (2000), …	Đorđević, S., & Mitić, M. (2000). *Diplomatsko i konzularno pravo*. Službeni list SRJ.
Knjiga sa tri i više autora	PRI PRVOM NAVOĐENJU IZVORA: Kako navode Rokai, Đere, Pal i Kasaš (2002), … KOD SVAKOG SLEDEĆEG NAVOĐENJA IZVORA: Kako navode Rokai i dr. (2002), …	Rokai, P., Đere, Z., Pal, T., & Kasaš, A. (2002). *Istorija Mađara*. Clio.

Knjiga sa urednikom / Zbornik radova	Prema Radoviću (2007), …	Radović, Z. (2007). Donošenje ustava. U M., Đurković, (ur.), *Srbija 2000-2006: država, društvo, privreda* (str. 27-38). Institut za evropske studije.
Knjiga korporativnog izdavača	Prema navodima Unicefa (2007), …	UNICEF. (2007). *Promoting the rights of children with disabilities*. UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.
Knjiga čiji je autor stranog porekla	Kako Braun (2006) napominje, … S tom tvrdnjom slažu se i mnogi drugi autori (npr. Brown, 2006). VAŽNO: Kod navođenja prezimena autora van zagrade, prezime mora biti transkribovano.	Brown, D. (2006). *Principles of language learning and teaching* (fifth edition). Pearson Education.
Časopis		
Naučni časopis	Kako Tovarović (2021) tvrdi, …	Tovarović, J. (2021). Relationships between stress responses and ego-identity in adolescents. *Civitas*, *10*(2), 97-113.
Naučni časopis sa DOI brojem	Prema Novakoviću (2021, str. 111), …	Novaković, A. (2021). Funkcionalnost elekstronskih i interaktnivnih platformi u onlajn nastavi. *Nastava i vaspitanje*, *70*(1), 105-125. https://doi.org/10.5937/nasvas2101105N

Magazin	Kako tvrdi Braun (2021), … AY.3 je najverovatnije nova varijanta delta soja virusa (Browne, 2021).	Browne, E. (2021, March 9). AY.3 COVID subtype explained as delta variant spawns offshoots. *Newsweek*. https://www.newsweek.com/ay-3-covid-subtype-explained-delta-variant-offshoot-1625785
Novine	Po tvrdnjama Gerštajnove (2021), … Po tvrdnjama mnogih autora (npr. Gerstein, 2021), …	Gerstein, T. (2021, September 6). Why everyone should care about workers' rights. *The New York Times*. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/06/opinion/labor-workers-rights.html
Pravni dokument		
Zakon/ pravilnici/ Ustav	Prema Zakonu o obligacionim odnosima (2020), …	Zakon o obligacionim odnosima, (*Sl. list SFRJ*, br. 29/78, 39/85, 45/89 - odluka USJ i 57/89, *Sl. list SRJ*, br. 31/93, *Sl. list SCG*, br. 1/2003 - *Ustavna povelja* i *Sl. glasnik RS*, br. 18/2020). https://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/zakon_o_obligacionim_odnosima.html
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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. *The New York Times*. 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). *World failing to address dementia challenge*. 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). *Zastupljenost kontekstualne reformulacije pri prevođenju filmskih naslova na srpski jezik u poslednjoj deceniji.* [Neobjavljeni masterski rad]. Univerzitet Union.
Saopštenje		
Usmeno saopštenje na konferenciji/skupu	Prema Rutkovskom i Majnkovoj (2019), …	Rutkowski, D., & Meinck, S. (2019, June 24-25). *Using large-scale assessment data to inform policy and practice* [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	As mentioned by Brown (2010, p. 64), … 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).	Brown, D. (2006). *Principles of language learning and teaching* (5th edition). Pearson Education.

Book with two authors	According to Boyle and Fisher (2007), …	Boyle, J., & Fisher, S. (2007). *Educational testing. A competence-based approach*. 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). *Handbook of assessment for language teachers*. 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.), *Aspects of Translationality in American Literature and American English* (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). *Promoting the rights of children with disabilities*. UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.

Book with a foreign author	As indicated by Vasić (2021), …	Vasić, A. (2021). *Razvojna psihologija* [*Developmental psychology*]. 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. *System*, *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. *Newsweek*. 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. *The New York Times.* 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. *The New York Times*. 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). *World failing to address dementia challenge*. 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). *The implementation of critical thinking as EFL pedagogy: Challenges and opportunities*. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Newcastle University.
Presentation		
Conference presentation	According to Rutkowski and Meinck (2019), …	Rutkowski, D., & Meinck, S. (2019, June 24-25). *Using large-scale assessment data to inform policy and practice* [Workshop]. 8th IEA International Research Conference, Copenhagen, Denmark. https://www.iea.nl/news-events/irc/8th-international-research-conference/program

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