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USING BLOGS TO PROMOTE STUDENT INTERACTION AND LEARNING IN EFL CLASSES

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Abstract

This paper addresses the application of a class blog in an EFL (English as a foreign language) teaching context in order to promote student interaction and learning. A weblog, or blog, is an interactive homepage easy to set up and manage, which permits publishing online. Although it was not initially provided for pedagogical purposes, a blog has a great potential to be used as a tool in EFL classes, especially to motivate students to engage in online exchanges, thereby expanding their language study and learning community beyond the walls of a physical classroom. This small scale action research explores the usefulness of incorporating a blog project into an EFL class as it provides an effective means of facilitating greater learner interaction and reflection on language skills development. A class blog was envisaged as an out-of-class project aimed at motivating students to practice language skills and communicate with others via this new computer-based learning platform outside the classroom. The participants for this study were the third and fourth year students (n= 52) of the Pedagogical Faculty in Sarajevo attending an EFL elective course. The research mainly focused on the students' attitudes and perceptions of using a class blog to support their English language learning and foster student interaction in an online learning community. The project lasted for two semesters and data were collected from students through a questionnaire at the end of the term. The results of the questionnaire reveal that students had an overall positive attitude towards using a class blog as an appropriate medium for practicing both their language and social skills.

Keywords: blogs, EFL, student interaction and learning, online learning community, students' attitudes and perceptions

Introduction

Modern information and communication technologies not only influence the ways in which we share and gather information, or communicate, but they also inevitably bring about changes in the ways we learn and teach as well. The invention of Web 2.0 applications (e.g. Wikies, blogs, social networking, etc.) has emphasized the interactivity and social aspect of technology usage, so it has fundamentally changed the way people interact on the Internet, making them contributors of information, instead of consumers. The Internet users are thus enabled to create its content independently, publishing their own thoughts and opinions and exchanging their experiences with other people from all over the world, thus creating a new online platform for virtual interaction and collaboration.

Web 2.0 technologies have a great potential to introduce innovations in foreign language teaching, especially English, which no doubt can be considered a language of modern information and communication technologies. Unlike the traditional education model mostly relying on the 'talk and chalk' method, Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) supported with these cutting-edge and sophisticated, but still user-friendly technologies, offers numerous opportunities to promote students' active and autonomous learning and foster their critical thinking and social interaction. The teaching and learning process is thus replaced outside the walls of a traditional classroom into a cyber space of a virtual learning environment, where all communication takes place via computer, whether in real or asynchronous time.

This paper explores the use of a blog, as a representative example of Web 2.0 technologies, in English as a foreign language (EFL) teaching, emphasizing its great potential for the improvement of the quality of interaction between EFL teachers and students and the raise of motivation to learn English. This paper first provides some background information and a brief overview of the relevant literature on the educational value of blogs in EFL teaching. We start with the definition of a blog, its basic characteristics and types, and explore the numerous possibilities for its application in EFL teaching. This paper also reports on a research project where a class blog was integrated into an EFL course at the university level, along with the survey targeted to examine the participants' perception of the learning experiences afforded by the use of a class blog as a means to support social interaction and learning motivation, and also to supplement in-class learning activities.

Blogs

A blog (short for weblog) is a frequently updated website which mostly functions as a personal online journal. It is 'easy-to-create' and 'easy-to-maintain'

(Pinkman 2005: 14) since it requires only a minimum technical background and basic access to the Internet to make use of a software that enables users to create, design and maintain their own blog with ease. Hosting websites such as Blogger.com, first introduced in 1999 and offering a free-of-charge and simple automatized procedure of creating a blog, have made this effective medium of communication even more popular. According to Godwin-Jones (2003: 14), 'they offer a great deal of flexibility and the potential for creativity in the construction of the site, yet still feature the ease of use of a template-based system.' Blogs differ from other types of computer-mediated communication (CMC), i.e. they are unique websites in the form of electronic journals where authors post their writings in reverse chronological order, with the most recent at the top, and thus create a new topic for discussion for each post (Richardson 2006) and they are innovative in that they require interaction, i.e. 'for blog users, or bloggers, the computer is simply the medium for communication' (Pinkman 2005: 14). Kennedy (2003: 1) defines blogs as 'part Web site, part journal, part free-form writing spaces [that] have the potential to enhance writing and literacy skills while offering a uniquely stylized form of expression.'

Huffaker (2004: 1) distinguishes these basic features of a blog: (i) instant publishing of text or graphics to the Web without sophisticated technical knowledge, (ii) ways for people to provide comments or feedback to each blog post, (iii) the opportunity to archive past blog posts by date, and (iv) hyperlinks to other bloggers. A typical blog is thus a combination of text, images, audio, video and other multimedia contents, also including links to other blogs, web pages and media related to its topic. These specific features distinguish blogs from other forms of CMC, especially because they support creative expression and provide new opportunities for people to present themselves online and share their experiences, opinions or creations with millions of other internet users worldwide. Ever since they first appeared in 90s, having the form of a personal online diary at the time, blogs have evolved in more sophisticated forms mostly due to the advancement of 'tools' for arranging the web content. Blogs have become popular platforms for presenting new ideas, online discussion and exchange of thoughts, therefore their number and purpose is growing fast every day, e.g. blogs of popular magazines and TV broadcasts, blogs of public people, blogs of political campaigns, commercial blogs, travel blogs, etc.

Based on their specific features, blogs can be distinguished in different types, e.g. individual or collaborative, personal or thematic, etc. Some authors, like Herring et al. (2005: 6), suggest a somewhat different classification, according to the primary purpose of a blog: (1) a personal journal, presenting the author's personal life and attitudes, (2) a filter, in which the author offers links and commentaries on the contents of other web pages, (3) a know-

ledge log or k-log, in which the basic content consists of information and observations focused on an external topic, a project or a product, and (4) a mixed blog, which combines the functions of the three previously mentioned types.

Blogs have a great potential to be effectively and purposefully applied in education, especially in language teaching, 'because of their multimedia features, simple web publishing, interactivity, and ability to support cooperative and autonomous learning' (Ahluwalia et al. 2011: 30). Campbell (2003) suggests three types of blogs that could be used in language teaching: (1) the tutor blog, lead by the teacher and whose content refers to the curriculum, information about the course, useful links to other related contents on the internet, assignments, homework, etc.; students can also make comments on their teacher's posts; (2) the learner blog, lead by individuals, or smaller cooperative groups of students, and representing students' own online space for individual expression, and at the same time a great opportunity to practice reading and writing through managing a personal blog or posting comments on other students' blogs; (3) the class blog, as a common online space for teachers and students, for out-of-class discussions, supporting project learning, and even international exchanges while connecting with other students and teachers from all over the world.

Blogs in EFL education

Although blogs were not initially intended to satisfy pedagogical purposes, their simple user-friendly interface makes them an effective medium in educational settings, especially in the foreign language classroom. Carney (2009: 299) suggests that 'theoretically speaking, blogs offer promise in several key areas of language education including motivation, authenticity, collaboration and literacy.' Generally, blogs foster interaction and collaboration between teachers and students as they provide a viable online space for exchange and discussions. Teachers are given opportunities to design their course in an innovative and creative way, and therefore motivate and encourage their students for additional learning, critical thinking and research even outside the classroom. Blogs can also enhance the sense of community between students while they exchange information about themselves and their interests, and respond to their classmates' posts. Blogging also provides opportunities for shy students to 'be heard' in class discussions on blogs.

Assuming the fact that blogs have only recently gained their popularity in education, the possibilities and the results of their application have not been sufficiently explored yet (Pinkman, 2005, Carney, 2009). However, the number of studies indicating their usefulness is growing fast. For example, Huffaker (2004) suggests that the effectiveness of blogs in education is achieved by their promotion

of critical literacy skills, including reading, writing, self-expression, reflection and creativity. Campbell (2003: 1) confirms the educational value of blogs by stating that 'similar to an open journal, the accumulation of writings and other content creates both a record of learning and a resource for others'. Many authors report about the positive attitudes of students towards the use of blogs in English language teaching, e.g. Ahluwalia et al. (2011) and Blackstone et al. (2007). Teaching and learning via blogs are not limited by time and space, since communication can be asynchronuous, and what is more, learning becomes more autonomous and independent, more student-centered and adapted to his/her needs and interests. According to Weiler (2003: 74): 'Weblogs can become an extension of the classroom, where discussions and collaborations continue long after the bells have sounded and students have left for home. This makes Weblogs an excellent vehicle for student-centered learning.' Lee (2011: 102-103) reports about promoting learning autonomy and intercultural competence through blogging in education: 'Overall, students found that blogging supported self-directed learning, as they individually and socially constructed meanings to develop their intercultural knowledge and skills. According to the post-survey findings, blogging promoted learner autonomy through self-regulation and self-management.' Blogs can also be beneficial for teachers, e.g. they provide opportunities for better communication and cooperation with students, easier and faster exchange of information and teaching materials, possibilities for work with students who are not able to attend regular classess for whatever reason, the use of blogs as an electronic portfolio for students' writings and easier assessment of their progress, possibilities for cooperation with parents and other teachers, etc.

Blogs have numerous advantages for their usage in EFL teaching and it is up to teachers and their skillfulness and creativity, bearing on mind their own and their students' needs, how to make best use of blogs in their teaching. Many authors offer some useful ideas on how to use blogs in English language teaching, e.g. for practice in reading and writing (Zhang, 2009, Ducate and Lomicka, 2008, Ward, 2004), for study in literature (Morrison, 2008), to foster reflection and social interaction and cooperation (Ray & Hocutt, 2006), as a journal run by teachers and students, providing space for comments, reactions and reflections on what has been done in class to be published; an online space to exchange intercultural projects and represent an online community of teachers and students (Dieu, 2004), etc.

Keeping in mind the idea that effective learning environments require some form of social interaction, blogs can be a good example since they provide its users a sense of connection with their peers (Richardson, 2003). Many researchers have pointed out the importance of active exchanges with others to enhance student performance and satisfaction (Gunawardena & Zittle, 1997; Moore &

Kearsley, 1996; etc.). According to Richardson (2003: 5), blogs are ‘a way to communicate with students ..., ‘manage’ the knowledge that members of the school community create’. Blogs also provide space to deliver course content, including syllabi, assignments, links, or other updates (Downes, 2004; Roberts, 2003). Thus, while posting on their blogs, educators and other users potentially create an on-line resource for their peers to refer to for guidance (Campbell, 2003).

According to Moore and Kearsley (1996), there are three types of interaction that allow students to achieve effective learning in distance learning environments: (i) learner – content interaction, (ii) learner – instructor interaction, and (iii) learner – learner interaction. While focusing on these three types of interactions, teachers may overcome potential shortfalls caused by a ‘transactional distance’ in such learning environments, which is due to the fact that teachers and learners do not interact in the same physical and temporal space. All three types of interactivity promote engaged learning and help develop collaborative learning experiences. Gunawardena and Zittle (1997), researchers in the area of social presence and computer-mediated conferencing, refer to the collaborative aspect of computer-mediated learning as ‘social presence’, which is defined as the experience of immediacy and intimacy in social exchanges and found to be a strong predictor of student satisfaction with the class. Based on these findings, the current study focused on the creation of an on-line learning environment via a Class blog that offers opportunities for learner-learner interaction and creates an atmosphere in which students are motivated to learn and become part of a learning community with their classmates.

Methodology

Rationale of the study

This project was initiated as a small scale action research study. The author implemented a blog project into an elective EFL course in order to fulfill the following objectives:

- To determine the usefulness of using blogs to foster social interaction between students and encourage out-of-class learning.
- To provide students with a suitable platform to express their attitudes and opinions, engage in critical thinking and discussion with others, while reflecting on topics that had been covered in class and repeated on our Class Blog.
- To motivate students for autonomous learning and additional reading or research on topics discussed.
- To provide insights for other EFL professionals into the possibilities of using blogs in the foreign language classroom.

Generally, the EFL course goals were as follows:

- To increase students' motivation to learn and use English as much as possible.
- To develop students' confidence in using English more both in-class and out-of-class.
- To improve students' English language skills – speaking, writing, reading and listening, and strengthen their ability to use English more efficiently.
- To provide more practice in grammar and vocabulary as well.
- To develop students' communication skills and encourage interaction and cooperation among them both in in-class and out-of-class activities
- To encourage students for autonomous learning and taking the responsibility for their own progress in learning English.
- To enhance their critical-thinking and creativity.
- To improve their web searching skills and make them use new technology tools both for their English learning and professional needs.
- To improve their English for Academic Purposes, providing more practice in academic writing, research skills in the field using new technology, discussion strategies and formal oral presentations.

Participants and context

The participants were 52 third-year and fourth-year Bachelor level students of the Pedagogical Faculty in Sarajevo, at the Department of Elementary School Teaching and the Department of Preschool Teaching. They were all females, their average age was 20-22, and their mother tongue Bosnian. They learned EFL and it was a compulsory General English course at the first year of their studies with only 2 lessons (2 x 45 minutes) per week in both semesters. At the third and the fourth year it was one of their elective courses, also represented with only 2 lessons (2 x 45 minutes) per week each semester. It was a mixed-level group related to their proficiency in English. Although their average level of English was pre-intermediate to intermediate, there were some of them either below or above this level. Our lessons were held in the computer lab, fully equipped and with a stable internet connection.

Procedure

The concept of a Blog was first introduced to the target group of students through a Power Point presentation, providing details about its design and usage, explaining the basic rules for successful blogging and posting comments on a blog, and discussing the benefits of using a blog in language teaching. For the purpose of this project, a special Class Blog - 'Let Us Learn English Online' - was designed

and used. The students were instructed how to access our Class Blog and its content and how to post their comments.

After the introductory session, the project was conducted as an out-of-class project. Our Class Blog was used for further discussion and posting comments on various topics, based on what we did in-class. The students were also encouraged to do some individual research and study independently at home, using the links provided on our Class Blog. The students were responsible for writing at least one comment on their own for each topic of discussion, and commenting on at least two or three of their classmates' comments. The contents of their entries were to be based on provided topics of discussion and expressing their personal attitudes and opinions. The project lasted for two semesters. At the end of the project period, the students were asked to complete a questionnaire anonymously to evaluate the Class Blog project.

The Survey Instrument

In order to collect data on the students' attitudes and perceptions of using a class blog to support their English language learning and foster student interaction in an online learning community, the researcher designed a post-project questionnaire to be completed at the end of the term. There were 20 items in total on the survey instrument, mostly focusing on student perceptions of social interaction (Statements 1-9 and 11-13) and learning via a Class Blog (Statements 10 and 14-17), but also including a few statements (Statements 18-20) aimed to determine overall class satisfaction. Respondents were asked to mark their agreement with the statements on five-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). All of the 52 students completed the questionnaire.

Results and discussion

Results of the survey, as presented in Table 1, indicate that overall student perceptions of social interaction and learning via a Class Blog as well as class satisfaction were positive, i.e. most students agreed or somewhat agreed with the statements describing high levels of social exchange and learning via a Class Blog.

Statement	1(%)	2(%)	3(%)	4(%)	5(%)	NA (%)
(1) A Class Blog is an excellent medium for social interaction.	84.61	7.69	1.92	1.92	3.84	0

(2) I think there was a lot of interaction between the participants in this course.	38.46	42.30	13.46	1.92	1.92	1.92
(3) I felt comfortable introducing myself and conversing with other students via our Class Blog.	65.38	26.92	0	1.92	5.76	0
(4) This interaction enabled me to form a sense of being part of an online learning community.	71.15	15.38	5.76	1.92	3.84	1.92
(5) I felt comfortable to actively participate in our course discussions.	76.92	11.53	3.84	3.84	3.84	0
(6) I really enjoyed the exchanges with other students.	82.69	7.69	1.92	1.92	5.76	0
(7) I am satisfied with the quality of exchanges that occurred in this class.	65.38	23.07	5.76	1.92	3.84	0
(8) The discussions we had in our Class Blog were valuable to me.	75	17.30	1.92	0	5.76	0
(9) I felt that my point of view was acknowledged by other participants in the course.	38.46	44.23	7.69	3.84	3.84	0
(10) I learned a lot from other participants in the course.	57.69	32.69	1.92	3.84	3.84	0
(11) I got to know the other participants better through our online discussions.	44.23	40.38	9.61	3.84	1.92	0
(12) I learned to value other points of view.	73.07	19.23	0	3.84	3.84	0
(13) I am satisfied with the level of social interaction in this online course.	69.23	23.07	3.84	1.92	1.92	0
(14) I was able to learn through the medium of a Class Blog.	73.07	17.30	1.92	5.76	1.92	0
(15) I think that my level of learning English has improved in this online course.	65.38	17.30	9.61	3.84	3.84	0
(16) I was stimulated to do additional reading or research on topics discussed in our Class Blog.	55.76	30.76	5.76	5.76	1.92	0
(17) The diversity of topics presented in our Class Blog prompted me to participate in the discussions.	53.84	34.61	5.76	3.84	1.92	0
(18) Overall, our Class Blog met my learning expectations.	67.30	25	0	3.84	3.84	0
(19) Overall, I enjoyed having been a member of this class.	86.53	5.76	1.92	1.92	3.84	0
(20) As a result of this experience, I would like to participate in another online course in the future.	80.76	9.61	3.84	1.92	3.84	0

1 – 'strongly agree'; 2 – 'somewhat agree'; 3 – 'undecided'; 4 – 'somewhat disagree'; 5 – 'strongly disagree'; NA – 'no answer'

The following results relate to assessments of student perceptions of social interaction via a Class Blog. As for the statements with the highest percentage of responses 'strongly agree', 84.61% of students strongly agreed that a Class Blog is an excellent medium for social interaction and 82.69% of students really enjoyed the exchanges with other students. Seventy-five percent of respondents strongly agreed that the discussions on our Class Blog were valuable to them and 76.92% of students felt comfortable to actively participate in our course discussions. Furthermore, 73.03% of students strongly agreed that they learned to value other points of view and 71.15% of students strongly agreed that this interaction via a Class Blog enabled them to form a sense of being a part of an online learning community. Besides that, 65.38% of students strongly confirmed that they felt comfortable introducing themselves and conversing with other students via our Class Blog, with the same percentage of those who were satisfied with the quality of exchanges that occurred in the class. Overall, 69.23% of students were satisfied with the level of social interaction in this online course. These results seem to indicate that our structured online discussions via a Class Blog positively affected student perceptions of social interaction between the participants of this EFL class. Our Class Blog has proved to be a useful tool to foster student active participation and personal involvement in our class discussions and to make them feel that they are part of a learning community. Generally, the results may imply student perceptions of high overall class interaction and class satisfaction.

Nevertheless, there were two statements related to student perceptions of social interaction via our Class Blog which were not equally ranked with a high percentage of responses 'strongly agree' compared to the other statements of this category. Namely, 42.30% of students somewhat agreed with the statement that there was a lot of interaction between the participants of this course, whereas 38.46% of students strongly agreed with that. Similarly, 44.23% of respondents somewhat agreed that they felt their point of view was acknowledged by other participants in the course, but still 38.46% of them strongly agreed with that. Besides that, 44.03% of students strongly agreed with the statement that they got to know the other participants better through these online discussions, whereas 40.38% of students somewhat agreed with that. These percentages are particularly noteworthy in that students perceived that the amount of interaction between the participants in this online course was slightly lower than expected and they were not fully satisfied with the level of acknowledgement of their points of view by other participants. These results could be explained by the fact that this was a pilot project mainly envisaged as an out-of-class activity to support English language learning and foster student interaction, and it lasted only for two semesters. Class Blog discussions followed our in-class activities and they obliged students to spend some extra time outside the classroom to prepare for and actively participate in a purposeful online exchange with their col-

leagues. Obviously, they perceived this new type of activity as something completely different from what they were used to do, not only in their English classes, but in other study courses as well. Although it was a positive change and they did their best to become active members of an online learning community via our Class Blog, they need more time and opportunities to get used to this innovative EFL approach. Although students confirmed that they enjoyed the exchanges with other group members and that the online class discussions were valuable to them, they still did not value our Class Blog as highly in terms of peer-to-peer learning opportunities. The results indicate that most students strongly agreed that they learned to value other points of view (73.07%), but they still need more confirmation and acknowledgement from their peers, and more opportunities to get to know them better.

The following results relate to assessments of student perceptions of learning via a Class Blog. Generally, 73.07% of students strongly agreed that they were able to learn through the medium of a Class Blog and 65.38% of students strongly agreed that their level of learning English improved in this online course. Besides that, the results indicate that our Class Blog motivated students to learn since 55.76% of students strongly agreed that they were stimulated to do additional reading or research on topics discussed and 53.84% of students confirmed that the diversity of topics presented in our Class Blog prompted them to participate in the discussions. It is also noteworthy to observe that 57.69% of students strongly agreed that they learned a lot from other participants in the course, which is a clear indication that our Class Blog was valued highly in terms of providing opportunities to learn from others. These results seem to support the idea that a Class Blog could be used as an appropriate medium for English language learning and practice in EFL classes.

The results related to the overall class satisfaction reveal that students had a positive attitude towards using a Class Blog to foster their learning and social interaction with their peers. Specifically, 67.30% of students strongly agreed that our Class Blog met their learning expectations and 86.53% of students enjoyed having been a member of this class. As a result of this experience, 80.76% of respondents strongly agreed that they would like to participate in another online course in the future.

Conclusion

As has been stated above, the aim of this small scale study was to assess the attitude of a group of EFL students towards the integration of a Class Blog in the EFL classroom and its potential to enhance social interaction between students and support their EFL learning. The results of the evaluation questionnaire not only showed the positive response of all students in the group towards using a Class Blog in the EFL classes, but also confirmed that they are more motivated and in-

terested in learning when engaged in meaningful tasks with the authentic material.

A Class Blog has a great potential to be used as a tool in EFL classes, providing opportunities to motivate students to engage in online exchanges with their peers and expand their language study and learning community beyond the walls of a physical classroom. Students experience a greater feeling of learning and achievement as they are given chances to learn both by themselves and from their peers. They are expected to construct their own knowledge and become responsible for their own progress, but they also share a common goal with the others in the group. A Class Blog provides them a unique opportunity to enjoy rich and repeated exchanges with their classmates which may enhance students' overall class experience, being part of a larger learning community and enjoying the class in general. At the same time, the teacher gets a new role, as he/she is no longer a presenter of information but a facilitator to assist and direct his/her students.

A Class Blog has proved to be a powerful teaching and learning tool in a modern EFL classroom and it can be effectively used to promote student interaction while they actively participate in an online learning community. Besides, a Class Blog offers numerous opportunities for EFL learning and language skills development. The results showed that most students are motivated to learn if they are provided with authentic tasks and resources, and given opportunities to express their creativity, sociability and productiveness.

However, it seems important to point out that the present study is of an exploratory nature which limits its generalizability to other settings and student populations. Therefore, to determine whether or not blogs indeed foster social interaction and student motivation to learn beyond the classroom, more research needs to be done. Nonetheless, it is hoped that this paper will provide some insights into numerous advantages of using blogs in EFL classes and inspire foreign language teachers to make use of this interesting and authentic medium of computer-based communication.

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TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY IN ROBYN ROWLAND'S AUSTRALIAN/TURKISH POEMS: THIS INTIMATE WAR: GALLIPOLI/ÇANAKKALE 1915 - İÇLİ DIŞLI BİR SAVAŞ: GELIBOLU/ÇANAKKALE 1915

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Abstract

World War I was a cataclysm. Such global carnage, devastation and waste could not but result in international, intranational and individual change. One of the premises upon which war is sustained is the “otherness” of the enemy, attributed to various national, ethnic, geographical, social or cultural factors. This presupposes that the opposing force perceives its own identity as different from that of the enemy in some crucial way, sufficient to negate any variety in group affiliations within its own ranks, and to obscure the significance of characteristics held in common with the antagonist. The intensity of the experience of war, the need to validate the sacrifice involved, political imperatives and contingent propaganda all tend to reinforce perceptions of self-identity and “otherness” during the conflict, and in its aftermath. Where war is international, issues of national identity will predominate. During WWI, the Gallipoli Campaign set Allied invaders against Ottoman Turks. Between 1915 and the evacuation of the Allied troops in January 1916, both sides sustained terrible casualties and horrendous loss of life. The history, memories, commemoration and mythologisation of the Anzac troops, from Australia and New Zealand, and of the Turks at Gallipoli were to contribute to the forging of the post-war national identities of their respective countries. However, identity is both a multi-faceted construct and a process in flux, in which the present interacts with the past. Imperatives change, perspectives too. Cultural identity, the sense of belonging to a particular group, may transcend national boundaries; myths may be reworked. A century after the Gallipoli campaign, this paper examines poems from Robyn Rowland's *This Intimate War: Gallipoli/Çanakkale 1915*, in the light of the contemporary trend to move away from the mythologizing of the Gallipoli story on a national basis towards a more inclusive transnational approach based on shared experience and values.

Key Words: Gallipoli, Anzac, Turkey, Identity, Rowland, Poetry

War pits human against human at horrific human cost, yet it is most often underpinned by notions of “otherness”. Rightly or wrongly, the foe is portrayed as alien and therefore threatening. Combattants may be differentiated on various national, ethnic, geographical, social or cultural grounds. In warfare on an international scale, whatever its cause or justification, the concept of national identity, with its associated distinguishing features and values, frequently idealised under the pressure of circumstances or as a result of political propaganda, often serves to unite and motivate the military and civilians alike. This is what Guibernau (2004) defined as the psychological dimension of national identity, a “‘felt’ closeness uniting those who belong to the nation,” when their “unique character” and “qualities” (p. 135) are threatened by an enemy. Thus, in his sonnet “The Soldier,” written at the outset of the First World War, Rupert Brooke (who was to die of septicaemia en route to Gallipoli), depicted a paradiscal England and a notion of “Englishness” worth fighting and dying for:

... *There shall be*
In that rich earth a richer dust concealed;
A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,
Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam,
A body of England's, breathing English air,
Washed by the rivers, blest by suns of home. (3-8)

There are no grey skies or smoking chimneystacks, no battlefield slaughter here.

However, no matter how important a role the concept of national identity may play, or be made to play, where conflict is on a global scale the reality remains much more complex. For instance, on the one hand, international warfare promotes alliances between peoples, which are driven by strategic or moral imperatives, and which transcend differences in national or cultural identity, at least for the duration. Yet, on the other hand, paradoxically, there may be as many similarities as differences between antagonists. For instance, in his poem “The Man He Killed”, Thomas Hardy conveyed the bewilderment of a soldier who, after shooting his “enemy” to save his own life, reflects:

Yes; quaint and curious war is!
You shoot a fellow down
You'd treat, if met where any bar is,
Or help to half a crown. (17-20)

Here, the focus has shifted from national differences to class similarities.

Nonetheless, regardless of this complexity, the intensity of the experience of war, the need to validate the sacrifice involved, political imperatives and contingent propaganda all tend to reinforce perceptions of self-identity and “otherness” during a conflict, to the extent that one force perceives itself as different from its enemy in some crucial way, sufficient to negate any variety in group affiliations within its own ranks, and to obscure the significance of characteristics held in common with the antagonist. Returning to the relationship between national identity and warfare, it should be noted that this may be reciprocal. While nationalistic feelings clearly contribute to warfare, conflict itself may influence the dynamics of national identity. This process may run contiguous with a conflict, or it may develop and continue over time, as experiences, reports, analyses, accounts, impressions and memories of the period are transposed into histories or assimilated into works of culture. Thus, Kendall (2013), in discussing the poetry written by British and Irish poets during and following the First World War, described how the conflict continues to pervade “the language and culture – our deepest sense of ourselves as a nation” (p. xxx), even though the Great War is no longer a living memory. The impact of warfare upon the dynamics of national identity became apparent at a more fundamental level in the Gallipoli/ Çanakkale arena of the Great War, where the conflict and its subsequent memorialisation, and indeed mythologisation, contributed to the forging of a new national identity for three of the combatant nations: Australia, New Zealand and Turkey. In parenthesis, it is also interesting to note here a link with the Irish desire to achieve nationhood. The high mortality rate among Irish troops, who fought as part of the British Army in the Gallipoli Campaign, inspired the following lines in “The Foggy Dew,” a ballad written in 1919 by Canon Charles O’Neill, which recounted the 1916 Irish Rebellion against British rule:

*Right proudly high over Dublin town
They flung out the flag of war.
‘Twas far better to die ‘neath an Irish sky,
Than at Suvla or Sud el Bar. (9-12)*

In brief, the Gallipoli/Çanakkale conflict unfolded as follows. The Gallipoli Peninsula lies on the northern bank of the Dardanelles Strait, which provides maritime access to the Sea of Marmara and Istanbul and, beyond, through the Bosphorus Strait to the Black Sea. In February, 1915, British and French ships starts bombarding Turkish defensive positions along the Dardanelles, with the aim of forcing a way through to Istanbul, and ultimately opening up a route through the Black Sea to the Russian Empire. On 18th March, 1915 the full Anglo-French force of 18 battleships and support vessels carried out its main attack on the strait, but was repelled by the Turks who inflicted severe losses

upon their enemy, in the renowned victory of Çanakkale (“World War 1”, n.d.). Over the next five weeks, allied commanders made preparations for a land campaign to neutralise the Turkish defences along the Dardanelles Strait. On 25th April, 2015 French and British troops began to land at Cape Helles (Seddülbahir), suffering terrible losses in the process. Likewise, many of the Australian and New Zealander (Anzac) troops, who disembarked under fire at Anzac Cove (Arıburnu), on the same date, were killed or wounded in their landing craft or on shore. The Anzac landing was made further north than planned, so that those soldiers who came ashore were confronted by steep cliffs rather than a flat beach. Evacuation from the peninsula was considered, but rejected as unfeasible. On the opposing side, the Turkish defenders lacked strength in numbers and had limited ammunition. The Turkish position was saved by the foresight of the commander of the 19th division, Mustafa Kemal (later Atatürk), who ordered the troops of the 57th Regiment “to die” (as cited in Cameron, 2013, p. 10), rather than yield up the high ground at Chunuk Bair (Conk Bayırı), which he perceived as crucial to the defence of the area. Stalemate ensued, with the attackers unable to advance and the defenders unable to repel them. Trench warfare, with ferocious hand-to-hand fighting, continued through eight months of searing summer heat and freezing winter cold. Terrible sanitation compounded the battlefield losses with deaths from disease. Deteriorating conditions finally led Britain to order evacuation of the peninsula, which was completed between December, 1915 and January, 2016 (Fighting Australasia, 1917; “The Gallipoli Campaign,” n.d.).

In the course of the Gallipoli Campaign, both sides suffered horrendous losses, estimated at a total of around 150,000 deaths and a total of up to 500,000 casualties. More than 80,000 Turks are believed to have perished. The casualty rate was at its highest among Anzac troops, at 80% for both Australian and New Zealand combatants (“Gallipoli Casualties,” n.d.; Slade, 2003; “The Gallipoli Campaign,” n.d.). As alluded to previously, new concepts of Australian, New Zealand and Turkish identity took shape in the aftermath of the Gallipoli/Çanakkale battles. Gallipoli, albeit in reality a distant locus of death and defeat, came to represent “the psychological birthplace of both Australia and New Zealand as nations” (Slade, 2003, p. 780); and thus, for the people of both countries, became a place of secular pilgrimage to “a source of core identity” (Hyde & Harman, 2011, p. 1343). In 1991, Anthony D. Smith asserted that nationhood and cultural identity involve, *inter alia*, “a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories ...” (as cited in Guibernau, 2004, p. 127). Slade (2003) has observed that the word “myth,” as associated with Gallipoli, follows Barthes’ usage of the term: “Myth is a system of communication ... a message ... a type of speech chosen by history ...” (Barthes, 1957/1972, pp. 107-108). Myth “makes us understand something and it imposes it upon us” (p. 115). “Myth does not deny things, on the contrary,

its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact" (p. 143). Used in this sense, myth is not incompatible with history in its contribution to the formation of cultural identity. Thus, out of the carnage of Gallipoli emerged the cultural construct of "Anzac", described by Seal (2007) as "a conflation of history and myth" (p. 136).

The Great War was the first war in which Australian and New Zealand troops participated as citizens of self-governing nations within the British Empire (Slade, 2003). Contemporary eye-witness accounts described the valour and other qualities of these troops in terms which shaped the Anzac myth. The novelist and counter-espionage agent Compton Mackenzie depicted the Australian troops in language which associated them with the mythical heroes of ancient Greece, a comparison reinforced by the proximity of Gallipoli to Troy: "There was not one of those glorious young men I saw that day who might not himself have been Ajax or Diomed, Hector or Achilles" (as cited in Pringle, 1997, p. 97). The commander of the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force, Sir Ian Hamilton, made the same comparison, and further described the Anzacs as "a radiant force of camaraderie in action" (as cited in Pringle, pp. 97-98). One of the earliest propagators of the Anzac myth, the Australian war correspondent and historian C.E.W. Bean, directly associated the Australian Gallipoli campaign with the birth of a modern nation and characterised the Anzacs as different from the other troops (Slade, 2003). For instance, in *Anzac to Amiens* (1946), Bean wrote that: "Anzac stood, and still stands, for reckless valour in a good cause, for enterprise, resourcefulness, fidelity, comradeship, and endurance that will never own defeat" (as cited in "Anzac Spirit," n.d.).

In the aftermath of the Great War, the development of the Anzac myth, through historical accounts, cultural artefacts and the media (Broadbent, 2009), in turn, led to the assimilation of the aforesaid characteristics into the Australian and New Zealand constructs of national identity. The enduring impact of Gallipoli upon the national consciousness is made explicit, for instance, in the programme commemorating Anzac Day in 2006: "The spirit of ANZAC, with its human qualities of courage, mateship and sacrifice, continues to have meaning and relevance for our sense of national identity" (as cited in Seal, 2007, p. 137).

Taylor (1987) highlighted a difference in emphasis between two collections of Australian poetry about the Great War, which is illustrative of the ways in which cultural memory may be shaped, and of the process of purification by myth which Barthes (1957/1972) describes. The poems in the anthologies were written at an interval of 50 years apart. The poetry written by Australian soldiers

at the time of the War “displays ... a profound disillusionment with war, with politics, with patriotism and with authority” (p. 58). In contrast the later poems, all written after 1970, reinforce the Anzac myth by depicting the Australian soldiers as innocents led to the slaughter, naively obedient to the call of Britain, the old colonial authority, which proved to be unworthy of their sacrifice (Taylor, 1987).

This notion of Australian innocence, already a part of the Anzac myth, was considerably strengthened by Peter Weir’s 1981 film *Gallipoli*, much influenced by the official history written by C.E.W. Bean. The film emphasized the separateness of Australian identity from British identity, which it portrayed negatively, and focused on egalitarianism and mateship as the distinguishing features of the former (Haltorf, 1993). Interestingly, the historical enemy, Turkey, played no prominent role in *Gallipoli*. The film is a prime example of the role cultural artefacts may play in the shaping of cultural memory, and thus in the evolution of a nation’s sense of identity. Mersin (2011) has shown how the same phenomenon is observable in Turkish films about the War of Independence and national heroism, in which certain motifs, such as the value of being Turkish and the elevated character of the Turks, were promoted in the interests of reconstructing national identity. Amongst many examples, Mersin cited the 1951 film *Allahaismarladık*, in which the enemy General Thompson, veteran of Gallipoli, characterised the Turks as an honourable, brave and heroic people (Mersin, 2011).

As with Anzac, the qualities of bravery, resilience and determination displayed by the Turks at Çanakkale and Gallipoli quickly achieved mythic status. Within a few short years, the same characteristics, by now explicitly associated in the mind of the populace with being Turkish, inspired the Turks to further sacrifice and heroism in the struggle to overcome the forces of imperialism and forge a new national identity. Under the leadership of Atatürk, a legend in his own right, the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923) was fought to a successful conclusion, culminating in the founding of the modern Republic of Turkey on 29th October, 1923. The Gallipoli/Çanakkale battles now lie at the limits of living memory, but the spirit of Çanakkale has long since passed into legend and continues to pervade the Turkish cultural memory and the national consciousness.

According to Barthes (1957/1972), mythical concepts “can come into being, alter, disintegrate, disappear completely” (p. 119). Köroğlu (2007) discussed the phenomenon of “belatedness” (xvi-xvii), whereby writers are affected by the political, socio-cultural and psychological climate of their own period, which influences their interpretation of war, and thus may change how it is remembered. Indeed, in recent years, the traditional Anzac myth has begun to take new shape.

The original emphasis on values associated with national identity has begun to be replaced, in some quarters, by a new approach to the experience of Gallipoli from the perspective of transnationalism. In a cinematic context, Hjort has defined “affinitive transnationalism” as “a history of interaction giving rise to shared core values, common practices” (as cited in Hillman, 2011, p. 25). An example of a work which adopted such a perspective is the Turkish director Tolga Örnek’s 2005 documentary film, *Gallipoli: the Frontline Experience*, which Simpson (2007) described as breaking new ground “in its attempts to abandon the baggage of national myth-making on both sides of the trenches in favour of a more experiential approach to the battle” (p. 86). Örnek achieved this by using the diaries, letters and photographs of ten ordinary soldiers from opposing sides of the battlefield - British and Anzac, as well as Turkish. Through its rendering of their shared experience of trauma and tragedy, of the valour displayed by both sides, and of the mutual respect generated, the film exemplifies what Hjort has called the “deep transnational belonging” that may occur when “elements of deep national belonging ... overlap with aspects of other national identities” (as cited in Hillman, 2011, p. 35). Hillman has also highlighted a number of other literary and cinematic works which adopt a similar transnational perspective, including Louis de Bernières novel *Birds Without Wings* (2004) and Wain Fimeri’s TV documentary *Revealing Gallipoli* (2005). Similarly, Fewster, Başarın and Başarın (2003) have explored changing perspectives on the relationship between Australians and Turks, arguing that where the original Anzac myth was selective in its approach to history, the legend has now been redefined to include Turkish soldiers, with a new emphasis on the shared fate of the soldiers as “fellow sufferers rather than sworn enemies” (p. 11). The sociologist Brad West has shown how the increasingly popular annual Anzac pilgrimage to Gallipoli has opened the eyes of the visitors to the realities of Turkish bravery, to the Turkish side of the story and to Turkish culture. In West’s view, “a new dialogic mythology” has emerged out of these encounters between Turks and Australians, grounded in “the collective memory of the two nations as innocent martyrs” (as cited in McKenna & Ward, 2007, pp.148-149). The same notion of transnational belonging is encapsulated in the words of Atatürk, which are inscribed on a Turkish monument to the Allied fallen at Gallipoli, as well as on the memorial to Atatürk in Canberra:

... There is no difference between the Johnnies and the Mehments to us where they lie side by side here in this country of ours ... You, the mothers who sent their sons from faraway countries, wipe away your tears; your sons are now lying in our bosom and are in peace. After having lost their lives on this land they have become our sons as well. (as cited in “Atatürk”, n.d.)

Elsewhere, Bennett (2014) has highlighted a growing trend in historical scholarship

to adopt a transnational approach to the Gallipoli Campaign, characterised by an “anti-war tone ... and ... emphasis on the universal experience of war, supported by the unvarnished words of the common man revealed through letters and diaries” (pp. 642-643). D.W. Cameron’s book *Shadows of Anzac. An Intimate History of Gallipoli* (2013), incorporating diaries and letters written by both Allied and Turkish troops is one example of this. The current shift in emphasis in relation to the Gallipoli story, away from the cultural nationalism associated with the traditional Anzac myth towards transnationalism, provides further evidence that conceptions of identity evolve dynamically, as the present interacts with the past. Imperatives change, perspectives too. Cultural identity, the sense of belonging to a particular group, may transcend national boundaries; myths may be reworked.

This Intimate War: Gallipoli/Çanakkale 1915 - İçli Dışlı Bir Savaş: Gelibolu/Çanakkale 1915 is a collection of poems by the Irish-Australian poet Robyn Rowland (2015). In launching the collection, Gorton asserted that Rowland “has taken on the role of shaping how we perceive the past” (2015, para. 2). The emotional force generated by the poems works at a level which transcends the national by evoking what Scartes (as cited in McKenna & Ward, 2007) has called “the community of suffering” (p. 148) of the ordinary individuals involved on both sides in the Gallipoli/Çanakkale conflict. In other words, Rowland’s poems address aspects of deep transnational belonging. The remainder of this paper will examine *This Intimate War*, from this perspective. It is worth noting, in passing, that the transnational focus of the collection is sharpened by the presence of the Mehmet Ali Çelikel’s Turkish translation of the poems, juxtaposed with the English on alternate pages of the volume.

Robyn Rowland is an Australian, of Irish origin, with a Turkish sister-in-law. Although this background may have inspired, to some degree, the transnational perspective in *This Intimate War*, the sense of affinitive transnationalism which pervades the work seems rather to reflect the writer’s ability to empathize, her humanity and a fine poetic sensibility.

The belief that the Anzacs, although part of the aggressor force, went innocently to war at Gallipoli – a notion which permeates the traditional Anzac myth – is maintained by Rowland in this work. However, this attitude reflects her condemnation of the British imperialistic ambitions which culminated in the carnage at Gallipoli/Çanakkale, rather than any nationalistic sentiment. Indeed, Rowland absolves all of the colonial troops of responsibility in “The Folly of Myth: Prologue, 1915” (pp. 20-29): The British “... carried their empire with them – the defeated, the colonised, / the unaware ...” (p.22, I, 31-32). Moreover, in “Children of Gallipoli,” (pp. 42-45), she proves the validity of her position, by quoting the contemporary

recruitment posters which betrayed the naive into signing up for a war in which they would have to invade another's soil: "Posters told the colonies it was to stop the, Germans. / 'Free trip to Europe,' they blared, 'full of adventure and interest'" (5-6).

Thus in "Green Road" (pp. 68-73), the speaker is not an Anzac. Rather, the voice heard is that of an Irish soldier, who had hoped to be granted freedom and nationhood in return for fighting honourably for Britain at Gallipoli, but emerges disillusioned and enraged by the poor planning: "there must have been clear springs somewhere - / if anyone in charge had a map" (44-45); by the loss of so many comrades: "Most of us were dead in the many ways of war. / Most of us wearing the green never got back" (56-57); and, ultimately, by a sense of betrayal: "Will they pay that honour-price now? / do you think? Will I have my own country / when I get back to it? The Turks have theirs" (74-76).

As the previous quotation illustrates, Rowland's work acknowledges the relationship between Gallipoli/Çanakkale and national consciousness, but does so from a transnational standpoint. For instance, "Anybody Left? Anybody Left? No?" (pp.80-85) refers to impact of the conflict upon the evolution of both Anzac and Turkish national identities. The poem deals with the evacuation of the Gallipoli peninsula. Its title works on two levels, reflecting the logistics of the withdrawal, while at the same time evoking the horrible truth that a generation of young men was wiped out by the Great War, in Gallipoli and elsewhere. Part of the poem describes how, as they reach ship, the surviving Anzac soldiers contemplate, in anguish, the scene "... where friends, brothers, sons and fathers / are buried or dusted to vapour in ways too cruel for memory / Yet they take away a sense of knowing who they are – Anzacs" (p. 82, 48-50). These lines hint at the way in which the purifying force of myth would, over time, process the horrors of the defeat at Gallipoli out of the collective cultural memory, particularly in Australia, allowing the emergent national consciousness to focus primarily upon the qualities of the Anzac troops and, eventually, to adopt these characteristics as its own. With respect to cultural identity, in the same poem, Rowland also documents the invidious position of the indigenous Australian aborigines. Denied all rights of citizenship, they even had to claim to be half-caste in order to be able to sign up; but, as bodies were needed at the front, the recruiters turned a blind eye to their colour and enlisted them: "for a country that gives them no vote, / no citizenship, no rights over their children, / only equality here in sharing death" (p. 82, 35-37). Maintaining its transnational perspective, the poem also links Gallipoli with Atatürk's vision of an independent Turkey, thus acknowledging the Turkish version of the spirit of Çanakkale/Gallipoli and its importance in the foundation of the modern Republic of Turkey. Moreover, by paraphrasing Atatürk's words, Rowland reminds her international reader that Turkish soldiers too fought bravely at Çanakkale and Gallipoli, under conditions

of great hardship and, importantly, that the Turks were not the aggressors there:

*He speaks of the honour of his men, so ill-equipped
except with valour, who took a second victory from invaders.
Out of the dust of Gelibolu, out of its blood-black soil,
his vision of a new country flowers, a freer order,
a modern Turkey, stronger, that one day he will raise,
phoenix from the flames. (p. 84, 76-81)*

The same, typically transnational, respect for the bravery and determination of the Turks, and for Turkish culture, with a further acknowledgement that the Turks were the innocent party, appears in “The Folly of Myth: Prologue, 1915” “Yet still they misunderstood a deep culture - / soldiers ill-resourced but clever, dedicated, / who would lie down and die to defend their homeland” (p.22, II, 2-4).

If one had to select but a single poem to illustrate the transnational qualities of *This Intimate War*, “Close” (pp.36-41) would be a fine candidate. The poem conveys the physical proximity of the soldiers – close enough to throw notes and food to one another in the trenches, to share dark humour: “... you are too, weak to advance, too strong / to retire, and we are the same, so what shall we do about it?” (p. 36, 17-18); close enough to kill one another hand-to-hand, by the “upward lunge of a bayonet driven home” (13); so close that that they could look into one another’s eyes, making it harder to kill; so close that their dead were “shared” (21). Out of this interaction, comes the epiphany: “that’s when we know them, suddenly, smooth hands, / voices, smiles, they are boys, like us, young” (24-25). Rowland does not articulate the nationality of the speaker, nor does she need to, for here she is concerned to convey the truth that the horrors of Gallipoli were experienced by all of the young men there. So, she reveals how they shared the same fundamental emotions and values – the languages might have been different, but the laughter, the music, and the longing for home were the same. To demonstrate that the combatants shared the same basic humanity, she retells the real story of the soldier who left his trench to carry a wounded enemy back to his own lines, despite the odds on their survival:

*... and he will probably
be shot returning and our soldier die anyway*

*and still he does it because
bravery isn’t to do with this but with finding
himself again in some small act, some care. (p. 38, 29-33)*

Though her powerful imagery, Rowland shows how the soldiers from either side

were united in hardship, in injury, in sickness, and in fate: "... now i know him in the trenches best, / his ribs thin like mine, his bandaged foot, / that cough at night, the black sleepless shape of his death" (43-45). She shows how they shared the same fears, the same perplexity and the same obedience to command, and how this created a bond that went deeper than mere camaraderie: "i love him now, my enemy. i know him" (52). On a technical note, the use of lower case letters here and throughout the poem, including for the first person pronoun, reinforces the impression of homogeneity created. By the end of the poem, the reader has been brought to realise that even the adjective "close" is redundant. The intertwining of the soldiers' experiences – above all their experience of death – transcends everything else, nationality and enmity included: "... we have no boundaries anymore. / we are killing ourselves in this intimate war" (p.40, 59-60).

Gallipoli was part of a global war, in which politicians pursued policies and nations held stakes. However, throughout this collection, Rowland gives the "intimate" perspective of the ordinary individuals brought into terrible proximity by the war, whom Gorton (2015) has described as vulnerable in the face of history. Thus, in several of the poems, as in "Close," the voice is that of a trooper, who might be Anzac or Turk or Irish, but whose nationality loses definition in the charnel house of Gallipoli, where death is an indiscriminate leveller, a place of "bodies heaped so you couldn't tell / what country they were from, scattered about, / half-buried..." ("Green Road", p. 72, 61-63). In "thank heavens" (p.18), for example, which describes with breathless urgency, the moment of a charge from the trenches, to kill or be killed, and the shock of the killing, the charging soldier is a composite figure of indeterminate nationality and fate. His cry of "*sweet jesus, allahu akbar, mary mother of god*" (3) reflects both the diversity of faiths present and, more significantly, reveals how the universal instinct to turn to "god" at moments of great crisis reduces religious differences to irrelevancy. Once again, the use of the lower case throughout the poem assists its meaning, by heightening the sensation of urgency. At the same time, in "no god, No!" (14), the lack of capitalization not only reinforces the impression of transnational religious expression, but is also consistent with the desecration of faith - "faith is everywhere like bloodied green grass" (1) - by a level of carnage which has rendered it redundant, except as a battlefield cry, screamed out until the crisis has passed or, from the alternate perspective, until the soldier has been slain: "*sweet jesus, allahu akbar, mary mother of god / it wasn't needed for long*" (19-20). Then again, in this poem of conflated perspectives, faith seems to operate on another level too, that of faith in authority: "*sweet jesus, allahu akbar, mary mother of god / yes sir, sergeant, commander, captain, lieutenant, / necessary as breath when the voice screams attack! /obey, obey, obey ...*" (3-6). Rowland addresses this issue more explicitly in "Luck" (pp. 86-89),

where an Anzac survivor describes how blind faith in authority filled the void left by the loss of spiritual belief and kept him going when all around seemed senseless:

... Kept the faith. Lost something /
 deep that never restored itself. But faith –
 that had to go with you. Belief in command,
 that they know the purpose. This gives you strength. (2-5)

The impact of the Gallipoli conflict upon religious belief is also addressed in “The Dead” (pp 78-79). Here, Rowland demonstrates how even the representatives of religion were reduced to helplessness, when confronted with “the brutal harvest” (4) of thousands of young men they could not minister to, could not bury. Again, the perspective is transnational. Core values are shaken on both sides of the battle line. In this poem, Rowland employs a technique of narration in parallel, which she uses frequently in *This Intimate War* to convey the mutuality of various deep emotions generated in individuals, on all sides of the conflict, who were exposed to the same circumstances:

... The Imam sighed –
 surely it was not intended,
 so many children of God dead.

 ...It hurt his very bones.

 ... the priest.....
 ... watched Chaplain, Hindu, Jew, bewildered.
 It pained him in the chest. A knife there.
 It simply cannot have been meant by God,
 This wasteful slaughter.... (6-8, 17, 19, 30-33)

Through the technique of parallel narration, the practical differences between people of different nationalities emerge as matters of detail, whereas in much that really matters they are revealed to be fundamentally the same.

Another powerful example of Rowland’s use of this technique in *This Intimate War* occurs in “Children of Gallipoli” (pp. 42-45), which deals with the loss of childhood innocence, with the sacrifice and the sacrificing of youth. In consecutive stanzas, Rowland tells tales of the English, Australian and Turkish boy soldiers, some as young as 13, who fought and were maimed or, more often, died at Gallipoli (and on the Somme). Most went naively into battle, seduced by tales of heroism and dreams of adventure, expecting to return home. Only the Turkish were pre-

pared for reality: “We came to die for our country” (40). Here, as is the case with many of the poems in the collection, Rowland draws inspiration from the narratives of those who fought in the campaign, from contemporary photographs and from newsreels too, sometimes quoting directly, sometimes reproducing a picture in words. This produces an effect of historical veracity, and renders the tragedies of the past more immediate. Jim Martin died at 14 from typhoid and heart failure; İsmail Hassan’s mother dyed his hair with henna, like a sacrificial goat, offering him up to death for the sake of their homeland; the corpses of the chubby-cheeked schoolboys, who had charged out of the trenches into machine-gun fire, fell back into the lap of drill sergeant Azman, who had had but one night to train them, and whose words are quoted: “I couldn’t forget the images of their rosy faces ... / Everyone was crying” (51-52). There is terrible poignancy in the fact that the photos which the poem describes are all of the future that many of the children in them would ever have. Dedicating her poem to all the child soldiers, Rowland reminds the reader that this was a tragedy played out across all of the nations involved at Gallipoli. The final stanza draws all of the individual stories from all of the separate nations together into a single harrowing image of human tragedy:

*Every country had them. They left no wills,
no children to grandchildren, no mark on the earth
but some fading photo ...*

.....
*... Just the image of a boy
dead in the trenches. Not humped like an older man.
The boy still flings himself down as if to sleep on his back,
hands thrown back like a baby, head lolling a little
tucked into the trench. In his hand where a rattle might be,
a grenade. (53-55, 57-62)*

For C.E.W. Bean (as cited in Pringle, 1997) the Anzac soldiers were heroic figures, men of special prowess, great courage and distinctive character, who represented the ideal of Australian manhood. Thus, the traditional Anzac myth took root in the national consciousness as principally a masculine construct. In parenthesis, it should be observed that is less true of Turkey, where from the outset, the Çanakkale narrative gave more prominence to accounts of the role played by women in the national defence (Yazıcı, 2011). In *This Intimate War*, Rowland acknowledges that the desire to be a hero is part of the masculine psyche, and that this played a part in leading young men of all nations to war: from the British, who “...longed for ancient valour. / Bred on the classics, lusting for another Troy” (“The Folly of Myth: Prologue, 1915, I, 24-25), to the colonial boys who signed up for adventure

("Children of Gallipoli"), to the Turks urgent for "... some idea of history, some vision of a hero / ... / ... Men full of the strange energy / they call 'war'" ("when he was young, once," pp. 90-93, 7, 31-32). As previously discussed, Rowland's poems convey the reality of the universal male experience at Gallipoli: the fighting, the horror, the suffering, the incomprehension, the killing and the dying. On the other hand, she gives equal prominence to the contribution of woman to Çanakkale/Gallipoli, and to the female perspective, which is lacking in the traditional Anzac myth.

In "when he was young, once," the speaker is a woman whose husband has returned from Gallipoli as a psychologically scarred amputee. Through the poem, with its terrible refrain - "Not this ... Not this ... Not this" - Rowland shows how his tragedy is hers too. The woman remembers their courtship and marriage, "her happiness, certainty of a future," (24) and sets them against the reality of the present: "everything had gone now that she knew. / Everything changed. / She didn't want this / Not this" (27-30). Here, the female voice is that of a wife and lover. Elsewhere, again using the technique of parallel narration, Rowland evokes the mothers, sisters, wives and lovers, from all of the countries involved in the conflict, who supported the war effort: from behind the lines, as munitions workers or on farms; or at the front, by carrying ammunition; or as nurses tending to the wounded and dying ("Production Lines, pp.54-57; "Mopping Up", pp. 46-53). Again, the poetry is underpinned and validated by memories and words drawn from the diaries and letters of named women who experienced these aspects of the war directly. For instance "Mopping Up" is preceded by a quote from nurse Ellen Newbold La Motte (1873-1961): "*Thus the science of healing stood baffled before the science of destroying*" (p. 46). Her words resonate throughout the poem and are echoed in the final stanza:

*They learned a deeper pain in nursing – not for health,
but to refit an armed force with patched-up husbands and sons,
knowing that though ripped apart in body and mind, as soon as
flesh was
repaired they'd shrug up their rifles and packs, strap their faces
into the resignation of obedience, and go back to be
shattered again. (101-105)*

In terms of the female perspective, perhaps the strongest images of all are those Rowland creates of a mother, suspended in the agony of grief for a dead son; remembering the child; powerless to help, comfort or resurrect the man:

*Plum jam – his favourite – rests thickly in the spoon
she holds, has been holding now for two hours.*

It slips along her hands, her veins, dripping.

.....
*... She wants to go there,
 look up at the impossible height and shiver,
 dig like an animal among the rough cliffs
 with her bitten nails and bare teeth,
 among the bones on the sandy beach in the shallows,
 find him and stick him back together.*

.....
*'We couldn't find enough of Charlie to bury him.'
 The thought of his fear pierced her, cut her throat,
 took her voice and she doesn't want it back.
 ("Second skin, pp. 94-97, 3-5, 9-14, 26-28)*

Typically, these poems emphasize the universality of the female experience of Gallipoli/Çanakkale and how the deep emotions aroused in women by the conflict transcended differences in nationality. By depicting their self-sacrifice, their guilt at surviving, their bravery, their compassion, their dread, their loneliness and, above all, their grief, Rowland shows how women on both sides belonged to the same "community of suffering." Moreover, she depicts how such depth of emotion might lead ordinary women to question and to challenge the rationale of war, at least inwardly, in contrast to the soldiers who were conditioned and driven by circumstances to place their faith in command:

*What if they'd all stopped the production line of death,
 left filling-factories empty, stayed unskilled with munitions,
 stopped birthing the shredded bones of young men?
 What if they had – at that point in history – said 'no'?
 ("Production lines", 59-62)*

*One day we will trade with them again, marry their sons
 that are left, and will it somehow have been right?
 (Second skin, 31-32)*

Of course, it is Rowland herself who asks these rhetorical questions from her perspective as a woman looking back at Gallipoli. No matter that the Allied and Turkish troops shared their breath across the trenches ("Close", p.38), no matter that their fates were closely intertwined, or that there was deeply felt empathy and respect between them, the slaughter continued brutal and unrelenting until the evacuation – for this was war and they were enemies, and a soldier had to kill

or be killed. No matter how much a woman might have questioned or grieved, she would have screamed her protest silently, for her country was at war and she could not deny her men the munitions that might keep them alive. This was the contemporary reality of Gallipoli. It is not possible to change history but, over time, it is possible to alter perceptions by hearing and transmitting all sides of a story, and showing that the truth is multi-faceted. The evolution of the Anzac myth to include the Turks as fellow heroes and fellow sufferers, rather than enemies, is evidence of this. Rowland prefaced *This Intimate War* with the words of a Gallipoli veteran: “We’re friends until the day we die and not just that – our families, our sons, grandsons ... it was a long time ago”. The spirit here is transnational, inclusive, and cognizant that shared experiences, deep emotions and fundamental values may draw people together, at a time and on a level where national differences have become unimportant. This does not mean that the carnage at Gallipoli has “somehow become right”. Rowland’s collection is not about changing the past, but about shaping the future. “The Folly of Myth: Prologue, 1915 (pp.20-29) makes this clear.

The poem, in three sections, gives an historical account of the naval battle at Çanakkale and the eight months war at Gallipoli, within the framework of a visit to the Naval Museum in Çimenlik Kalesi, repository of the spirit of Çanakkale, with three ten year old boys. The poem draws together many of the issues that have already been discussed in this paper in relation to other works in the collection. Rowland shows how myth can drive history, but how ignorance of the history of another culture can produce catastrophe. She evokes the classical education of the officers of the British imperial naval force, which had gathered at Tenedos, ready to sail into the Dardanelles Strait. She describes how they conceived of their expedition as a second Trojan War and of themselves as proudly following in the wake of the ancient Greek heroes. Then, she depicts the landings on the Gallipoli Peninsula, after the debacle of Çanakkale, and compares the *River Clyde*, from which the troops were disembarked, to the Trojan horse. There follows “a blaze of scarlet loss, a shredding wind of bullets” (p. 28, III, 24-25) – and eight months of carnage which provide devastating evidence of the folly of myth. In contemplating this narrative, and given that Rowland prefaces her collection with the following quotation from John Berger – “... *the past is not for living in*; it is a well of conclusions from which we draw in order to act” – the reader is drawn to make a connexion with the traditional Anzac myth, with its emphasis on masculine prowess and heroism and its classical referencing, and to perceive the dangers it might hold. This interpretation is further strengthened by the framework around the historical narrative. The three small boys are already drawn to the masculine vision of heroism. As they play in the grounds of the Castle and pose for photographs, the minds of the ten year olds, only a year or two younger than some of the child soldiers of Gallipoli, turn to: “...wars and heroic deeds. / Troy

is just down the road. Bone-house of heroes. / When my boy stood there he saw Achilles and Hector, / armies over a hundred thousand, blood on their spears” (p. 20, I, 12-15) On the other hand, the speaker, parent of sons; probably - given the emotions expressed - but not explicitly, a woman; probably, but not explicitly, Rowland herself, had reacted quite differently to the visit to Troy “... At that crumbled gate / Priam watched his son’s body dragged ragged behind horses. / I prayed to any god that my sons navigate manhood without war” (16-18). Similarly, at the end of the poem, the speaker, watching the small boys play on the grass, answers, from the future, the question posed in “Second skin” by the bereaved mothers of Gallipoli (p.96): - No, the conflict will never prove to have been right – “...You think of waste. And you know - / there never was a need for another Troy” (p. 28, III, 49-50). Towards the end of the collection, in “Ways of Seeing” (pp. 98-111), Rowland takes as her subject the Gallipoli sketches and paintings of L.F.S. Hore, Sidney Nolan and Fehmi Kokut Uluğ, artists of British, Australian and Turkish nationality respectively, which helped to inspire *This Intimate War*. She prefaces this haunting series of poems with another quote from John Berger which, as the above discussion has sought to illustrate, may be applied equally well to her own work: “*The strange power of art is sometimes it can show that what people have in common is more urgent than what differentiates them*” (p. 98).

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THE RISE AND FALL OF THE EUROPEAN DREAM

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Abstract

The European Dream is often portrayed as the benign if not benevolent counterpart to the fading American Dream. Yet, as economic historian Joseph Lough shows in this essay, the European and American dreams are linked by more than their shared embrace of free market capitalism. In this essay Professor Lough exposes the darker side of the European Dream, a side first expressed in the 1990s, but now fully revealed in Europe's conflict with Greece. As Professor Lough shows, this dark side of the European Dream was already present at its birth in the 19th century, when GWF Hegel allegorized its birth and diffusion through a story about the Self-Moving Substance that is Subject. This story has received mathematically rigorous validation through convergence theories of today's neoclassical and neo-liberal economists. Yet is total domination by this Self-Moving Substance inevitable, much less desirable? Professor Lough shows how Europe could adopt an alternative, more sustainable European Dream to meet today's pressing challenges.

Key words: Europe, European Dream, Hegel, Robert Lucas, Karl Marx, Capitalism, EU, European Central Bank, WTO, World Bank, IMF

Introduction

In the mythology that enshrouds the European Dream, Europe fashions itself a benign if not benevolent force, gradually enlarging itself at no member's expense and to all members' advantage. And, yet, throughout the 2000s this mythology has suffered from a steady series of reversals, of which Greece is only the latest. The European is often contrasted to the American Dream in a comparison that nearly always favours Europe.

The European Dream emphasizes community relationships over individual autonomy, cultural diversity over assimilation, quality of life over the accumulation of wealth, sustainable development over unlimited material growth, deep play over unrelenting toil, universal human rights and the rights of nature over property rights, and global cooperation over the unilateral exercise of power
(Rifkin 2004:3).

So wrote American economic and social theorist Jeremy Rifkin in 2004 in his appropriately enough titled book *The European Dream*. What I would like to suggest here is that the European and American Dreams have always born a far more intimate relationship to one another than either most Europeans or most Americans care to admit. At the very least they are wed together by their shared dependence on an economic system that in the final instance begs agnosticism over the fates of those whose lives, for better or worse, are governed by its mediations. On its surface the European Dream casts a profile that, while irresistible and, so, inevitable, is inviting but never forceful, always giving more than it takes and never eliminating the good that preceded its arrival. Nineteenth century German philosopher GWF Hegel is the herald of this benevolent Spirit, occupying territory only when it is invited and, even then, only when it finds in its beloved object a narcissistic image of itself. Yet, if Hegel is its herald, then surely the European Dream's economist is the University of Chicago's Robert E Lucas, Jr, the elder statesman of neoliberal orthodoxy. For it is Lucas (and not Francis Fukuyama) whose rigorous mathematical modelling shows why and how the European Dream must, of necessity, gain complete and final supremacy over all the Earth.

The intimate relationship between the European and American Dreams goes beyond the economic system they share. When in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Great Britain unwillingly ceded rights over the world economy to its former colony, the bargain included a clause that required the US to underwrite the twin fatalities — World Wars I and II — that lay just barely beyond the horizon. When Great Britain and Germany destroyed one another's industrial capacity in World War I, it fell to the United States (and more specifically to JP Morgan) to re-establish their industrial ca-

capacity. And when they did so again barely twenty years later, again it was the United States that, for admittedly less than completely benevolent reasons, stepped in to bail them out. The European Dream was, in this sense, stamped “Made in U.S.A.” Its fortunes were tied to the returns on America’s already vast and growing neo-imperialist holdings. Should these falter, the dream could easily morph into a nightmare.

What follows is a highly stylized account of the European Dream. Fellow economists will likely find it too thin on data and models. Policy makers will likely find it too thin on historical and institutional detail. On both counts, I am inclined to agree. Yet, notwithstanding these disabilities, the following account has value. For I believe that it does successfully explain the dark side of the European Dream, not as a momentary or ephemeral anomaly, which, during better times, will dissipate in the warmth of the Sun, but as a feature necessarily immanent to the European project as such. Having cast its lot with the weal and woe of economic efficiency, the driving force behind economic growth, Europe cannot help but discipline those whom it judges less efficient; Greece today, Portugal tomorrow, but eventually each and every community that fails to fall into line. This was the logic that nearly two centuries ago Hegel already perceived and portrayed allegorically in his story about the ever-narcissistic Self-Moving Substance that is Subject. Karl Marx then picked up on Hegel’s verse, translating it first into a story about every oppressed class in history, but finally into a story about the self-generating and regenerating powers of capital itself. In its earlier form, Marx hailed every working class as the emancipatory agent of history. In its final form, however, Marx perceived in this Subject a picture of domination debilitating precisely on account of its success.

The course of our account proceeds as follows. We will first review the broad historical contours that led, first to the transfer of title from Great Britain to America, but then the re-gifting of this title back to Europe and to the world in the closing decades of the twentieth century. Our aim here is to show how the European Dream was always already tied to economic mechanisms and processes that, at least initially, were loudly disavowed by its architects. We then proceed to a critical assessment of the Hegelian trope out of which the European Dream first emerged. As I have shown elsewhere, this trope begs to be interpreted in a light cast on it by the rigorous mathematical modelling of contemporary neoclassical and neoliberal economists. If, as I contend, Hegel’s story about the Self-Moving Substance is an allegory, it may be valuable for us to explore the economics behind this story. To this end I show how Robert E Lucas, Jr’s rigorous mathematical modelling casts light on and so sets in relief the topography of this otherwise opaque Hegelian trope. In our concluding section I explore some alternatives to what has often been cast as the inevitable, inescapable trajectory of the European Dream. Is Europe and its

dream destined to tumble headlong down the hole it has created, or might there be another path forward towards the fulfilment of an alternate European Dream?

Our story begins more ominously with the twin fatalities, World Wars I and II, and dream that emerged out of its ashes.

The Long Boom and Its Sequel

Many economists have described the broad contours of the twentieth century global economy (Frieden 2006; Brenner 2006; Arrighi 2009). For the narrative that follows, I am depending principally on Robert Brenner's *Economics of Global Turbulence* (2006) and Jeffrey Frieden's *Global Capitalism* (2006). These accounts are important for our purposes because they establish the historically and socially specific character of the European Dream. With roots extending as far back as the eighteenth century, this dream owes its specific form to two factors: the massive destruction of human and fixed capital in the European wars of 1914-1945 and the unprecedented transfer of wealth from Great Britain to the United States over the course of this same period. The massive destruction of capital brought Europeans to adopt a cynical view of the political and economic institutions that had left their nations vulnerable to these twin catastrophes. The unprecedented transfer of wealth from Great Britain to the United States meant that following the European wars the United States was operating at near full industrial capacity, enjoying near full employment. But this also presented a huge dilemma. With Europe's economies a complete shambles, where would the economic growth come from sufficient to purchase the commodities being pumped out at a record pace by the United States' economy? For the moment, demand from domestic consumers was sufficiently robust to sustain the United States' unprecedented growth. Yet, without global consumer demand no one was so foolish as to believe that such growth was sustainable.

All told, the US sent roughly \$13.5 billion to Europe to rebuild its industrial capacity and sent another half billion to Japan to do the same (Frieden 267). For our purposes the volume of US aid is less significant than what such aid signified: the transfer of global economic power from Great Britain and Germany to the United States and the transfer of the rights to regulate global markets from London to Washington (Arrighi 284-285). Of course, as Giovanni Arrighi has noted, this transfer of rights was long in the making. By the turn of the century smart British money was already heavily invested in a booming US economy (Arrighi 270). The British drive to compete with Germany over armaments production only accelerated this trend. By the end of the Great War, Arrighi notes, "most of the \$9 billion of US net war credits was owed by . . . Britain and France; but more

than 75 per cent of Britain's \$3.3 billion of net war credits was owed by bankrupt (and revolutionary) Russia and had to be largely written off" (Arrighi 271). When added to the astronomical debt Great Britain accumulated during World War II, the combined total helps to explain why US Treasury official Harry Dexter White and not his famous British counterpart, John Maynard Keynes, held all the cards (and Keynes none) when the two nations sorted out the financial order that would govern global commerce following the war (Frieden 256-259).

Still, it is noteworthy how Europe spent its \$13.5 billion reconstruction money, not only or even primarily on aid earmarked for its gutted private industrial sector, but on a huge infusion of capital destined to create and reinforce a major expansion of Europe's social franchise. Indeed, in what counts as one of the greatest ironies of the post-World War II epoch, Europeans spent US aid on social goods that no American President or Congress would ever spend on their own constituencies. And herein Europe created a constellation of social efficiencies — in education, transportation, health care, and housing — that would eventually give its nations a competitive edge against their erstwhile patrons, the citizens of the United States of America. For eventually Europe's and Japan's industrial base recovered. And when they did European and Japanese goods, heavily subsidized by the vast social franchise that their nations erected following the war (almost entirely with US dollars), began to compete successfully against US manufactured goods. In this sense, the European Dream was clearly stamped "Made in U.S.A."

What happened next came as an entire surprise only to those who believed (mistakenly it turns out) that the global economy had outgrown its dependence upon sound Keynesian macroeconomic principles. Once again, ironies abound. At the very moment that one Nobel Prize winning economist after another were delivering "exultant obituaries on destructive capitalist economic instability" the bottom fell out of the market (Brenner 1). Arthur Okun, a top Kennedy-Johnson advisor, had just declared recessions "obsolete" and "preventable, like airplane crashes" (cited in Brenner 1). Even supposing that Okun was correct in principle, neither he nor anyone in charge of monetary or fiscal policy in the US could have prevented Germany and Japan from taking advantage of their relative competitive advantages over the United States and consequently driving prices down on global markets. As Robert Brenner points out, however, what was at issue in this global competitive cycle was not the rise of European at the expense of US industry. What was at issue was the rates of profit investors enjoyed worldwide who suddenly discovered that the decline in profit margins brought on by global competition hit all national economies simultaneously (Brenner 122-142). The long downturn had begun.

If the European Dream took shape in the aftermath of World War II's unprecedented destruction of human and fixed capital, the first faint flickers of the nightmare that was to follow appeared at the very moment when Europeans were making that dream a reality.

The first real shock to Europe came in 1971 in the form of a troubling devaluation of the US dollar, a response to declining rates of profit, escalating unemployment, and declining purchasing power. Fearful of suffering at the polls in the upcoming election, President Nixon took the dollar off the Gold Standard. The results were instantaneous: a 10 per cent drop in the dollar's value, which, in effect, imposed a 10 per cent import tax on foreign producers (Frieden 341). Suddenly consumers in Japanese and European markets found it more economical to purchase US manufactured goods. Momentarily the US economic decline was halted. Yet since it was based neither on an increase in efficiency nor a decline in costs, the fix was temporary. And so set in a decade-long decent into what economists were beginning to call "stagflation," a simultaneous increase in inflation, but without the benefit of economic growth.

Of course throughout this American drama, member nations in the European Common Market did not sit idly by. In 1979, after nearly a decade of bickering, but fearful that they too could be socked with monetary instability, EC members formed the European Monetary System, a precursor to the European Union's future common currency (Frieden 371). Japan, by contrast, enjoyed few avenues through which it could recapture efficiencies lost through global competition. As Robert Brenner notes, "by early 1975, both industrial output and capacity utilization were down more than 20 per cent from their levels of early 1973. By the end of 1975, manufacturing employment (in terms of hours) had fallen by no less than 12 per cent from its level of 1973" (Brenner 171). Germany fared equally poorly throughout the 1970s. As Brenner notes "because German exports actually fell with the collapse of world growth and demand, manufacturing profitability dropped 23 per cent" (Brenner 180).

Between 1973 and 1979, [Germany's] manufacturing gross capital stock grew less than one third as fast as it had during the 1960s and early 1970s, plunging to an average annual rate of just 2 per cent (1.85 per cent between 1975 and 1979), compared to 6.4 per cent between 1960 and 1973, and manufacturing investment stagnated, continuing a trend that had begun between 1969 and 1973. Such a profound drop in the growth of capital stock and investment sapped the economy's vitality (Brenner 180).

The quest upon which all of the global economies set out in earnest was how to restore these 4 to 6 per cent growth rates to which global competition had laid waste over the course of the preceding decade. Monetary union and currency de-

valuation were but partial, temporary, and ultimately unsustainable solutions. What was needed was an actual increase in productivity itself. The response to this need for increases in productivity has a name. It was Chairman of the US Federal Reserve Board Paul Volcker. In 1979, Volcker increased short-term interest rates from 10 to 20 per cent and with this adjustment “stagflation” came to an end (Frieden 372). Not to be outdone, the world’s other leading industrial powers quickly followed suit (Frieden 373), but at a prohibitively high cost.

By the summer of 1982, the US economy, subjected to the monetarist medicine since 1979, was reeling from the resulting recession. Pulled down by record high real interest rates, capacity utilization plummeted and manufacturing profitability fell 10 per cent below its level of 1978, leaving it 54 per cent below its level of 1973 and more than 70 per cent below its level of 1965. Unemployment (at 11 per cent), bankruptcies, and bank failures reached levels hitherto unapproached during the postwar epoch (Brenner 195).

Similar consequences followed in Europe’s largest industrial economy, Germany, where “the return to full capacity utilization was thus accompanied by an 8.4 per cent rate of unemployment, almost double the 4.8 per cent rate that prevailed at the end of the 1970s” (Brenner 231). More ominously, reports Brenner, “the increase of the manufacturing capital stock, already sharply reduced in the 1970s, fell significantly further, to an average annual rate of just 1.4 per cent between 1979 and 1990, from an already low 2.0 per cent between 1973 and 1979” (Brenner 231).

The long downturn in the US nevertheless differed, at least initially, from the long downturn in Europe. Where the US economy picked up efficiencies by eliminating the social safety net for millions of American families, citizens of Europe were not as yet prepared to elect political leaders who, in their judgment, would reproduce the social inequalities and political instabilities on which most Europeans still blamed the twin catastrophes of the early and mid twentieth century. Better to sacrifice a modicum of efficiency than risk economic inequality, social unrest, and perhaps even war. And, no doubt, it was in part this difference between the US and Great Britain, on the one hand, and continental Europe, on the other, that accounts for the profoundly different experiences of the 1990s enjoyed by nations on one side of the Channel and the other.

Where the US and Great Britain forged ahead, deregulating markets, reducing tax burdens, and eliminating social safety nets for the most needy members of their communities, most Europeans were still sufficiently mindful of the social causes for World Wars I and II to cast votes to maintain their costly social welfare systems. Eventually, however, the apparent rebound and stability of the US economy during the 1990s had the effect of convincing even the hard-nosed Germans that

some measure of neoliberal tinkering with their social welfare state combined with an easing of taxes and regulations could do much good without causing too much harm. Thus, with America and Great Britain in the lead, the so-called “Washington consensus” eased its way also into Europe.

At this point in the story, many scholars would want to call attention to the three events that punctuated the first decade of the twenty-first century: the bursting of the dot com bubble in 2000, the terrorist attack on the US Pentagon and New York World Trade Center in 2001 and the Great Recession of 2006. Yet, from our vantage point these events are far less important than the collapse of Soviet-style Communism in 1989 and the subsequent spread of neoliberal orthodoxy among successor republics during the 1990s and 2000s. Even if we acknowledge a relationship among these events — such that, for example, the efficiencies earned by neo-colonialist invasions in the 1990s are somehow held distantly responsible for the rise of radical Islam — what is noteworthy about the world’s response to these fatalities is how closely they hew to a neoliberal line drawn up in Washington. Neither the collapse of tech stocks in 2000 nor the Great Recession of 2006 provoked anything close to the Glass-Steagall Banking Act of 1933. Nor did the terrorist attack upon the centers of US military and commercial power bring policy makers to question the wisdom of neo-imperialist policies throughout the Islamic world. To the contrary, as George Steinmetz has noted, these fatalities instead provoked a further assault on the freedoms, liberties, wages and benefits of working families in the US. The efficiencies won by these repressive policies, what Steinmetz calls “authoritarian post-Fordism” (Steinmetz 2003), were no doubt quite substantial. But, notwithstanding the flood of critiques authored by mainstream economists of the policy choices leading up to 2006 (Krugman 2009; Stiglitz 2010; Sachs 2009; Reich 2008), there is no evidence that the social and political fragmentation or violent global responses to neoliberal policies has led policy makers to question the essential soundness of the path they have chosen. To the contrary, as the social, political, and economic fabric of communities from the Baltics to the Balkans, from Greece to Syria, and from Western China to Pakistan comes unraveled, policy makers have responded by tightening the screws even further. At what cost to the European Dream?

GWF Hegel’s Dream

If the European Dream has an author it would probably be the 19th century German philosopher GWF Hegel. If it has an economist, that economist would probably be the University of Chicago’s Robert E Lucas, Jr. Both Hegel and Lucas theorize a world

where antagonism gives way to understanding, war gives way to commerce, and the anarchy of competing laws, cultures, languages, and regulations gives way to a singular, uniform, yet highly differentiated and flexible universal system of complementary laws, regulations, and understandings. Lucas does not so much challenge Hegel's dream as lend it mathematical rigor and substance. Historically, of course, Europe is an anomaly. How likely was it that Europe, the backwater of global civilization, where each hamlet constituted its own miniature kingdom and where the uniformity of laws and regulations vanished with the retreat of Rome; how likely was it that this polyglot of languages, regulations, political fiefdoms, cultures and religions would in less than three centuries grow into the dominant force operating in the world?

One popular eighteenth century answer to this question was penned by arguably that century's most famous economist, Adam Smith. According to Smith, global convergence was a matter of simple, straightforward economic efficiency. Those nations enjoying the greatest advantages in efficiency would clearly and easily win out in the competition among nations over those that were less efficient. Eventually these less efficient nations would either fall into line, adopting the same efficiencies operating in the leading nations, or they would be conquered and disappear.

This answer did not sit well with GWF Hegel. For it seemed to offer no explanation for the ultimate goal of such productive activity — mere global supremacy? — or for the reason why, after centuries and millennia of less than efficient production, societies should suddenly feel that this was their sole or primary aim. Through a life-long study of other peoples and places around the globe, Hegel was keenly aware of the spectacular diversity of ways and understandings human beings engaged with and interpreted their worlds. Clearly something unprecedented was taking shape in Europe. Europeans now occupied all corners of the globe. Their command of the natural and theoretical sciences was without equal in history. Could such global dominance be credited simply to superior efficiencies or superior military might? Did might make right?

Such questions inspired Hegel to delve deeper into the question of global convergence. Adam Smith had answered these questions pragmatically. Human beings have a "propensity to truck, barter, and exchange one thing for another" (Smith 25). Nor was Smith the least curious over why they enjoyed this propensity. "Whether [it] be one of those original principles in human nature, of which no further account can be given; or whether, as seems more probable, it be the necessary consequence of the faculties of reason and speech, it belongs not to our present subject to enquire" (Smith 25). For Hegel, by contrast, such an assertion appeared to place efficiency in the role of dictating right, a position that only decades later would be vigorously

defended by British utilitarians such as Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. Was it possible that freedom was subject to necessity, reason to utility, mind to matter?

No, it was not. In fact, Hegel speculated, reason and right had always been the driving force behind human development. Yes, whenever communities met they exchanged. What they exchanged, however, was far more than the goods they had produced. They also exchanged cultural artifacts, traditions and understandings about how things worked; they exchanged and compared religious and moral ideas, and they shared specific judgments respecting the beautiful and the good. Efficiency belonged in this mix, but it was far from the sole or even the primary determining factor. To illustrate this point and to distinguish his interpretation from those now on offer by French and British political economists, Hegel called attention to the private producer, the private member of civil society.

In civil society, each individual is his own end, and all else means nothing to him. But he cannot accomplish the full extent of his ends without reference to others; these others are therefore means to the end of the particular [person]. But through its reference to others, the particular end takes on the form of universality, and gains satisfaction by simultaneously satisfying the welfare of others (Hegel 1991:220).

On first blush, Hegel's view appears to differ little from Smith's. The division of labour creates efficiencies for all concerned (Smith 6). For Hegel, however, since it is only when we act with and for others that we realize efficiencies, the universal takes precedence over the individual.

The selfish end in its actualization, conditioned in this way by universality, establishes a system of all-round interdependence, so that the subsistence [Subsistenz] and welfare of the individual [des Einzelnen] and his rightful existence [Dasein] are interwoven with, and grounded on, the subsistence, welfare, and rights of all, and have actuality and security only in this context (Hegel 1991:221).

Moreover, not only does individuality, whether by itself or with others, lack the universal vantage point necessary to appreciate how all individuals work together, individuality, Hegel finds, is ultimately self-destructive.

Particularity in itself [für sich], on the one hand indulging itself in all directions as it satisfies its needs, contingent arbitrariness, and subjective caprice, destroys itself and its substantial concept in the act of enjoyment; on the other hand, as infinitely agitated and continually dependent on external contingency and arbitrariness and at the same time limited by the power of universality, the satisfaction of both necessary and contingent needs is itself contingent (Hegel 1991:222).

What is still missing, according to Hegel, is a grasp of the whole, of all of the mutual dependencies, of their effects on one another, and an appreciation for the shared goal toward which this whole is moving.

In this situation, the interest of the Idea, which is not present in the consciousness of these members of

civil society as such, is the process whereby their individuality [Einzelheit] and naturalness are raised, both by natural necessity and by their arbitrary needs, to formal freedom and formal universality of knowledge and volition, and subjectivity is educated in its particularity (Hegel 1991:224).

That is to say, the individual comes to understand that his or her freedom is predicated upon grasping how his or her actions are related to the actions and knowledge of those with whom he or she has to do. And this, in turn, is predicated upon the education or training that enables individuals to appreciate this universal. For clearly, it is not the individual labourer or even the individual merchant who grasps this universal. As illustrated by the difficulty British political economists displayed thinking about anything beyond private enterprise, members of civil society could only appreciate that they were dependent on one another; not how or why. This, for Hegel, helped to explain why education was so critical an element in economic growth and integration.

Education, in its absolute determination, is therefore liberation and work towards a higher liberation; it is the absolute transition to the infinitely subjective substantiality of ethical life, which is no longer immediate and natural, but spiritual and at the same time raised to the shape of universality (1991:225).

Here then is the European Dream. But to what end? It was in answering this question that Hegel differentiated himself most decisively from French and British political economists for whom the production of wealth was reason enough to justify work. Not so Hegel.

The universal and objective aspect of work consists, however, in that[process of] abstraction which confers a specific character on means and needs and hence also on production, so giving rise to the division of labour. Through this division, the work of the individual [des Einzelnen] becomes simpler, so that his skill at his abstract work becomes greater, as does the volume of his output. At the same time, this abstraction of skill and means makes the dependence and reciprocity of human beings in the satisfaction of their other needs complete and entirely necessary. Furthermore, the abstraction of production makes work increasingly mechanical, so that the human being is eventually able to step aside and let a machine take his place (Hegel 1991:232-233).

At first Hegel's analysis seems nearly identical to Smith's. The division of labour leads to the simplification of each task. Such simplification makes it possible to develop machines to replace human labour. Yet, where Smith's analysis leads no further than the relatively greater wealth produced on account of these efficiencies, Hegel sees another, more commendable goal: freedom from the necessity of work. That such a goal cannot be appreciated from the vantage point of the individual labourer or merchant, that all she or he sees is the immediate task set before her or before him, is credited to their inability or reluctance to consider the universal in light of which alone the system as a whole makes sense. Reason was always driving this process from the beginning of time. Yet, in order for us to grasp this reason we

needed first to climb outside of ourselves, educate ourselves, and so gain a vantage point from which to view the whole.

But how should we characterize the whole from whose vantage point this comprehensive, integration of all social, political, and cultural reality was taking shape? Elsewhere Hegel identified this vantage point as the Self-Moving Substance that is Subject.

Everything turns on grasping and expressing the True, not only as Substance, but equally as Subject. . . . Further, the living Substance is Being which is in truth Subject, or, what is the same, is in truth actual only in so far as it is the movement of positing itself, or is the mediation of its self-othering with itself. . . . It is the process of its own becoming, the circle that presupposes its end as its goal, having its end also as its beginning; and only by being worked out to its end, is it actual (Hegel 1977:10).

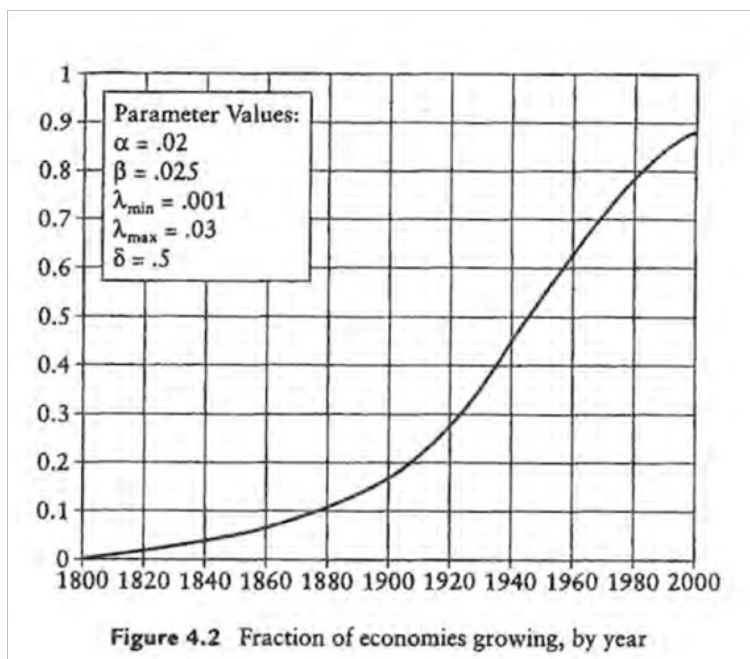
Like nearly all nineteenth century European thinkers, Hegel was eager to establish that Europe was not an anomaly. Europe was the end of history, its culmination, its goal. Yet, in order to establish this fact, it was necessary to show that the appearance of Europe enjoyed ontologically fundamental status. Europe was not an afterthought. It was not the accidental product of self-interest, however enlightened. Rather was Europe — its integration, its rationality, its coherence, and increasingly the global scope of its imperial conquests — this Europe was substantive, irrefutable proof of the Self-Moving Substance that is Subject, the patron of European exceptionalism.

We will return to this Hegelian trope in a moment. Suffice it to say, however, that stripped of its metaphysical pretensions, Hegel's analysis falls not far from contemporary theories respecting global economic, social, and political convergence. And perhaps no theorist tells this part of the story better than Robert E Lucas, Jr., elder statesman of the University of Chicago's neoclassical empire.

Lucas adds mathematical rigor

Since I have already covered the intimate relationship between Lucas' and Hegel's interpretive frameworks elsewhere (Lough 2014), I will limit my remarks here to Lucas' discussion of economic convergence in an essay titled "Some Macroeconomics for the Twenty-First Century" (Lucas 2002). In this essay Lucas aims to model the tendency of incomes around the globe to converge. According to Lucas, this convergence shows that from an initial singularity limited to Great Britain in 1800, nearly all nations will by 2020 experience incomes and economic growth converging upon a universal, global singularity. Nor is Lucas unaware of the mechanisms driving all nations toward this convergence. Like Hegel, Lucas grants education and

knowledge pride of place. “An economy departs from stagnant equilibrium and begins to grow when the world stock of knowledge attains a critical level” (Lucas 100), writes Lucas. Moreover, the growth and income of any individual economy depends upon the growth exhibited by the whole. “The probability that a stagnant economy begins to industrialize depends on the level of world income, which in turn depends on the past experience of the growing economies” (Lucas 101). Even when the rate of convergence begins to slow toward the end of the 20th century, this is “only because there are so few people left in stagnant, pre-industrial economies. According to the figure [reproduced below], almost 90 per cent of the world is now growing” (Lucas 102). Hegel’s Self-Moving Substance is becoming both actual. It has become in truth substance.



Several assumptions underlie Lucas’ model, which he has adopted and revised from Robert Tamura (1990, 1994, 1996). In a manner consistent with Hegel’s interpretation, Lucas allows that “knowledge produced anywhere benefits producers everywhere” (Lucas 103). Lucas also finds Parente and Prescott’s observations respecting political interference helpful. “Governments in the unsuccessful economies can adopt the institutions and policies of the successful ones, removing what Parente and Prescott (1994) call ‘barriers to growth’” (Lucas 103). Lucas’ model also emphasizes “diminishing returns and the flow of resources: High wages in the successful economies lead to capital flows to the unsuccessful economies, increasing their income levels” (Lucas 103). Yet, for Lucas, “the much more interesting implication of the model is that convergence is unconditional” (Lucas 104). “It predicts,” writes Lucas,

“that sooner or later everyone will join the industrial revolution, that all economies will grow at the rate common to the wealthiest economies, and that percentage differences in income levels will disappear” (Lucas 106).

But what is perhaps most noteworthy about both Hegel’s and Lucas’ descriptions of global convergence is what they do not tell us. Neither, for example, explores the human cost entailed in convergence. For presumably as all communities converge into a globally extensive, rational, and comprehensive totality, cultural and legal differences, linguistic idiosyncrasies, purely local customs and practices — call them “barriers to growth” — will have either to be rationalized or eliminated. Nor are we without some knowledge as to what might be entailed in the elimination of these barriers. For such is the story of colonialism in the 18th and imperialism in the 19th and 20th centuries. There are reasons why Great Britain is the lone nation experiencing growth in 1800 and why patterns of diffusion of growth in the 19th and 20th centuries follow fairly closely the paths hewn by imperial conquerors. Between 1800 and 2020 — between T1 and Tn — entire civilizations and whole peoples will be eliminated from the face of the earth in the creation of what could be called the European Dream.

Marx’s Bad Dream

At the very point where Lucas’ model shows a dramatic uptick in the diffusion of the industrial model and a rapid increase in global economic convergence — during the first half of the 19th century — Karl Marx was taking a second look at Hegel’s Self-Moving Substance that is Subject. Until that point, Marx had been fairly certain that the Self-Moving Substance that Hegel identified was not the *Weltgeist* or World Spirit of history, but was instead the dialectically material underclass of every generation, clashing with and then superseding its retrograde oppressor. It was not the Spirit that was first differentiating itself from and then returning to itself; it was the industrial working class.

Whenever real, corporeal man, man with his feet finally on the solid ground, man exhaling and inhaling all the forces of nature, establishes his real, objective essential powers as alien objects by his externalization, it is not the act of positing which is the subject in this process: it is the subjectivity of objective essential powers, whose action, therefore, must also be something objective. A being who is objective acts objectively, and he would not act objectively if the objective did not reside in the very nature of his being. He creates or establishes only objects, because he is established by objects —because at bottom he is nature. In the act of establishing, therefore, this objective being does not fall from his state of “pure activity” into a creating of the object; on the contrary, his objective product only confirms his objective activity, establishing his activity as the activity of an objective, natural being (Marx 1988: 153-154).

From this vantage point, Marx might have agreed with Lucas, except that where Lucas theorizes the global movement and universalization of capital, Marx theorizes the global movement and universalization of objective, object-creative, labour. Or so Marx thought in 1844 when he penned his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts. By 1867, however, Marx had changed his tune to one far more in harmony with Lucas' theory.

Where in 1844, Marx had viewed labour as the Self-Moving Substance that is Subject, the globalizing and universalizing force of history, by 1867 he agreed with Lucas and credited capital with this role; or, more specifically, he credited the value form of capital.

[Value] is constantly changing from one form [the money form] into the other [the commodity form], without becoming lost in this movement; it thus becomes transformed into an automatic subject. If we pin down the specific forms of appearance assumed in turn by self-valorizing value in the course of its life, we reach the following elucidation: capital is money, capital is commodities. In truth, however, value is here the subject of a process in which, while constantly assuming the form in turn of money and commodities, it changes its own magnitude, throws off surplus-value from itself considered as original value, and thus valorizes itself independently. . . . But now, in the circulation M—C—M, value suddenly presents itself as a self-moving substance which passes through a process of its own, and for which commodities and money are both mere forms (Marx 1982: 255,256).

And why is this change of mind significant? It is significant because whereas Marx in 1844 was just as transfixed by the European Dream as any 19th century European thinker, by 1867 he was far less enamoured. Yes, as Lucas would later prove with rigorous mathematical modelling, capital was knitting together all social, economic, political, and cultural reality into a comprehensive, universal, yet dynamic and highly differentiated, rational whole. Yet, by 1867 Marx was far less certain that this was a good thing. Indeed, by 1867 Marx was inclined to feel that this was not the good news, but the bad news.

If, as we have suggested, the European Dream projects a benign universalism that gently embraces all social and cultural forms into its benevolent emancipatory narrative, we now know that this narrative has a dark side. In the decades following World War II, awash on a sea of cheap and easy capital, it was easy for Europe to downplay this less than benevolent dimension of its Dream. Europe after all was already well on its way to shedding its pre-war colonial holdings and transferring the responsibilities of global security to the United States of America. Moreover, unlike the American Dream, which only with great reluctance expanded its social franchise to include the elderly, unemployed, children and the poor, Europeans by contrast warmly embraced a sweeping social franchise that included education, health, housing, transportation and retirement security for all, apparently without

the least awareness that these goods were available to them only by leave of their larger than life free market benefactor, the United States of America. It was therefore only as Europe's and Japan's economies recovered and their goods began to compete successfully against goods "Made in U.S.A." that downward pressures on wages and prices began to place downward pressures as well on Europe's extravagant social franchise.

The first faint signs of this dark side of the European Dream came to light in the 1980s when downward pressures on wages and prices not only brought student and labour unrest back to the streets of Europe, but lent to this unrest a right-wing, explicitly neo-fascist tilt. Jean-Marie Le Pen's Front National was only the most visible, but also the most benign, of these reinvigorated neo-fascist movements whose overall effect on voting patterns was that they pushed all political platforms sharply to the right. They made nationalism, racism, and anti-Semitism respectable again. When in the 1990s the neoliberal gospel spread throughout newly liberated eastern Europe and Russia, the wide swath of destruction it left in its path — unprecedented unemployment, crime, government corruption, and social upheaval (Klein 2007:275-354) — were loudly trumpeted as the price newly capitalist nations had to pay to gain entry into the growing club of free market nations. Not even a genocidal war in south central Europe — the consequence of a decade of privatizations, deregulation, auctions of public assets, plant closures, and inconceivably high unemployment (Roland 2000; Lowinger 2009)— were sufficient to bring Europe's caretakers to question the neoliberal inflection of their new economic policies and regulations. Political culture in Western Europe and the Eurozone were shifting violently to the right. The social fabric of eastern and southern Europe was coming unravelled. And, yet, the response of the EU, the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO was not debt relief or forgiveness, but more privatizations, more austerity, and more auctions of publicly owned assets.

Obviously this is not what is generally meant by the "European Dream." And, yet, if the story we have outlined here is correct, then the European Dream was always already deeply indebted to an economic project with a very low tolerance for difference. The Self-Moving Substance that is Subject that enveloped the globe in the decades following World War II appeared at first blush benign if not benevolent. Yet, as Marx pointed out already in the 1860s, its ultimate aim was far less innocent. It would stop at nothing short of total global domination, which now, according to Lucas, it has very nearly achieved.

An Alternative Dream

This is not to say that matters might not have turned out differently. Consider, for example, the declining rates of profit investors enjoyed when in the mid-1960s Germany and Japan got back into the game. As the French economist Thomas Piketty has recently reminded us, rates of growth beyond 1 per cent are an historical anomaly (Piketty 72-73). Even Lucas, whose neoliberal credentials are beyond dispute, willingly admits as much, when, in the conclusion of his afore-mentioned essay, he asks:

How did the world economy of today, with its vast differences in income levels and growth rates, emerge from the world of two centuries ago, in which the richest and the poorest societies had incomes differing by perhaps a factor of two, and in which no society had ever enjoyed sustained growth in living standards? (Lucas 106)

Assuming for the moment that a sufficient number of policy-makers enjoyed a similar epiphany at the outset of the 1970s, and assuming that rather than search for ways to sustain the 4 to 6 per cent returns investors enjoyed in the 1950s and 1960s they instead opted for a redistribution of efficiencies downward and outward, it would then have been theoretically possible for workers in the developed world to ease their way into Hegel's fantasy of stepping aside and letting machines take their place. The result surely would have been an initial overall contraction in global economic growth, a leveling off at Piketty's recommended 1 to 1.5 per cent growth annually (Piketty 74-75). And, yet, the effect might have been a fresh lease on freedom.

Or let us further suppose that, as Jeremy Rifkin has postulated, the European Dream "emphasizes community relationships over individual autonomy, cultural diversity over assimilation" (Rifkin 3). Such, I would argue, are admirable ideals. Nor were they lacking from the blueprints proposed at the creation of the European Dream. Yet, within the framework of neoclassical economics, every purely local particularity, every cultural specificity, every legal or regulatory exception, introduces an efficiency-sapping distortion into the overall system. Communities are fine things. Yet, when parents show a preference for children or the elderly over work, or when traditional religious holidays or local celebrations intrude upon the working day, they necessarily draw upon efficiencies created elsewhere. Lucas' growth model shows that whenever we emphasize community relationships over individual autonomy, this emphasis introduces distortions into normal patterns of growth. Social, legal, and cultural particularities pose "barriers to growth."

Readers will recall how much we heard in the 1970s and 1980s about the

burdens social programs, taxes, and government regulations placed on economic growth. No doubt, there was much truth in these claims. And, yet, our response need not have been a reduction of the tax burden shouldered by industry or wealth, a reduction in social spending, or an easing of government regulation. Our response might have been that, since they contributed to a world worth sharing, such burdens were well worth the 4 or 5 percentage points of growth that their elimination would produce for investors.

Or, let us take another, more contemporary example: Greece 2015. Again, we could subject European policy toward Greece to a cynical Machiavellian rational choice matrix, where politicians in France and Germany and managers of the European Central Bank and World Bank calculate the political and economic costs of debt relief or forgiveness and stack these costs up against the floods of refugees and the price-tag of possible military operations that almost certainly will result from imposing further austerity measures on Greece. This, as we have seen, is the dark side of the Europe Dream, where investor returns and corporate welfare are protected at all costs, even if they threaten the viability of Europe itself. An alternative would be to reinforce and protect the administrative mechanisms in Greece charged with enforcing the tax code and collecting revenues from its oligarchs. Combined with targeted debt relief or forgiveness, such policies might bring us closer to something approximating Rifkin's European Dream. In this case, however, the net efficiencies lost or earned are much clearer. For, as Gerard Roland has shown, there is a huge cost to be paid where weak governments insufficiently protected from oligarchic corruption and crime are granted charge over the affairs of state (Roland 328-334). When, by contrast, we strengthen public institutions and independent governing mechanisms, contrary to predictions based on neoliberal assumptions, society earns huge net efficiencies in return.

Conclusion

The European Dream, I have argued, is inseparable from the dream of universal global hegemony after which it was initially modelled. Hegel's allegory is now Greece's nightmare. Ignoring this fact will not make it go away. Nor will it prevent this nightmare from spreading first to the volatile regions on Europe's periphery, but then and finally to Europe's core states as well. The question is: how shall we then proceed?

Let us assume for a moment that Marx's reinterpretation of the Hegelian trope is in most points accurate. Let us assume that Lucas' rigorous mathematical modelling captures this point. Only as we eliminate cultural, social, religious, and

legal particularities, only as we fashion a comprehensive, integrated, rational, and completely unified world; only then will the entire world benefit from the efficiencies that today only some small number of individuals enjoy. But let us also assume, with Lucas, that the ultimate goal of our collective productive activity is not this or that good, this or that service or benefit, but is instead, as Marx showed, value itself. And, with this in mind, let us now ask how much value is sufficient for any individual investor. How many zeros would any of us add to the value of our investment portfolios? How much is enough?

It was in recognition of the validity of these questions that an aging Marx was brought to reconsider the formula to which he owed his fame: the labour theory of value. In fact, Marx had lifted this formula more or less directly from the pages of none other than Adam Smith.

The value of any commodity, therefore, to the person who possesses it, and who means not to use or consume it himself, but to exchange it for other commodities, is equal to the quantity of labour which it enables him to purchase or command. Labour, therefore, is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities (Smith 1776:47).

But whereas Marx had once counted this an ironclad law, as sure and irrefutable as any law of physics, the aging Marx now questioned its immutability. Why, in spite of extraordinary technological advances, had human beings not seen fit or even capable of stepping aside, as Hegel had imagined, and installing machines in their place? Was it simply a matter of time? Eventually human beings would cash in on the efficiencies of mechanization. Or was something else impeding this final step towards freedom?

But then it occurred to Marx that if the human appetite for value was infinite and yet their capacity to work finite, then they never will reach that point when more will be enough. As already noted, 1 or 1.5 per cent growth may be the maximum rate our world can sustain (Piketty 74-75). Yet clearly our appetites for value are such that only rates of 4 to 5 per cent or greater will satisfy our desire, even if such rates of growth end up destroying our communities and eventually our planet. To what then shall we credit this ultimately self-destructive compulsion for more?

Marx believed he had an answer, but it was an answer that overturned everything he had written up until that point. Let us suppose, suggested Marx, that we are not the author of this insatiable appetite. Let us suppose rather that Hegel was correct and that his Self-Moving Substance that is Subject is in fact the author of this bottomless compulsion for more. Upon what does this irrepressible Subject feed? What propels it forward uncontrollably until it has destroyed everything in its

path? And then it hit Marx right between the eyes. The answer was labour. Hegel's Self-Moving Substance feeds upon labour. As this is so, reasoned Marx, the only sure way to rid the earth of this self-destructive compulsion for more is to deny it the labour it requires to reproduce. Freedom would come not from the realization of labour, not from its universalization, but from its gradual and final elimination.

The realm of freedom really begins only where labour determined by necessity and external expediency ends; it lies by its very nature beyond the sphere of material production proper. . . . This realm of natural necessity expands with our development, because our needs do too; but the productive forces to satisfy these needs expand at the same time. Freedom, in this sphere, can consist only in this, that socialized communities, the associated producers, govern the human metabolism with nature in a rational way, bringing it under their collective control instead of being dominated by it as a blind power; accomplishing it with the least expenditure of energy and in conditions most worthy and appropriate for their human nature (Marx 1991: 959).

What follows may strike many of us as a highly un-Marxian solution: not world revolution, not elimination of the bourgeoisie, not seizing and socializing the means of production. "The reduction of the working day is the basic prerequisite" (Marx 1991:959).

What would the European Dream look like were Europeans to adopt this conspicuously un-Marxian solution? A provisional answer to this question might look as follows. Consider, for example, the efficiencies Europeans adopted following World War II: a vast, extensive social welfare system to ensure that no individual ever again became so desperate as to see in nationalism or fascism a solution to their political or social ills; a public transportation system designed not to feed the insatiable appetites of private oil producers, but designed instead to serve the transportation needs of its citizens; health care for all, publically financed and readily available; virtually free education and vocational training; affordable and safe housing for all; and old age security second to none. From the vantage point of Hegel's Self-Moving Substance all of these goods must count as unacceptable inefficiencies dragging the entire system to a screeching halt. Yet, from another vantage point, all they entail is simply a redistribution of efficiencies from the top of the income hierarchy to the middle and the bottom, from regions that produce these efficiencies more easily to regions where efficiencies are much harder to come by.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, with Japan and Europe back in the game, it surely would have been theoretically possible to interpret the decline in rates of profit not as a signal to reduce corporate taxes, deregulate industry, and restrict the social franchise, but, to the contrary, as an indication that the post-war expansion of the social franchise was achieving its intended goal: more individuals than ever before enjoying sufficient leisure and wealth to attend institutions of higher learning;

more individuals than ever before working fewer hours for better compensation; more individuals enjoying better health and taking more time to spend with their friends and families than ever before in history. Surely these goods were well worth the 4 to 5 percentage points growth transferred to achieve such spectacular results during the twenty years that followed World War II.

But the same might be said today. Are instability and war on Europe's periphery worth the 4 to 5 percentage points of growth purchased at the expense of Europe's most needy members and neighbours? Is the spread of neo-fascism in France, Germany, and Eastern Europe the price Europeans must pay to satisfy investor demands for more? That European efficiencies could theoretically be redistributed downward and outward has never been in doubt. The quality of life so closely associated with the European Dream need not be sacrificed to the bottomless compulsion for more. Indeed, among the hallmarks of the European as distinguished from the American Dream, is that by sharing its efficiencies more widely it was able to create efficiencies in education, transportation, health care, and industry foreclosed upon in America by its restricted social franchise. Austerity by contrast disables the very institutions and instrumentalities upon which true efficiency depends. Weaker central governments, as Gerard Roland has shown, are less equipped to fulfil the very functions upon which commerce relies to create its efficiencies. Weak central governments are more vulnerable to the kinds of oligarchic rent-seeking opportunities that are the hallmark of inefficiency. Moreover, wherever publically regulated economies prove themselves unable to satisfy the most basic human needs, wherever the social franchise is restricted or eliminated entirely, underground grey and black market alternatives appear in their place — markets whose beneficiaries are not the communities served, but the efficiencies seized by their underground purveyors (Roland 265-286).

What if, by contrast, Europe were to set itself the task of shortening the working day and so liberating its citizens from the compulsion to produce and consume more? What if Europe were to free itself from its bondage to the Self-Moving Substance that currently manages its affairs? Within decades, perhaps within years, we could see such an outbreak of freedom not witnessed in Europe since the decades following World War II. Efficiencies transferred downwards and outwards would begin immediately to express themselves in the kinds of social security that alone are nationalism's and fascism's most sure antidote. And far from chasing Europe's many disenfranchised outliers into the waiting and open arms of Vladimir Putin and his network of underworld thugs and warlords, Europe might instead inspire a fundamental transformation that spreads even to this empire of oligarchs. Just as fascism feeds upon fear and want, so freedom feeds upon freedom. Where

austerity begets the fear and want upon which fascism feeds, efficiencies redistributed downward and outward feed the freedom that alone has the chops to oppose systemic oppression.

And, yet, I at least am not very hopeful. The current leadership in Europe — the EU, the WTO, the World Bank, and the IMF — are so thoroughly under the spell cast by Hegel's Dream (or nightmare) that they would prefer the complete collapse of Europe, its descent into social, political, and economic anarchy, to the redistribution of efficiencies that I have described above. Even in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, in its cantonal seats of authority, where the political leadership should from past experience know better, efficiencies are being redistributed not from the top downward, but from the bottom up. Instead of shortening the workday, the workday is being lengthened, and rather than protecting the few remaining dignities that workers enjoy, these instead are being sacrificed in the name of wealth production at the top. Bosnia and Herzegovina is no exception. The same could be said all across Europe and all along its periphery, where, as a direct consequence, nationalism and neo-fascism are everywhere on the rise. But it is precisely here that true statesmen and true stateswomen must distinguish themselves, step out and let their voices be heard, even or specially when such speech exposes them to danger. Europe's future cannot be grounded in the obsessive compulsion for more. This future is unsustainable. Rather must it be grounded in the gentle yet steady philosophy of enough; enough for me, enough for you, enough for everyone. This, I take it, lies at the heart of the European Dream.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE COMPETENCES WITH FUTURE CROATIAN TEACHERS WITHIN CROATIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM

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Abstract

In the document “Eight key competences for life-long learning” the first and the most important competence is communication in the mother tongue. If we have good knowledge of mother tongue, then we will be better in the process of foreign language learning. Language competence means to know the language on the level of phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicology, orthography and orthoepy. We have linguistic competence (knowledge about language) and communicative competence (using of language). At this moment, when we speak about European society, it is very important to have good competences in ICT and foreign language speaking. For these reasons, we made this research about language competences in mother tongue (Croatian language) and English in primary school and the attitude of children to Croatian and English language and the way they learn them or not. The research includes 3 primary schools in Zagreb (N = 120) in the first two periods of learning (1st - 6th class). Our aim is to measure linguistic and communicative competence in Croatian and English and how pupils are different in terms of sex, age and attitude. We expect that children in the first two periods of primary school have better developed linguistic competence (theory of language) than communicative competence (using language in everyday situations). It is expected because of methods of teaching and learning. Croatian teachers are more focused on theory than functional literacy in the process of teaching and learning of Croatian language. It is easier with English because teachers of English are more focused on using English in different situations. Also, we expect better results from girls than boys, from older than younger pupils as well as from pupils who have more positive attitudes to Croatian and English language.

Key words: teaching of Croatian language, language competences, eight key competences, primary school teachers, motivation

Introduction

In the time of educational changes and the reform initiated in the Republic of Croatia this year (2015), it is important to place the development of language competences to the key position. As early as 2005 European Commission drew up the document „Eight Key Competences“ defining the communication in mother tongue as the first and key competence and the communication in foreign language as the second key competence. Obviously, is the child masters its own mother tongue, especially all types of language activities: listening, speaking, reading and writing, it will be much easier for them to acquire the contents of other subjects, including the foreign language. It is, therefore, necessary to place the teaching of mother tongue (Croatian) and foreign (English) language to the key position in the curriculums of primary schools. In order to analyze the situation and the current knowledge of pupils, this paper is expected to determine the level of language (linguistic) and language communication (communicative) competence of pupils during the first two educational periods (2nd – 6th) grade. For this purpose the tests were made for Croatian (mother tongue) and English (the first foreign language) checking the knowledge of language on both levels. The results were analyzed and compared in order to identify the necessary changes which should be part of the reform of Croatian educational system and language teaching. The said reforms, stimulating the enhancement of quality of the educational system, lead towards the goal of Croatian national educational framework, which is the knowledge oriented society. The knowledge oriented society is defined as the one based on the „types“ of knowledge in the areas of innovation, research, education and training which should be the pivotal pillars within the European Union. The basic goals enabling achievement of such society are: to make a large number of illiterate people within the global population able to read and write, to make the learning available to everybody through the life-long learning, to improve the quality of education and introduce new technologies to education (e-learning, etc.). Redefinition of knowledge, in terms of the continuous learning process on defined educational levels, has a direct influence on reformation of educational policies with the aim to offer better possibilities of access to knowledge for all citizens, regardless of their age, place of residence and social status.

About Croatian language

Croatian language is one of Slavic languages (sub-group of South Slavic languages) spoken by 4.5 million people in the country and as many abroad. Since it is a small language, it can be said that the preservation of the language as the means of identity of the entire nation is important and therefore it is necessary

to develop the awareness of its correct use. Just as all Slavic languages, Croatian language is morphologically rich: it has seven cases, three different genders, two different numerals, four past tenses, one present tense and two future tenses. The verbs are differentiated according to the verbal aspect, subject of activity, mode, status and aspect. The adjectives, as the changeable type of words, are differentiated according to the gender, number, case and aspect. The adjectives can be both declined and compared. Croatian language encompasses seven types of pronouns as well as numbers, numeral nouns, numeral adjectives and numeral adverbs (Silić and Pranjković, 2007). Regarding the area of phonetics and phonology, it is special for its sounds with diacritic signs which can be troublesome for the speakers both in speaking and writing. As for the written forms of expression, special problems are found in writing of the reflex of the proto-Slavic yat which has four different alternations: ije/je/e/i. The area of syntax is somewhat simpler since the choice of words and their position in the sentence is free, though the structure: subject + predicate + object is a classic structure which always functions in all forms of discourses. Croatian language differentiates five different functional styles of expression: scientific, administrative-business, conversational, literary-artistic and journalistic.

Each functional style has its own rules of writing which apply to the manner of writing, forming of text and choice of style and vocabulary. The lexis of Croatian language includes many words from Turkish, German, Hungarian and Italian languages due to historical, political and geographic circumstances in which the country lived in the past. Today, the influence of English language is significant in all areas of public life, including the spoken and written language and especially the public language, the language of the media. One of the basic goals of the mother tongue lessons on all education levels is the development of language competences, especially the language - communicative competence, therefore it is the target of this paper to present the results of research of language competences with Croatian students in primary school.

Position of Croatian Language as a School Subject in Croatian Education System

The standard form of Croatian language is started to be taught when the children enter school which usually happens about the age of seven. Croatian education system is divided into: kindergarten and preschool, primary school, secondary school and higher education. The children start learning the standard Croatian language when they enter the kindergarten, but this learning is done through different games and it is not systematic. The preschool period starts about the age of six and then the children in Croatian kindergartens start to prepare for initial reading and writing which is taught in the first grade of the primary school. At the age of

seven, when they enter school, the children start with institutional learning of Croatian language as the mother tongue. The primary school is divided into two parts: junior grades (from the first to the fourth grade) and senior grades (from the fifth to the eighth grade). In the first six grades, Croatian language is taught for five periods per week and in the final two grades for four periods per week. The secondary school education is divided into gymnasiums (comprehensive schools), vocational and art schools. Croatian language as the mother tongue is taught for four periods per week in gymnasiums and for three periods per week in other secondary schools. In primary school, the focus of teaching of Croatian language as the mother tongue is on grammar and orthography as well as the development of language - communicative competence since the pupils until the age of 12 (according to Piaget, 1977) are in the concrete operations stage. In the secondary school, the focus is on teaching the literature, with only few hours left for teaching the language (grammar and orthography) and language expression (written and oral). Croatian language as a school subject is divided into four areas: language (grammar and orthography), language expression, literature and media culture. On the academic level, Croatian language is taught only at faculties where future Croatian teachers are taught (faculties of philosophy, faculties of teacher education). Considering the importance of literacy in the mother tongue which is also stressed by the document "Eight Key Competences for Lifelong Learning", a need emerges for Croatian language to be introduced as a subject to all faculties. However, this is only an idea which, after numerous analyses, research and recommendations, has still not been implemented.

About English language

English is a member of the Germanic family of languages, while Germanic is a branch of the Indo-European language family. It has a rich history going back over a millennium and has been influenced by many languages, such as Celtic, French, Latin, Greek, Scandinavian languages such as Old Norse, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, Indian, German, Hebrew, Yiddish and Arabic.

Nowadays, English is the single most important language in the world, being the official or de facto language of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and dozens of others, and being the lingua franca of the Internet. Many varieties of English are spoken around the world – from lectures in graduate school in Holland to parliamentary proceedings in Papua New Guinea – but interestingly the vast majority of the variation lies in pronunciation and vocabulary. The number of differences in grammar between different varieties of Standard English is very small indeed relative to the full range of syntactic constructions and morphological word-forms.

Nevertheless, there undoubtedly are differences of this kind that need to be noted. For example, the use of the verb *do* following an auxiliary verb, as in *I'm not sure that I'll go, but I may do* is not found in American English, and conversely the past participle verb-form *gotten*, as in *I've just gotten a new car*, is distinctively American.

The regional dialects of Standard English in the world today can be divided into two large families with regional and historical affinities. One contains standard educated Southern British English, henceforth abbreviated BrE, together with a variety of related dialects, including most of the varieties of English in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and most other places in the British Commonwealth. The second dialect family is referred to as American English, henceforth AmE – it contains the dialects of the United States, Canada, and associated territories, from Hawaii and Alaska to eastern Canada.

Position of English Language as a School Subject in Croatian Education System

Croatian children make their first official school contact with English language at the moment when they enter primary school. However, all of them have already heard or even spoken the language before. Some have attended foreign language courses for pre-school children, some have relatives or friends who speak English and almost absolute majority has heard it on TV and the radio.

From the 1st to 4th grade (junior grades) of primary school, English language is taught for two lessons of 45 minutes per week which adds up to 70 lessons per school year. In the 1st grade, the teaching methods are very similar to the ones used in pre-school courses. There is practically no writing, almost all language content being oral and taught through songs, simple games and TPR (total physical response) activities. Writing and reading is gradually introduced from the 2nd to the 4th grade, the emphasis still being on orally transmitted contents.

From the 5th to 8th grade (senior grades) of primary school, English is taught for three lessons of 45 minutes per week which adds up to 105 lessons per school year. All four language activities, speaking, listening, reading and writing, should be equally represented with one sole aim: to enable pupils to be able to communicate. Very little linguistic competence is required in terms of language theory.

This aim does not change in secondary school, though the final achievement and the level of communicative competence of students will generally depend on their choice of school. There are two types of secondary schools in Croatia: *gymasi-*

ums or comprehensive schools where English is mostly taught for 3 lessons per week in all four grades and vocational schools with 3 lessons per week, but only in the first two grades. For this reason, there is generally a significant difference in the national exam results (matura) of gymnasium and vocational school students.

On the academic level, English is taught at all Croatian faculties, its curriculum depending on the particular faculty.

As a conclusion, it should be pointed out that, as it concerns English language, one common feature is shared throughout Croatian educational system and that is communicative competence, while linguistic competence is reserved for future English language teachers only.

Language competences (defining and targets)

The word “competence” comes from the Latin word “competare” (verb) which means achieve, be better (Anić, 2001). The language competences are divided into the linguistic (language) and communicative (communicative language) competence. Both of them are important and therefore stimulated, especially through the teaching of Croatian language, but also through other subjects. The communicative competence was formed in the 80's of the 20th century when Dell Hymes (1980) defined it as the ability of the speaker to choose the most appropriate out of different language sub-systems. The communicative competence implies application of language knowledge in actual situations. It includes practical and functional language knowledge while the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning and Teaching, (2005) considers that the communicative competence consists of the linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence. Linguistic competence implies knowledge of language and its rules, sociolinguistic implies use of these rules in certain discourses defined by the society, while the pragmatic one implies use of language in certain functions, for example through language activities of speaking, listening, reading and writing. Different authors define the communicative competence in different ways, so Martinet (1982) defines the communicative competence as a capacity on the level of functional language application (functional linguistics). Yule and Levinson (2003) define the communicative competence as pragmatics which includes applicable and pragmatic knowledge of language. Canale and Swain (1980) define the communicative competence as a synthesis of the basic system of knowledge and skills necessary for communication (three types of knowledge: about basic grammar principles, how the language is used in social contexts and how communicative functions can be connected in view of the discourse principles). Trask (2005) defines the communicative competence

as the ability of appropriate expression in social circumstances. As opposed to the communicative competence, Chomsky defined the linguistic (language) competence as the knowledge of language, language rules and standards. He makes a difference between the language performance which would be adequate to the communicative competence (it implies communicative knowledge of language) and the language competence (which implies theoretic knowledge of language).

The basic target of Croatian language teaching on all education levels is to train the student for language communication which would enable them to learn the contents of other subjects and to be included into the lifelong education. Among other targets, we can single out the one which says that it is necessary to develop language communicative abilities, which implies the development of language competences. Speaking about the students of the Faculty of Teacher Education, it can be said that it is necessary to develop both competences: the knowledge of language implied by the linguistic competence and the use of this knowledge in actual situations implied by the communicative competence. Unambiguously, language competences would imply the knowledge of language and the ability of communication, both written and oral, in a certain language.

Research

Targets of Research

The basic target of the research was to investigate the language competences of Croatian pupils in English and Croatian. In accordance with the basic target, five problems – targets of the research have been set:

1. To investigate whether there is a statistically significant difference in the results of the linguistic and communicative competence in the knowledge of Croatian language.
2. To investigate whether there is a statistically significant difference in the results of the linguistic and communicative competence in the knowledge of English language.
3. To investigate whether there is a statistically significant difference in the knowledge of grammar of Croatian language (phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicology) and the orthography of Croatian.
4. To investigate whether there is a statistically significant difference in the total knowledge of Croatian and English, the level of communicative and the level of the linguistic competence in relation to age and sex.
5. To investigate the attitude of students about Croatian and English language as a school subject.

Hypotheses of the Research

In connection with the research targets, the following hypotheses were set:

1. It is expected that there is a statistically significant difference between the linguistic and communicative competence in the knowledge of Croatian language.
2. It is expected that there is a statistically significant difference between the linguistic and communicative competence in the knowledge of English. We expected the level of communicative competence in English to be more developed.
3. It is expected that there is a statistically significant difference in the knowledge of grammar and orthography of Croatian language (the students know the grammar better).
4. It is expected that there is a statistically significant difference in the total knowledge, the level of linguistic and communicative competence depending on the sex and age. Girls and older students are expected to be more successful.
5. It is expected that the examinees consider Croatian and English language as very important subjects in their education.

Methodology of Research

The sample consisted of the students from three different primary schools in Zagreb (N = 120). All examinees wrote a written examination of knowledge by which the communicative and linguistic competences were assessed, according to the following grammar areas: phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicology as well as orthography and language history. After the test of knowledge, the examinees completed an on-line questionnaire on their attitude to Croatian language and English as school subjects in general. The data have been processed in the SPSS statistics programme by means of parametric methods (analysis of variance, t-test) and non-parametric methods (H2 test, arithmetic means).

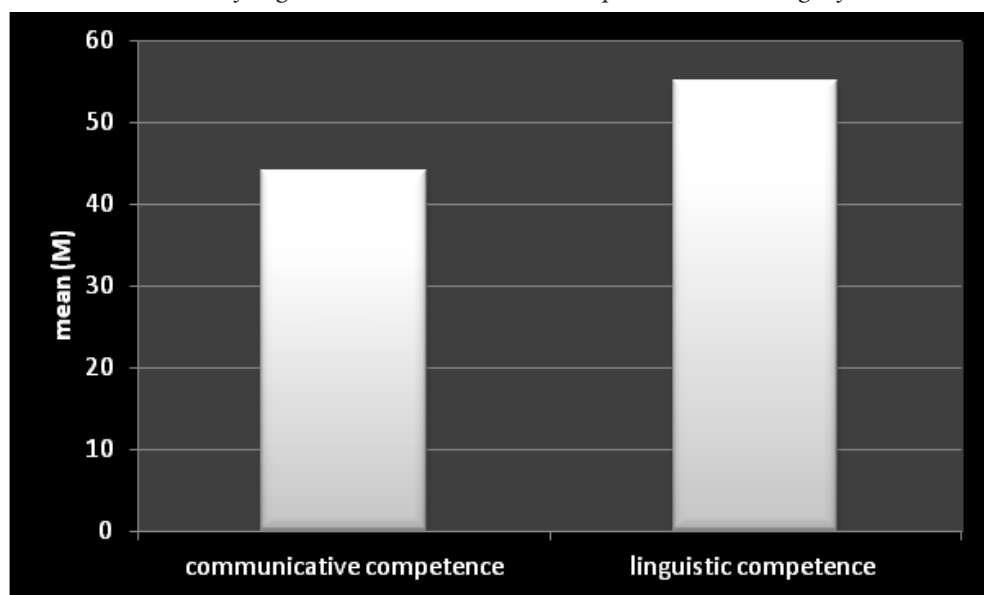
The Research Results

The Knowledge of Language Competences - Croatian

The language competences, which have already been defined as the ability to use the language in actual situations and the knowledge of language theory, have been tested with the students of primary school to the 6th grade. The t-test shows that there is a statistically significant difference in the results of the linguistic and communicative competence on the significance level of 5% (chart 1). Since the Croatian education system is directed more to learning the language theory and less to development of communicative competence as the language application, the expected results are in favour of the linguistic competence. To conclude, the students

know the language theory (definitions, theorems) better than the application of the said theory in actual situations. A similar research was made with primary school pupils (Pavličević-Franić, Aladrović, 2009) and the results showed that the primary school pupils also know the language theory better than the application of the said theory in actual communicative situations which is obviously reflected in the future education and probably influences the manner of teaching of Croatian language as the mother tongue. The above-mentioned data point to the fact that the first hypothesis stating that the difference between the linguistic and communicative competence in knowledge of Croatian language is expected to be statistically significant has been confirmed.

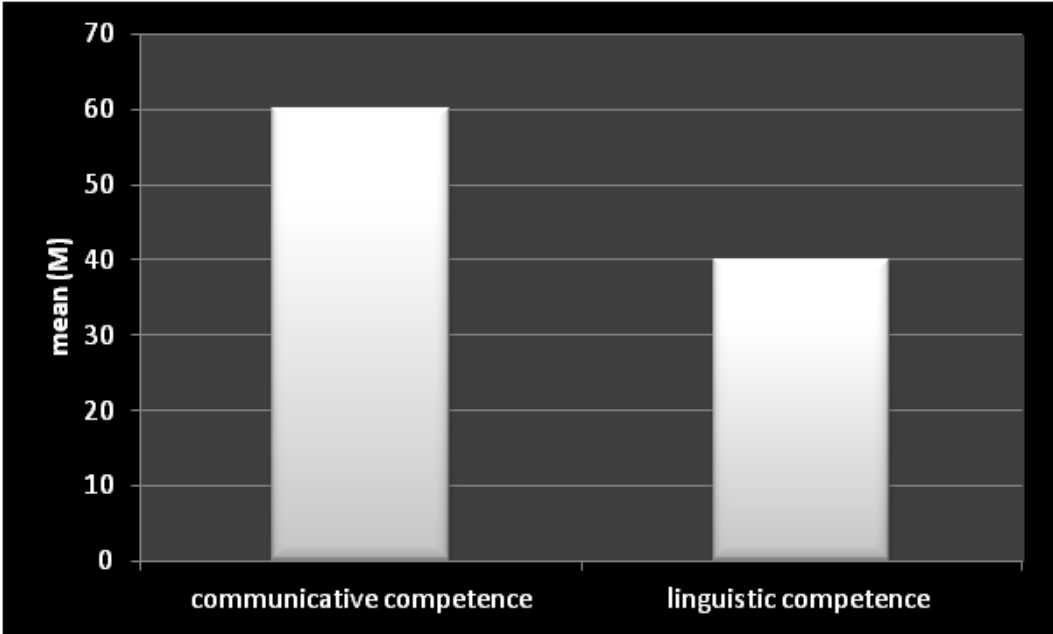
Chart 1 Results of linguistic and communicative competence in knowledge of Croatian



The Knowledge of Language Competences – English

The t-test shows that there is a statistically significant difference in the results of the linguistic and communicative competence on the significance level of 5% (chart 2) in the process of learning English. Better results were achieved on the communicative competence level which implies the functional knowledge of language. This is no surprise considering the communicative manner in which English language is taught throughout Croatian schools, primary and secondary ones. The sole aim of the learning process is to enable the pupils to communicate, both orally and in writing. Teaching methods are adapted to this aim, including a lot of conversation, games and game-like activities. Very little linguistic content is required and only for the purpose of better explanation of communicative activities. Therefore, as expected, the second hypothesis was confirmed.

Chart 2 Results of linguistic and communicative competence in knowledge of English



Difference in knowledge of orthography and grammar

The results are divided into grammar contents (phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicology), orthographic contents and the contents from the history of Croatian language. The results show that the examinees best solved the tasks related to lexicology (79% of the tasks solved) and then the tasks related to the knowledge of phonetics and phonology (65% solved). The pupils also show a solid knowledge of language history (62% of the test solved). It is interesting that the worst solved was the part of the test related to the knowledge of syntax (43% of the test solved). Morphology, one of the most demanding areas of grammar, was solved on the 59% level. The orthographic rules (sounds č and ć, dž and đ, writing of diphthong ije/je, capital and small letter, punctuation) also caused a lot of trouble to the examinees, therefore the test was solved on the 55% level (table 1).

Table 1 Test results in grammar and orthography

THE AREA OF CROATIAN LANGUAGE CURRICULUM	TEST RESULTS (IN %)
PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY	65%
MORPHOLOGY	59%
SYNTAX	43%
LEXICOLOGY	79%
HISTORY OF CROATIAN LANGUAGE	62%
ORTHOGRAPHY	55%

When, through the t-test, the test results are compared regarding the grammar knowledge (phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicology) and the knowledge of orthography, the result is the difference which can be announced statistically significant on the significance level of 5%. The examinees show statistically significantly better results in knowledge of grammar than the knowledge of orthography (chart 3). Another large problem for students is writing of the words with the sounds č and ć, dž and đ and writing of the diphthong ije/je, as well as the writing of capital and small letter and punctuation. This can be a proof of the third hypothesis which states that a statistically significant difference is expected in knowledge of grammar and orthography of Croatian language (the students know the grammar better). The reason for this can be orthographic ambiguities which have still not been resolved and which confuse the examinees and the students who learn Croatian language.

Difference in knowledge and language competences with regard to the age and sex

The F-test shows that there is a significant difference in the total results, depending on the age, on the significance level of 5% (table 2), but the F-test also shows that there is a statistically significant difference in the results depending on the age in relation to the test of communicative and the test of linguistic competence, i.e. the results are very close to the level of significance, therefore they can be proclaimed statistically significant. The T-test shows that there is a significant difference in the total results depending on the sex. Girls are better in total results than boys and in results on the test of communicative and linguistic competence. This partially confirmed the fourth hypothesis assuming better results of girls and older pupils.

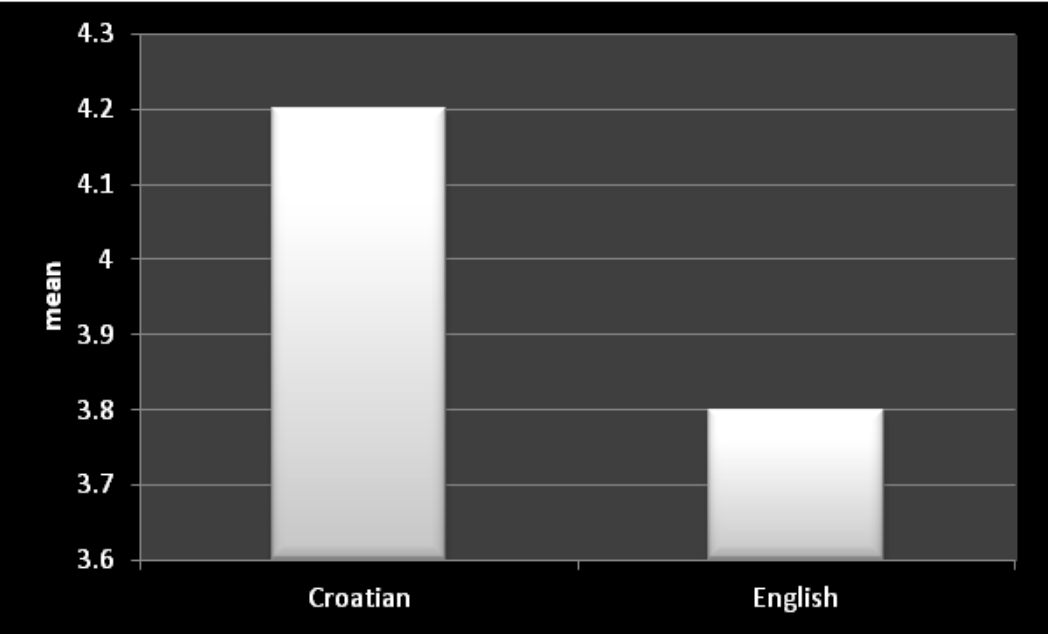
	F-test	SIG. (p < 0,05)	T-test	SIG. (p < 0,05)
Total results	3,29	0,026	2,58	0,002
Test of communicative competence	2,62	0,058	3,45	0,005
test of linguistic competence	2,61	0,060	1,25	0,004

Attitude/Opinion of Students about Croatian Language and English

The results show that pupils prefer Croatian to English language as a school subject. The assumption is that English language is foreign to them and requires more effort and work in the early learning phase. Though positive atti-

tude towards both subjects is generally frequent, it is important to stimulate and motivate such attitude through both Croatian and English language lessons.

Chart 3 The attitude to English and Croatian as school subject (Liker scale 1 to 5)

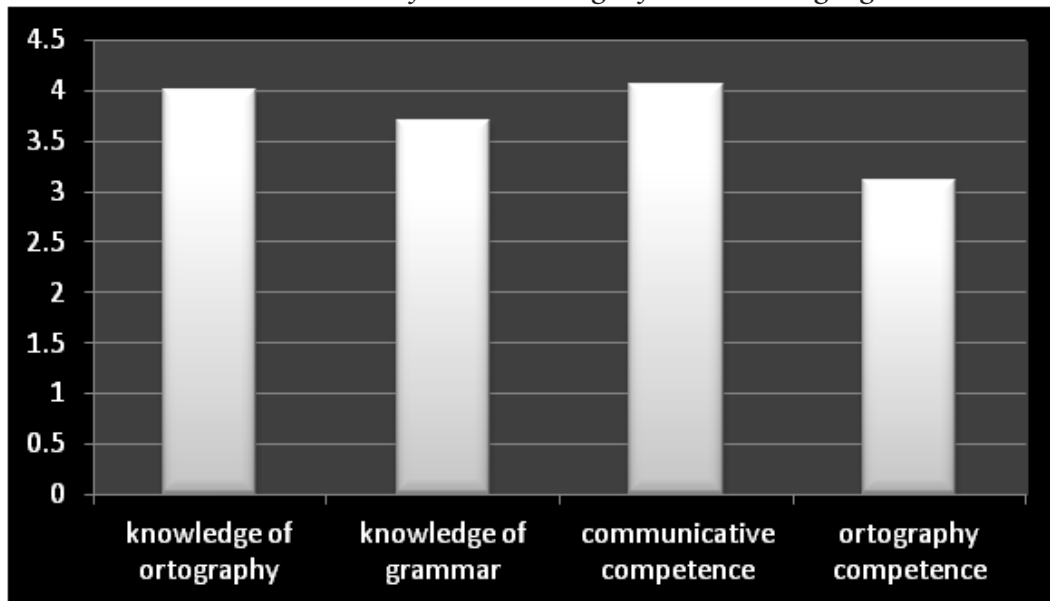


Self-Estimate of Students about Own Knowledge of Language

All examinees completely agree with the statement that the knowledge of Croatian language is important for them. However, they estimated their knowledge as very good and they very similarly estimated their competence for their future. This would mean that the examinees consider the knowledge of mother tongue important, but they do not feel competent about this knowledge (chart 4). The estimate of own knowledge or the self-estimate was the hardest task that the examinees had to perform since it is always subject to bias. However, most of examinees consider themselves the most competent in orthography, which can hardly be related to the real knowledge of orthography which the examinees showed at the test of knowledge. It is assumed that most of examinees wish to be communicatively competent since this competence is set as one of the key competences for facing the everyday life situations and therefore most examinees estimated themselves as communicatively competent person (chart 4). Along with the communicative competence and the knowledge of orthography, as an important element of their knowledge, the examinees point out their grammar knowledge which, just as in the case of orthography, is not in correlation with the results which the examin-

ees showed at the tests of knowledge. It is interesting that in their self-estimate, as the fourth, very strong element, they point out the written competence which, on the higher level, unifies all language and text competences. However, this competence has not been checked by this test, therefore no correlation can be done.

Chart 4 Estimate of own knowledge of Croatian language



The results confirm the fifth hypothesis which assumed that the students would estimate their knowledge of Croatian language as very good, which they did, on the average (chart 4).

Conclusion

Communication in mother tongue is the first and the key competence for lifelong learning, therefore sufficient attention has to be paid to its stimulation and development on all education levels, including the academic level. It is especially important to work on this competence in mother tongue with the students who will themselves in the near future be in the position to develop the same language competences in mother tongue with their own pupils. The learning of language implies the language activities of reading, writing, speaking and listening in mother tongue, which, apart from learning the mother tongue, also help in acquisition of other contents and even in learning of other foreign languages. The knowledge about the importance of communication in mother tongue and development of language competences should be seen through the curriculum of the faculty of teacher edu-

cation. As already mentioned, students of the faculty of teacher education, have only four language courses in their entire schooling, while the students attending the Croatian language module have eight obligatory courses from the area of their mother tongue. Absurdity of this situation lies in the fact that all students, after graduating from the faculty, work as primary school teachers from the 1st to the 4th grade and teach five hours of Croatian language per week, Croatian language being the most comprehensive subject of the school curriculum. The curriculum should be changed and the students of the faculties of teacher education should have more language courses so they could, through their studies, develop their language competences on a higher level. The students are aware of the importance of quality knowledge of the mother tongue, but they are also aware of their lack of knowledge and therefore they do not feel fully competent for their future job. For this reason, it is necessary to work on improvement of the quality of education in the mother tongue, increase of the number of mandatory courses, but also the elective courses which would provide all interested students with the opportunity of additional work. It is especially important that the students develop communicative competence in all areas of their mother tongue because good understanding stimulates transfer of knowledge in a quality manner. This research also opens one of the problems of the concept of the plan and programme of the faculty of teacher education after the Bologna process implementation. The change of the curriculum and introduction of a larger number of language courses would make the future Croatian teachers feel more competent for performance of their future teaching profession and thus create “a quality school” where each and every pupil will feel accepted and happy, while the teacher will feel secure and competent.

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DECISION MAKING VIA SYSTEMS THINKING IN MANAGEMENT: EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to provide a critical view of the educational issues related to teaching decision making in management studies and to provide a general framework is proposed that will serve as a basis designing new courses, covering some methodologies for handling complexity in decision making. At present, the widely spread approach to teaching the subject matter is mostly restricted to the traditional OR/MS (Operations Research/Management Science) paradigm. This paradigm is based on a set of mathematical tools and suitable for solving well defined decision making problems; it fails in “messy” or complex situations. Systems-based approaches are more promising in complex situations since they provide the decision maker(s) the opportunity to address the problematic situation in its full system context. The framework proposed in the study attempts to complement the traditional OR/MS paradigm rather than replacing it.

Key words: Systems Thinking; Decision Making; Management; Education.

Introduction

It is well known that managerial decision making problems can be highly complex, in general, but there is a sub-set of problems that can be formulated in well-structured forms. Such problems are normally handled with the quantitative techniques of the Management Science/Operations Research (MS/OR) paradigm—this paradigm is also known as hard operations research. The major quantitative techniques or tools of the paradigm are mathematical programming, game theory, simulation models, Markov chain models and decision trees. In messy situations, these tools prove to be too rigid and mechanical to be useful. The decision problems faced by top managers at the strategic level are mostly complex and ‘messy’. There is usually too much ambiguity involved, and information available for decision making is often uncertain, incomplete, or even distorted. Under such conditions, managers need to describe the problematic situation in its full system context and make use of systems thinking-based methodologies to find satisfactory solutions.

For instance let us consider the situation where an American company is questioning whether to enter a new market in a country like Pakistan or Jordan. This decision is a strategic level kind; hence it is complex. There is bound to be considerable uncertainty and ambiguity related to the country’s economic conditions, the stability of markets, consumer behavior, etc. It may not be easy or not possible to find an acceptable solution to this problem through the OR/MS tools. The soft approaches are suitable since the soft issues such as consumer behavior can be included in the model via a combined use of hard and soft modeling approaches. Supposing that the company decided to enter the market, the next decision problem will be of a tactical kind, such as whether to follow an export led market expansion or locally produce the product. Here the solution may or may not require the use of both hard and soft methodologies. The related decision at the lowest level could be whether to hire more local people for some operations. This is an operational problem. Now this problem can be handled by hard approaches without a great deal of difficulty. Another example where complexity may be seen is in managing call centers. Effective operation of a call center requires a sensible balance between conflicting aims, such as waiting times, number of operators, equipment, etc. These variables can be formulated in monetary terms and a solution can be found via mathematical models or simulation models. However, if one wants to include the consequences of long waiting times, such as loss of life or serious injuries, the problem becomes too complex to be handled by purely mathematical models. Similar arguments are valid for ecological systems. The economic activities involved can be measured easily in monetary terms, but not the loss or degradation of the natural environment. The common features in all these problems are: (1) Different people view a problem in

different ways; (2) The solution is not too obvious; (3) There are usually conflicts on objectives; (4) There may not be enough information to evaluate the consequences of decision choices; (5) The interactions between various elements or aspects may exhibit high computational complexity for human mind to produce a solution; (6) The settings within which these problems exist are systems.

Complexity and decision making in complexity have been studied by a number of researchers in the past. Gorze-Mitka, et.al. (2014) traces the roots of “modern complexity” to the birth of General Systems Theory. The complexity issue was also addressed in Wiener’s work on cybernetics and in the work of other important names in systems movement, such as Churchman, Ackoff, Beer, Weinberg, Forrester, and Gigch (Skyttner, 2001 and 2006). In 2005, Jamali suggested that the existing decision-making processes are no longer adequate, and urged educational institutions to teach new approaches to decision-making problems (Jamali, 2005). The new approaches can now be seen in some textbooks. For instance, Pownall’s book (2012), *Effective Management Decision Making*, covers holistic approaches, heuristic decision making and group decision making, as well as more traditional topics. Daellanbach, et.al. (2012) wrote an interesting book, entitled *Decision Making Through Systems Thinking*, which also reflects recent developments. This book puts considerable emphasis on the application of soft systems thinking (particularly Soft OR and Soft Systems Methodology) to decision making. Similar comments can be made about the book by Maani et.al. (2007), *Systems Thinking, System Dynamics: Managing Chaos and Complexity*. Here, the approach is based on system modeling by combining both hard and soft approaches and System Dynamics methodology. Skyttner (2001 and 2005) provides a wide perspective and presents decision making process in the context of General Systems Theory. He considers various dimensions of decision making processes, including philosophical, methodological, technological and psychological aspects. He emphasizes the importance of Managerial Cybernetics in handling complex organizational issues. Managerial Cybernetics is also seen as an important methodology by Jackson (2000 and 2003) for handling complex managerial problems; Beer’s viable model is noted as a significant methodology in this respect.

There are a number of specific studies on complexity decision making in literature. For instance, Gorzen-Mitka, et. al. (2014) examine complexity decision making issues and argue that strategic decision-making in complex environments requires meta-cognitive skills and a tool-bag for innovative and adaptable decision models beyond linear thinking. The book written by Parnell, et.al. (2011), *Decision Making in Systems Engineering and Management*, approaches the subject matter from a systems engineering point of view. The decision making process laid out in

the book is based on both multiple-objective decision making and value-focused thinking. Problem definition, measuring stakeholder value, designing creative solutions, exploring the decision trade space and structuring successful solution implementation phases are all viewed from this perspective. The attractive aspect of this work is that it is very well suited for system life-cycle models.

The material in this paper is presented in the following order: the fundamental role of system thinking in managing complexity is assessed in the next section; this is followed by a discussion of the potential contributions of systems thinking to decision making, the description of the proposed framework, and the major conclusions of the work.

Systems Thinking and Managing Complexity

Managers today are expected to cope with increasing complexity, change and diversity. They need to handle problems that come as interconnected with other problems, or as ‘messes’. Managers have some popular tools available to deal with decision problems, such as scenario planning, benchmarking, value chain analysis, and process re-engineering. The ‘quick’ solutions generated by these tools rarely work, simply because they are not holistic. These tools deal with parts of the organization rather than the whole. Although it is possible to optimize the operation of a part or a subsystem via this approach, the overall operation of the system may be affected adversely. Although it may not be optimal, a satisfactory solution for the overall system can be found if the crucial interactions and the subsystems are taken into account as a whole. The principle “a system is more than the sum of its parts” suggests that systems’ behavior can be understood well if one understands the emergent system properties that arise only when parts interact with each other. This phenomenon was observed by many researchers in process re-engineering (BPR) projects. It appears that the main reason behind the failure of many of these projects is that there was too much concentration on subsystem re-engineering; crucial interactions such as human-organization relationships were ignored.

The limitations and inadequacies of hard systems thinking become fairly obvious in the 1980’s due to the increasing complexity of contemporary systems. Soft systems thinking emerged as a response to overcome these difficulties and enable systems people to develop acceptable solutions to multi-disciplinary and complex problematic situations. Jackson classifies all important hard and soft systems methodologies and reviews them in a critical manner [Jackson, 2000 and 2003]. His classification, from social sciences point of view, includes the following groups: (a) The Functionalist Systems Approach; (b) The Interpretive Systems Approach; (c)

The Emancipatory Systems Approach; (d) The Postmodern Systems Approach; (e) Critical Systems Thinking.

The Functionalist Approach includes Hard OR, Systems Engineering, Cybernetics, System Dynamics, Living Systems Theory, Autopoiesis, and Complexity Theory. Here systems appear as objective aspects of reality independent of observers. Their behavior is analyzed via the methods of the natural sciences, and this knowledge is used to improve their efficiency or efficacy of the system. In contrast, the assumption that everybody perceives reality the same way is rejected in soft systems thinking; perceptions are multiple and environment is pluralistic. Within the functionalist approach, there is a group of methodologies where “hard facts” are used throughout the study, and this kind of approach is commonly referred as “Hard Systems Thinking”. Systems Theory provides theoretical background to all these methodologies. In regard to relating methodologies to problem contexts, Jackson [2003] suggests that “Hard Systems Thinking” is applicable to “simple systems-unitary participant” types of problems. Methodologies known as System Dynamics, Organizational Cybernetics and Complexity Theory are considered suitable for “complex systems-unitary participant situations”. Similarly, Soft Systems Approaches are found to be applicable to both “simple systems-pluralist participants” and “complex systems-pluralist participants”, Emancipatory Systems Thinking to “simple systems-coercive participants”, and Postmodern Systems Thinking to “complex systems-coercive participants”.

Probably the most important “break away” of the soft school from the hard school is related to the concept of objectivity. The claim of “objectivity” of classical science is found to be problematic in soft systems school; it is seen as nothing but an illusion. It is argued that it is meaningless to formulate objective aims and objective means in complex situations. The actors involved in the process are bound to have different perspectives of the problematic situation or the reality, and they will likely suggest different solutions. For instance, Soft Systems Methodology (SSM), one of the well-known methodologies, developed by Checkland (Checkland and Scholes, 1990), (Checkland, 1993), embraces a paradigm of learning rather than viewing the world as systems whose performance can be optimized by following systematic procedures. This way of thinking can also be seen in other soft methodologies, such as Warfield’s Interactive Management, Churchman’s Social Systems Design, Mason and Mitroff’s Strategic Assumption Surfacing and Testing, Ackoff’s Social Systems Sciences, Senge’s Systems Thinking, Soft OR, Soft System Dynamics, and Soft Cybernetics. The interested reader should also look at Mingers and White (2010) and Mingers (2001) for detailed reviews of “hard and soft system schools”, and their approaches to complexity.

The methodology-problem context issue is also addressed by Kurtz and Snowden [2003]. They developed a framework, called Cynefin sense-making framework, classifying systems as follows: Known, Knowable, Complex, and Chaos. The Known systems are systems that have perceivable and predictable cause and effect relationships, and can be handled via Sense-Categorize-Respond types methodologies (e.g. process re-engineering). In the Knowable category, cause and effect are separated over time and space, and Sense-Analyze-Respond type methodologies are suitable. Complex systems, on the other hand, are viewed as systems with cause and effect relationships that are coherent in retrospect and do not repeat; apparently, the appropriate methodologies for this category are the Probe-Sense-Respond type (e.g. pattern management). In chaotic systems, cause and effect relationships are not perceivable, and can be handled only by Act-Sense-Respond approach (e.g. crisis management). Although it is not possible to draw clear lines between different systems and different problem categories, this categorization helps us to develop a picture where the problem situation can be related to a methodology or to a set of methodologies (multi-methodological approach).

Systems Thinking and Decision Making in Complexity

As human beings, we make various decisions every day. Some of these decisions produce undesirable results, while the others do not. Some decisions taken in the midst of complexity may produce important consequences, whether they are good or bad. In most cases, the decision maker is a group of people or an organization rather than an individual. The culture of the organization or institution then becomes a significant parameter to be considered. In regard to global matters, Skyttner (2001 and 2006) suggests that the world society and its institutions are not functioning effectively because the old worldview has not been kept up to date with contemporary changes. The worldview of an organization is certainly an important factor that shapes its culture, and it also shows how adaptive the organization is. Surely, adaptivity requires strong organizational learning capabilities, both technically and socially. All organizations are socio-technical systems by their nature, and the social aspects are as important as the technical aspects. As discussed earlier, hard systems thinking is not suitable for understanding and dealing with such complexity; we need to look into soft system approaches. Hitchins (2003) has quite a radical suggestion for handling socio-technical systems. He thinks that “we do not need to fully understand the incomprehensible complex human-system interaction” and suggests that “we need to adopt an accelerated evolutionary approach by building complex adaptive socio-technical systems”. The 2020 vision of Systems Engineering published by INCOSE (International Council on Systems Engineering) is also concerned with the increasing complexity of systems. Their prediction is that “de-

velopments will urge systems engineers to integrate social and technological aspects of complex systems” (INCOSE, 2005) - it is also argued that developments in genetics and technology will make significant contributions to this effort. The reader will find detailed discussion on socio-technical systems in Jackson (2000 and 2003), Maani, et.al. (2007), Mingers, t.al. (2010 and 2011) and Yurtseven, et.al. (2012).

In general, there are actors with differing goals and preferences, and with different perceptions in all organizations. In addition to the organizational culture, personal inclinations of people involved may also play some role in decision making. Personal inclinations affect the decision outcome considerably if there are rapid changes in the dynamics of the environment, particularly the external environment; some people are more reluctant to take risks than others. Obviously, decision making processes that are designed for stable and slowly changing conditions will not work in a rapidly changing environment. Hummelbrunner and Williams (2011) think that managing complexity requires the principles of decentralization and collaboration, in addition to adaptivity. It is important to remember that the degree of decentralization needs to be adjusted properly to be useful, depending on the characteristics of the organization.

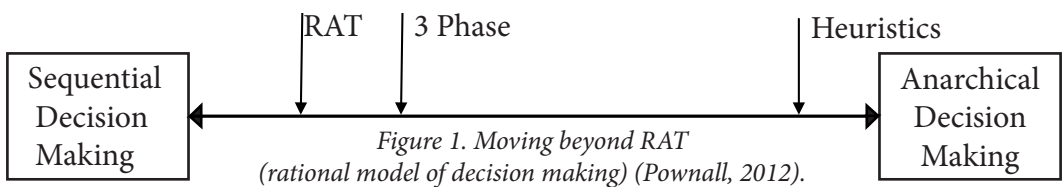
There are some studies that specifically address complexity decision making via holistic or systems approach. Research conducted at Santa Fe Institute attempts to unify some of the core system concepts into a model known as complex adaptive systems (Snyder, 2013). The argument is that the emergent properties of complex systems can be modeled and operated relatively more effectively as complex adaptive systems. Aelker, et. al. (2013) discusses this issue with some depth in their work. Sondoss et.al. (2015) handle the complexity in a viticulture irrigation management system in South Australia. They present a step-wise methodology that integrates qualitative information into formal simulation models, involving cognitive mapping and agent based modelling approaches. The resulting structure seems to capture the richness of decision making and mental models. Pagani and Otto (2013) adopts qualitative mapping theory building and quantitative group model building approaches in a computer-based system modeling environment for market startegy development. They claim that this holistic approach enhances the quality of the decision processes. Carlman, et.al. (2014) relate the complexity issue to sustainability in decision making processes, particularly to ecological systems. The decision structure developed in the study provides communication and collaboration between a technical-scientific group and social scientists via a holistic outlook. Swami's work (2013), on the other hand, views decision making under the broad topic of executive functions or cognitive processes that are regulated. This holistic approach includes theories and concepts from psychology, behavioral eco-

nomics, operations research, and managerial practice. Schiuma, et.al. (2012) report a systems thinking-based framework where knowledge assets are translated into organizational value for making good decisions. Similarly, the work by Wiek, et.al. (2009) presents a framework called The Transdisciplinary Integrated Planning and Synthesis (TIPS), which is mainly based on soft OR methods. This particular framework makes use of a multi-methodological approach involving cognitive skills and habits of the stakeholders, and experts and their mutual and joint transdisciplinary learning processes. This framework was applied in a large-scale regional planning process in Switzerland. The interested reader can find a number of models/methods/systems that have been developed to underpin sustainable decision-making in environmental impact assessment, life cycle assessment, ecological footprints, cost benefit analysis, etc. (Sondoss, et. al., 2015), (Carlman, et. al., 2014), (Schiuma, et. al., 2012), (Petkov, et. al., 2009) and (Taylor, et. al., 2011).

The Framework

Pownall (2012) describes different perspectives of decision making and gives a useful classification of decision making methods. These perspectives can be summarized as follows: (a) a qualitative perspective which is an integrative approach (or rational normative); (b) a perspective achieved by combining quantitative and behavioral disciplines in an interdisciplinary manner; (c) an interlocking perspective where the engagement of one perspective limits the use of other perspectives; (d) a cause-effect view where decisions taken are interrelated across organizational events.

Systems thinking-based decision making does not exclude perspectives (a), (b) and (d). Furthermore, it removes the limitations implied by (c). Figure 1 shows the relative positions of different approaches as a function of changing complexity. The sequential decision making (problems are formulated as a sequence of “independent” decisions) is algorithmic; hence it belongs to the least complex situations shown at the left of the scale. The anarchical decision making is far on the right of the scale, indicating that they involve highly complex situations. The RAT (rational-normative model of decision making) and three-phased (problem identification, solution development, and solution selection) models are closer to sequential decision making, respectively, and heuristic models are closer to the other edge.



The normative or rational models are based on the assumption that all relevant and pertinent information is available for optimal decision making. These types of problems are mostly seen in investment analysis, project management, cost-benefit analysis, etc. The three-phased model, unlike the sequential decision making, recognizes that the solution development and solution selection phases cannot be separated, and that the corresponding cognitive processes overlap and can occur simultaneously. As we approach to the right side of the scale, the decision processes become more complicated since they involve decisions made by groups in a political context. As one approaches to Anarchical Decision Making region, the decision makers need to make use of heuristic approaches. The models here tend to become more “irrational” where human decision values are incorporated into the process. The decision maker may incorporate any of these models or a combination of them in systems thinking-based approach.

The framework is consisted of five parts:

Fundamentals; Rational Models with Quantitative Methods; Rational Models with Qualitative Methods; Systems Thinking-Based Decision Makings; Optional Material.

Part I: The Fundamentals: Introduction to Effective Decision Making

The objective here is to explore the concept that decision-making process is partly science and partly art. Different concepts of rationality and the resulting approaches are discussed in general terms, ranging from normative rational view to anarchistic and heuristic views.

Part II: Rational Models with Qualitative Methods and Analysis

The main theme here is to cover the development of rational models based on forecasting and regression techniques.

Part III: Rational Models with Quantitative Methods and Analysis

This section covers methods based on probability theory, such as decision trees and related decision analysis and queuing theory.

Part IV: Systems Thinking-Based Decision Making

This part starts with the Fundamentals of Systems Thinking and provides an introduction to soft system methodologies. Some case studies are discussed to demonstrate the strengths of system thinking-based decision making. Selection of case studies and the methodology or methodologies will depend on the instructor's choice.

Part V: Optional Material

Heuristic Decision Making and Group Decision Making:

This section includes the fundamentals of decision making approaches that emphasize cognitive, heuristic, and group behavior aspects.

Knowledge Management and Decision Enhancing Decision Making: The objective in this section is to teach the fundamentals of knowledge management concepts, and (intelligent) decision support systems, together with the relevant IT. The technological aspects of this topic may be found at (Muller, et. al., 2014), (Khan, et. al. 2014), (Laudon, et.al, 2013) and (Kendall, et. al. 2011).

The reader should note that Monte Carlo Modeling can also be considered as a Systems Thinking- Based methodology (Pownall 2012, Parnell, et.al. 2011, Taylor III, 2013). This approach is very helpful when complete information is not available and/or the decision making process cannot be formulated in a manageable analytical form. In Monte Carlo modeling, the potential outcomes of a decision problem are assigned weights via the use of pseudo random numbers. The decision maker can then produce decisions without referring to the decision context. In this way, the difficulty involved in the explicit treatment of uncertainty is avoided. Due to its versatility, Monte Carlo modeling is covered in many undergraduate textbooks nowadays (Hazelrigg, 1996), (Daellanbach, 2005), (Parnell, et. al. 2011), (Krajewski, et. al., 2013) and (Taylor III, 2013).

As a final note, instructors are reminded that students needed to know how to include soft indicators (such as morale, commitment, burnout, capacity for learning) together with hard indicators (key performance indicators or critical success factors) into the modeling of complex decision making problems. They also need to be comfortable with simulation tools; it is well known that simulation models are useful in handling complex systems. System modeling, model validation, policy analysis, scenario generation and strategy development studies can be conducted easily via intelligent software packages such as Stella these days. The interested reader should see Maani, et.al., (2007), Aelker, et.al, (2013), Mingers, et.al. (2010), and Yurtseven, et.al, (2012).

At present, sufficient information is not available to evaluate the effectiveness of the above framework. However, a positive initial response was received from the fourth year industrial engineering students when some material from Part IV of the framework was introduced into the Fundamentals of Systems Engineering course.

Conclusions

It was argued that the traditional or hard OR/MS paradigm is not adequate for complex decision making situations; it needs to be complemented by soft system thinking approaches in university educational programs. Soft system methodolo-

gies cover a wide range of approaches that hard methodologies can not capture and allow the decision maker to handle a complex situation in its full system context. The framework presented in the study will help instructors to design contemporary courses that include complexity decision making processes. In this way, graduating students will have a broader vision and will have some confidence in handling complexity in real life. Future research will be directed towards measuring the degree of success of the framework proposed.

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GEORGE ORWELL'S PESSIMISTIC VISION OF 1984 OR FRANCIS FUKUYAMA'S OPTIMISM: THE FUTURE OF HIGHER EDUCATION EXEMPLIFIED BY BRITISH UNIVERSITIES

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Abstract

A new report on higher education, which marks the 50th anniversary of the Robins Report, reveals that academics, instead of devoting more time to teaching, actually prioritise their research. Further, it is claimed that two-thirds of students receive no feedback. These findings have been publicised in a pamphlet which at the same time, discloses new predictions, including a huge increase in the number of university entrants by 2035. The analysis of these findings, confronted with subsequent reasoning which may have caused them, should allow the establishment of the present trends that have been formed in higher education and are bound to be followed; especially by the 'newer' United Kingdom universities. Thus this paper's main aim is to identify possible challenges and pitfalls which may well await these universities in the future. Also, such an evaluation becomes quintessential in view of the fact that at present students' fees have risen to circa £9,000-10,000 for the very same courses which were available at the time when such tuition was free. The paper provides evidence that the underlying reason for many of the present problems these 'less prestigious' universities are experiencing, is chronic under-funding. As the current pattern of expansion appears to be occurring even more speedily than expected, one needs to bear in mind that distortion usually results when such goals wish to be achieved with a minimum effort and more importantly, at minimum possible cost.

Keywords: higher education, British universities, future of higher education

My plenary lecture delivered in Vienna in September 2013 during the Academic Fiction in Anglo-American perspective research seminar was entitled Current Expansion and Distortion of Higher Education in the United Kingdom and it focused on drawing an outline of higher education from its most remote times to the present day (Smoluk 2014: 17-24). On the basis of this history, analyses show how through the centuries (recent decades in particular) higher education has expanded and led to numerous misappropriations and misunderstandings in the use of the expressive “higher” education. The following presentation entitled Modularisation and Commodification of Higher Education in the United Kingdom was delivered last year at the University of Bucharest and it referred mainly to the identification of merits and demerits of the modular degrees and credit accumulation programmes and subsequently, the evaluation of their impact on ‘commodifying’ education. As the past and present assessment of higher education has already been presented, and in order to make this series complete, the 2nd International Conference on Education, Culture and Identity, held at the International University of Sarajevo in October 2015, has enabled me to talk on recognition of these modern trends which influence universities these days and which require examination in order to provide a basis for speculation on the challenges and dangers awaiting higher teaching institutions in the future.

When over a hundred years ago a few British universities began to introduce new courses as subjects of study for a degree such as English literature or later, engineering, these decisions on the extension of subjects offered by universities were regarded as pioneering. Not in wildest dreams was it thought then, that over the forthcoming century the curriculum would be expanded and revolutionised by the inculcation of courses in genetics, biotechnology, microbiology, business studies, management studies or computer science, et cetera. The above examples illustrate that making certain predictions for what a university ought to look like half a century ahead poses a major risk of misjudgment and invites errors. Anything may happen and as Hans Van Ginkel, Rector of Utrecht University, notes, the future of universities can follow either George Orwell’s pessimistic vision of 1984 or Francis Fukuyama’s optimism, and, whichever version proves correct, this will be determined by changes in society, “both at an economic level and in socio-political terms” (Ginkel 1994: 67). Allowing for the foregoing, this paper does not attempt to speculate whether future universities will have few buildings and that such teaching will be carried out by international networks – symptoms of which are already risibly visible by the setting up of more and more popular distant teaching institutions. Neither is its aim to ascertain whether universities will be confined to a “barracks” in which lecturers, researchers and scholars will continue their work. Instead of drawing unpredictable visions, the paper’s aim is to recognise present tendencies

whereby higher education evolves and – as already mentioned – on such bases make pertinent speculations apropos possible challenges and pitfalls.

Consequently, this should help us to reflect and possibly prevent those in authority from making decisions that may, in the long run, turn out to be harmful for higher education.

One of the trends referring to future higher education was formed with the acceptance of the Dearing Report of 1997, in which, amongst numerous recommendations, this one stated that over the next twenty years a steady increase in student numbers should be secured. This government's declared policy has proven very successful as by the year 2000 the number of students had more than doubled (Gombrich 2000: 10) and within the last ten years this figure has risen by 25% to 2,5 million students, both undergraduates and postgraduates. Prospects for the future are even more optimistic. In a report revealed on behalf of the Social Market Foundation think tank in October 2013 David Willetts, Minister for Universities and Science, appears to anticipate a steep increase in the number of students entering higher education by 2035 due to rising birth rates, as well as growing interest of the young in getting a university education. According to Mr Willetts, these demographic and social changes will result in 460,000 young entrants entering universities every year by 2035, which is up by a quarter from 2011 (Graham 2013:6). Such an anticipated increasing rise in demand for places at British universities is much in tune with the government's commitment to guarantee that every "motivated and qualified applicant is offered a place in a UK university" (Graham 2013:6). Laudable – in its very essence – as this expansion of university students sounds, the trend lays out pitfalls for future and may bring about considerable distortion in the idea of higher education.

With tuition fees skyrocketing during the last few years, a fundamental question arises what this average £9,000+ gets for a potential student? The pamphlet, which has been published recently for the Social Market Foundation to mark the 50th anniversary of the Robbins report on higher education, reveals sensational findings. These can be useful when answering the above question. According to this study commissioned by the Department for Business, present lecturers at red-brick universities, it is claimed, spend 40 per cent of their time teaching and 60 per cent "facilitating" research, whilst half a century ago the ratio was almost the opposite: 55 per cent was spent on teaching and 45 per cent on research (Garner 2013: 2).

It becomes self-evident that the proportion of total academic time devoted to teaching has shrunk significantly and such figures should be viewed with a meas-

ure of caution, especially when contrasted with the growth in the number of students at these universities. The less time devoted to lecturing is not the only notable decreasing figure in this report. Another finding refers to the average time spent by students being taught; this has dropped from 14.8 hours a week to 12.2 – with an increasing number of lectures conducted in auditoriums with up to one hundred students (Garner 2013: 2). Last but not least an horrific figure relates to written assignments. In 1963 the average student would usually hand in one piece of written work. At present this has fallen to one a fortnight. Not only in the quantity of assignments but also in the quality of feedback, universities are lagging far behind the times compared with a century ago; nowadays 77 per cent of written work is handed back to students with only written feedback and a grade, whilst in 1963, 61 per cent of more frequent assignments received both written comments and oral feedback (Garner 2013: 2). Figures released in the pamphlet indicate one more trend of England's present higher education: undergraduates assignment papers are usually marked as pass or fail, and there is little chance that they would be of any constructive feedback since their essays or projects are usually handed back when the students have moved on to the next module (Hussey, Smith 2010: 35).

In view of such findings released recently, it should not be surprising to hear why students' parents keep asking more and more insistently questions such as "Do you really only get three hours of lectures a week? How much time do you spend in the lab? What do you mean you haven't sat down with any of the professors yet?" (Garner 2013: 2). Questions of this calibre are perfectly understandable, but who and/or what should be blamed for having such issues raised?

The title of Richard Garner's article *What the £9,000 fee gets you: less teaching time* prompts the reader to a straight answer: it is the academics who ought to be blamed for teaching less and worse than was done half a century ago. Are these recriminations which are claimed to echo in English society, substantiated and do they truly reflect the current state of higher education in the United Kingdom?

As student contact time is reported to have decreased in the last fifty years, it should be remembered that the gigantic rise in student numbers within the last few decades has not been matched by a proportional increase in teaching/lecturing staff. Due, simply, to lack of proportions maintained, current academics seem to be buried under administration and paperwork, which, in fairness, their colleagues of the 1960s were perhaps lucky enough to do without, or at least not in such volume. This additional burden on the lecturers' shoulders is well described by Professor Pete Dorey who writes:

The Soviet-style managerialist regime imposed on universities by successive governments means many academics spend up to 40% of their time on form-filling, box-ticking, business plans, quality assurance frameworks and countless 'strategy' meetings or reviews (Dorey 2013: 39).

In light of teaching staff-student ratios becoming reversed during the periods under discussion, and this coupled with a “different” kind of paperwork, increasing substantially now, but virtually non-existent half a century ago, present claims of decreasing student contact time and less effective feedback, even if correct, have their justification in the different circumstances in which universities were operating in the 1960's compared with the present.

Another finding of the recent study reveals that academics place the priority of facilitating research over lecturing. It is suggested that they should ‘tuck’ this part of work into their spare time so that their main mission of teaching is not affected. The Report, however, does not mention that according to the Research Excellence Framework (REF) – formerly the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) introduced by the Thatcher government, academics are under obligation to do research. First, only such academics who are active in research can feel competent enough to prepare course syllabuses which enable them to examine their students and finally to award appropriate degrees for the graduates. Second, not only does research enrich students' experience but it also exposes researchers and their students to global challenges, which consequently, may transform our lives beyond recognition. Third, from the universities' viewpoint, research is co-related to international prestige and league table rankings and above all such scholarly activity determines, to a large extent, the funding available to the departments. Last but not least a crucial factor is that career progression depends on one's research results. Whether an academic is promoted or made redundant will be dependent upon his/her devotion and research ‘outputs’ (Dorey 2013: 39).

In view of the above, the question arises whether less time devoted to teaching and more to research is as a result of teachers' negligence or simply a consequence of the circumstances in which the “collective” responsibility for higher education has voluntarily or indeed in-voluntarily cornered itself?

According to Sally Hunt, General secretary of University and College Union, the primary function of a university is “to produce well-rounded, engaged individuals able to reason and question. That capacity makes someone employable, but it also makes them a more engaged citizen too” (2013: 39). It should be added at this point that it is assumed the aim of higher education lies in its mission not only to educate the young but also to facilitate research, both to the highest standards. In

order to be able to both maintain and improve these standards, clearly adequate funding is required. Like in any typical household, one should buy such chattels or get involved in such financial enterprises which are at least affordable. The UK governments, running this 'household' on a macro level, seem to have overlooked this maxim and throughout the last century, have launched four waves of higher education expansion. First, by the nineteen twenties, in the period of the 'redbricks' foundations, the already existing number of universities in the kingdom increased to just over twenty. The era of the Robbins Report (1960s) more than doubled this number. The third wave of university expansion came with the passage of the Further and Higher Education Act of 1992 which permitted all polytechnics to become universities. The new Millennium ushered in another period of thirty six polytechnics, colleges and higher education institutes receiving university status, thus all in all there are about 120 universities in the United Kingdom, out of which 78 are in England alone.

This recent rapid growth in the size of the educational sector and its beneficiaries i.e. students, has not gone along with their adequate financial support. As a result of the policies of successive governments, the 90% cut in teaching budgets imposed by the government is supposed to be offset by the £9,000+ fees. Not in even the most pessimistic visions promulgated in 2006, did anyone anticipate that within a few years tuition fees would triple from £3,000. As a consequence of such policies, not only for a student in England has a university education become the most expensive in Europe, but more sadly these higher teaching institutions have, on the pretext of modernisation, been compelled to act as competitive corporate enterprises. As competition is a discipline of the market economy, this economic rule, it was thought, could be applied to universities. It was argued that thanks to the application of competition, teaching institutions would be encouraged to make more effort towards self-maintenance and if their performance was still unsatisfactory, this could call for reforms, and finally, if they still could not get their act together, this would force them to suffer the consequences by closing down the ineffective ones. In the world of academic competition, effectiveness and the efficiency of teaching institutions are now measured in part by the number of applicants who are admitted to studies, and this, in turn, determines their Treasury Grant. The irrational thinking behind the turning of the higher education system 'upside down' was that potential students were believed to obtain a wider choice of being educated at lesser cost incurred by the taxpayer. This was – as Hussey and Smith call it – 'the political equivalent of turning base metals into gold' (2010: 3).

What was, however, overlooked in the whole operation was one tiny nuisance i.e. there is a huge discrepancy between for instance companies making and selling paper and universities which buy and use this paper for facilitating research and im-

parting knowledge. With the competition wheels being set in motion in the 1980s, the survival race and more and more frustrating struggle for finances at universities had begun. The side effects of this university revolution are countless. Suffice it to say, universities use all possible tricks in order to attract students and once they get hold of new entrants, they are prepared to do their utmost to smooth their passage through the system. Should any student fail an examination, the regulations allow for a number of solutions so as to prevent him from dropping out. This has already given rise to the dumbing down of traditional degrees. As a result, what is achieved is not what is desired: illiterate and incompetent graduates with ‘Mickey Mouse’ degrees, which are given away by – as B. Brecher (2002: 18) and other scholars (S. Baker, Brian J. Brown 2007: 124) call them – “Disneyland” universities.

Has anyone in authority given any thought if it is a mere coincidence, or does some correlation exist between a growing number of students who graduate from universities with first class honours, and an increasing number of prospective employers who point to cases of illiterate and incompetent graduates, who have to be trained from scratch before they are capable of work? One can feel less remorse if the re-training of a supposedly qualified graduate should be practical or even possible, but who should take the responsibility for allowing a graduate who himself lacks knowledge and thus imparts scraps of information in a haphazard way to young children at school? Thus in this context, what many claim that “the whole thing is too expensive and inefficient and that it is educating the wrong people in the wrong way and for the wrong jobs” (Hussey, Smith 2010: 35) seems to have appalling examples of such inexcusable practices in real life.

From the above it becomes self-evident that what we witness is confused decadence in higher education, but the question remains; to what is this decline due? The pamphlet recently published for the Social Market Foundation and mentioned here several times, reveals, amongst other findings, an increasing number of lectures that are run in auditoriums with up to one hundred students (Garner 2013: 2). This should not come as a surprise why universities with their cash-stripped budgets take such measures. Clearly, it has become economically viable to teach – or rather lecture – large groups since this method saves a lot of teaching hours which would have to be paid for if the teaching took place in smaller groups. Thus the struggle of academics to provide a good quality education has been replaced with their struggle for survival.

For the sake of argument, should we take the assumption that all the successive governments from the 1960s to the present day have had a clear vision of how the system of higher education should have evolved with a view to its improve-

ment, their success can only be measured in quantitative terms, resultant in the foundation of several dozen universities and a similar number of conversions of one time polytechnics and colleges into universities. With the expansion of universities, there has been a corresponding rapid growth in the number of students, which, as already stated earlier, is predicted to continue. In contrast, the funding, both that paid to the centres of higher education and that paid to their students, has been reduced whilst their fees increased drastically. Fifteen years ago it was already admitted in the Dearing Report that “the expansion was [...] much faster than the government had envisaged and there was insufficient thought about the potential effects of a progressively reducing unit of funding” (Dearing 1997: 3.115). This admission seems to have gone unheeded since tampering with the system of higher education has continued. Yet subsequent steps have followed in precisely the opposite direction to that which the facts in the Dearing Report indicated in terms of action required.

Under such financial strictures, questions as to what sort of good quality education can be offered to an immense horde of students? How can academics impart knowledge, instil critical thinking, understanding and develop their enthusiasm as students rush to, tick off their modules and move to the next one with the often doubtful quality of estimated results, becomes a rhetorical question. When mass higher education is offered at least possible cost to the national budget, such problems arise, and will escalate in their intensity in the future,.

On the one hand, academics are expected to produce lots of research results and teach to the best of their abilities whilst on the other hand, cuts in teaching budgets are imposed. Surely if sufficient funding was guaranteed, berating academics for prioritising research over teaching or scolding them for not providing their students with sufficient feedback, would be unnecessary. Amongst the numerous problems that have formed the present trends, especially those implemented by these ‘newer and less prestigious universities’, one thing appears to be common to both categories of university: chronic under-funding.

So long as these fundamental problems remain, any/all future reports on the state of higher education will inevitably have to take into account the current problems outlined in this paper. Should they not be resolved fast, they will multiply and corrode the entire creaking fractured system. Such a failure to fulfill our duty to the young of today, will have disastrous consequences and ramifications. And little consolation will be that other universities in Europe have shared the same fate.

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THE THIRD WAY

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Abstract

Apart from the traditional division “the teacher-centered” or “the student-centered education” the third option is, according to my mind and experience, more promising, more effective and more flexible. Namely, “the teacher-centered” education looks like an obsolete and worn-out concept, while “the student-centered” is mostly recognized as contemporary approach which must totally replace the old concept with predominant teacher’s authority. The teacher-centered notion encapsulates teachers as the focal points of education. In other words teachers are organizers who rule the whole process of education, while students are mostly passive observers which active participation is strictly limited. On the other hand “the student-centered” education allegedly eliminates all major deficiencies of traditional authoritarian style fostering students’ participation in all phases of education. The focus is shifted from teaching to learning (from teachers to students). The solution seems workable, efficient and self-evident - which is not the case. Instead of two extreme positions the third option emerges as more efficient; “the quality-centered education”. The purpose of my paper is to prove the benefits of the “third approach” and define its major characteristics.

Key words: approaches, concepts, contemporary, the third option

Introduction

The third way deals with the set of dichotomies which reflect a tendency to sharply divide opposite methodological trends without leaving enough space for compromising solutions. The history of techniques and principles in language teaching (teaching methods) is a substantial aspect of the knowledge base for teachers. Educators expand a repertoire of techniques which are not reducible to one single method uncritically accepted as the most effective and overwhelming, in other words stale and overly routinized (Prabhu, 1990). Seasoned teachers have at their disposal a large, diverse stock of best practices (Arends, 1998) which encapsulates the unique qualities, personal preferences and idiosyncrasies of their students. Despite all potential benefits from a study of methods there is a latent threat in the assumption that the knowledge of methods is mere prescription which should be followed by the book. Primarily all methods are per definition decontextualized and, as such, they are detached from “a real life” in our classrooms. The way of implementing certain methods depends on the teacher’s competences, the institutional constraints, students’ back-up knowledge, learning outcomes, the number of lessons / lectures etc. plus exigencies in the classroom (unprecedented moments which can’t be anticipated). The third way implies potentials hidden in a creative and highly personal approach which refutes the set of typical dichotomies and the rigidity of teaching methods. To exemplify the third way we can start with the common notions of the conflicting and antagonistic strategies (the teacher-centered vs student-centered education). Most contemporary teachers stick to the concept of the student-centered education while conservative teachers find teacher-centered strategy more profitable and effective. This dichotomy neglects “the third way” solution which is neither the teacher-centered nor the student-centered but the quality-centered approach. The goal of this paper is to promote “the third-way” strategy highlighting benefits from avoiding most common dichotomies and empowering both teachers and students with more flexible approach which is not closed in the strict theoretical frames. The study of methods is inspiring in spite of its limitations and a radical criticism which tends to skip all theoretical frames as futile effort to comprise a real life within dogmatic concepts. If we recognize the invaluable contribution to the quality of both teaching and learning the study of methods encourage continuing education in the lifelong process of learning to teach (Larsen-Freeman, 1998).

Grammar-Translation vs Direct Method

We can start our topic with the comparison between the grammar-translation (the classical method) and the direct method recently revived as a method

which promotes learning how to use a foreign language in communication. The grammar-translation method was first used in the teaching of the classical languages, Latin and Greek (Chastain, 1988) which underlying assumption (or rationale) is that through the study of the grammar of the target language students will be able to cope with the grammatical features of their native language. The usage of the target language is neglected as marginal, while grammar is treated as the focal point of all languages which, combined with translation, serves as the very foundation of learning. The direct-method insists on one “none-negotiable principle” – translation is not allowed, which is fostered by the conviction that meaning is to be conveyed directly in the target language through various visual aids and demonstrations (Diller, 1978) The following principles could be observed as the marrow of the grammar-translation and the direct-method (GT and DM) which reflect the antagonism between the two methods. The “the-third way” (TW) potential solutions are added after contrasting principles:

- (GT) An essential purpose of learning foreign languages is reading literature.
- (DM) The main objective is learning how to communicate (gaining communicative competence)
- (TW) Both is needed (intensive reading is one of four major language skills), but the accent is more on the communicative competence. Reading itself contributes effectively to our communicative competence (through reading we enlarge vocabulary, subconsciously assimilate grammar forms etc.) Reading is not waste of precious time if we know how to incorporate inspiring and informative reading sessions into typical communicative practice.
- (GT) The primary skills are gradually developed through reading and writing while speaking, listening and pronunciation are rather irrelevant.
- (DM) Speaking and listening are of utmost significance. Pronunciation should be worked on from the beginning of language instructions
- (TW) The third-way is comprehensible approach which combines all four major language skills without neglecting the necessity to practice pronunciation as one of the vital parts of language instructions.
- (GT) Students pay a lot of attention to analysing and assimilating the forms of the target language.
- (DM) Forms of the target language are acquired as the result of the massive exposure (primarily speaking and listening). Strict analysis of the language forms is needless – all we need is gained through the process of acquisition.
- (TW) The prime principle is the quality of the target language – if it is easier to clarify and analyse certain grammatical forms then it is highly recommended. Although the emphasis is on the process of acquisition learning and analysing is not abandoned. Whatever facilitates our teaching and learning process is welcomed.
- (GT) Deductive reasoning of explicit grammatical rules is predominantly used.

- (DM) Inductive reasoning (the bottom-up) is more efficient and more dominant than deductive (the top-down procedure).
- (TW) There is no exclusive approach; the choice between deductive and inductive reasoning depends on topics, the complexity of the content, the age of students, learning outcomes etc.
- (GT) Translation is often used in the form of the contrastive analyses.
- (DM) Translation is almost never used; the target language is the only way of communication in the classrooms.
- (TW) Translation is used whenever it is needed – to contrast language forms, adequately understand idiomatic expressions, explain grammar etc.

The above mentioned peculiar features of the grammar-translation and the direct-method serve as the illustration of the “third-way approach” which in its contextualized form seeks the most profitable ways of acquiring the target language without diminishing the relevance of traditional learning (Jeremy, 2007)

Common Dichotomies

The following list contains the most frequent dichotomies which are stumbling blocks in the history of teaching foreign languages (the whole spectrum contains polarities taken as antagonistic tendencies and principles).

1. The nature of language (as one of distinguishing features in methodology and major dichotomy) runs through the whole linguistics in the last decades. The notion of language could be understood from its formal or functional aspect, meaning that formal aspect relates to the traditional teaching while functional aspect (contemporary trend) underlines the pragmatic nature of language, in other words its applicative usage in the form of communicative competence. The third way accentuates functional aspect without marginalizing its formal nature (grammar, analyses, elaborations, explicit clarifications, memorizing rules etc.) The point is that the quality-centered education never dispels certain techniques or language principles because it is in vogue or a fashionable trend. The ultimate goal is to use “everything what works well” without ostracising methods (even the most obsolete) in its totality or glorifying any particular method as the finite solution.
2. The nature of learning is either construed as analytic (cognitive, intellectual) or experiential (related to progressive education going back to the work of John Dewey). The third way embraces both concepts with preference towards experiential learning and an adequate focus on the analytic nature of languages. Cognitive efforts are appreciated as utterly meaningful and profound whenever we deal with demanding theoretical issues, complexities and subtleties which can't be resolved in solely experiential learning.
3. The goals of SL learning are mainly focused on either accuracy or communication

(fluency). The third way rejects all extreme and mutually exclusive approaches and rather seeks the complementary nature of uncompromising views. The final assessment relies on the goals of education in the concrete context without prescriptive and undeviating guidelines. Teachers should define the most optimum solution regardless of all theoretical arguments which, in its hyperbolic forms, unjustifiably expel momentous techniques and principles in the name of dubious “bee-lines” in education (fiercely advocated by some teachers and experts as the all-embracing and impeccable concepts). The relevance of communication should not be stressed at the expense of accuracy if we are not willing to accept broken English as the final result of purely communicative approach which sacrifices accuracy in the name of fluency.

4. The type of syllabus could be considered from two different angles - whether the focus is mainly on the system (grammar, phonology, vocabulary etc.) or whether it is focused more on the skills (reading, speaking, writing, listening). The choice between the two aspects (systems or skills) is rather artificial and arbitrary from the “third-way angle” because of the fact that systems and skills are integrated in most current syllabuses. The focus is rather flexible; it moves from one side to the other depending on learning outcomes. The third way is more rational adjustment to the student’s need and learning outcomes than an abrupt or radical shift from one polarity to its opposite counterpart.

5. If syllabuses are segregated English is taught as a separate subject, if integrated then English is connected with other subjects (the content-based learning etc.) The third way option tends to use main positive features of English as a segregated and integrated subject; segregation implies an intensive focus on the target language while integration incorporates different subjects in which English is used as the means of communication

6. The process of learning could foster either cognitive (intellectual) or affective factors (inducing positive emotions the level of stress is minimized while anxiety-free active participation maximized). The third way approach liberates teachers and learners from one-sided solutions seeking the most efficient mixture between the two more complementary than mutually exclusive concepts.

7. The teaching process could be either transmissive (traditional ex-cathedra lecturing style) or more dialogic (interactive). The third way is adaptable and contextualized which means that both teaching styles have its place in the contemporary education.

8. The top-down strategy (deductive teaching) is more adequate for young learners while the bottom-up strategy (inductive teaching) is more effective with secondary school and university students. The third way never sticks to only one strategy; teachers themselves should modify their teaching styles according to their knowledge and experience.

9. Bilingual teaching leaves the room for the native language whenever it is justified (complexities and shades in translation contrasting analyses, certain grammatical topics etc.), while monolingual approach insists only on the target language as the means of communication between teachers and students. The third way solution finds convincing rationale in both teaching principles.

Constructivism vs Direct teaching

In recent years the burning and still unsolved debate is related to the benefits of “constructed” knowledge versus instructed knowledge (Rowe, 2006). The advocates of “constructed knowledge” (constructivists) adamantly believe that the profound nature of learning requires individual creativeness as the principal source of personal understanding, reflection and action. Predigested information transmitted by a teacher and presented in a textbook (Zevenbergen, 1995) are not presupposed as the mandatory stage for deepening the existing knowledge. On the other hand, instructivists uphold the merits and efficacy of explicit or direct teaching. A structured course is taken as the very foundation necessary for sequential and orderly manner, which is reviewed regularly, assessed and practised. The opposing approaches are referred in the current professional literature as “progressive methods” versus “traditional didactic teaching” (Adkisson& McCoy, 2006), or as “minimally guided instruction” and “explicit instructions”.

The underlying principles of constructivism were formulated by John Dewey, Jean Piaget and Jerome Bruner who emphasized the relevance of firsthand experience and various sorts of activities derived from the process of learning. The Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky expanded the concept of constructivism by collaborative social interaction which is achievable in the zone of proximal development. Vygotsky introduced “social constructivism” with accent on feedback, discussion and sharing of ideas, while Piaget’s “cognitive constructivism” underlines the intellectual development (less on social interaction).

Constructivist nomenclature comprises the following set of terms; a class of students has become “community of learners”; learning by doing has become “process approach” or “experiential learning”; learning has become “knowledge construction”, while the support provided by teachers, adults or more knowledgeable peers is expressed by the term “scaffolding”. The constructivist concept (active learning) promotes new challenging roles of the teacher such as facilitator and supporter, rather than controller (organizer or instructor). A pervading assumption of constructivist rationale is that students are eager to learn (that they possess strong intrinsic motivation), but it is more likely that the level of motivation of most stu-

dents is average which will not suffice if teachers rely entirely on constructivism (experiential learning). A constructivist “find-out-for-yourself” approach is not fruitful when it comes to young learners (basic literacy and numeracy learning). For most children demand to actively discover certain rules, definitions or shades of meaning proves to be rather formidable and futile. Jonassen (1992) developed a three-stage model of knowledge acquisition:

Stage 1 – initial language acquisition

Stage 2 – advanced knowledge

Stage 3 – expertise

Jonassen agrees that direct teaching is highly effective if it is related to initial knowledge acquisition while the levels of advanced knowledge and expertise mostly benefit from a constructive strategy. Higher-order critical reading (as well as profound comprehension) belongs to advanced knowledge effectively transmitted by the strategy of the constructive teaching, while establishing basic skills is realized and enabled by the direct teaching. Constructive approach as the set of unstructured discovery-type activities is inefficient for the achieving learning outcomes if students are not equipped with sound independent learning skills (Presley and McCormick, 1995). As the example of the harsh criticism referred to constructivism Delpit (1988, p. 287) quoted one student: “I didn’t feel she was teaching us anything. She wanted us to correct each other’s papers and we were there to learn from her. She didn’t teach us anything, absolutely nothing.” If teachers insist on solely student-centered activities one of potential problems is constructing misconceptions which are unnecessary diversions from desired learning outcomes. Related to time-consuming constructivist strategy Kirnschner (2006, p. 80) points that: “As a consequence, learners can engage in problem-solving activities for extended periods and learn almost nothing.” According to Rosenshine (1986) the direct-teaching comprises the following six major components:

- daily review
- clear presentation of new material
- guided practice by students
- immediate correction and feedback from teacher
- independent practice
- weekly and monthly reviews

Direct instruction (DI) was initially devised by Engelmann at the University of Oregon as a fast-paced method of teaching that includes intensive interaction between students and teachers. In order to be effective DI procedures are founded on reinforcement, clear objectives, regular error correction, modelling, high response rate and practice to mastery. All steps are teachable and learnable if lesson

contents are sufficiently reduced and transmitted in a way which enables students to learn correctly. To avoid potential weaknesses of DI (they could be too prescriptive, too highly structured and too rapidly paced) teachers must pay particular attention to comprehension checks and feedback. To compensate potential weaknesses of DI a much less structured form of direct teaching is introduced in the form of interactive whole-class teaching which is particularly accepted in the United Kingdom and some other countries. Interactive whole-class teaching engage all students as active participants which generates a high level of attention enhanced by dialogue, asking questions and personal contributions which are not reduced to one-sided (ex-cathedra) style of lecturing. Without being constrained by rigidly structured lessons interactive model comprises essential features of direct teaching and, as such, it is delivered in digestible chunks of knowledge. All forms of direct teaching methods encapsulate a repertoire of the following skills and competences (Peter, 2008, p.17):

- planning the content and method of delivery (including appropriate use of audio-visual equipment and ICT)
- managing the available time efficiently
- presenting the content in an interesting and motivating way
- explaining and demonstrating clearly
- knowing when and how to explain key points in more detail
- using appropriate questioning to focus students' attention, stimulate their thinking, and check for understanding
- dealing with questions raised by students
- evaluating students' learning and participation
- giving feedback to students

Concluding Remarks

Key issues related to suitability of direct teaching methods are harmonized with the core values of the third-way approach (Peter Westwood, 2008, p.16):

- A teaching method must be selected for its suitability in a given context: No single method of teaching can be used for all types of subject matter or for achieving all educational goals.
 - Under what conditions are direct methods appropriate? Direct teaching is advocated for the beginning stages of learning new information, skills or strategies.
 - Strengths, weaknesses and applications of direct teaching: Direct methods have much to offer if used in appropriate ways to achieve appropriate goals.
 - Optimising and enhancing the effects of teaching methods: All teaching methods can be made more effective by attending to particular aspects of implementation.
- The third-way strategy of teaching is close to the concept of enhanced lectures if the teacher succinctly presents topics and then engages students in open discus-

sions, while the closure includes consolidating and summarizing key points from the lecture. Eggen and Kauchak (2004) claim that most of the structural (inherent) weaknesses in the strict lecturing style can be overcome if the teacher-time is interspersed with short dialogic sessions (periods of questioning and discussion). Accordingly, Ormrod (2000, p. 533) states: "The more students pay attention and the more they engage in meaningful learning, organization, elaboration, and so on, the more they are likely to benefit from the lectures they hear and the textbooks they read." The third-way avoids one-sided approaches and promotes the strategy of teaching which is based on theoretical assumptions and immediate experience (a given context). There are no final or impeccable methods; every single teacher should adjust his or her teaching style according to personal competences and contextualized factors. Such "loose" approach acquires a profound grasp of various (often conflicting) educational trends and creative thinking which is not reducible to sheer acceptance of any single method. The application of principled eclecticism primarily addresses the issue of learner's needs and styles thus comprising interlanguage skills, comprehensible input, negotiation of meaning and product oriented approach. The third-way strategy is "method without methods", having in mind that every single method is based on certain exaggerated forms which inevitably suppress some other relevant aspect of teaching. The principal structural flaw of all methods is their alleged all-embracing nature and we need just a bit of immediate experience to realize that the way of teaching is above all radical concepts of the "absolute truth". Teaching is more than science or art and there are no short-cuts to the final solutions, even if they are disguised in the form of scientifically and empirically based methods. The third-way perspective recognizes potentials above the horizon of established or widely accepted methods thus leading to one of the most challenging adventure of encouraging and decoding explicit and hidden capacities of human beings.

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THE USE OF COLLOCATIONS BY B1, B2 AND C1 LEVEL STUDENTS OF ENGLISH AS L2 AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ZENICA

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Abstract

The paper presents a research into the use of collocations by B1, B2 and C1 level students of English at the University of Zenica conducted by analysing student's examination papers. Collocations represent an important segment of the knowledge of a foreign language and its vocabulary. They appear in many different forms and learning them might be seen as the most difficult task of L2 learning. Difficulties in using collocations appear even at advanced levels of language learning. A preliminary study into the use of collocations by B2 level students of English showed that the students used proper lexical collocations in about 60% and proper grammatical collocations in about 50% of the cases. In view of those results, a research was conducted among B1, B2 and C1 level students of English at the English Department of the University of Zenica to investigate their use of collocations. Student translations were analysed with a focus on the different types of collocations. The translations were produced as a part of their final examination in the Contemporary English courses 1 through 8 corresponding to the different CEFR levels analysed. We assumed that the results of the students in all four years of the English studies would be consistent with the results of the preliminary study, and that there would be no significant difference between the use of grammatical and lexical collocations.

Key words: collocations, lexical collocations, grammatical collocations

Introduction

Definitions of collocations are numerous. All of them imply “some kind of syntagmatic relation of words” (Nesselhauf, 2004: 11). The simplest definition would be the one by McCarthy & O’Dell (2006) who state that “a collocation is two or more words that often go together” (p. 6). “Collocations are semantically arbitrary restrictions which do not follow logically from the propositional meaning of word” claims Baker (1992: p. 47). They represent the “co-occurrence of words at a certain distance” (Nesselhauf, 2004: 11), however, frequent co-occurrence, more frequent than randomly combined words in a language. They are “a type of word combination... that is fixed to some degree but not completely” (Nesselhauf, 2004: 12). Gelbukh et al. (2013: iii) restrict the definition of collocations to lexical relations only. Some examples are: give a lecture, make a decision, and lend support. In addition to the term collocation, they use the term ‘restricted lexical co-occurrence’ to describe “expressions in which one word chooses another one to convey a particular meaning in an unmotivated, unpredicted way” (Gelbukh, 2013: 4).

The definition of collocations adopted in this paper is the one proposed by Benson et al. (2010) that collocations are words that “regularly combine with certain other words or grammatical constructions” (xiii). They are recurrent and semi-fixed, which implies that idiomatic expressions are excluded. Collocations are divided into grammatical and lexical. Lexical collocations consist of a combination of two lexical words. Grammatical collocations consist of a dominant word, usually lexical and a preposition or a grammatical construction.

Words paired in a collocation are referred to as collocates. Collocates are “co-selected by the speaker or writer and they are not a chance co-occurrence” (Cheng, 2012: 77). The collocates of a word are words which most frequently appear several words to the left or right of that word, the number of words ranging from four to seven, depending on the author.

Citing Firth’s understanding of the term collocation, Taylor (2012: 106) notes that “collocation is a matter of “mutual expectancy” (Firth 1968 [1957]: 181), of “the company [that a word] keeps” (p. 179)”. Taylor (ibid) further adds that “very often, the use of a word or expression generates expectations as to the surrounding words in the discourse”. According to him (Taylor, 2012), the knowledge of collocational preferences constitutes an aspect of “an idiomatic command of the language” (p. 107). The knowledge of collocations is also referred to as ‘collocational competence’ (Mukherjee (2009) in Cheng, 2012: 172). Second language learners have to acquire this knowledge and their intuition in this regard is usually unreliable.

Collocations are highly important in language studies. Meaning of words cannot be established by examining them in isolations. Cheng (2012) notes that a “collocation is a good guide to meaning” (p. 8) as collocations may reveal meanings of words which are often associated with specific contexts. O’Keeffe (2010: 203) notes that collocations help us explore the different senses or uses of words, which usually appear in different phraseological patterns and structures. Additionally, O’Keeffe refers to ‘semantic prosodies’ or the specific meanings that collocates can take on (2010: 66) in different contexts.

Elaborate procedures have been developed within the field of corpus linguistics in pursuit of the frequency of words occurring together. Computerized or manual, small-scale, corpora are set up to that end given that a single pairing of words is usually not sufficient (Viana, 2011: 23).

The principle of language economy teaches us that perfect synonyms or words that can be used interchangeably in any context hardly exist in any language. Big and large, for example are synonyms in English. However, “you prepare a big (#large) surprise for someone and pay a large (#big) amount of money for something” (Taylor, 2012: 108). Consequently, collocations are important for language teaching because of the principle of “more frequent = more important to learn” (Leech in Meunier et al., 2011: 12). More frequent words are thus more useful to the learner both for comprehension and for production. Collocations have a great deal of relevance to language teachers in preparing teaching materials, designing tests or explaining subtle differences in language use.

Some studies have shown that it is important to study collocational patterns, even of more frequent words. Although such words are commonly considered easy or well-known, a study such as that of Nesselhauf (2004) has indicated that a group of Norwegian learners of English have not mastered them even at an advanced level. The importance of collocations for Bosnian learners of English is stressed in Riđanović’s contrastive grammar of English and BCS (2007), particularly in the context of adjectives which may be attributed to nouns. One such example is the use of heavy with rain in English, and the inadequacy of its most frequent translation equivalent *teška* with *kišain* BCS (p. 11). Riđanović (2007) dedicates an entire chapter to the ‘company that words keep’ (pp. 352-61), which abound with examples of contrastive differences in the use of collocations in the two languages.

Studies investigating the use of English collocations among BCS learners are rare, however, almost non-existent since the field of corpus linguistics has not yet become established among linguists in the region. This paper is thus among the first

to present the results of an analysis of the collocation comprehension and production among different learner levels.

Difficulties in using collocations appear even at advanced levels of language learning. Nevertheless, learners need to be aware of frequent collocations or exceptions. A preliminary study into the use of collocations by B2 level students of English conducted by the authors showed that the students used proper lexical collocations in about 60% and proper grammatical collocations in about 50% of the cases. In view of those results, this research was conducted among B1, B2 and C1 level students of English at the English Department of the University of Zenica to investigate their use of collocations. Student translations were analysed with a focus on the different types of collocations. The translations were produced as a part of their final examination in the Contemporary English courses 1 through 8 corresponding to the different CEFR levels analysed. We assumed that the results for the students in all four years of the English studies would be consistent with the results of the preliminary study, and that there would be no significant difference between the use of grammatical and lexical collocations.

Given that there is insufficient research into the use of collocations by BCS learners of English as L2, and having attested constant difficulties the students encounter in producing collocations at all levels, the authors have set out to carry out a study with the aim to:

1. Quantify the use of correct or appropriate collocations, both lexical and grammatical, among the target group of English as L2 students;
2. Identify the types of collocations that present the most difficulties for students of the different levels analyzed;
3. Establish whether there is any difference in the comprehension of English collocations when translating them from English to BCS and their production when translating them from BCS to English;
4. Identify, where relevant, the contrastive differences between the two languages that might contribute to the incorrect use of some types of collocations;
5. Offer a classification of collocation mistakes that might help BCS teachers of English in teaching collocations;
6. Establish the possible intralinguistic factors that affect the use of appropriate collocations;
7. Based on the results of the above analyses, attempt to make predictions regarding the appropriate use of the different types of collocations among the BCS learners of English in general;

The secondary aim of the study is to:

1. Collect a corpus of mistakes in using collocations (the so called deviant colloca-

tions) to be used in further investigations and contrastive analyses of the two languages.

The results of the study have implications for teaching collocations at the university level. By quantifying the data, the study offers an insight into the types of collocations which seem to be the most difficult to acquire to BCS learners of English and enables generalizations about the collocation comprehension and production of BCS learners of English as L2.

Method

The study is set up within the frameworks of Applied Linguistics as defined in Cook (2009: 1). It identifies and analyzes a specific practical problem of language, that of the comprehension and production of collocations by B1, B2 and C1 level students of English as L2.

It also touches on some principles of corpus linguistics, as it includes a collection and analysis of a learner corpus.

Collocations are generally studied by analyzing both large computerized corpora and small learner corpora. This paper is a result of collecting a small-scale corpus of learner translation of collocations comprising 169 collocations analyzed in a total of 1395 instances of use.

The learners are students of English in the first, second, third and fourth year of studies at the English Department of the University of Zenica. The corpus of student translations was analyzed with a focus on the different types of collocations. The translations were produced as a part of their final examination in the Contemporary English Language (CEL) courses 1 through 8 corresponding to the different CEFR levels analyzed and cover a range of topics. Based on the University Curriculum of the English Language and Literature studies, the students completing the CEL1, CEL2 and CEL3 courses are B1 students. The students completing the CEL4, CEL5 and CEL6 courses are B2 students, and the students completing the CEL7 and CEL8 courses are C1 students. The CEL7 examination papers have not been included in this study though, since under the CEL7 course syllabus the students are not required to produce any translations as a part of their final exam in the course.

The papers were selected randomly from the groups of papers in CEL1 through CEL8, CEL7 excluded, regardless of the student score and grade. The papers analyzed were written over a time span of eight years, from 2008 to 2015. The

collocations were extracted manually. The study therefore relies on the production data. A total of 349 papers have been analyzed.

All types of collocations were analyzed, both grammatical and lexical, identified in the student written translations. The lexical collocations included the following 6 combinations: verb + noun; adjective + noun; noun + verb; noun 1 + of + noun 2; adverb + adjective; verb + adverb. The grammatical collocations included the following 8 combinations and structures: noun + preposition; noun + to infinitive; noun + that clause; preposition + noun; adjective + preposition; adjective + to infinitive; adjective + that clause; verb + preposition.

Not all combinations were identified in all of the groups of papers. Average correct or appropriate use was calculated for each of the above combinations within the groups of lexical (LC) and grammatical collocations (GC). Then the average was identified for the group of LCs and the group of GCs separately to establish whether there is any difference in the use of the two. The results indicate in percentage only the average correct use, as the numbers for the incorrect use would be redundant. This procedure was applied first to quantify the correct use of LCs and GCs in the student translations from English to BCS, namely to identify the degree of their collocation comprehension. The same procedure was then applied to the translations from BCS to English to identify the degree of the student collocation production. Once all the averages were obtained for all the CELs courses individually, the average LC and GC comprehension and production were calculated for each of the CEFR levels analyzed, namely B1, B2 and C1.

Results

As shown in Table 1 below, the analysis of the student written translations as a part of their final examination paper in CEL 1 through CEL8 (CEL7 excluded) comprised a total of 169 collocations, analyzed in 1395 instances of use. The results are presented separately for the lexical and grammatical collocations. A total of 60 collocations were extracted at all of the three levels and analyzed in 634 instances of use in the student translations from English to BSC. This data refers to the collocation comprehension. The data referring to the collocation production, on the other hand, included a total of 109 collocations analyzed in 761 instances of use. Since the syllabi for CEL1, CEL2, CEL3 and CEL4 do not incorporate translation from English to BCS into the final examination, the lines provided for those courses remain empty.

Table 1

Numbers of lexical and grammatical collocations, as well as instances of their use for each Contemporary English course

	E → BCS				BCS → E			
	LCs		GCs		LCs		GCs	
			LC Inst.	GC Inst.			LC Inst.	GC Inst.
CEL1	-	-	-	-	6	5	69	54
CEL 1 Σ	-		-		11		123	
CEL2	-	-	-	-	9	4	104	27
CEL 2Σ	-		-		13		131	
CEL3	5	5	94	72	7	5	50	36
CEL 3Σ	10		166		12			86
B1Σ	10		166		36		230	
CEL4	-	-	-	-	7	5	60	74
CEL 4Σ	-		-		12			134
CEL 5	7	10	70	100	12	7	120	70
CEL 5Σ	17		170		19		190	
CEL 6	12	5	120	50	14	5	74	28
CEL 6Σ	17		170		19		102	
B2Σ	34		340		50		426	
CEL 8	12	4	96	32	14	9	60	45
CEL 8Σ	16		128		23		105	
C1Σ	16		128		23		105	

Note. E = English; BCS = Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian; LCs = Lexical Collocations; GCs = Grammatical Collocations; Inst. = Instances; CEL = Contemporary English Language; CEFR = Common European Framework of Reference for Languages; B1, B2, C1 refer to CEFR levels; Σ = the total number of collocations or instances.

Table 2 below was produced by analyzing the percentages of correct collocation use for each of the six types of LCs and eight types of GCs referred to in the Method section and identified in the texts assigned for translation. Not all of the types of collocations were identified, however, in all the different CEL translation assignments. As in Table 1, the empty lines are due to the lack of translation assignments from English to BCS in some CEL courses.

Table 2
Percentage of correct collocation comprehension and production per Contemporary English courses and the corresponding CEFR levels

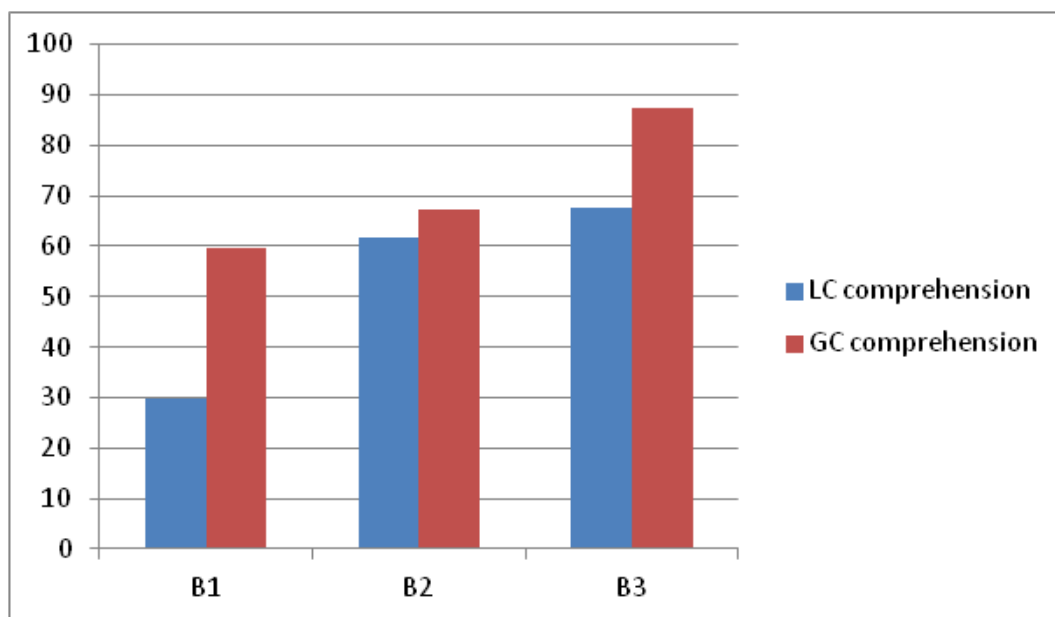
CEFR level	Course & course χ	Comprehension (%)		Production (%)		χ for CEFR level
		LCs	GCs	LCs	GCs	
B1	CEL 1	-	-	46.37	59.01	36.32%
	CEL 1 χ	-	-	52.69	-	
	CEL2	-	-	48.04	22.22	
	CEL 2 χ	-	-	35.13	-	
	CEL3	29.78	59.72	6.0	19.44	
	CEL 3 χ	44.72	-	12.72	-	
B2	CEL4	-	-	48.33	62.16	48.28%
	CEL 4 χ	-	-	55.25	-	
	CEL 5	65	59.8	29.4	30.5	
	CEL 5 χ	62.4	-	27.45	-	
	CEL 6	58.3	75	26.8	32.5	
	CEL 6 χ	66.65	-	29.65	-	
C1	CEL 8	67.5	87.5	69.45	71.68	74.03%
	CEL 8 χ	77.5	-	70.56	-	

Note. LCs = Lexical Collocations; GCs = Grammatical Collocations; CEL = Contemporary English Language; CEFR = Common European Framework of Reference for Languages; B1, B2, C1 refer to CEFR levels; χ = the average. Figures 1 through 4 below present the data extracted from Table 2. Figure 1 com

Figures 1 through 4 below present the data extracted from Table 2. Figure 1 compares the correct use of GCs and LCs in the student translations from English to BCS, measuring their comprehension at B1, B2 and C1 level. It indicates that the students' comprehension of GCs is better than their comprehension of LCs by about 50% at B1 level, by only 6% at B2 level and by 20% at C1 level.

Figure 1

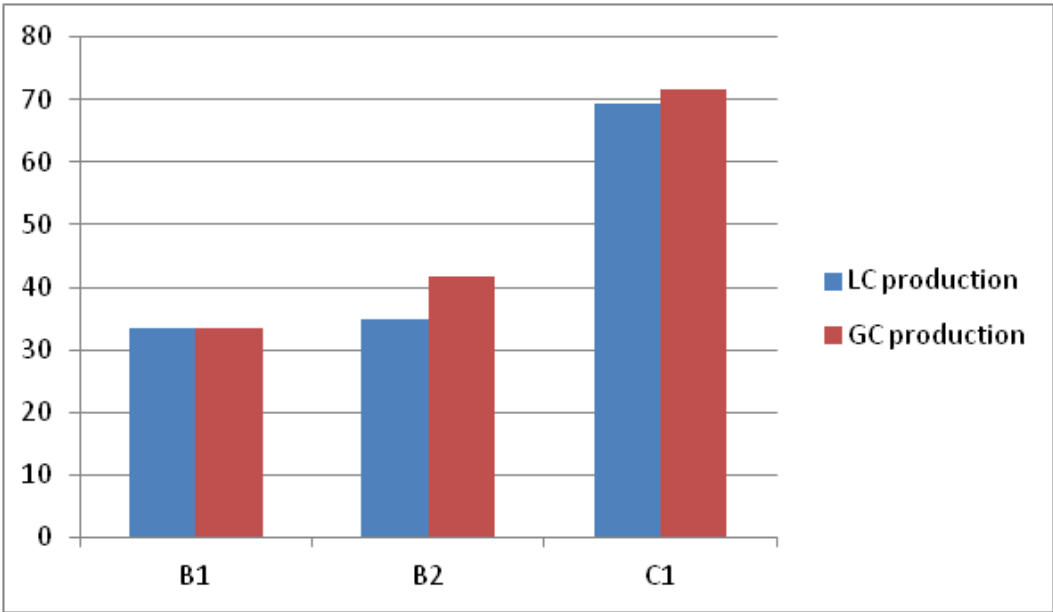
Comparison of comprehension of LCs and GCs for different CEL courses



Note. LCs = Lexical Collocations; GCs = Grammatical Collocations; CEL = Contemporary English Language.

As opposed to the previous figure, Figure 2 compares the correct use of GCs and LCs in the student translations from BCS to English, measuring their production. It indicates that the average students' production of GCs too is better than their production of LCs. The difference in the case of production, though, is less significant than in the case of comprehension and ranges from about only 0.1% at B1 level, through 7% at B2 level to 2% at C1 level.

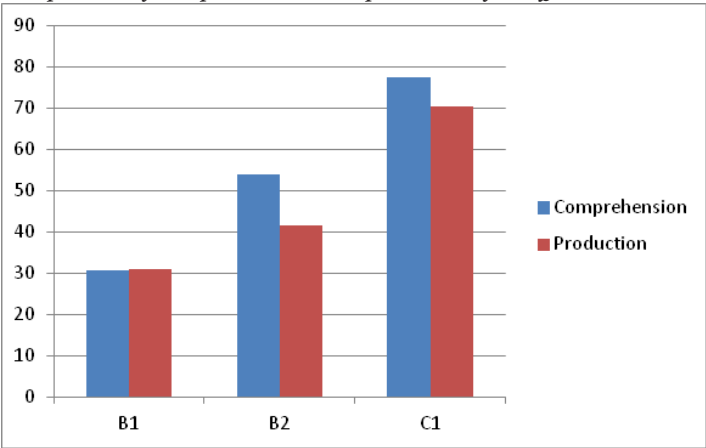
Figure 2
Comparison of production of LCs and GCs for different CELs



Note. LCs = Lexical Collocations; GCs = Grammatical Collocations; CEL = Contemporary English Language.

Figure 3 compares the average percentage of comprehension and production of both LCs and GCs at the different levels analyzed. It shows that, at B2 and C1 levels students are more successful in comprehending than in producing collocations by about 12% and 7% respectively. They are almost equally successful in comprehending and producing collocations at B1 level, the difference being a mere 0.5% in favor of the production.

Figure 3
Comparison of comprehension and production for different CEFR levels

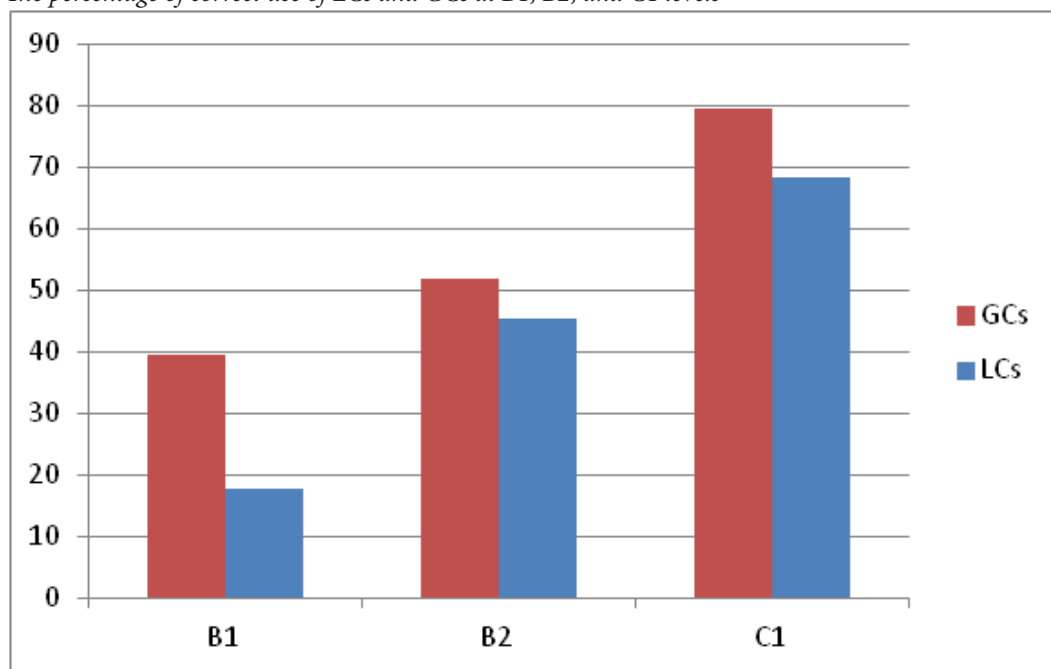


Note. CEFR = Common European Framework of Reference for Languages; B1, B2, C1 refer to the CEFR levels analyzed in the study.

Figure 4 compares the students' overall competence in LCs and GCs at the different levels when using them both when translating from English to BCS and vice versa. It indicates that, in general, students are more competent in using GCs at all levels than in using LCs, the difference ranging from about 22% at B1 level, through 6% at B2 level to 11% at C1 level. These results are contrary to the results of the preliminary study.

Figure 4

The percentage of correct use of LCs and GCs at B1, B2, and C1 levels



Discussion

In view of the aims set in the study as well as the results obtained in the course of the analyses, numerous observations can be made and conclusions drawn referring to the aims of the study.

As shown in Figure 4 above, the students display greater competence in both the comprehension and the production of GCs at all the three levels analyzed. What is significant is that these results are not consistent with the results of the preliminary study, where B2 level learners showed a better mastery of lexical collocations by about 10%. A conclusion may be drawn that, when analyzing collocations, it

is important to include more collocations as well as instances of their use and to set up a larger scale corpus when making generalizations about student collocation competence. One of the drawbacks of the study, however, may be that it lacks elicitation tests for students. Such tests would serve as a control test for this study and the correspondence of the results of such tests would make this study more reliable. The students' greater competence in the comprehension of GCs at all the three levels may be ascribed to the fact that GCs contain combinations such as noun + to infinitive or noun + that clause, which are commonly translated with clausal constructions into BCS and hardly contain an alternative translation. Their efforts to lift hundreds of millions of people out of poverty... is translated as ...Njihovi naponi da izbave stotine miliona ljudi od siromaštva... Or assumptions... that China only supports dictatorship is translated as pretpostavke... da Kina samopodržava diktatorstvo. The same is the case for the production of GCs as in snaga da istraju, the only translation of which is with clausal construction the strength to endure. Lexical collocations, on the other hand, consist of different combinations of lexical words. Poor vocabulary has been identified as the reason for lower success rate in the comprehension and production of lexical collocations. This conclusion also applies to the third aim set in the study.

Based on the results of the correct translation of both LCs and GCs, the following ranking list of the top three combinations for the comprehension of LCs may be made:

1. adverb + adjective, as in equally important (BCS: jednakovažan);
2. verb + noun, as in its aid brings no benefit to ordinary people (BCS: njena pomoć nedonosi nikakvu korist ljudima);
3. adjective + noun, as in free flow of information (BCS: slobodan protok informacija).

In terms of the comprehension of GCs, the combinations are ranked as follows:

1. verb + preposition, as in stared at him (BCS: zurio u njega),
2. adjective + that clause, as in I was aware that Black would... (BCS: Bila sam sigurna da će Black...);
3. noun + that clause, as in assumptions... that China only supports dictatorship.

In terms of the production of LCs, where the success rates are generally much lower than in the case of GCs and do not exceed 40%, the list is as follows:

1. adjective + noun, as in široki konsenzus (E: broad/wide consensus);
2. verb + noun, as in udahnuti život (E: breathe life into);
3. verb + adverb, as in silom ukloniti (E: remove forcibly).

The ranking list for the production of GCs is as follows:

1. noun + that clause, as in *nada da će moj budući svijet biti oblikovan...* (E: the hope that my future world would be shapes);
2. noun + to infinitive, as in *snaga da izdržim* (E: strength to endure);
3. adjective + that clause, as in *oduševljena što može doći* (E: delighted that she could come).

The most difficult for production seem to be the constructions containing a preposition, as in the verb + preposition combination (e.g. *učestvovati u događaju*, translated incorrectly as *participate *at an event*) or the preposition + noun combination (e.g. *u to vrijeme*, translated incorrectly as **in that time*).

These ranking lists may be applied to all the target levels. However, the success rates are not identical at all three of them. In view of the extensiveness of the study, the authors believe that the above ranking lists apply to the collocation competence at B1, B2 and C1 level BCS learners of English in general, which is a conclusion that refers to the sixth aim of the study.

The following paragraphs contain the conclusions drawn in respect to the final four aims of the study, based on the analysis of the mistakes the students made in the comprehension and the production of collocations.

The reasons for the mistakes are varied. For example, a single translation equivalent in BCS covers two or three expressions in English that may or may not be synonyms or near-synonyms. Synonymous expressions in English usually have certain shades of meanings, for which reason some synonymous expressions are not always mutually interchangeable in all the contexts. The usual mistakes found in the corpus are related to the following:

- Poor comprehension of these shades of meaning;
- A single translation equivalent in BCS that can cover different contexts with the same expression in L1.

One example is the English *pick up/lift/raise/elevate* and BCS *podići*. In BCS the single expression *podići* may be used in different contexts. However, in English, the three above-stated verbs are not always mutually interchangeable. Therefore, the following phrase was translated in some cases with an incorrect near-synonym: *podići kofer?* *raise/?carry a suitcase*. These collocations are marked as semantically questionable not because they are not possible in English but because they might be acceptable and fit into different contexts other than those found in the corpus.

Another example is the phrase: transform the impulses into sound. The synonyms change and convert are found in the corpus. However, these two cover much broader contexts in English, whereas the expression transform is more appropriate for the texts referring to physics and physical phenomena. In some cases, however, the synonymous pairs were mutually interchangeable and completely acceptable, such as in *lažna brada* and *false/fake beard*.

Another reason for the student mistakes was their poor command of vocabulary. The students employed the following strategies in translation:

- Complete omission of the expression;
- Replacing the word with a similar word not a synonym or near-synonym but an expression with much a broader meaning (sometimes a hyperonym)

The examples for this claim are phrases such as *gole pesnice* (E: bare fists) translated as *bare ?hands*; *veličanstveni predjeli* (E: magnificent landscapes), translated as *magnificent? areas/country/fields*; or *sredstvo komunikacije* (E: means of communication) translated as *?instrument/device/tool/type of communication*.

- Literal translation

For the petrified and fixed expressions the learners offered literal translations, as in *netaknute prašume* (E: virgin rainforests), which was translated as *?untouched/intact rainforests*.

- Paraphrasing or descriptive translation

Compounding is a very productive morphological operation in English which is not the case in BCS. BCS makes much more use of phrases. An example is the phrase *hrana bogata vlaknima* (E: fiber-rich food), which was translated in the majority of cases as *food rich with fibers* or *višenamjenski kućanski aparat* (E: multi-purpose appliance), translated as *an appliance for multiple purposes*.

As indicated above, the results for GCs are generally better. Nevertheless, a certain percentage of mistakes mostly refers to usage of prepositions and prepositional phrases. One significant difference between the two linguistic systems refers to the realization of transitive verbs whose direct objects are realized by PPs not NPs. BCS and English show a number of differences in the case of some very frequently used transitive verbs. While some transitive verbs in English take PPs, such as: *laugh [AT smb.]/wait [FOR smb.]*, in BCS the same verbs take NPs: *smijati se [kome]/čekati [koga]*. Therefore, frequent mistakes in the corpus in reference to GCs were the following:

- The omission of the required preposition in English which can be ascribed to literal syntactic transfer from BCS.

On the other hand, there are some BCS transitive verbs that take PP objects whereas their English equivalents take NPs. For example the English equivalents of BCS *odgovoriti NA/sastati se SA/pasti NA* have a different syntactic realization and re-

quire an NP answer [NP]/meet [NP]/fail [NP]. In such cases, the learners' translation most frequently involved:

- insertion of the preposition into the English translation, as in *answer ON the question/*meet with friends/*fail ON/AT the exam

Some verbs in BCS are intransitive but usually followed by PP adverbial. Their English equivalent is a typical transitive verb requiring an NP object. In such cases, the English transitive verb was usually converted into intransitive (following the BCS pattern) and the preposition was inserted, as in *zakasniti NA voz* (E: miss the train), translated as *miss ON the train.

The reasons for the above strategies may be ascribed to the following factors:

- Poor vocabulary;
- Poor comprehension of the shades of meanings of synonyms or near-synonyms;
- Poor production caused by literal transfer of collocations from L1.

The most common mistakes identified in the corpus will serve as a basis for future elicitation tests in this field. Finally, the fact that the student overall collocation competence increases with the increase in the student level indicates that a more extensive and longer exposure to language as well as a better command of the language in general contributes to a better command of collocations.

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USING CORPUS IN ENHANCING REPORTING VERB PATTERNS IN TEACHING/ LEARNING PROCESS

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Abstract

Knowing which patterns are associated with different reporting verbs is one of the biggest single grammar challenges facing learners. Using electronic language corpus is a good way of teaching all those other reporting verbs apart from 'say' and 'tell' which have a variety of structures (verb + obj + that, verb + ing, etc) e.g. promise, advise, deny, etc. Giving the students a long list of verbs with structures is only confusing and also very boring. With the help of a corpus, students acquire knowledge and skills in the language they are studying. Corpus linguistics can thus be seen as a learning model where students take responsibility for their own learning. The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) currently comprises more than 450 million words of text and is equally divided among spoken, fiction, popular magazines, newspapers, and academic texts. COCA offers a setting of problem-based learning where the students' discoveries and interaction with a corpus give them a learning curve very much triggered by their own activity and motivation. Further, by being exposed to authentic data, students are given a more nuanced encounter with language than traditional grammars are able and are given the opportunity to evaluate data and draw their own conclusions. From a pedagogical point of view it is quite evident that the integration of corpora in language teaching/learning is beneficial to students.

Key words: reporting verb patterns, teaching/learning, corpus, COCA

Introduction

For EFL/ESL learners, reporting verbs represent a complex and confusing group of verbs for reporting spoken statements and questions that is often non-definitive. Its 'never-ending' feature and numerous following structures makes this group one of the most challenging and difficult to enhance. Facing this fact, teachers are obliged to ease the learning and discover innovative teaching solutions. Nowadays, corpus approach has proven as an excellent linguistic tool that enables innovations for teachers and students discovering a whole new world of authentic patterns of language in its contemporary usage. Corpus approach is a representation of approaching to the natural language and derivation of a set of abstract rules. Thus, corpus paves a path from data to theory, from an example to definition, from practice to theory. We annotate, abstract and analyze certain linguistic structures. We tend to apply a scheme to the text using structural markup and a part of speech tagging as well as mapping of grammatical terms. We examine, probe and evaluate statistical data.

The first part of this research represents a coherence between corpus approach and learning process in classroom as well as a unique possibility of corpus assistance in overcoming grammatical structures for EFL learners. Our foreground task is to determine and prove the usefulness of using corpus approach in order to solve the problems that EFL learners face.

Grammar, as it is well-known, often represents the most challenging task for non-native speakers of English encounter. The following part deals with new ideas of incorporating corpus resources in learning and teaching grammar in EFL classrooms. In the last part of the paper, the research is taken on the COCA corpus intended to represent a method of integrating corpus models of certain reporting verbs in spoken and written English.

Corpus Approach Assistance in Educational Process

Computer-aided language learning has proven to be one of the most effective tools in education process. Due to technology and computers, classes nowadays should be a part of modern-equipped technological facility. Teaching, especially in primary and secondary public schools, is one of the areas where technology still tends to have a greater impact. Thus, corpus linguistics as one of the technology-based tools is found to be very useful in teaching and learning process. The core burden is being carried by the EFL teachers who often find integrating corpus-based activities a challenging task. Among many reasons why corpus-based teaching should be used in classrooms is the fact that corpus is a kind of evidence

that offers which language processes are most likely to be used and encountered by native speakers using real-life examples rather than those made up by the teacher. It also:

- Helps teachers to improve teaching activities
- Makes textbooks authentic
- Makes 'real English' available
- Helps students to learn lexical patterns, collocations, semantics from natural discourse
- Helps student to develop their own research skills etc.

It is important to acknowledge that Dazdarevic et al (2015:7) mention how Payne (2008) sees the traditional pedagogical approach to teaching grammar through a process:

1. the teacher presents information to the student,
2. the learner practices with this information,
3. the learner produces new content.

In contrast, in a corpus based approach, the learner

1. observes a grammatical phenomenon of the language,
2. hypothesizes as to how this grammatical phenomenon works, and then
3. experiments to see if their hypothesis is correct

One of the best known uses of corpora in the language classroom is certainly concordancing. According to Dazdarevic et al (2015:7), a concordancer works much the same way as an internet search engine. It is a kind of a program that searches a whole corpus for a wanted and selected word or phrase. The program then presents every instance of that word or phrase occurring in the corpus in the format of key-word-in-context (KWIC) in the center of the screen surrounded by 4 or 5 words that came before and after the searched word.

The following work aims to show the use of concordancing in the classroom as a teaching technique which students can effectively use through their research in language patterns.

Learning Real Grammar

Both teaching and learning are complex processes that have been and will be changed and improved as the human intellect and capability are progressing. There is no a perfect and best approach, method or technique to teaching that would satisfy every criteria of ideal methodic in classrooms. But there are different and various solutions for using certain approaches to teaching and learning grammar,

vocabulary and for improving listening and speaking skills. In the first place, teacher should be familiar with those approaches and their theoretical (dis)advantages and then be capable to adapt and apply his knowledge according to particular situation. When it comes to teaching grammar, we have many methods used, examined and tested from early periods till today. Traditional and structural grammar instructions had given the main basis for what we today call modern teaching of grammar. There are also audio-lingual, direct and functional approaches that influenced educational process at the time, as well as universal grammar by Chomsky. Along with cognitive, humanistic and discourse-based approaches, corpus-based is considered to be one of the leaders in contemporary educational thought and practice.

Corpus-based grammar teaching seems to become essential tool in representing grammar structures of natural language use and different language variations in contextual communication. Corpus-based learning grammar has been popular amongst teachers since the very publication of the Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English (Biber et al 1999). As it was said in the introduction of the Biber's et al work, the LGSWE adopts a corpus-based approach, which means that grammatical descriptions are based on the patterns of structure and use found in a large collection of spoken and written texts, stored electronically, and searchable by computers. It complements previous grammatical descriptions by investigating the linguistics patterns actually used by speakers and writers in the late twentieth century.

Why do grammar teachers need corpus-based studies? That was one of the questions that Biber and Conrad asked in their research work related to the corpus. First of all, they mentioned the authenticity of the information represented in textbook students are using during their studies. Unfortunately, they claim that 'no special source of information for textbook writers exists. Author's intuition, anecdotal evidence and tradition about what should be in a grammar book play major roles in determining the content of textbook.'

The answer is easy. Teachers don't have to fabricate examples anymore when teaching grammar. Instead, corpus-based studies offers a diversity of natural interpretation for studying language patterns and structures. These interpretations can be in spoken and transcribed or written form. Also, there is a possibility for different registers to describe a certain grammatical usage in human interpretation. According to Biber and Conrad, three types of description are especially important for teaching grammar:

1. frequency information
2. register comparisons
3. associations between grammatical structures and words (lexico-grammar)

This work intends to deal with the last type of description and represent it through corpus-based study. Association between grammatical structure and words is a research about frequency of certain grammatical structure with the words used with it and its occurrence in a given structure. We used corpora to illustrate what grammatical structure can be used with verb + gerund, verb + infinitive and verb + that clause instructions. These constructions can build a very long lists of verbs that torture teachers as well as their students. The following part aims to represent a traditional approach to certain verbs constructions – the usage of reporting verbs promise, advise and deny, and then employ corpora in discovering these grammatical constructions.

Traditional approach to reporting verbs promise, advise and deny

One of the initial problems with reporting verbs is that students often tend to overthink when and how to use them as they are baffled with extensive/scarcely lists and rules that traditional grammars offer. Grammar textbooks usually provide either too simple or too complex explanations without example sentences for all reporting verbs. In other words, there is usually a very long list of reporting verbs and only few examples. It has been a major task for the purposes of this paper to find grammar textbooks which analyze reporting verbs one by one, as they are usually grouped according to the structures they are followed by.

Murphy (2004:106) provides the following explanation:

After enjoy, mind and suggest, we use –ing (not to ...).

Some more verbs that are followed by –ing:

stop	postpone	admit	avoid	imagine
finish	consider	deny	risk	fancy

- Suddenly everybody stopped talking.
- He tried to avoid answering my question.
- I'll do the shopping when I've finished cleaning.

It is obvious that such explanation is vague and confusing. First of all, students cannot find verb deny in the contents page of the book and even if they come across it in the abovementioned summary, they would not find any example sentences for it leaving them puzzled. Another problem is that EFL students learn these lists of verbs by heart and often confuse them with other lists for some other rules. The best way to do it is to provide each verb separately with many examples and possible exceptions.

Eastwood (1999:143) analyzes the verb promise in the following way:

He promised to go, his promise to go

Some nouns can come before a to-infinitive. Compare these sentences.

Verb+ to-infinitive: Mark promised to go shopping.
But then he arranged to play golf.

Noun+ to-infinitive: Mark forgot about his promise to go shopping.
Sarah found out about his arrangement to play golf.

Here are some nouns we can use: agreement, arrangement, decision, demand, desire, failure, offer, plan, promise, refusal, tendency, threat.

At first glance, it seems that the explanation is sufficient. However, there is no reason to mix verb+ to-infinitive and noun+ to-infinitive structures and exemplify their usage in sentences that can be easily swapped. Having in mind this short summary, students do not know which challenge to take; is it more important to learn verbs or nouns we use to create infinitive structures?

In the same book, Eastwood (1999:155) also explains how verb advise works.
advise, allow, encourage and recommend

We can use these verbs with an -ing form or with an object + a to-infinitive.

+ing-form	+object + to-infinitive
They allow fishing here.	They allow people to fish here.

I wouldn't recommend walking home alone.	I wouldn't recommend you to walk home alone.
--	--

We encounter the same problem in this explanation as it was the case with the verb deny; there are no example sentences even though the verb is listed. In addition, students have to make their own sentences and thus make possible mistakes. Therefore, the rule is not precise but vague and leaves space for errors and misinterpretation.

Integrating a corpora model for teaching reporting verbs promise, advise and deny. If the teacher wants integrating a corpus-based study to be successful in his classroom, according to McEnery and Xiao (2012:12), they must first of all be equipped with a sound knowledge of the corpus-based approach. The first assignment for language learners is to open a corpus, in this case COCA (The Corpus of Contemporary American English), and explore the reporting verbs promise, advise and deny patterns. The 'research question' for a corpus-designed activity could be defined as 'What are the possible grammatical patterns with the reporting verbs promise, advise and deny?' As language is used differently in different registers, all registers are relevant in this study.

As we already mentioned in our previous work related to the corpus approach to the gerund and infinitive analysis (Dazdarevic et al, 2015), the student will be put in

front of a concordance program on a computer and challenged to make a research on his own. If needed, the teacher will be there to make an assistance in this corpus research.

The main aim of this research is to make the student capable and able to search for given tasks, to analyze it and construct his own conclusions about the particular language use.

Using a concordance program, attention is being focused on the close interaction between the student and the text in front of him, rather than on the input from the teacher. In this situation the learner is a detective who is able to explore and discover rules and meanings within their own cognitive framework. It promotes learners awareness of the strategies and skills used in learning. It stimulates the learners cognition and promotes their construction process/language awareness (Wolf, 1995, see more in Montazar 1999:15).

During the analyzing verb promise when used in reported speech, the COCA corpus offered us plenty of examples of using it in speech. The Table 1. stands for a representation of verb pattern that is used with the verb promise. The first one is a structure verb + Infinitive (promise + Vinf), as it was searched for in a query in COCA. This table also represents a verb pattern verb + ConjSub (promise + ConjSub). The main difference is between their occurrence in COCA, where the first pattern is occurred 3406 times and the second one is occurred 1023 times. It illustrates the usage of these verb patterns among native speakers of English Language. It could be the first student's observation and conclusion

Table 1. Representation and frequency of promise + Vinf., and promise + ConjSub., in COCA

Table 1. also shows a distribution of these patterns in different sections. The first pattern

Verb pattern	Example	Frequency	Section
promise + Vinf.	Figure 1.	3406	Newspaper
promise + ConjSub.	Figure 2.	1023	Fiction

is distributed most in newspaper section, and the least in academic. The second pattern is distributed in fiction section most but also in academic the least. We can conclude that the pattern with infinitive is more typical for spoken section and the pattern with -that clause is more typical for written section.

As for deeper analyzing, COCA serves as an inexhaustible resource of examples in context. The following figure (No.1) represents the first verb pattern, promise +

Vinf., in KWIC (keyword in context) where the pattern promise + Vinf. is sorted and aligned with the word in context before and after it.

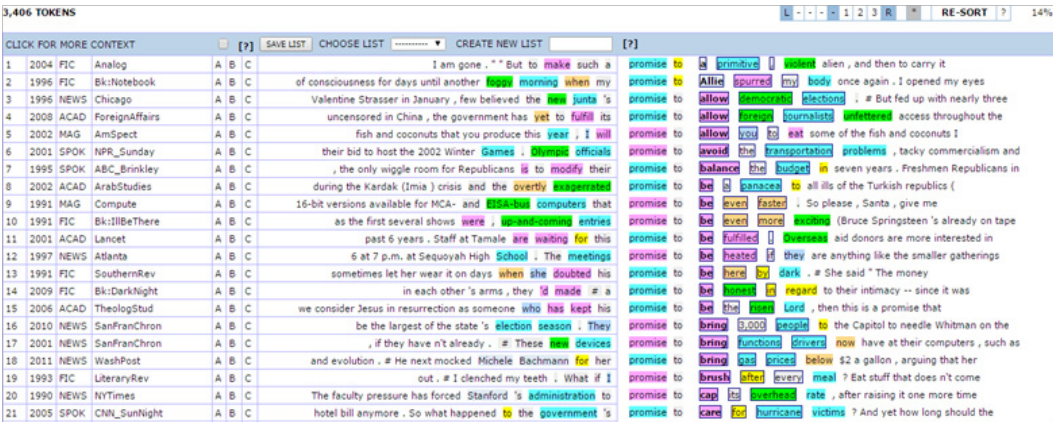


Figure 1. Distribution and KWIC of promise + Vinf., in COCA

Figure 2. also shows an example of concordancing, keyword in context for the second verb pattern promise + ConjSub. Observing these numerous examples of patterns usage, students will be able to conclude and formulate grammar rules as professional grammars and even more.

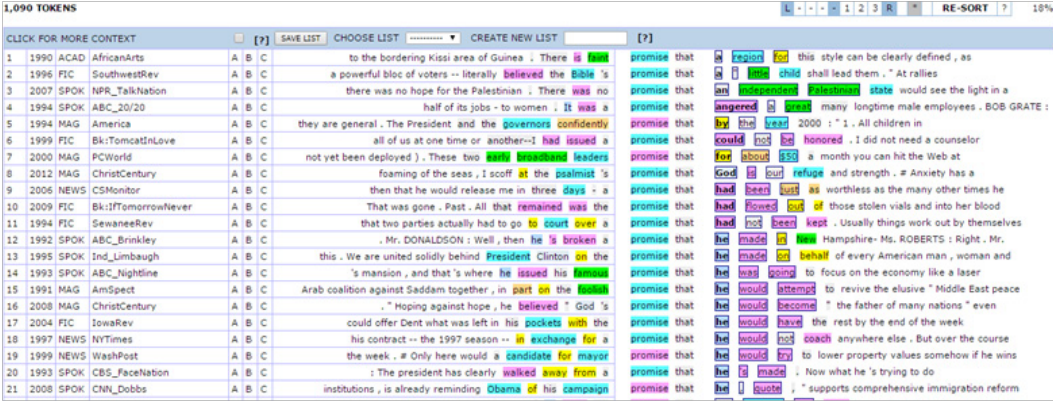


Figure 2. Distribution and KWIC of promise + ConjSub., in COCA

Unlike the verb structure for promise in reported speech which has only two patterns offered in COCA, the verb advise largely differs in its verb combinations and thus it is more difficult for students to enhance and comprehend. Even though the table 2. shows a number of possibilities that string along with the verb advise, frequency number determines the native speaker's usage. The verb patterns advise + Vbase and advise + Vmodal are only once used in corpus with the given examples

in the table, while the pattern advise + Vdo occurs only 4 times.

Table 2. Sections distribution, examples and frequency of advise verb patterns in COCA

These examples may appear and be defined as exceptions in using verb advise. The most frequent verb patterns of advise are at the same time the most known ones among teachers and students. The table 2. presents a noticeable facts about the frequency of the pattern advise + Ving and advise + ConjSub.

Verb pattern	Example	Frequency	Section
advise+ Vbase	advise go	1	Spoken
advise + Vmodal	advise would	1	Spoken
	advise should	1	Academic
advise + Ving		311	Figure 3.
advise + Vdo		4	Magazine
advise + ConjSub	advise that...	120	Figure 4.

The verb pattern advise + Ving is occurred 311 times in COCA while the pattern advise + ConjSub is occurred only 120 times. The conclusion is that native speakers of English are using the verb structure with infinitive rather than -that clause.

Considering different sections and sub-sections in COCA corpus, there's also a difference between verb pattern usages. The figure 3. shows how verb pattern advise + Ving is distributed in all sections and mostly appear in magazine section for 94 times while there is only 7 tokens in spoken section.

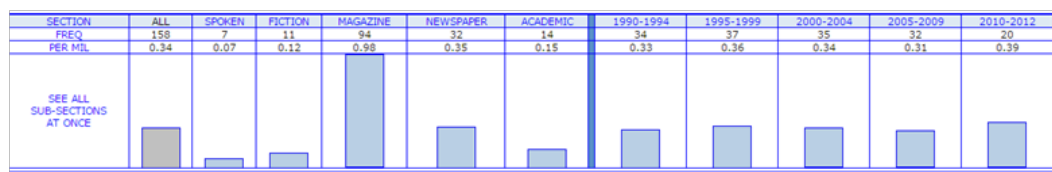


Figure 3. Frequency and distribution of advise + Ving. in different sections

Figure 4. shows that the verb pattern advise + ConjSub.is highly distributed in magazine sections with 50 tokens also with an increase in spoken section of 24 times.

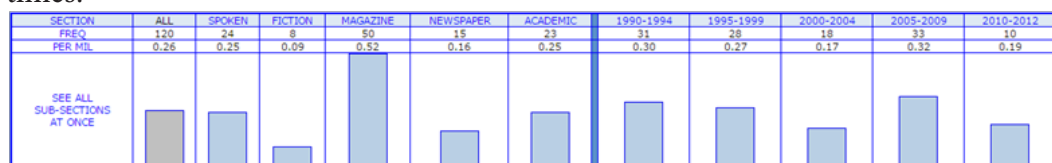


Table 3. displays one verb structure more in its authentic, grammatical and natural surroundings. The verb deny, as one of the verbs used in indirect speaking structure, is found to coordinate with its ‘after’ base verb, infinitive, gerund and –that clause collocates.

Table 3. Sections distribution, examples and frequency of deny verb patterns in COCA

Verb pattern	Example	Frequency	Section
deny + Vbase		8	
deny + Vinf	Deny permit	1	Newspaper
deny + Ving		156	
deny + ConjSub		1204	Academic

Learning through corpora is really a comprehensive and conceivable way of learning grammar structures. It would be enough for student to carefully observe the numbers and facts in front of him to easily make definitions and conclusions. Mutual characteristic of two examined verbs beyond and verb deny is having a two largest group of collocates that can be combined with. Similar as with verbs promise and advise, the verb deny also has its examples that could be called exceptions. Those are in verb pattern deny + Vbase which has a small level of frequency, only 8 times, and deny + Vinf which has only one occurrence in newspaper section.

The largest groups are verb pattern deny + Ving which is occurred 156 times, and deny + ConjSub which is highly frequent, 1204 times. This significant difference in frequency might become one of the possible instructions how to use language as a native speaker.

Another important statistic fact is related to the sections and its distribution. Figure 5.shows a chart with the verb deny + Vinf. in different sections, and Figure 6.shows verb pattern deny + ConjSub. in the same sections.

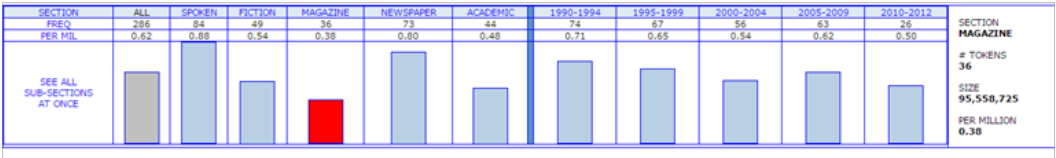


Figure 5. Frequency and distribution of deny + Vinf. in different sections

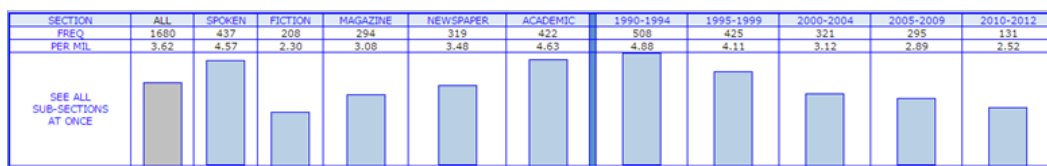


Figure 6. Frequency and distribution of *deny + ConjSub*. in different sections

It seems that native speakers in academic section often use verb pattern *deny + ConjSub*, while the other pattern is rarely used in the same section. The only similarity is that the both are used in spoken section, not so used in fiction, and fairly used in newspaper.

After this search activity, teacher should prepare concordance lines and traditional fill-in-the-blank and gap-fill activities and exercises for students to examine and engage in defining grammar structures.

Conclusion

With the rise of corpus-based analysis, we are beginning to see empirical descriptions of language use, identifying the patterns that are actually frequent (or not) and documenting the differential reliance on specific forms and words in different registers (Biber and Conrad, 1998:145).

Both teachers and students become detectives and explores where the teacher bears the main challenge when using corpus-based approach. He is an assistant and a guide, both pedagogically and equally balanced. He tends to make no mistake and follows his intuition. Sometimes, as a researcher turns to be correct and sometimes not. However, he always tends to improve his theoretical knowledge through practice and activity innovating and advancing the student's level. Corpus-based approach seems to become one of the best tools in teaching grammar, vocabulary and language generally.

Learners can deduce their own rules just by scrutinising a concordance of any problematic grammatical item. The teacher doesn't have to teach a rule but rather guide students to think more effectively and perhaps to formulate what learners have come to conclude (Montazar, 1999: 4).

This paper also tends to contribute education with asignificant task; the aim of modern materials and technological tools in building a complete and systematic data-based approaches, methods and techniques to the verbs and verb pattern when using a reported speech instruction and learning.

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IS COMMUNICATION REALLY FOOD?

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Abstract

This paper examines a new doctrine for communication. It argues that effective communications are as important to our well being and happiness as the food we put into our bodies. 'It can either be healthy (and nourishing) or toxic (and destructive),' notes the Zen master and Buddhist monk, Thich Nhat Hanh. To examine this theory I decided to test my students. Use was made of a non-proportional stratified sample of younger adults, a total of 200 students who were involved in the survey study. Research is also based on an analysis of a qualitative research programme (a qualitative study) which involved 200 questionnaire texts that were set using two methods: critical discourse analysis and context. The results of my research show that students stressed that they were not using traditional forms of media, that the younger reader wants dialogue with the author or journalist, and that they tend to favour relationship-based communications which are offered by social media. My conclusions show that social media is regarded as 'an anti-loneliness tool', and that it encourages a dialogue between the transmitter and the reader and allows a dialogue between them both. Language acts here as a relationship-building resource and shows a level of interaction between text and participants. This shows that, via social media, the internet provides a special form of communication which compensates the audience as might a gourmet restaurant.

Key words: Media effects, Communication, Toxic Communication, Social Media, Bakhtin, Thich Nhat Hanh

Introduction

Communication history has always been a story of the mass media in the horizontal or vertical frame in order to 'examine the role of communication in the development of the human species and its forms of civilisation' (Willard D. Rowland, 2007, p xi). The pioneering work that has been carried out in that direction was started by Walter Ong, Elizabeth Eisenstein, and Harold Innis, and it shares a keen interest in the deep civilisation-related context of all principal forms of communication technologies, thereby encouraging a much richer understanding of the present, rapidly changing experience' (Willard D. Rowland, 2007, p xi). But the story of communication is much more central to human history than has been recognised by the formal academic discipline of history itself. Globalisation has introduced adjustments to academic communication research. 'The internet has changed the way [in which] we work, what we consume, how we play, with whom we interact, how we find things out, and myriad other details about the way [in which] we live' (Poe, 2011, p 2). If we turn away from the transmitted and linear method of communication (Friske, 1998; Gruning), from the traditional social, psychological effects of media (McQuail, 1983), from 'the Mentalists' of Walter Ong (Ong, 1958), Eric Havelock (Havelock, 1963) and Jack Goody (Goody, 1977), and the 'Critical Theorists' of Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (Horkheimer, Adorno, 1947), Herbert Marcuse (Marcuse, 1964), from 'Postmodernists' and 'Post-structuralists' (Poster, M. 1990), and the Modern Critical Theory of media studies of Jürgen Habermas (Habermas, 1962) and Noam Chomsky (Chomsky, 1988), and instead place the recipients, the users, at the centre so that in such a situation we can discover that 'meanings are in people, not in words, objects, or things' (Kreps, 1990:29). We can go a step further in the same direction. Therefore, in addition to the Western-centric character of our interpretation of the communication experience, we can begin to study new discoveries in communication research, those that are originating in the East. One of these offers us the investigator of communication and Buddhist monk, Thich Nhat Hanh, with his book, 'The Art of Communicating', 2013. He concentrates on the audience and its relation to the communications process.

Researchers are interested in the audience, and the attitudes and behaviour of users have been considerable since the 1930s. In the past, recipients of the mass communication process were considered as a uniform, homogeneous, passive group of people. Today, the discussion amongst researchers is often about 'active users' and not on 'passive consumers of information'. However, it is clear that the key is the connection for communication or the 'coherence' of the general public, where levels are usually assumed to be equal (Andersson, 1985:93). The context shapes our Western European interpersonal communication process in which the code was

the key to concept (Falkheimer, 2001, Dimbleby & Burton, 1994). As 'social animals', human beings depend upon different codes. So far all communication could be broken down into character, as systems form different codes. Signs are usually used to create community, using the very same codes that we use to create symbolic power. A good communicator (a journalist, a source of information, or teachers) has the ability to handle different codes by means of conventions, but the character and meaning of the codes is not natural, but rather culturally determined. At the bottom of all this lies cultural and social mores (Dahlgren, 1994). Feedback is the main signal that shows that the responses of multiple recipients may be different when receiving the very same signal. The new digital information technology explosion provides us with the opportunity for interaction between sender and receiver and shows that the mathematical models of communication (Severin & Tankard, 1992; Shannon & Weavers, 1941) are transmissive and unidirectional. Today it is clear that communication may not only be considered as being a two-way process (McQuail & Winddahl, 1993), which means not only the process employed by socialisation (Gerber, 1994) and this cannot be explained simply by 'the cultural' or 'process school' methods (Curran, 1990). We need new explanations of communication.

The so-called 'Eastern School' of communication research in recent years reveals their ambitions and has offered communication research on the sociolinguistic level (Коран, 1992, 1996), in which the most important instruments in research are the philosophical criteria (Клюканов, 2010). One of the leading researchers in this area is Igor Kljukanov. He uses in his practice of studying communication 'experience + space + time' as a complex measuring instrument (Клюканов, 2010: 59). Interestingly, the direction here is the so-called 'apprehension' theory (McCroskey, J. 2006; Holbrook, H. 1987), which is highly synchronised with the 'Buddhist doctrine of communication'. It argues that effective communications are as important to our well being and happiness as the food we put into our bodies. 'It can either be healthy (and nourishing) or toxic (and destructive)' notes the Zen master and Buddhist monk, Thich Nhat Hanh, in his book on communications. So far, communication has always been regarded as an intellectual process. Thich Nhat Hanh argues that communication is an intellectual process with physiological effect as a result.

Background to the study

The comparison between information and food is a new way of exploring communications. The entirety of mass communications research is based on the premise that the various forms of media have an influence in any way at all. So far there is no unity amongst researchers as to what should be the ideal communication and 'there

is at least safety and consistency in the preferred effect of communication' (McQuail, 1983:166). Moreover, we 'do not exactly know how a certain effect has occurred or could occur' (McQuail, 1993: 166). Western scientists have conducted research 'on persuasion' (Hovland, 1949; Lazarsfeld, 1944), about 'social effects' (Lang & Lang, 1959, Halloran, 1965) or 'potential effects' (Carrey, 1987). The attitude of Zen master Thich Nhat Hanh towards communication is very different. He believes that the communication effect can only be either good or bad for the receiver's health. Creating a comparison between the effects of communication and the effects of gastronomy is a new way of understanding the processes of communication. 'Nothing can survive without food' (Thich Nhat Hanh, 2013: 3). Everything we consume acts either to heal us or to poison us. We tend to think of nourishment only as what we take in through our mouths, but what we consume with our eyes, our noses, our tongues, and our bodies can also be termed food. Thich Nhat Hanh thinks that all of the conversation that goes on around us is also food. It means that we consume and create food when we sit in front of the tv or a computer, or when we listen to a concert. The most important thing is to understand whether or not this communication is healthy for us. How can we tell what communication is healthy and what is toxic? Thich Nhat Hanh believes that 'the energy of mindfulness is a necessary ingredient in healthy communication' (Thich Nhat Hanh, 2013, p 5). If you listen to toxic conversation, you must consume those toxins into your body and, thanks to this, you may become angry, frustrated, or sad. You absorb the thoughts, speech, and actions that are going on around you and feel good or bad as a result of this. You produce thoughts, speech, or actions around you and force other people to feel good or bad because of this. So far I have not read any research that analyses the recipient's well-being after the communication process with other people, media, or art. Therefore I chose Thich Nhat Hanh's theory to explore the effect of communicating in the same way as people seek an outcome in the consumption of food. By this I understand that the effects of communication can only be of two types - favourable or unfavourable to human health. 'Every human and every animal communicates. We typically think of communication as the words we use when we speak or write, but our body language, our facial expressions, our tone of voice, our physical actions, and even our thoughts are ways of communicating', points out Thich Nhat Hanh. He believes that 'our communication is not neutral. Every time we communicate, we either produce more compassion, love, and harmony or we produce more suffering and violence' (Thich Nhat Hanh, 2013:139). According to him our communication is our karma. The Sanskrit word 'karma' means 'action', and refers not just to bodily action, but to what we express with our bodies, our words, and our thoughts and intentions. 'You are your action - everything we say and do bears our signature', he writes (p 141-142), and sees the link between thinking and how we affect the other people, values, and the world.

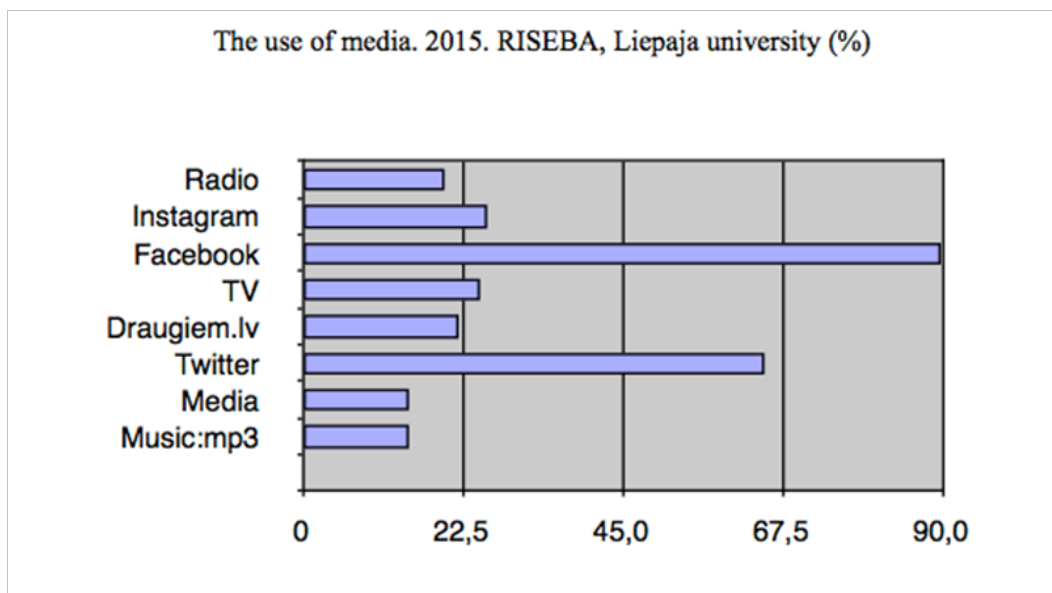
Methodology

In order to evolve an understanding of the monk's theory, I decided to test my students. Use was made of a non-proportional stratified sample of younger adults, a total of 200 students who were involved in the survey study. All of them were issued with questionnaires. The age of the participants was between 20-33. The validity of the content was high. The survey was carried out between 25/04/2015-25/05/2015. No internal failure was observed. My research is also based on an analysis of qualitative research (in the form of a qualitative study) of 200 questionnaire texts by two methods: critical discourse analysis and context. There are four categories in this analytical model: 1) content, 2) relationships, 3) form, and 4) intertextuality. The method is qualitative and is based on the text and context (Larsson, 2010; Fairclough, 1995; Hellspång, 1997). The content consists of a theme and what the text says (the proposition). A relationship is all about relationship-building with the resources of language such as, for example, a text which contains questions or feelings (exclamation, values, etc), and which encourages dialogue (Larsson, 2010, p 159). The form usually transforms content to a specific, linguistic textual construction. Intertextuality is about the interplay and interaction between text and reader. Intertextuality sees when phrases, words, and whole portions of text are repeated from other texts, calls, and genres, as well as ideas in the text that are similar to those which were formulated earlier (Bakhtin, 1997). Intertextuality includes different text markers (Holqvist, 1997) and the fact that there is a dialogical subject in all expression. I also used Bakhtin's theory and methods: a piece of text is not solitary, rather it is a link in a chain of past and future pieces of text. Therefore I also observed re-contextualisation, which refers to the dialogical relationships between texts: how words move between contexts, how they are used and reformulated, and later assume new meanings (Tannen, 1989; Fairclough, 1995; Linnell 1998; Ajagán - Lester, 2003). All communication aims to reach someone, to influence, strengthen and improve relationships: it builds up a relationship between writer and reader. Therefore, I seek to understand how language can serve as a relationship-building resource. Another important factor in my research is coherence (Bussman, 1983; De Beaugrande, 1996). That a text is coherent means that it is coherent and meaningful both on a local and global level.

Analysis, findings and results

Making use of media

During the discussions, most students stressed that they were not using traditional forms of media. See Table 1.



On a daily basis, Facebook and Twitter are the most useful media tools. In third place is Instagram and television. These are followed by the social media resource 'www.draugiem.lv' and the radio. Print media on paper is used in very few situations, and only occasionally. The survey results show that radio has been driven out with the help of the mp3. The content shows a very bleak picture - 'the old media' will no longer work in practice for youths. In reality the contents of these old forms of media usually show up on their computer screens anyway, thanks to Google, Twitter, Facebook or Instagram: 'I do not use print media on paper. I do not listen to the radio, but I often read through social media about the world's events. My favourite is internet radio with good music'; 'I want to know what is going on in the world: about wars, the economy, and things like that.'; 'I always need very practical information about the weather, traffic, or culture. This means I search for it on the internet or contact the people who know everything'.

The analysis of qualitative research (in the form of a qualitative study) of 200 questionnaire texts shows that the majority of students see a difference in the use of the media when they are at home with their parents, and when they are at university: 'When I'm at home with my parents, I use most of the traditional media such as television. But if I am in Liepaja, I use only the computer and social media', wrote one of students. The use of the media is no longer traditional. 'I daily use many foreign forms of media on the internet', explained one student, a young girl. 'Twitter I usually only read - I never go there to write. I express myself only on Facebook.'

The so-called old forms of media are used most often in the morning: 'I have a ritual - in the morning at breakfast I always watch the tv news. I never look at the

same channel, but hop between multiple channels in parallel' said one male student.

'Media' for students today are the internet portals www.tvnet.lv, or www.liepajniekiem.lv, which is incredibly popular in Latvia and which has taken over the websites of the biggest newspapers in Riga. This means that the younger reader wants a dialogue with the author or journalist and favours relationship-based communications: 'The content is important, but more important is to know that other people are thinking the same thing, such as 'I do not believe in the media today, it too often writes untruths. Therefore, it's better if we are able to discuss things instead', and 'thanks to social media, I do not feel alone'.

Obviously, the majority of students use daily social media that allows communication feedback. Maybe this shows student desires to be seen and to be heard, the desire to provide feedback (the traditional media only allows one to hear, see, and read). But we cannot exclude the fact that the new forms of media is better able to offer important information.

Relations with forms of mass media have always been a very important factor. The views of today's young people on the media are different, very different than they were during their parents' time. The informal information format is more suited to their needs when it comes to having attractive and more reliable content. Instead of the media they choose blogs, or reports from Facebook, Twitter, or Instagram. They use social networks themselves to appropriate the content from 'old media' and convert this information into an entertaining form that is better addressed for its intended audience.

Which communication is toxic

Munk's theory of 'healthy' or 'toxic' communication was used in a test on my students (Table 2). Thich Nhat Hanh writes: 'The energy of mindfulness is a necessary ingredient in healthy communication. Mindfulness requires letting go of judgement, returning to an awareness of the breath and the body, and bringing your full attention to what is in you and around you. This helps you to notice whether the thought you just produced is healthy or unhealthy, compassionate or unkind' (Thich Nhat Hanh, 2013, p 5). Unfortunately, the position of the good communication (consuming with mindfulness) was difficult to understand for my students, but 'the toxic conversation' did not lead to the same confusion. 'When you have a conversation with another person, what that person says may be full of toxins, such as hate, anger, and frustration. When you listen to what others say, you're consuming those toxins. You're bringing them into your consciousness and your body' (Thich

Nhat Hanh, 2013:5). Most of the students knew the text of Thich Nhat Hanh's book and most of them wanted to discuss 'toxic communication' instead of 'good communication'. Because of this, I asked questions only about toxic communication in this regard. The students recognised that they faced on a daily basis the risk that elements of their communication that could be regarded as being unhealthy, and which therefore would fall into the category of 'toxic communication'. Most of them pointed out that, usually, such communication took place between people or in the use of media. 'Yes, every day I meet toxic information in my job and in conversation with friends,' concluded one girl and added that 'the same toxic area is in the media. There is constant manipulation.' 'This is an important theme - feeling hatred at work and afterwards feeling bad throughout one's entire body. This is hard,' 'I know this from my childhood - there are people who will do anything so that the other person feels worse. They kill my well-being after a normal conversation. This happens!,' 'Oh, yes, there are people who disturb my work in any way possible. Especially those who are twice as old as me. I was physically sick later due to this!'. 'After each conversation with my employer I can become aggressive and angry, and can feel bad.' 'There are situations in which I as an employer try to explain the details of people who are not sufficiently intelligent. Later on, I feel quite bad [as a result],' 'Poor communication with evil people gives me a headache', 'Do not think that after a conflict, one can find the truth. On the contrary - I feel bad and I feel exhausted'.

The content of all of this displays the following trends: 1) primarily they see themselves only as recipients of information, and 2) they really perceive information that is either appropriate or toxic, just as a small child at the dining table knows what it will and will not eat. Even consumers of communication know what they do not like first and foremost. The results of the survey showed no attempt to dampen their stress levels in regard to other people, although Thich Nhat Hanh in theory accentuates that 'many of us suffer because our communication with other people is difficult. At work, for example, we often feel that we have tried everything and there is no way to reach our colleagues. This is often true in families as well. We feel that our parents, our siblings, or our children are too stuck in their ways. We think that no real communication is possible,' writes the author and offers suggestions as to how can we use 'many ways to reconcile and to create openings for more compassionate communication' (Thich Nhat Hanh, 2013:93). Here can we see an active relationship with the themes and the use of strong emotional words such as: 'toxic information', 'toxic area', 'to feel hatred', 'feel bad throughout the entire body', 'this is hard', 'kill my well-being', 'Oh, yes', 'I feel quite bad'. This means that the recipients 'show their feelings through exclamation marks or watchwords' (Larsson, 2011:159), which are used to demonstrate his attitude by linguistic means. It uses accentuation (Bakhtin, 1981:5), assimilation (Bakhtin, 1981:341), heteroglossia, and a tendency

to finalise this theme (Bakhtin, 1981: 18).

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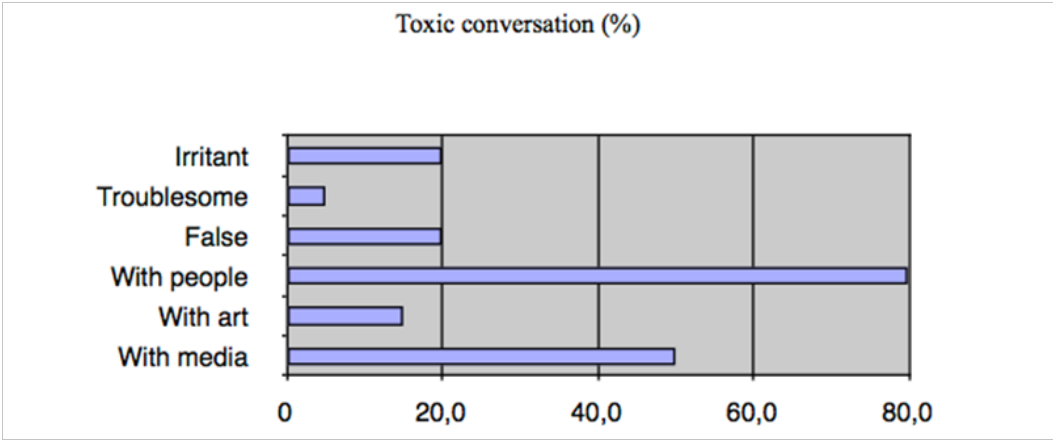
Another girl believed that 'the worst thing is communication between people, but communication with the media is also complicated'. 'I hate comments on articles that are found on the internet. Most of them are unnecessarily toxic', said one student, adding that 'the worst thing is that mass communication has already drowned in stupidity and evil'.

Most of the students think this: 'The media publishes too much information without content', 'too much violence', 'too much misinformation and exaggeration', 'nonsense and cheap entertainment that no one wants to watch', 'boring articles', 'you never have any guarantees that what they write and show is true', 'all this stupidity in the media must be ignored'. The audience's dialogue with these issues was active and powerful: containing intensive expressions, double question and exclamation marks, and drawings that compliment the text.

The survey showed a remarkably high response to and levels of activity for this question. The explanation for this issue was as follows : a) an irritant: 'Because I do not tolerate stupidity and lies', 'does not accept advertising and bad PR'; b) troublesome: 'due to cutting-edge expressions and exaggerations, and coarse language. There are people who think that this attracts attention, but I think that the reality is contrary'; '[an] obsession with [the] sensational'; c) false: 'the media usually build up problems from small matters, and if this happens every day then I feel cheated'. Even here one can observe: 1) feelings through exclamation marks, watchwords, and 2) the same idea system, an internally persuasive discourse (Bakhtin, 1981:327-329), inter-illumination, and minimal heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981:18).

A surprise to me was the fact that art can be considered as being an unhealthy form of communication. 'Yes, I often feel that I have been poisoned after going to the cinema or the theatre', one of the students pointed out. Another student thinks that 'long films and concerts can make people feel angry and poisoned' and

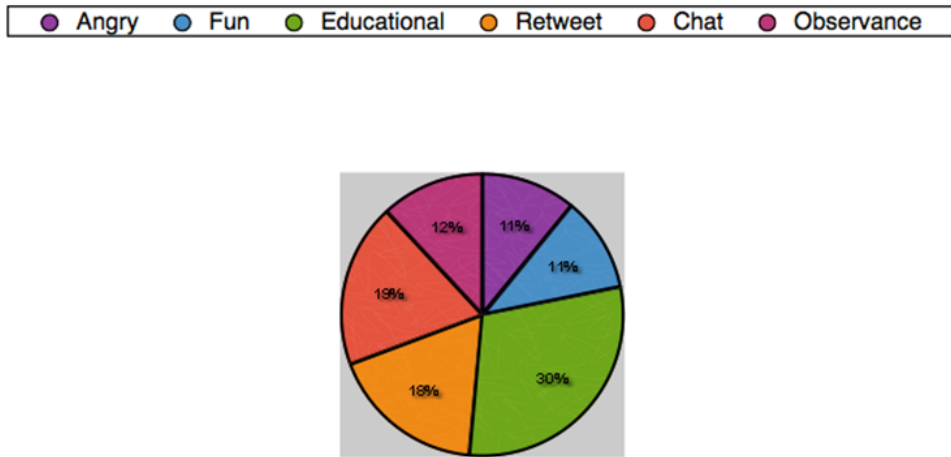
others believe that ‘the concert or film usually does not correspond to my expectations’ or ‘takes too much of my energy’. ‘Sometimes films force me into an unhealthy psychological situation in which I feel really bad and cannot find a way out’, ‘there are films and paintings that touch me deeply, but I do not know if this is good or bad’. One of the students emphasised, when he himself was studying modern art in order to understand why the art made him angry and disappointed, ‘I think the reason is the unfair conditions in the art industry. Prestige and ideals are just a game for a select group of artists. I know that without having the right contacts it is not possible to be successful [in the art world]. This is the most important tool for reaching the top, but it’s one that I do not have’. Even in this position students use expressive words and minimal heteroglossia. See Table 2.



We are lonely together

Thich Nhat Hanh believes that ‘we are lonely together’ and that ‘there’s a vacuum inside us’ (Thich Nhat Hanh, 2013, p13). To determine whether this applies to us, I asked the students whether this was true (see Table 3). The results showed that social media is ‘a tool against loneliness’ - as was stated in the results of a survey. If communication is such a sensitive area, how do my students evaluate their participation in social media? I suspected that social media reduces their feeling of loneliness in the media world, but the impact of social media turned out to be wider than this. Toxic communication here is less common. The main reason for participation is that you have the opportunity to teach yourself something new. Every third student believed that social media can be used to learn something new. See Table 3.

Polyphonic disagreement (%)



For a total of 19% of the students, chatting was seen as being a healthy activity, and retweeting was perceived as being a valuable and healthy opportunity to distribute information (18%). Only 12% remained angry after communicating through social media and 11% preferred observation without engaging in communication. A total of 11% thought that communication should be fun.

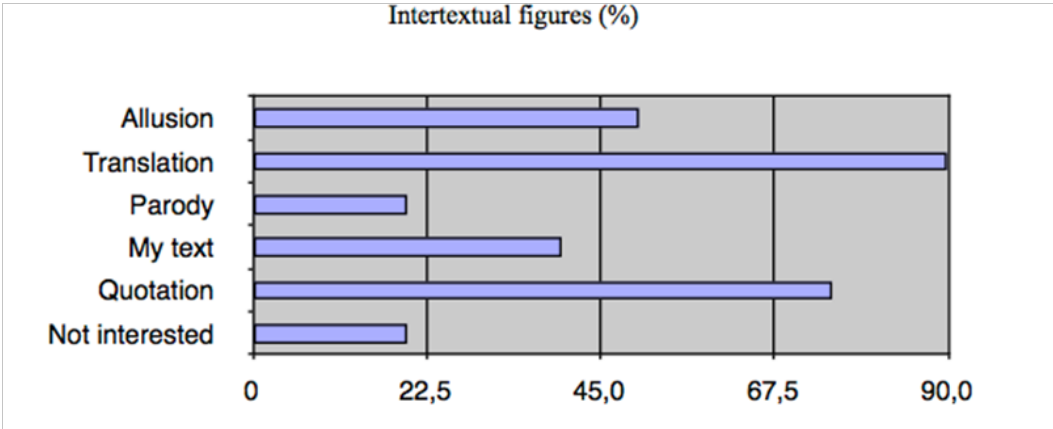
'I like to quote wise thoughts', noted one student and most recognise that they quoted wise thoughts more than ten times a month. 'The most difficult thing is to find the truth and to convey it', noted some students. The popularity of the first position 'education' my students explain in this way: 'in school it must be compulsory to teach people to debate and discuss. I have learned this thanks social media', 'I like to follow the wise people on the internet and read what they write right now', 'there are a great many sources of good information', 'Twitter know everything in advance'.

I actually expected more criticism about the discourse on the internet, about the generally low level of the chat on the internet. But criticism was limited. Instead I read: 'it is wonderful to find a good idea and then to be able to give it to friends', 'Sometimes I catch my own thoughts with the additional thought that it would be wonderful if I could discuss the same subject with my peers at work', 'I would like to be able to have such a brainstorm without computers'. Some people do not like the anonymity of the computerised world and point out that: 'the most important thing in life is to meet and talk to people face-to-face. Just so that you can understand other people'.

Most say that it is wonderful to be able to apply directly to a particular person and ‘find answers to their questions directly’. In this position we can observe the following effects: 1) the content here is no longer in unison, 2) the value-criticism is more moderate, 3) form without regularity, and 4) according Bakhtin, we can see here his most famous borrowing from musical terminology - ‘the polyphonic’ story with ‘the maximum complete register of all social voices from the era’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p431). According to Thich Nhat Hanh, we can see here how students assess the food that they like in the gourmet restaurant of communication.

Intertextuality and dialogue between the texts

Table 4.



Here I use the popular theory of intertextuality. This resource originates with the dialogue theory by Mikhail Bakhtin that each textual content is in a dialogue with other texts. Intertextuality is no objective truth, but is the projection of the observer’s consciousness. Only 45% of the students thought that they were autonomous in their thoughts, but most recognised their dependence on other people’s writings and ideas. The majority of students have chosen the positions ‘translation’ and ‘quotation’. Most of the students state that they do so only for its own sake, and do not retweet or send material on to friends and family. This means that information from social media accumulates and serves as educational material: ‘Twitter is my idea bank’, ‘the most important elements are short, wise thoughts that are not to be found in books’, and ‘here I have the feedback and hence am a participant in the process. I am reading, thinking and then discussing the issue with people from all corners of the world. In this way I arrive close to the truth’, ‘if the idea is so good that I like it then I consciously and immediately seek out more information about the author and his other ideas and expanded my knowledge’.

Allusion is in third place and is used mostly for fun, often in the form of puns: 'sometimes I do retweet it for me, for the good memories, or simply because it is fun. Simply fun', 'allusion raises other areas of curiosity', 'if it coincides with my views then this can be used'.

It's in terms of Bakhtin's 'already bespoke quality' (Bakhtin, 1981: 8 -9), and 'simultaneous appropriation and transmission' (Bakhtin, 1981:341).

A 'quotation' is something that many also consider a tool: 'I use this on my birthday. Then I send sensible quotes to friends and family'. Many note that this is something that is very unique: 'I like to quote only something that is very, very important, something that makes sense and has essence'. Many admit that the quote is characterised not by its punctuation, but with the help of a particular expression in the text. However, a large number of students belong to the traditional school: 'first you use quotes, then you refer to the authors and 'use them only if [what they say] is useful and content-rich. Again this already contains bespoke quality' (Bakhtin, 1981: 8-9).

Only in the four places is 'my text', showing that students understand the effects of intertextuality and recognise that their thoughts are influenced by other people's thoughts.

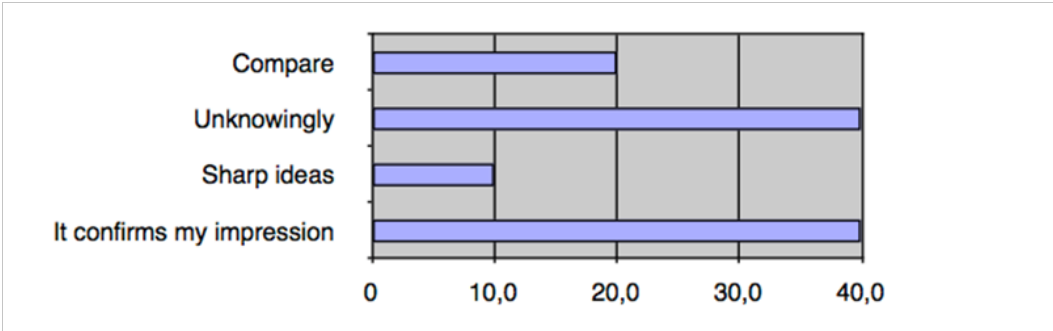
Intertextuality can be viewed from different perspectives: 1) ideological, 2) semiotic, and 3) being from a communicative perspective. I understand the 'intertextuality' in the form of it being a tool which helps us to study the textual system, which itself flows into the other texts. The best way to prove it is in the study of dialogues between the texts.

Most of the students recognised that: 1) they adopted alien texts unconsciously: 'it is clear that this happens unintentionally! Yes, I use symbols that I have borrowed from other people', 'it can be the case that, unwittingly, grains of an idea remains in the memory. Information is updated in my head if it is important to me'. 'It may also be the case that I unconsciously tend to incorporate these strangers ideas in my own works. At that moment I feel these ideas are my own. As such, that's coming from me', 'it is conceivable that, both in speech and writing, I use borrowed thoughts and ideas. I'll think about it now in my art', 'there are situations in which something happens accidentally'; 'one thought leads to the next and then to other thoughts. Then we can no longer distinguish between the beginning of my idea and the end of another person's idea'. Some acknowledge that it may be the case that alien ideas and texts are used deliberately 'his works are incredible knowing' or 'the space of information today is common to all. Therefore it is impossible not to be swayed

by others'; 2) that a stranger's text is a good form of text if it confirms their own thoughts : 'if the text is concise and witty', 'if an idea is close to me and coincides with my vision of the world', 'as a young artist I was looking for ideas everywhere. They are both articles and images, both video and films. You can almost always find good things and pick them up yourself, but by this I don't mean copying'; and, finally 3) it's okay if it is possible to compare ideas and thoughts: 'the ideas of others can affect me just as much as I myself want to be affected', 'yes, of course its true that only through communication can one reach the result and create new views which I can then generate and reflect upon', 'it is important to be able to compare foreign ideas with one's own'. According Bakhtin, this tendency can be a dialogue with 'alien' text and can be noted also in 'reaccentuation' (Bakhtin, 1981:5).

Cutting-edge ideas forms another important item: 'in this way I look for inspiration for my work', 'if the ideas are dazzling and cutting-edge then I try to seize them directly', 'I certainly do catch them, because in this kind of idea is inspiration for my work', 'ideas in social media are so diverse and often unexpected that I am often shaken by them. It's great to know that such a platform exists, and that I can use those thoughts that attract my attention.'

Table 5.
Dialogue between the texts (%)



The term 'cutting-edge ideas' or 'sharp ideas' does not only have to be a source of inspiration. By this term students also understand: 'particularly important notices such as asking for help and political declarations', and 'other important human messages'. Such information may be important in different ways: 1) 'to compare', or 2) 'to share with other people'. Generally, when it comes to a description of 'cutting-edge' the following words dominate: 'current', 'essential', 'laconic', and 'shocking', which 'often become a source of inspiration'. This shows a fairly large degree of heteroglossia according to Bakhtin. This post shows how dialogism (Bakhtin, 1981, p411) works in practice. 'Dialogism is the characteristic epistemological mode of

a world that is dominated by heteroglossia' (Holqvist M. and Bakhtin, 1981; 411). Social media promotes dialogue between the transmitter and the reader and allows a dialogue between them. Language acts as a relationship-building resource and shows an interaction between texts and participants. 'When we see other people who are enjoying good levels of communication with themselves and with others, they inspire us... In these cases, the energy of a community of mindfulness can help us to embrace and release suffering that we could not be able to achieve by ourselves' (Thich Nhat Hanh, 2013:131).

Discussion and conclusion

- 1) Communication is food. Thich Nhat Hanh's idea is correct. Communicators find, select, and use information in the same way as people choosing food. Everything is determined by taste and experience. It is easy to say that you do not like something because it does not taste that good, but it is almost impossible to present food for all tastes all of the time.
- 2) Just like going to a gourmet restaurant, young people choose the information they want on the internet: they select only that 'food' that suits their tastes because they want to feel good.
- 3) The content of the survey shows a very bleak picture when it comes to 'the old media'. They will no longer work in practice for young people. In reality the material generated by old forms of media pops up on their computer screens anyway - thanks to Google, Twitter, Facebook, or Instagram - but the young reader wants to have an dialogue with the author or journalist and favours the relationship-based communications that are being served up by social media.
- 4) Young people need attractive media that is more open and equal than was previously the case - media such as blogs, or reports from Facebook, Twitter, or Instagram. Social networking can itself appropriate the content from the 'old media' and convert it into an entertaining format that better suits a young audience.
- 5) Through this study, it can be seen that modern users of social media demonstrate and confirm in practice Bakhtin's theory. This survey proves that communication is a form of dialogue between different texts. This means that the exchange of thoughts in internet communication is an exchange of texts which, essentially, is a multi-consciousness dialogue as indicated by Bakhtin, not the 'mosaic of quotations' that Kristeva claims.

6) It can be concluded that every text in social media has a feature that provides an echo. Thoughts will be echoed in the form of text. This unique speciality - 'the reverberation of text in internet communications' - should certainly be studied increasingly widely.

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MISS JULIE: A PSYCHOANALYTIC STUDY

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Abstract

Sigmund Freud theorized that ‘the hero of the tragedy must suffer...to bear the burden of tragic guilt...(that) lay in rebellion against some divine or human authority.’ August Strindberg, the Swedish poet, playwright, author and visual artist, like Shakespeare before him, portrayed insanity as the ultimate of tragic conflict. In this paper I seek to explore and reiterate the dynamics of human relationships that are as relevant today as they were in Strindberg’s time. I propose to examine Strindberg’s *Miss Julie*, a play set in nineteenth century Sweden, through a psychoanalytic lens. The play deals with bold themes of class and sexual identity politics. Notwithstanding the progress made in breaking down gender barriers, the inequalities inherent in a patriarchal system persist in modern society. *Miss Julie* highlights these imbalances. My analysis of the play deals with issues of culture and psyche, and draws on Freud, Melanie Klein, Lacan, Luce Irigaray and other contemporary feminists. *Miss Julie* is a discourse on hysteria, which is still pivotal to psychoanalysis. Prominent philosophers like Hegel and the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan have written about the dialectic of the master and the slave – a relationship that is characterized by dependence, demand and cruelty. The history of human civilization shows beyond any doubt that there is an intimate connection between cruelty and the sexual instinct. An analysis of the text is carried out using the sado-masochistic dynamic as well the slave-master discourse. I argue that *Miss Julie* subverts the slave-master relationship. The struggle for dominance and power is closely linked with the theme of sexuality in the unconscious. To quote the English actor and director Alan Rickman, ‘Watching or working on the plays of Strindberg is like seeing the skin, flesh and bones of life separated from each other. Challenging and timeless.’

Key words: psychoanalysis, slave-master, sado-masochism, narcissism, hysteria, culture, psyche

Introduction

Sigmund Freud theorized that ‘The Hero of tragedy must suffer...to bear the burden of what was known as ‘tragic guilt’... (that) lay in rebellion against some divine or human authority.’ (Freud, 1950, p. 156)

August Strindberg, the Swedish poet, playwright, author and visual artist, like Shakespeare before him, portrayed insanity as the ultimate of tragic conflict. Strindberg is a trailblazer as a playwright where he submits incisive personal experience into his naturalistic and later, his expressionist plays, as well as in his novel *Inferno*. Not only does he not limit himself to a nineteenth century ideal of an artist, but his work transcends time as he portrays human existence.

‘Filthy...’, ‘a heap of ordure...’, ‘debauched...’, ‘will surely nowhere find an audience that could bear to see it...’, ‘totally repellent...’, ‘repulsive...’ This is how critics responded to *Froken Julie* (Miss Julie) when it was published on 23 November 1888. In this paper I seek to explore and reiterate the dynamics of human relationships that are as relevant in contemporary times as they were in Strindberg’s era. I propose to examine Strindberg’s *Miss Julie* through a psychoanalytic lens.

The life and times of Strindberg

August Strindberg was born in 1849 in Stockholm, with nine siblings, and believed that he was unwanted. He experienced grave deprivation and exclusion in his family, imbibed his father’s shame and fears, and also the squalid subservience of his mother. As a result, he became oversensitive, deeply craving for his parents’ unconditional love.

He married three times and got engaged at the age of sixty to a young actress called Fanny Faulkner. Shortly before his death, he was asked in a questionnaire which qualities he valued most highly in a woman. His answer was ‘motherliness’. Several of his plays drew upon the problems of his marriages and reflected his constant search in self analysis.

To follow Strindberg’s life, it is imperative to look closely at his marriage with Siri Von Essen, Baroness Wrangel, to whose house Strindberg was taken by a friend because the Wrangels were keenly interested in theatre and wished to meet him. Coincidentally he found himself in a house where he had spent much of his youth, where he had experienced the loss of his mother and his father’s remarriage. Strindberg did not see Siri von Essen as the Baroness Wrangel but as Virgin Mother.

He found the idealized parental figures, a love object with whom he could identify and whose admiration he sought. He married Siri and the marriage rekindled intense pre-oedipal and oedipal conflicts concerning longing for reunion with the mother, distrust of the parental objects, rebelliousness against the authority of the father, and insecurities over his sexual identity.

After thirteen troubled years, his marriage to Siri von Essen ended in 1891. Strindberg moved to Berlin after having divorced Siri, where he met the Austrian journalist Frida Uhl whom he married next. This marriage lasted two years. Haunted by guilt about deserting his children and attacked by his critics, Strindberg became possessed of a persecution mania. Between the years 1892 and 1897 he experienced several psychotic episodes. He longed for a reunion with the maternal, at the same suffering from an extreme primal guilt.

Setting of the play *Miss Julie*

The play is set on Midsummer's Eve, a festival of pagan origin in Northern Europe, which has particular charm of its own when the sun does not set. It is a night on which with the scents and sounds of the intense Northern summer drive people mad. In *Miss Julie* the pagan fertility ritual is in marked contrast to the sterility of the world of *Miss Julie*, where she is an unwanted child, where the bitch is shot for running with the gatekeeper's dog, a metaphor for keeping class conflict and hierarchy in place. It is interesting to see how the play works in terms of space. The kitchen forms an important space, for that is where all activity takes place in the play. The kitchen is the domain of the working classes. Also, it is a place where another kind of appetite is satisfied. In the play, a pantomime is set as if 'the actress was really alone in the kitchen'.

There are only three characters in the text that are present on stage. *Miss Julie* is the Count's daughter and the mistress of the house, Jean the valet and Christine the cook. It is also a world where the only progenitor, *Miss Julie*'s father, is absent. The dancing peasants punctuate the action in the play, reinforcing the imminent danger in *Miss Julie*'s act of indiscretion. We are not given a glimpse of the bedroom – the sexual centre. We are given a frolicking chorus of villagers and farmers instead. It is interesting to note that in drawing the curtain on the bedroom, the playwright plays upon the spectator's desire to see the sexual act, which unconsciously carries the excitement/burden of witnessing the primal scene.

The peasants sing about 'two women in the wood'. Earlier, there is a hint of *Miss Julie* 'with her lady friend'. The song hints at *Miss Julie*'s unconscious wish to unite with the primary object, i.e., her mother in her mind. She goes through the

seduction and plays out her sexual wishes almost with a childlike innocence, as if acknowledging sexual wishes even in the mind would be dirty and lead to disapproval from the Mother. At the same time there is an unconscious wish to be the 'man to the mother' (Bollas 2000).

Culture and Psyche

Miss Julie is a discourse on hysteria, which is still pivotal to psychoanalysis. My analysis of the play deals with issues of culture and psyche, and draws on Sigmund Freud, Melanie Klein, Jaques Lacan, Luce Irigaray and other contemporary thinkers. I also take up the dialectic of the master and the slave – a relationship that is characterized by dependence, demand and cruelty. The history of human civilization shows beyond any doubt that there is an intimate connection between cruelty and the sexual instinct. An analysis of the text is carried out using the sado-masochistic dynamic as well the slave-master discourse. I argue that Miss Julie subverts the slave-master relationship. The struggle for dominance and power is closely linked with the theme of sexuality in the unconscious.

The play deals with bold themes of class and sexual identity politics. Notwithstanding the progress made in breaking down gender barriers, the inequalities inherent in a patriarchal system persist in modern society. Miss Julie highlights these imbalances.

Slave-Master discourse

Miss Julie takes up the theme of the Darwinian battle between the sexes, and a love hate bond. It is a play about the slave master discourse. The slave, because of his subjectivity and loss, has some chance of reflecting and recognizing his own desire: the master has far less chance of recognizing his desire because he pressures the slave to recognize his 'demand' for enjoyment. For Lacan the slave master relation is universal, one in which we have invested either as slaves in some voluntary sense or as masters. The idea and practice of being a slave is always entangled with the idea of being a master and vice versa.

For a psychoanalytic reflection the text it is important that one look at what this master slave discourse actually entails. In the play, Miss Julie is the mistress while Jean is the slave. The text subverts the master slave relationship through its economical handling of characters and their complex relationships with each other. The struggle for dominance and power is closely linked with the theme of sexuality: seeking and bestowing sexual favours. At many levels, particularly at the sexual

level, Jean acts as the master, subjugating Miss Julie, while she acts out the role of a slave.

The relationship between Christine and Jean is an equal one; interestingly, Christine is aware of Jean's reaction to Miss Julie but in a typical patriarchal manner, is willing to tolerate Jean's philandering as long as he returns to her in the end. The play begins with a conversation that establishes the complicity between Jean and Christine. Jean and Christine are immersed in half amorous banter with frequent references to the absence of Miss Julie and her wild sexuality almost like her bitch in heat. Ironically Miss Julie's bitch is called Diana and in Roman mythology, Diana is the Goddess of Virgins. Christine also mentions that Miss Julie is menstruating (p. 3).

Jean: Miss Julie is wild tonight, completely wild.

Christine: He's back, is he?

Jean introduces Miss Julie as a woman who wishes to dominate men, subjecting them to her sadistic will. Her fiancé has walked out on her, because of her wish to 'train' him, her urge to crack the whip. However, once the engagement is broken, she is too ashamed to show herself in public and seeks confinement in the home with the servants in disgrace. The whip is a phallic symbol that signifies Miss Julie's masculinity and identity as a master while the references to her bodily functions – her sexual urges and her menstruation – establish her vulnerability as a sexual being, and as a woman.

Miss Julie walks into the kitchen and flirtatiously asks Jean for a schottische with her (p. 6). Julie's manner is coquettish, intent on teasing Jean but not expressing a direct sexual wish. Jean too engages with her in a mock romantic fashion speaking in French and setting a sentimental scene of seduction, even kissing her foot. Miss Julie is delighted by Jean's performance and tells him that he should have been an actor. She acts innocent when points out the dangers of gossip, and even jeers at him. Jean insists that this flirtation ought to stop for fear of discovery by the Count-Father.

As the sequence of events unfolds, Jean and Julie express their desires and their fantasies to each other. Miss Julie and Jean start playing out the slave master dialectic. Miss Julie tries to wake Christine because she envies Jean's fiancé. Christine's name being close to the word 'Christian' has its own connotations. Christine is the punitive, disapproving mother in Miss Julie's unconscious. She babbles about the authority of the Father in her sleep i.e., the Count's boots which also stand for his class, power and sexuality. With Christine sleeping, Miss Julie can be even more brazen in expressing her wish. Jean half protests by calling her 'Miss Julie'. Strind-

berg constantly keeps us reminded of her social class and also her virginity, her 'innocence about sexuality'. Jean tells Miss Julie that he must polish the Count's boots, indirectly asserting his consciousness about his social class.

According to Luce Irigaray, 'red blood' signifies a tangible relationship between men and women, a matriarchal role for women and indeed menstruation is a signifier of womanhood. To refer to Luce Irigaray's 'When the goods get together' in *This Sex Which is Not One* (1985), it is significant to note the rejection of phallocentrism of Freud and Lacan, despite having been Lacan's student. Irigaray employs Marxist and Psychoanalytic concepts and vocabulary, calls women 'goods' to be exchanged between male members of society: brother, father, husband... and thus, there is no interaction between the female sex. Irigaray strongly emphasizes the bonds of womanhood. She critiques Freud rather strongly for regarding female sexuality as 'virility complex' and accuses him of transferring his own bias.

Trappings of Narcissism

Jean's story about the outhouse transforms Miss Julie into a narcissistic listener. She is fascinated by the narrative, which has her as the heroine and perhaps this is the best moment of narcissistic satisfaction that Miss Julie manages in the course of the play. Jean's reminiscence has all the trappings of a fairy tale: the servant who falls in love with his mistress at first sight, the seven brothers and sisters, the forbidden garden with apple trees, the bed of alder leaves cleverly puts Miss Julie under his spell. The fantasy does reveal Jean's fervent desire to live a life of the rich. Money is what which will give him a sense of omnipotence.

The story is not entirely false as it contains the seed of Jean's wish to transcend his social class. In the unconscious, it also means getting more love from the Father, psychoanalytically: the Count. Jean's story is ironic, his description of the filthy outhouse (p.16):

I had never been inside the manor house, never seen anything except the church – but this was more beautiful.

Jean's comparison degrades churches and castles just as effectively as it mocks the foul outhouse. Positions in space reflect positions in class and gender. Jean's lies in filth, while Miss Julie walks on the rose terrace. He is not only the figure humiliated by his masters but a servant who can see their undersides.

Dreams as signifiers

Jean's and Miss Julie's dreams are also important signifiers. Miss Julie relates a recurrent dream (p. 12) :

... I'm on top of a pillar. I'm sitting there, and I see no possible way of getting down. I feel dizzy when I look down but I know I must get down. I haven't got the courage to throw myself. I can't hold on. I long to be able to just fall but I don't fall. I know I won't have any peace until I'm down, no rest until I'm down, down to the ground. I also know that once I am down I'll want the ground to open and for me to sink, sink...

Jean's dream (p. 13) runs like this;

I dream that I am lying underneath a tall tree in a dark forest. I want to get up up to the top and look around me across the bright landscape where the sun shines. I want to plunder the bird's nest up there with the golden eggs. I climb and climb but the trunk is so thick and slippery and it's so far to the first branch. I know that if I could only reach that first branch I could climb up to the top step by step. I haven't reached it yet but I will reach it, well, in my dreams.

At the manifest level, the dream reflects Miss Julie's ambiguous attitude towards her social class. It isolates her and puts her up on a pillar, far from the ground though it gives her visibility and power. However, at the immanent level, the dream reflects Miss Julie's ardent wish to return to the mother's womb, to fuse with the primary object i.e., the mother. One thinks of the ground as 'mother earth', an all embracing, and loving, benevolent mother. The dream also hints at a possibility that Miss Julie is embarrassed about her sexual conduct and sexual desires and feels a strong sense of shame, enough to sink into the ground/ experiencing a strong death wish. Guilt and shame shall be taken up later in the paper.

Jean's dream is also about his wishes. He wishes for an experience of fulfillment, which will make everything seem bright. Once again at the manifest level, the dream signifies Jean's desire to transcend his social class and plunder a high class by sexually possessing Miss Julie. However, at the immanent level they are homosexual wishes, if psychoanalytically analysed. Images of a tall tree, the thick and smooth trunk are sexual images. He 'desires' the Father, the source of power and class. In Lacanian terms, Miss Julie is only his object of 'demand'.

Miss Julie's Trauma

After the seduction of Miss Julie by Jean, she is at Jean's mercy. She pleads with him to call her by her name 'Julie', trying to establish equality between them. She talks about her trauma after the seduction in her anxiety not to be punished by her family, and society at large. In the unconscious, she has dared to express desire and has seduced the Father. Jean says that it is impossible to continue to stay at the manor. He fantasises about travelling to Italy and setting up a hotel there (pp. 20-21):

Jean (enters agitated): There you see. And you heard. Do you think it's possible to stay here now?

Miss Julie: No. I don't think so. But what can we do?

Jean: Escape from here.

Miss Julie: Escape yes, but where to?

Jean: To Switzerland, the Italian lakes – have you ever been there?

Miss Julie: No. is it beautiful there?

Jean: Eternal summer: laurels, orange trees, ...

Miss Julie: But what do we do there?

Jean: I'll set up a hotel. First-class service for first class customers.

Miss Julie: A hotel?

Jean: That's living, believe me: new faces all the time, ... while the money keeps rolling in. That's living.

Miss Julie: Yes, for you, but what about me?

Jean: You will be the mistress of the house; the jewel in the crown. ... I'll fiddle the bills and you'll cover up with your sweetest smile. ...

Miss Julie: That's all very well but Jean – you must give me courage. Say that you love me. Hold me.

Jean: I want to – but I daren't. Not in this house any more. I love you Miss Julie, I do ...

Miss Julie: Julie – say Julie. There are no barriers between us any more, Say Julie.

When Miss Julie pleads that she has no money to elope with Jean, he is completely cruel and unsympathetic, and says that his story about the rose terrace was entirely fabricated. Miss Julie is traumatized.

A trauma is an important impossibility and refers to an experience in a person's life that he has not been able to sufficiently symbolize or to put into language. In his theory of repression Freud says that if somebody were the victim of trauma that they have repressed, some aspect of their repressed experience would return. When Miss Julie is faced with Jean's accusation that she has acted like a 'beast and a 'whore', both extremely patriarchal terms, she is prostrate.

Miss Julie's submission to Jean reflects Strindberg's notions of evolution. He suggests that Miss Julie must fall to Jean, because he was convinced that women are inferior to men. As Strindberg has noted in the Preface to the play *Miss Julie* he has 'added a little evolutionary history [to the play] by making the weaker steal and repeat the words of the stronger'.

Hysteria

Strindberg's anger is apparent in Miss Julie's continued humiliation. Her mother's anti male ideas are portrayed as ridiculous and her duplicity as a familiar tale. Jean thinks that Miss Julie is 'sick', a diagnosis we are meant to agree with. This scene blames Miss Julie's illness on her family history. Strindberg was interested in psychology and depended heavily on it in delineating his characters in his naturalistic plays. Miss Julie and the Countess are models of the hysteric as popularly conceived of in the nineteenth century. Symptoms of hysteria are to keeping wanting and craving, also waiting. When we think of hysteria we think of people, who are troubled by their body's sexual demands and repress sexual ideas; who are over identified with the other, who express themselves in a theatrical manner: who day-dream existence rather than engage it.

Miss Julie is only interested in those people who do not reciprocate her feelings, thereby always experiencing pain. There was also the disease which the nineteenth century referred to as 'nostalgia'. 'Hysterics suffer from reminiscences. ...wanting is central to a Freudian theory of hysteria' (Mitchell 1999, p. 25). Freud first tackled hysteria in the 1880's. Strindberg was influenced by the French psychiatrist Charcot who was investigating hysterical affliction's via hypnosis. Theories of hysteria in the nineteenth century were based on sexual disturbances. It was theorized primarily by both Freud and Charcot that women became hysterics when they repressed their sexual desires.

The character of Miss Julie is etched as one of a 'hysteric': a sensitive and hungry little girl who wanted and craved for love, but did not get unconditional maternal care in infancy. There is disappointment with her mother who failed to make her feel safe, sated and prized. As she approached the oedipal phase, where she began to experience desire for the father, she did so by devaluing her primary object – her mother – and turned her intense love towards her father. Her father was perceived by her as extremely exciting. She could not compete with her mother in trying to win the father and hence was trapped in a dilemma. As a result of this fixation, Miss Julie finds men strong and exciting and moves away from homosexual wishes (which are perhaps there in her unconscious) to hyper-sexualised, hetero-

sexual love and desire. She sees women, herself included as weak and insignificant. Miss Julie manipulates her sexuality and her wiles and uses sex defensively because she is too afraid of the abuse of power by men. The Countess is also portrayed as hysteric. To make up for the lack of the phallus, i.e., her lack of power – she was a commoner by birth and from a very simple background – she raised Miss Julie as a boy (note the irony- ‘Miss’) and taught her to hate men.

... She had an aversion to marriage. So when she met my father and he proposed to her, she told him she couldn't be his wife but he could be her lover. First, my father resisted because he wanted the woman he loved to be respected the same way he was. But he adored her, so he gave in and accepted her condition....my parents were living in sin, so they were rejected...then I came into the world against my mother's wishes as far as I can make out. I was allowed to run wild, I was taught everything boys are taught. I was to be the living proof that a woman is as good as a man. I wore boy's clothes, learned how to groom, how to harness, how to shoot, even how to slaughter. That was horrible. (p. 28)

Miss Julie's actual act of intercourse with Jean also seems like a dissociated, hysterical experience in the play. She does not own up to any sexual desires despite having being coquettish. Here one notices splitting on the part of Miss Julie – the virtuous helpless mistress on the one hand and the seductress on the other hand. Both parts are kept away from each other. For her there must be love because from her mother she has imbibed that sex is dirty, and there is guilt associated with it.

The play uses the metaphor of filth and dirt both signifying sexuality in the unconscious. Jean recounts that the Countess was ‘most at home in the kitchen and the cowsheds but a one horse carriage wasn't elegant enough for her.’ Miss Julie has dirt under her painted nails. Also, when she comes down dressed to travel, Jean points out that her face is dirty. He tells Christine how she went around with ‘dirty cuffs’. Dirt stands for the unbridled sexuality of women in which they are not conscious of class barriers.

Sado-masochistic dyad

In the beginning Miss Julie tries to assert herself as the mistress of the house and tries to seduce Jean. If one looks closely at Miss Julie's unconscious patterns, there are processes of regression in her which must be acted out again and again via her sexuality. Once her weakness and her sexually uninhibited nature are brought to the fore, Jean denies her, torments her and has power over her. His element of aggression is extremely high and Jean and Miss Julie get embroiled in a sado –mas-

ochistic dyad.

It is important to understand why Miss Julie is masochistic. The term masochism applies to any passive attitude towards sexual life and towards the sexual object. In its extreme instance, satisfaction becomes conditional upon suffering physical or mental pain at the hands of the sexual object. It is not certain whether masochism is a primary phenomenon or whether it gets sparked off by sadistic pleasure turned inwards towards the self. It can often be shown that masochism is nothing more than an extension of sadism turned round upon the subject's own self who, thus, to begin with, takes the place of the sexual object.

Miss Julie's trauma is her oedipal wish which she tries to actualize throughout her life. In his theory on repression Freud says that if somebody were the victim of a trauma that they had repressed, some aspect of their repressed experience would always return. Masochistically imploring her servant to at once punish her for passion and help her out at the same time. She hates and desires Jean at the same time. Through Jean, Miss Julie wishes to touch upon her own anger at the self. For her, as stated earlier, passion becomes punishment socially and psychologically.

Miss Julie's masochism, i.e., her pathetically allowing Jean to hurt her, and dominate her, is at a deeper level, her own anger directed at herself. It is her sense of shame and rejection more than the impending humiliation which Miss Julie anticipates that makes her accept punishment at the hands of Jean. Miss Julie allows Jean to treat her badly because deep down she wants to punish herself for desiring Jean who is not her equal. This helps her deal with her intense guilt and she feels closer to the father structures in her mind.

I would like to quote from Freud's paper 'A Child is Being Beaten' (1919). Freud elaborates how fantasies and self punishment are actually a desire to feel most loved, special and wanted by one's father. Sigmund Freud maintains that every pain contains in itself the possibility of a feeling of sexual pleasure.

According to Freud:

... the first phase of beating phantasies among girls, then, must belong to a very early period of childhood. The child being beaten is never the one producing the phantasy, but is invariably another child, most often a brother or a sister if there is any. This first phase of the beating phantasy is therefore completely represented by the phrase: 'My father is beating the child'. I am betraying a great deal of what is to be brought forward later when instead of this I say 'My father is beating the child whom I hate.'

Profound transformations have taken place between this first phase and the next. It is true that the person beating remains the same (that is, the father); but the child who is

beaten has been changed into another one and is now invariably the child producing the phantasy. The phantasy is accompanied by a high degree of pleasure. Now, therefore the wording runs:

'I am being beaten by my father.'

Freud adds that:

... if the child in question is a younger brother or sister, it is despised and hated: yet it attracts to itself the share of affection, and this is a spectacle the sight of which cannot be avoided. One soon learns that being beaten, even if it does not hurt very much, signifies a deprivation of love and a humiliation. The idea of the father beating this hateful child is therefore an agreeable one. It means 'My father does not love this other child, he loves only me.'

The pleasure attaching to this phantasy is both sadistic and masochistic. This infantile perversion persists throughout in both Miss Julie as well as in Jean.

The play is not time bound. It is a remarkable encounter of two people who love and hate themselves and each other in such and intense crucible of event and emotion. One is never quite sure of the roles of slave/ master. Indeed there is pleasure in Miss Julie's humiliation but one gets completely enmeshed in this sado-masochistic dyad.

Shame and Guilt

The theme of guilt pervades the play. Throughout the play, Miss Julie is aware of the presence of Christine and her 'rightful claim over Jean'. The beheading of John the Baptist is a symbolic castration. Guilt is an important concept in psychoanalysis, which Miss Julie experiences rather intensely. According to the psychoanalyst Melanie Klein, the infant's world is threatened from the beginning by intolerable anxieties, whose source she believed to be the infant's own death instinct. These 'persecutory' anxieties, which are felt in the infant's own bodily needs as well as from the external frustrations to those needs, are overwhelming to the infant, and in order to combat them, the infant resorts to defenses. Through primitive defenses—projection, denial, splitting, withdrawal, and 'omnipotent control' of these objects—the infant puts threatening, 'bad' objects, outside herself and into the external world; simultaneously, she preserves the 'good' objects, both within herself and externally, by splitting them off from their malevolent counterparts (Klein 1986).

Perhaps the most fundamental of these processes were projection and introjection, which describe the infant's first, primitive attempts to differentiate himself

from the world, inside from outside, self from other, based on the prototype of oral incorporation (and spitting out) and the infant's relation to his first, nurturing/frustrating object- the mother's breast. The first objects were not the mature, 'whole' objects of Oedipal development, but primitive 'part' objects whose existence for the infant was determined solely by its function in the infant's world.

Using the Kleinian model, Miss Julie has in course of maturation, 'bad' and 'good' objects, and that through processes of progressive internalization, these fragmentary objects were taken into the self, and became forerunners of the superego. Klein emphasized that this process (of introjection, projection, and re-introjection) was continuous and cyclical, leading to increasing synthesis as Miss Julie gradually attained greater degrees of reality testing, differentiation, and control over her own psyche.

Klein (1986) divided pre-Oedipal development into the "paranoid/schizoid" and "depressive" positions. She located the paranoid/schizoid position in the first months of an infant's life, a time in which the infant was in helpless thrall both to the outside world and to his own instincts. Deprivation, the experience of need, and frustration, even though emanating from the infant's own body, were perceived during this phase as persecutory, and the infant responded by putting them outside of himself, 'projecting' or throwing them away.

The early objects—beginning with the breast—were experienced alternately as 'good' or 'bad' according to whether they were perceived as nurturing or destructive; and again partly on the model of the breast, the infant took in (introjected) or dispelled (projected) them according to their relative safety or danger.

In this way, Miss Julie took in and preserved those feelings in the external world that were felt as 'good,' while expelling from herself those destructive feelings directed 'into' the object that threatened the relation with the object. In the depressive position Miss Julie is able to bridge the gap between 'good' and 'bad' objects, between her own experiences of love and hate, which created them. Her awareness gradually grows to encompass the object world outside herself. She becomes aware of her own destructive impulses and, fearing the loss of Jean's love, attempts to inhibit them, to preserve, protect, and even resurrect the object that she continually destroyed in unconscious fantasy. Her anxious awareness of her aggression toward the object/mother (which Klein called guilt) takes the better of her, and subsequent efforts to contain her own anxieties by curtailing these impulses (efforts Klein termed reparations), are unable to lead Julie to an increasing tolerance for ambivalence.

In a pantomime Jean does some calculations in a notebook as Christine enters. Christine reminds Jean that he promised to join her at church that morning. The sermon is on the beheading of John the Baptist. Jean also confesses to Christine that he and Miss Julie have been intimate. Christine expresses disbelief that Miss Julie who has been so proud with men, even having her dog shot for copulating with a mongrel, could do a thing like that.

The sun rises, marking the end of Midsummer Eve. Miss Julie fantasizes about men's annihilation and the fantasy reveals her most violent, desperate, punitive and revengeful self. This fantasy is set off by the scene of the decapitation of the greenfinch, an act that links up with Christine's mention of the execution of Saint John the Baptist, the famous Biblical allegory. The decapitation is a symbolic castration in psychoanalytic thought. Miss Julie implores Jean to kill her as well, identifying completely with the greenfinch.

The Father

It is interesting to note that both the figures of the mother and father are absent from the heart of action that is the stage. There is a detailed and deliberate set of stage directions, which also introduce the most important signifier in the play – the Count's boots. The boots signify not only sexuality, but also the absence and the presence of the Count/ Father, simultaneously.

These innumerable power rehearsals between Miss Julie and Jean are reduced to a joint submission to the Count. The Count-unseen and unheard is a supreme magical authority. It expects Jean's return to servitude/slave and Miss Julie's extinction for transgressing her limits. She is hypnotized and proceeds towards death holding a razor in her hands.

Summary and Conclusion

Strindberg wrote with unprecedented candour about sex. In *Miss Julie* he has excelled in depicting people driven by love, envy, jealousy and hatred into a nightmarish state of madness. In *Miss Julie*, he cut the classical three-act construction to a single act, focused on a triangular relationship in which a whole spectrum of suicidal and homicidal emotions is depicted.

There are several opinions on the theme as well as on the structure of the play. To summarise them would be as follows: Alice Templeton (1990) calls *Miss Julie* a naturalistic tragedy. She discusses the misogyny of Strindberg in the context

of the preface to the play. John Greenway (1968) deals with the important theme of hypnotic suggestion and situates the play in the context of the advent of science in the nineteenth century. Sprinchorn (1968) also analyses Strindberg's treatment of naturalism and tragedy in *Miss Julie*.

In conclusion I would like to argue that August Strindberg is not a misogynist. There is colour in his creative excitement, he experienced anger with colour, and called it the strongest of all spiritual emotions. Strindberg enjoyed the whole package of madness. As Helen Cooper observes, 'Strindberg the Misogynist actually took women very seriously' (Strindberg 1992/1888, p. x).

As Strindberg himself observes, '... and if I had to define my present stand point it would be: Atheist, Christ- hater, Anarchist...P.S. Woman being small and foolish and therefore evil, should be suppressed like barbarians and thieves, she is useful only as an ovary and womb, best of all as a cunt.' (p. vii) In the same breath we also experience his 'misogyny' when he says... 'Actually, my misogyny is purely theoretical, and I can't live a day without deluding myself that I warm my soul in the glow of their unconscious vegetable existence.'

He impatiently rejects nineteenth-century notions of fixed dramatic characters according to their types. 'My hypothesis,' his mentor Nietzsche once wrote, 'is the subject as multiplicity'. Strindberg agrees: 'Since they are modern characters, living in an age of transition, more urgently hysterical at any rate than the age which preceded it, I have drawn my people as split and vacillating, a mixture of the old and new'. Again: 'My characters are conglomerations of past and present stages of civilization, bits from books and newspapers, scraps of humanity, rags and tatters of fine clothing patched together as is the human soul.'

His preface to *Miss Julie* is the classic declaration of early modernism that human nature is mysterious, contradictory, ambivalent and indecisive. It is possible, for example. To experience both feelings of hatred and of lust towards the same person, as Strindberg himself did with all his wives and lovers. The self as an arena of conflicting emotions, instincts and drives is a premise common both to Nietzsche, whom Strindberg admired, and Freud, whom he anticipated.

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THE ROLE OF SOCIOECONOMIC DIFFERENCES AND MATERIAL DEPRIVATION IN PEER VIOLENCE

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Abstract

In schools around the world in the 21st century the dominant and worrying problems are: an increase in the number of poor and financially and materially deprived and a continuous increase in violence among peers, which brings us to the intriguing question whether there is a connection between these two phenomena. Therefore, the theoretical part of this paper analyzes the increase of peer violence in the context of socioeconomic inequalities of different societies which students live in and socioeconomic family factors. The aim of the empirical part is to determine which variables of socioeconomic status and material deprivation of children predict the status of perpetrators or victims of peer violence. The study included 610 (44.8% M; 51.6% F) primary school students, with average age of 13,88 years from different regions of the Republic of Croatia. For data collection the socioeconomic status questionnaire, scale of material deprivation of children in school and scale of victimization and violence among peers were used. The results indicated that 34.8% of respondents have acted violently toward peers because of their poorer financial status, and 45.7% were victimized for the same reason. It was also found that the analyzed SES variables and material deprivation do not predict committing violence against peers. Living in unfavorable socioeconomic conditions is associated with the role of victims, lower education of mothers, lower work status of the father, child's experience of fear because of the family's poor financial situation, and material deprivation in school are statistically significant predictors of victimization. It is suggested that practitioners, the public and policy makers pay attention and assist the growing number of children from socioeconomically disadvantaged families. They must be in focus of all school preventive programs, especially due to the increased risk for those children of being exposed to peer violence.

Key words: SES, deprivation, bullying, poverty, family, school

Introduction

It seems that at the moment, in many schools around the world there are two big dominant and worrying problems: an increase in the number of poor and financially deprived children, as well as continuous increase in violence among students. The intriguing question is whether there is a connection between these two phenomena.

It was hard to assume that these would be the problems which will mark school life in the 21st century, especially when it comes to poverty. Indeed, it was expected that poverty would be reduced or completely eradicated (Šućur, 2014), and the prominent international organizations, such as UN (Convention on the Rights of the Child) and UNICEF promised that the world will become world worthy of children (Boillet, 2002; Minujin et al., 2006), but it happened the other way around. Today, poverty is a global problem that affects one fifth of the world's population (DružićLjubotin and Ljubotina, 2014), affecting both the so called prosperous countries and the rich west. In those countries, more than half of children live in poverty (KletečkiRadović, 2011). This was particularly contributed by adverse social and economic processes at the beginning of the new millennium - recession, crisis of global proportions, social injustice, instability and insecurity around the world, especially in transition, post- socialist countries.

The number of people who do not have basic living conditions (home, food, heating, hygiene), who live in absolute poverty with their income being less than 2 dollars a day or 30% of the national income median, has increased. There is even more people who live in relative poverty and do not have a minimum decent living standard that is usual in their community or society they live in, and their income is less than 60% of national income median (Katz et al., 2007; McDonald, 2008; Neuborg et al., 2014; Šućur, 2006; 2014). With these two groups, who are traditionally described as poor, there is a growing number of the so- called new poor (Šućur, 2014). They are a product of economic crisis which hit the middle class and working population who had previously lived in relative safety. A large number of people lost their jobs and hope to find a new one, and some who work are not being paid. All this led to inability to fulfill basic needs of the family and maintain standard they were accustomed to. For these reasons, they are not able to pay back housing loans which they easily took before or pay utility bills, which resulted in debt overhangs, evictions, foreclosures and facing poverty (Šućur, 2014).

The crisis particularly affected children whose parents are not able to meet their material and non-material needs (Neubourg et al., 2014; Šućur, 2014), so they

experience multiple deprivations which become particularly evident in school. It is necessary to say that children perceive poverty or unfavourable financial situation differently from adults, not only through lack of money, but through indicators of availability and accessibility (Neubourh et al., 2014). Due to material deprivation, lack of items (clothing, shoes, warm meals and school supplies), access to activities that most people consider necessary (extracurricular activities, sports, language learning, tutoring, etc.) and limited opportunities to socialize with peers in free time (school trips, outings, celebrations, pocket money), they do not have the same opportunities as their peers who come from families with better financial status to realize their potential and their basic economic and social rights (KletečkiRadović, 2011; Elgar et al., 2013). This makes it difficult for them to realize their life goals, such as further education (McDonald, 2008), which leads to socioeconomic inequality. Therefore, child poverty cannot be defined only in financial terms because it affects different aspects of a child's life, which is why it is defined as multiple deprivation, material, school and social (Minujin et al., 2006; Ridge, 2009).

Living with chronic financial difficulties is stressful for both children and adults, and there are significant empirical evidence that material poverty of the family and facing insecurity and financial uncertainty has negative consequences for parents and children, especially if poverty is chronic and deep (Wadsworth and Berger, 2006; Katz et al., 2007; Martin et al., 2010). It has been found that children who live in poor families have more behavioral problems in adolescence and adulthood than their peers from wealthier families (Mystry et al., 2002; Rijlaarsdam et al., 2013). Although most studies link SES with behavioural problems of children, it seems important to underline the idea that it does not always have to be the case because of individual differences of children, and especially their parents who can reduce or eliminate the effects, and their skills and qualities (diligence, honesty, reliability) can improve outcomes of education and children's life opportunities, regardless of income, and thus impact both poverty and child's development (Martin et al., 2010). Therefore, good parenting can protect children from unfavourable socioeconomic effects (Katz et al., 2007).

Due to the fact that violence is a ubiquitous problem in schools around the world, there is a question, how much poverty and material deprivation affect the involvement of children in peer violence and if it predicts the role of a perpetrator and /or victim. Because of the importance, topicality and exposure of a large number of children to poverty and violence, the theoretical part of this paper analyzes the increase of peer violence in the context of socioeconomic inequalities in the communities of students and family factors, and the empirical part investigates which variables of socioeconomic status and material deprivation of children indicate a

status of perpetrator or victim of peer violence.

Peer violence

Social relations and interactions with peers are key aspects in lives of children, especially adolescents. Those who manage to achieve and maintain satisfactory social relations with peers often behave prosocial and are less aggressive and violent. Despite the need for acceptance and importance of creating relations with peers, violence among them is increasing.

Peer violence can be defined as repeated aggressive behavior of one or more students who are physically stronger or psychologically or socially more powerful by intentionally causing physical, emotional or social damage to victims who cannot defend themselves (Olweus, 1998; Bilić et al., 2012). Basic elements used for defining peer violence – frequency, intention, consequences and helplessness of victims, differentiate it from peer conflict and abuse. Conflicts among peers are occasional negative actions which are based on misunderstandings, differences etc. If the conflicts are solved constructively, they become an opportunity to learn, otherwise, they turn into violence.

Violent behavior has different direct and indirect forms and is most often categorized as traditional (physical, verbal, sexual and relational) and electronic violence which is booming due to abuse of modern communication technology. Children of younger age and male gender are more prone to direct forms and girls and older children to indirect forms of violence (Elgar et al., 2009). Boys are more at risk of violent behavior (Olweus, 1998; Cook et al., 2010; Velki, 2012), and it is considered that violent behavior culminates in adolescence (Wang et al., 2009). Results of international studies conducted on nationally representative samples in forty countries show that 2-27% of children are perpetrators of traditional forms of violence and 4-28% are its victims (Craig et al., 2009), and variations are attributed to economic and cultural characteristics of individual country (Due et al., 2009). It is estimated that prevalence of electronic violence is 20-40% (Tokunaga, 2010; Hinduja and Patchin, 2014). Fu et al. (2012) provide evidence of all forms of violence increasing in the period from 1989 to 2009.

Maybe this is the reason why a large number of research deals with precisely the prevalence of violence, while factors which cause it are somewhat neglected (Frutos, 2013). Recent studies, as a framework for peer violence, use Bronfenbrenner ecological model which integrates different influences from the environment, but research most often focuses on analyzing individual characteristics of children,

family and school variables. At the same time, contextual factors have not been thoroughly tested (Elgar et al., 2013) and unjustifiably ignored, although Cook et al. (2010) point out that they have a significant overall effect on violent behavior. Unfavourable social and macroeconomic environment can be a risk factor for behavioral problems and probably, violence. Some authors suggest (Boyer, Halbrook, 2011) that these problems can be understood as reflection of conditions in which students nowadays live.

The connection between socioeconomic factors with peer violence

Participation of children in peer violence can be explained through socioeconomic inequalities in societies they live in and socioeconomic family factors (Jansen et al., 2012; Elgar et al., 2013).

a) Socioeconomic inequality in society

In order to test the contribution of macroeconomic environment to peer violence, Due et al. (2009) conducted research in 35 countries in Europe and North America which included 162,305 students of 11, 13 and 15 years of age. They found that societies with greater economic inequality have a higher prevalence of violent behavior and adolescents are at greater risk of violence and victimization. Authors concluded that differences between countries and schools show that violence is not “natural behavior” but is partly conditioned by the socioeconomic environment.

Pickett and Wilkinson (2007) found that income inequality in 21 rich countries correlates with percentage of young people who are victims of violence ($r=0.47$; $p=0.001$). Income inequality is described by Elgar et al. (2013; 238) as structural violence because it creates distrust, reinforces intolerance, encourages differences and revenge. The authors point out that children internalize social norms and ideas that life does not revolve around equality and reciprocity, but power and domination, so they see violence as an effective way to be successful. The authors also consider school violence as a potential consequence of such social influences.

Results of the aforementioned research and studies are particularly important in understanding peer violence that happens nowadays.

b) Family socioeconomic factors

Socioeconomic status (SES) is a construct that includes different dimensions of social position – power, prestige, economic well-being, professional status (Conger et al., 2010). Out of many variables who contribute to it, the most common SES indicators are considered to be: material income, educational level and professional status of parents and although their individual contributions are not negligible, the fact is that they are usually complementary (Katz et al., 2007).

Low SES can affect the participation of children in violence in several ways. First of all, the family is of key importance in understanding violence because it transfers norms of behavior towards others (Jansen et al., 2012). In order to explain the mechanism that connects socioeconomic status of the family and consequences in children's development, the model of family stress is used (Conger et al., 2010; Martin et al., 2010). According to the model, poverty contributes to stress and psychological problems of parents and their interpersonal conflicts, which has negatively affects their behavior towards children (less sensible interactions and use of inappropriate educational methods) and finally leads to reduced well-being of children and emotional and behavioral problems (Mistry et al., 2009; Evans and Kim, 2013). In such families, children are exposed to chronic stress which has a negative impact on self-regulatory processes that help children cope with external requirements (Evans and Kim, 2013). Parents who are struggling to survive and working extra hours are less able to devote time to their children and give them love, resources and adequate control, lack of which is considered a risk factor in various behavioural problems of children (Jensen, 2009; Šimić Šašić et al., 2011). Some authors which Katz et al. (2007) refer to believe that only extreme deprivation can cause major changes in a way of raising children, while such changes have not been identified in the families that fall into the category of relatively poor. In contrast, economic power is associated with higher quality parenting (Šimić Šašić et al., 2011), although it is not always the case in practice.

c) Material deprivation of students

In school, lack of income leads to child sensing that they are deprived of something and that they do not have what other children have (Ridge, 2009). Because of social comparison to their peers, they begin to feel the difference and believe that everything is determined by money and others treat them as different or pity them (McDonald, 2008). Lack of clothing, necessary supplies etc. can have a profound impact on their daily interactions with peers (Ridge, 2009; Martin et al., 2010). Therefore, the objective situation, as well as the subjective experience of their family's adverse financial conditions, leaves a mark on their daily lives and social relationships. They usually feel inferior, can be isolated and excluded from various activities (Ridge, 2009), but also publicly humiliated, stigmatized and devalued. So feelings of fear, humiliation, rage, despair and anger (DružićLjubotina and Ljubotina, 2014), but also sadness, are their common reactions to perceived emotional trauma and shattered social relations (Ridge, 2009). Thus, in such school situations they can react in two ways: some will be angry and frustrated and respond aggressively, being at higher risk of committing violence (Jensen et al., 2012), and others, because of unfair life circumstances and feelings of helplessness, sadness, anxiety, depression etc. (Ridge, 2009; DružićLjubotina and Ljubotina, 2014) become passive, desperate and

fatalistic, which often leads them into a position of victim. Studies that examined the connection between socioeconomic factors and involvement of children in violence have not given consistent results. Some argue that socioeconomic factors are not connected to violent behavior and victimization (Sourander et al., 2000) or that their effect is negligible (Kim et al., 2005). Recent studies give socioeconomic factors an important role in explaining violent behavior. Thus, Jansen et al. (2012) found that in comparison to children who come from families of higher SES, children coming from families with lower SES, are at greater risk of being involved in violence as either victims or perpetrators. Other authors concluded that materially deprived children are mostly victims of violence (Ridge, 2009; Jankauskiene et al., 2008; Due et al., 2009; Fu et al., 2012), while perpetrators usually come from families of higher SES (Jankauskiene et al., 2008).

Incentives for research of this problems were frequent media reports about selfless support of Croatian wonderful teachers who give up on part of their modest salaries to help the poorest students (see: Hot meal paid to her student by this humane teacher; GlasSlavonije; October 29th, 2014), but also news about children who are abused by their peers because of their living conditions (see: Girl beaten up because of being poor, then transferred to another school; 24 sata; May 9th, 2013). Due to general neglecting of the role of community factors in explaining peer violence and more prominent problems in this domain, we decided to research whether socioeconomic family factors and material deprivation predict the status of a perpetrator or victim in schools.

Methodology

The aim of this paper is to examine which variables of socioeconomic family status and material deprivation of students predict the status of a perpetrator or victim among peers.

According to the defined goal, the following research problems were set:

- a) To identify the characteristics of socioeconomic status (SES) and material deprivation (MD) of the respondents
- b) To determine the prevalence of victimization and involvement of the respondents in committing violence
- c) To analyze the connection between SES and material deprivation with victimization and committing violence
- d) To examine which variables of socioeconomic status and material deprivation are predictors of victimization and predicting violence among peers.

We expect the results to confirm the hypothesis that adolescents living in economically unfavourable conditions and are materially deprived are at greater risk of being victims of peer violence.

The respondents

The study included a total of 610 respondents, slightly more girls (51.6%) than boys (44.8%). The average age of students was 13.88 years ($SD=0.73$), while most of the respondents were 14 years old (49.2%). The sample consisted of slightly more eighth grade students (57.7%) in comparison to seventh grade students (42.3%), and most of them attended schools in a city (67.5%), compared to schools in the country (31.5%). The average academic achievement of students in the sample was 4.13 ($SD=0.82$), with very good (40.2%) and excellent (37.5%) being the most common grades.

The research was conducted in twenty classes in both rural and urban areas, located in different parts of Croatia (eastern, northern, central and southern). Since different areas are at different levels of development and were hit differently by the crisis (unemployment, shutting down businesses, some were affected by war, some were not), which might have affected respondents differently, we selected schools in Bjelovar- Bilogora, Brod- Posavina, Split- Dalmatia, Vukovar- Srijem and Zadar counties and the city of Zagreb.

The procedure

Data were collected during spring 2015, through group testing in grades with prior approval of parents and principles and in compliance with all provisions of the Code of Ethics for research with children. Approximately ninety parents did not sign the consent for participation of children in this study although it was voluntary and anonymity was guaranteed. Some professional staff, who provided generous assistance in implementing the research, noted that those were mainly parents with poorer economic status. Students who participated in research were given general instructions on completing the questionnaire, noting that they can opt out at any time, however, no one chose to do so. But, there were some students who did not respond to questions about material income of their family, while it was indicative that they responded to other questions.

Instruments

1. General data questionnaire contained questions about: gender, age, grade, school location (urban, rural) and grade point average.

2. Socioeconomic conditions of the family questionnaire consisted of questions about: who the child lives with, how many children are there in the family, where the family lives (house or a flat, tenants, with relatives) and how they assess their living conditions (unsatisfactory, average, excellent), if they have their own room or share it with brothers and other family members and if they own a computer. The second group of questions related to education (unfinished or finished primary school, middle school, college, university or higher), employment status (permanently employed, employed but not being paid, occasionally employed, unemployed, pensioners) and tangible benefits (social aid, less than 2,000 kn; 2,000-4,000 kn; 4,000-6,000 kn; 6,000-10,000 kn and more than 10,000 kn) of father and mother. One question was related to frequency of family vacations (never, once in a few years, once or twice a year) and children's fear due to unsatisfactory financial situation of the family.

3. Scale of material deprivation of the student was constructed for the purposes of this paper based on literature (McDonald, 2008; KletečkiRadović, 2011; Neubourg et al., 2014). After factor analysis, question "Do you get a warm meal at school?" was removed so the scale had 10 items. They examine how often parents can set aside funds for activities and needs of their children at school such as books, school supplies, tutors, and participating in activities that are paid additionally, but also clothes and shoes that are popular among students, and meet their social needs (trips, outings, birthday parties, pocket money, etc.). On a scale from one to four (1- never; 2- very rare, it is hard for them to find funds; 3- sometimes they can spare some money; 4- always, they provide me with everything I need with no problems), respondents assessed how individual statements relate to them. Possible score range is from 1 to 4, where a higher score indicated a lower level of material deprivation.

4. Scale of peer violence was designed for this study on the model of similar instruments (Bilić, 2013), but unlike them, in this scale, causes of violent behavior were associated with socioeconomic conditions or material deprivation of students (example: Have you ever spread ugly and untrue stories about other children in class because they are poor or neglected?). The scale consisted of 9 particles which examined children's participation in committing physical, relational and electronic violence during the current school year, and the respondents have on the scale of three levels (1- never; 2- sometimes; 3- often) assessed how these claims refer to them. Possible scores ranged from 1 to 3, in which a higher score indicated a higher frequency of aggressive behavior.

5. Victimization scale had a total of three particles which examined how often during the school year were the students exposed to physical, relational or electronic

violence of their peers because they differ from them by their socioeconomic status (example: Has someone from class called you ugly names and insulted you because you are different, wear more modest clothes, etc.?). Respondents also assessed on a three-degree scale (1- never; 2- sometimes; 3- often) if the statements relate to them. Possible scores ranged from 1 to 3, with higher scores indicating a higher level of victimization.

Results

In order to respond to tasks set in our research, we conducted frequency, descriptive and correlation analysis, followed by multiple regression analysis, the results of which are presented below.

The socioeconomic profile of the respondents

Socioeconomic status of the respondents was analyzed for the purpose of fulfilling the first goal of the research. Most of the students live with their mother and their father (85.2%), in a family with two children (they have one brother or sister; 36.7%), then family with three children (31%), and the least of them live in a family with four or more children (23.4%). Families of most students live in their own house or flat (89.7%), and most of them estimate their housing conditions as average (67%). In contrast, 6.6% of students live as tenants, 3.1% with relatives, while only 2.8% of students estimate their living conditions as bad.

More than half of respondents have their own room (62.3%) or share it with a sibling (35.2%), while 2.1% sleep in a room with several members of their family. Also, a large number of students have a computer, with 41.5% of them having their own personal computer, while others share it with other family members (49%), and 8.7% do not have a computer.

Regarding their parents' education, most of them finished high school (47.5% of mothers and 47.2% of fathers). 14.6% of students reported low level of their mothers' education, having completed only primary school (13.1%), and some not even that (1.5%). Low level of fathers' education has been reported by 11.5% of students (completing only primary school – 10.2%, and 1.3% not completing primary school), while 21% of mothers and 22.1% of fathers completed colleges and faculties.

In terms of the employment status, respondents stated that most mothers and fathers have a full-time job (53.8% of mothers and 68.9% of fathers), however,

even 29.8% of mothers and 8% of fathers are unemployed or occasionally employed (11.6% of mothers and 7.2% of fathers), and around 1% work but are not being paid. In the category of pensioners there are more fathers (10.3%) than mothers (1.6%). Regarding material income of parents, the respondents claimed that the most common amount of income of parents is between 2,000 and 6,000 kn (50.5% of mothers and 48.9% of fathers). Some parents fall into category of poorest, receiving social aid (5.7% of mothers and 5.1% of fathers), and those who have income less than 2,000 kn (11.1% of mothers and 5.2% of fathers). Some students said their parents have income above 6,000 kn and more (11.6% of mothers and 28.7% of fathers). It is interesting to note than in categories of unemployed and low paid there are more mothers, while fathers are better paid. However, even 21% of students did not answer the question about their mother's income, and 12.1% did not answer the question about the income of father. It is possible that some children really do not know exact details about the material status of the family, but it is possible that they did not want to declare themselves about it, because they did answer other questions. It is well known that children are ashamed of poverty and afraid of stigmatization so they often try to hide the conditions in which they live. It is possible that their parents are not telling them about their financial problems because they are trying to protect them and they also encourage them not to talk about it in order to avoid being identified as poor, because they are worried and aware about the negative connotations (McDonald, 2008; Ridge, 2009). Thus, the results show that the surveyed students estimated their housing conditions as average, and on the scale of material deprivation they assessed their status as good ($M=3.18$; $SD=0.52$). McDonald (2008) warns about the tendency of poor children to describe their material situation as average, although they are aware of the difference.

Most students go on family vacation for at least a weak once a year (41.6%), and slightly fewer students go twice a year or more often (33.8%). However, 10.7% of students have never been on a vacation with their family. About half of students reported they never fret over the financial situation of their family (49%), while slightly less students claim they do it sometimes (43.8%), and 6.6% students fret over it often or very often.

Descriptive indicators of victimization and committing peer violence

According to the second task of the research, we analyzed frequency of victimization and participation of respondents in committing violence and the results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Frequency of victimization and committing violence

Committing violence			Victimization		
	N	%		N	%
Never committed violence	385	63,1%	Were never victims	321	52,6%
Committed violence	212	34,8%	Were victims of violence	276	45,7%
No answer	13	2,1%	No answer	13	2,1

Those who committed violence or were victims are those who had total score on scales higher than 1, so they answered at least one question on the scale with sometimes. As seen in the table, one third of children (34.8%) has at least once, during the school year, committed violence, and almost half (45.7%) of them were victims of violence at least once, because they were different in terms of a weaker financial status.

The connection of socio-demographic variables and material deprivation with victimization and committing peer violence

In order to respond to the third task of the research, we conducted correlation analysis, and Table 2 shows correlation of demographic variables, SES variables and material deprivation with committing violence and victimization of the respondents. Correlations were not calculated on variables that relate to who the child lives with and where the family lives, since almost all students answered they lived with their mother and father (85.2%) and in their own house or flat (87.9%). Variables of material income of mother and father were not included because of the large number of responses missing (21% and 12.1%). For the same reasons, these variables were also not included in regression analysis.

Table 2: Correlation of demographic variables and SES variables with committing violence and victimization

	Committing violence		Victimization	
	r	N	r	N
Gender	-,143**	575	,016	575
Age	,083*	593	,082*	593
Grade	,098*	597	,062	597
Location of school	,023	591	-,108**	591

Academic achievement	-,121**	593	-,133**	593
Number of children in family	,036	595	,036	595
Housing conditions	,005	592	-,053	592
Having their own room	-,035	595	,091*	595
Having a computer	-,073	592	,065	592
Education of mother	-,037	576	-,166**	576
Education of father	-,017	565	-,075	565
Work status of mother	-,033	584	-,088*	584
Work status of father	-,056	572	-,180**	572
Frequency of going on vacation	,037	595	-,139**	595
Fear of financial situation	,047	594	,223**	594
Material deprivation	-,041	595	-,249**	595

* $p < 0,05$; ** $p < 0,01$

In terms of committing violence, demographic variables that are in statistically significant correlation are: gender ($r = -0.143$; $p < 0.01$), where boys are those who are being violent more often and age ($r = 0.083$; $p < 0.05$), where older children are acting violently more often, and grade ($r = 0.098$; $p < 0.05$), where eighth grade students act more violently than students in seventh grade. It has also been determined that academic achievement significantly correlates with frequency of committing violence ($r = -0.121$; $p < 0.01$), where students with poorer academic achievement are being violent more often. Even though all aforementioned correlations are very low, they are all statistically significant. However, the results show that none of the SES variables or material deprivation variables has a statistically significant correlation with committing violence.

When it comes to victimization, demographic variables that are in statistically significant correlation are: age ($r = 0.082$; $p < 0.05$), where older children are being victims of violence more often and academic achievement ($r = -0.133$; $p < 0.01$), and

those who are less successful are victimized more often. The results shown in Table 2 show that students from schools in rural areas are victimized more often than students from schools in urban areas ($r = -0.108$; $p < 0.01$). As for the connection between variables of SES and victimization, it was found that children who are more often victimized are those who do not have their own room ($r = 0.091$; $p < 0.05$), whose mothers have lower level of education ($r = -0.166$; $p < 0.01$), and whose mothers ($r = -0.088$; $p < 0.05$) and fathers ($r = -0.180$; $p < 0.01$) have lower employment status. Children who go on family vacation less frequently are also being victimized more often ($r = -0.139$; $p < 0.01$), together with children who demonstrate more fear because of financial status of the family ($r = 0.223$; $p < 0.01$). Material deprivation also correlates on a statistically significant level with victimization, where children who are more materially deprived are also victimized more often ($r = -0.249$; $p < 0.01$).

The results of regression analysis

To determine which variables of socioeconomic status and material deprivation predict victimization and committing violence, we conducted regression analysis. Table 3 shows the results obtained in regression analysis with SES variables being predictor variables. Together with SES variables, analysis included demographic variables as control variables and only variable not included was grade because of large conceptual overlap with the variable age.

Table 3: Results of regression analysis with SES variables as predictors

Criteria >	Committing violence	Victimization
Predictor	β	β
Gender	-,128**	,031
Age	,034	,054
Location of school	,038	-,037
Academic achievement	-,070	-,053
Number of children in family	,042	-,003
Housing conditions	-,035	-,008
Having their own room	-,077	,045
Having a computer	-,065	-,001
Education of mother	-,010	-,160**
Education of father	,008	,097
Work status of mother	-,005	,015
Work status of father	-,034	-,111*

Frequency of going on vacation	,077	-,025
Fear of financial situation	,087	,182**
R	,225*	,331**
R2	,051*	,110**
N	501	501

* $p < 0,05$; ** $p < 0,01$

None of the independent SES variables analyzed in this paper has shown to be a predictor of committing peer violence, and when it comes to demographic variables, only gender has shown to be a predictor for committing violence at school, with boys being more likely to behave violently compared to girls ($\beta = -0,128$; $p < 0,01$). This set of predictors (SES and demographic variables) explained 5.1% of total variance ($p < 0.05$) of committing peer violence.

In terms of SES variables, education of mother ($\beta = -0,160$; $p < 0,01$), work status of the father ($\beta = -0,111$; $p < 0,05$) and fear over financial situation ($\beta = 0,182$; $p < 0,01$) are independently significant in predicting victimization in school, and the respondents whose mothers have lower level of education, whose fathers have poorer work status and who fear over financial status in the family more often, are also being more victimized. Out of demographic variables, none predict victimization independently. This set of predictors (SES and demographic variables) explained 11% of total variance ($p < 0.01$) of victimization.

Table 4: Results of regression analysis with the variable of material deprivation as predictor

Criteria ->	Committing violence	Victimization
Predictor	β	β
Gender	-,115**	,068
Age	,068	,083*
Location of school	,021	-,066
Academic achievement	-,085*	-,095*
Material deprivation	-,031	-,253**
R	,182**	,310**
R2	,033**	,088**
N	562	562

* $p < 0,05$; ** $p < 0,01$

According to results obtained in regression analysis, shown in Table 4, material deprivation independently does not significantly predict committing peer violence, and when it comes to demographic variables, gender ($\beta = -0,115$; $p < 0,01$) and academic achievement ($\beta = -0,085$; $p < 0,05$) have independently and significantly predicted committing violence. More violent groups are boys and students with poorer academic achievement. This set of predictors (material deprivation and demographic variables) explained 3.3% of total variance of committing peer violence.

Material deprivation independently predicted victimization ($\beta = -0,253$; $p < 0,01$), with respondents with lower level of material deprivation more often being victims of their peers. Demographic variables of age ($\beta = 0,083$; $p < 0,05$) and school achievement ($\beta = -0,095$; $p < 0,05$) independently predict victimization on a significant level, with older children and those with poorer academic achievement being more often victimized. This set of predictors (material deprivation and demographic variables) explained significant 8.8% of total variance ($p < 0,01$) of victimization.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the examined variables explain a relatively small proportion of the variance in peer violence, which suggests that in order to explain this phenomenon, other individual and contextual factors and their interactions also need to be examined.

Discussion

The results show that a third of respondents (34.8%) acted violently at least once during the school year, and almost a half (45.7%) have in the same period experienced violence from their peers. Along with the fact that the obtained results are consistent with the findings of many other studies (Craig et al., 2009; Tokunaga, 2010; RajhvanBulat and Ajduković, 2010; Fu et al., 2013, Hinduja and Patchin, 2014), they also warn of the extent of the problem of peer violence in school regardless of different operational variables and determine the intervals at which the violence occurs (weekly, monthly, yearly). The results suggest that in relation to cited studies, there has been an increase in violence, and since the number of violent incidents is growing steadily, there are fears that the problem is getting out of hand (Fu et al., 2012; Frutos, 2013), despite various prevention programs. But the uniqueness of this research is that questions did not refer to total violence among peers, but to violence which is caused by material status of an individual student. In this respect, these data are indicative and worrying. Although peer violence is manifested and analyzed in terms of schools, it certainly exceeds them, so the results of this study need to be seen beyond them, or in a broader context. In addition, what must not be left out is the more prominent general inequality in contemporary society, which

very likely affects the behavior of children who actually imitate adults (Due et al., 2009). It is possible that nowadays they internalize preferred behavior that is only aimed at success, at all costs, and are based on aggression, power and domination, and ultimately encourage differences, distrust, hostility and violence (Pickett and Wilkinson, 2007; Elgar et al., 2013). Literature (Jansen et al., 2012) suggests that in explaining participation of children in bullying, socioeconomic inequalities should be taken into account. Starting from that framework, this study analyzes peer violence as a reflection of specific socioeconomic family conditions which the child lives in.

As for the perpetrators of violence, the mentioned finding that one third of the respondents act violently towards their colleagues who are different by socioeconomic characteristics (modest clothing, shoes, noticeable lack of financial resources) needs to cause concern. Even more so, data was collected by personal testimonies, and students have the tendency to give socially acceptable answers and sometimes they do not see their behavior as violent but as a joke, entertainment, especially that which is happening in the virtual world. The results of the conducted research show that the perpetrators of violence are often male students, of poor school achievement and those that are older, so male students with poorer school achievement are also predictors for committing violence.

Although perpetrators of violence are both girls and boys, in this, as well as in other studies (Cook et al., 2010; Velki, 2012; Beran, 2012; Fu et al., 2012; Elgar et al. 2013), it was found that boys, in comparison to girls, are more numerous in the category of bullies and are at greater risk for committing violence. This result can also be explained by the influence of a wider social environment in which show-offs of male strength are still tolerated, encouraged and generally considered acceptable behavior for boys (Beran, 2012). In accordance to social stereotypes, boys want to be seen as strong and powerful, whom others admire, especially girls. Some authors (Edgar et al., 2013) see violent behavior of boys as an attempt to maintain their social status in an unjust society. This particularly becomes evident in adolescence, when they fight for their position, dominance and popularity in the classroom.

The finding that the perpetrators of violence are often older students and eighth-grade students, was expected and consistent with the results of similar studies (Olweus, 1998; Velki, 2012), which confirms that older boys show more violent behavior.

The result that poorer school achievement correlates, but is also a statistically significant predictor for committing violence, is quite expected and in line with

other research (Olweus, 1998) which explain violent behavior as a reaction for failure in school. But according to results of this research, poorer school achievement is associated with victimization, which is also confirmed by other studies (Glew et al., 2005; Holt et al., 2007). Thus Glew et al., (2005) reported that 90% of victims of peer violence have lower grades, one third have problems concentrating, and they also experience feelings of fear and anxiety, all of which can have an adverse effect on their academic results. In explaining the relation between poor academic achievement and victimization, it needs to be noted that nowadays, in culture that is focused on success at all costs, students who have poorer academic results are often exposed to mockery, ridicule, insults, exclusion from school activities, meaning non- physical, but also physical forms of violence. Embarrassment and violence they experience results in stress that hinders their school functioning and has a negative impact on their school success. People generally have a tendency to avoid embarrassing situations to students who experience such situations, and especially because of feeling of insecurity, children start skipping classes. Sense of insecurity at school and unjustified absenteeism have a devastating effect on school performance. Therefore, the correlation between academic achievement and violence is multi causal – lower success may be the cause of violence, but also its consequence, which again encourages bullying. On the other hand, academic achievement can be a protective factor from a series of problems in behavior of students and even violence. Therefore, in preventive school programs, strategies which allow every child to achieve success, according to their individual capabilities, must have a central place.

Analysis of connection between demographic variables with victimization also showed that there are more victims of peer violence in schools in rural areas, which can be explained by the fact that in such areas, people know more about living conditions of others, and children from such background are more sensitive to stigmatizations and differences (Ridge, 2009).

The conducted analysis shows that none of the SES variables, as well as material deprivation, does not correlate with committing violence, nor predicts it, and similar results were stated by Sourander et al. (2000). It seems that in relation to SES, other variables, such as family cohesion and interaction and parental actions (Šimić Šašić et al., 2011) have a significant role in violent behavior toward peers. And when it comes to victims of violence, a large number of recent studies (Ridge, 2009; Jankauskiene et al., 2008; Due et al., 2009; Fu et al., 2012) suggest a connection between socioeconomic situation of the family and victimization of the child, which is also supported by the results of this research.

It is interesting that almost all SES variables that imply that a family is poor (child not having its own room, mother has lower level of education, mother and father have a lower work status, family rarely goes on vacations, children fearing family financial situation) are correlated in a statistically significant way with victimization. Although correlations are not high, they are indicative and statistically significant. Some of these variables independently predict victimization significantly, meaning that respondents whose mothers have a lower level of education, whose fathers have a lower work status and who fear financial situation in the family are also victimized more often. Material deprivation is also a significant predictor of victimization. This also confirms the research hypothesis that adolescents living in economically disadvantaged conditions as well as materially deprived are at greater risk of being victims of peer violence.

As previously mentioned, a part of respondents in this study did not answer questions about material income of parents, so it could have affected results because it is an important indicator of SES, but when it comes to disadvantaged children, it should be noted that it cannot be reduced to only income indicators, but an equally important role is also given to other factors such as education and employment of parents (McDonald, 2008).

Employment of parents is taken as an important indicator of SES because it is a relatively stable category which indirectly indicates earning (economic status) and non-economic, social characteristics, such as prestige etc. (Jansen et al., 2012). Lower level of education of a mother, who in our, still traditional culture, still takes more care of the child's education and spends more time with the child, indicates insecure employment, low income and disadvantaged social positions, and is associated with quality of parenting. Katz et al. (2007) point out that mothers with lower level of education provide less support (emotional, social, instrumental and information), use inappropriate educational methods etc. Children who receive no emotional support from their parents feel alienated, unhappy, sad, which all leads them into a position of a victim of peer violence. Other studies confirm that low level of education of parents increases the risk of victimization twice (Nordhagen et al., 2005).

Fathers are still seen as breadwinners, and their work status is considered a direct information on the social and economic status of the family, and according to this research results, it is also a predictor of victimization. Correlation was also found between mother's and father's work status with victimization of children. Mothers, and especially fathers who are unemployed or work but are not being paid

or are only occasionally employed, are in an unenviable situation and are exposed to stress. Not surprisingly, they are irritable, frustrated, demoralized and have difficulties coping with feelings of powerlessness and failure. Such condition is followed by despair, hopelessness, numbness, and eventually depression (Katz et al., 2007). It is therefore more difficult for them to focus on needs of a child and adequately respond to them (Jensen, 2009; Conger et al., 2010; Martin et al., 2010) even when they want to. Crisis family situations can reduce the availability of parental sensitivity and often lead to inappropriate, angry, inconsistent reactions, even the use of harsh discipline. Thus children are exposed to example and stress. Ridge (2009) claims that if parents are under stress, their children are also likely to be. Katz et al. (2007:44) consider stress a fundamental mechanism that connects unfavourable financial situation with unfavourable outcomes. In addition to the fact that parents are their possible models whose passive behavior and feeling of helplessness they imitate, children are often victims of their harsh verbal and physical actions (Bilić et al., 2012). Violence begins at home and goes on at school, as well as the stress they are exposed to, while it is all multiplied with brutal acts from peers at school. What they experience in their parents' home, especially the feelings of rejection and sadness, they transmit to their school environment, which again leads them into a position of victim, but now of peer violence.

Another variable correlating with victimization is a lack of room, an intimate corner, which children perceive as a problem that prevents them from inviting their peers over and hanging out with them. In fact, they perceive their disadvantaged position through social relations, not only through material resources (McDonald, 2008).

An unfavourable material situation can especially be evident in school through lack of school supplies, books or difficulties in meeting social needs (school trips, pocket money, birthday parties, outings). These elements of material deprivation, as stated by children, bring them into unequal position in comparison to their peers. Not being able to follow trends (clothes, shoes, mobile phones, etc.) is a visible indicator of poverty and difference in relation to the group they belong to. The difference is also contributed by a lack of access to resources (activities that are important for success) which have a vital role in their well-being and makes it difficult for them to be what they can be (KletečkiRadović, 2011). Deprivation in one area causes deprivation in other areas too (Ridge, 2009), it affects their educational and life chances. This inability of individuals to realize their potential and rights (Elgar et al., 2013) is referred to as socioeconomic inequality.

Since all children, especially adolescents, have similar expectations and the

need to compare themselves with others, those who have difficulties with their material and social reality, it is not simple or easy for them while doing so. On the one hand, it is for a personal feeling of being different, and on the other, it is peer pressure and relations. A sense of being different, inferior and deprived both emotionally and materially, personally affects them very hard and they are quite aware of the implications of such a situation (Ridge, 2009). Additionally, they think they are not likeable or worthy to be loved, which all cumulatively affects their feeling of personal value and emotional stability (Rohner et al., 2012). Such negative mental presentations determine their relations with others. They cannot trust others, are too sensitive to reactions of others and generally perceive their environment as an unsafe, threatening and dangerous place (Rohner et al., 2012). The main consequences are shame, sadness and fear of being different and excluded, which can be felt in all domains of child's functioning (Ridge, 2009). One should not also forget the fear and burden of a family situation, which was found, according to these research results, to be a correlate and predictor of victimization.

Inability to have clothes, shoes and mobile phones like others or go on trips with their families and classmates often results in discrimination, prejudice and social isolation (McDonald, 2008). Rejection and exclusion from the group and encouraging others not to be friends with them, is a form of relational violence which leaves devastating consequences. But, for the same reason, children are often exposed to verbal violence, ridicule, humiliation directly, and also electronically. Situations of physical violence are not rare either. So, because of socioeconomic inequality, students can be victims of multiple victimization (Holt et al., 2007), which, according to this research results, affects a large number of children, almost half of the respondents.

On the one hand, rejecting behavior often experienced in a family then strengthened in school, and on the other hand, disrespect, humiliation and open attacks on dignity, have serious consequences (Jensen, 2009; Ridge, 2009; Neubourg et al., 2014). They affect health (physical consequences), again affect social relation (relational consequences) and the child's behavior (behavioral consequences). They also have a negative effect on school life (passivity and lack of interest in school, weak sense of belonging, poorer academic achievement, absenteeism). Most visible consequences are those in the emotional domain, and are associated with sadness, depression, hopelessness, despair, fear of marginalization, together with deep emotional trauma and development of depressive symptoms in adolescence. Studies which Jensen (2009) refers to confirm that poverty is a predictor of depression in adolescence. All of the above leads into a position of a victim who are described as timid, withdrawn, quieter, more cautious and sensitive, passive, submissive, suffer-

ing from lack of self-esteem and having a negative attitude towards themselves and their position, they feel ashamed and unaccepted, unattractive (Olweus, 1998 : 39).

Finally, it should be noted that not all children who grow up in materially unfavourable conditions show negative development outcomes (KletečkiRadović, 2011), and it depends on their individual characteristics, but also their parents' behavior. It is also necessary to repeat that many parents, in spite of their scarce material resources, behave in an appropriate and responsible manner (Katz et al., 2007), and raise their children with love and protect them from bad influence from the environment and even family problems.

Limitations

Although this research results are indicative, they still have methodological limitations. First of all, only one source of data was used, self-estimation, and more sources (parents, teachers) would probably generate a more objective image of the analyzed problems. In addition, not all data about material income of the family were obtained. Future researchers are suggested to form a composite variable of financial status of the family or poverty.

Conclusion

Contrary to expectations, at the beginning of 21st century, there is almost an imposition of the need to develop awareness of socioeconomic inequality and material deprivation and encourage understanding of everyday reality of a growing number of children and adolescents who live in poor financial conditions. Socioeconomic problems in family are even more evident at school through lack of school supplies and access to activities which most people consider necessary (sports, language learning etc.) and difficulties with fulfilling social needs of students (trips, outings, celebrations etc.). Deprivation in one area often causes deprivation in others so children, unlike their peers who come from families with better SES, do not have equal chances to develop their potential and rights and realize their life goals. In addition, because of everything mentioned above, they frequently experience embarrassment and violence from their classmates.

The fact that it is a widely spread problem is also confirmed by the results of a research which show that during one school year, one third of children (34.8%) has committed at least once, and one half (45.7%) experienced peer violence, because they are different by socioeconomic characteristics (more modest clothes, shoes, evident lack of financial resources). The problem of peer violence must be

seen in the context of socioeconomic social inequalities, but as well as a reflection of specific socioeconomic family conditions which students live in.

Findings of this research show that adolescents who live in economically unfavourable conditions and are materially deprived are at greater risk of being victims of peer violence. It is interesting that almost all SES variables which indicate poor families (not having own room, mother has a lower level of education, mother and father have a low work status, the family rarely goes on vacation, children are afraid of the family financial situation) are in correlation with victimization. Some of them, in a statistically significant way, independently predict victimization, i.e. respondents whose mothers have lower level of education, whose fathers have a lower work status, who are materially deprived at school and who fear the family's financial situation more, are more often victims of peer violence.

At school, poor children are often associated with various embarrassing situations, such as mischief, fights, stealing, and contrary to this stereotype, our research results show that the analyzed SES variables or material deprivation do not predict committing violence.

Practitioners, general public and policy makers are suggested to pay attention and help a growing number of children from socioeconomically disadvantaged families. They need to be in focus of all school preventive programs, especially because of greater risk for them being exposed to peer violence.

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ARE WE WHAT WE BUY AND WHAT WE CONSUME?: CRISIS OF IDENTITY IN HANIF KUREISHI'S THE DECLINE OF THE WEST

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Abstract

This paper explores in Hanif Kureishi's short story *The Decline of the West* the harsh economic recession or what he calls in the story "a financial crash" and its inevitable crippling negative impact on the social life in general and on individual life in particular, especially in the wake of the collapse of Wall Street back in 2008, which has obviously changed the way of living for millions of people across the world, specifically in Western societies in Europe and North America. In so doing, the paper is divided into two parts. In the first part, it debates that the capitalism as an economic system has radically transformed not only the traditional commercial and financial system, but it has also given rise to the construction of consumption culture, which has eventually altered the ways people across the world used to live, together with their perception of life and identity. This view of identity has closely been related to personal happiness, satisfaction, comfort, and freedom, along with the social status and prestige in one's life. As the second part of the paper argues, however, this view of identity has faced far-reaching crisis in the wake of the economic downturn since 2008 as represented in the life, view and identity of Kureishi's fictional character Mike in the story after he is fired from his job in a bank. Having lost his job, Mike finds himself financially unable to keep his personal material comfort and satisfaction, meet the demands of his family and maintain his social status and prestige as in the past. Hence his sense of self and stability falls apart; he loses his soul, as well as his vision of "the future" and eventually wants to "die" to rid of his psychological frustration and chaos.

Key words: Capitalism, consumer culture, materialism, financial crisis, identity

This paper explores in Hanif Kureishi's short story *The Decline of the West* (2010) the harsh economic recession or what he calls in the story "a financial crash", along with its inevitable crippling negative impact on the social life in general and on individual life in particular, especially in the wake of the collapse of Wall Street or global financial crisis during 2007-2008, which has obviously changed the way of living for millions of people across the world, specifically in Western societies in Europe and North America. In doing so, the paper is divided into two parts. In the first part, it debates that the capitalism as an economic system has radically transformed not only the traditional commercial and financial system since the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century, but it has also given rise to the construction of consumption culture, which has eventually altered the ways people across the world used to live, together with their perception of life. This perception of life has closely been related to personal happiness, material satisfaction, comfort, freedom and more choices, as well as to the social status or prestige in one's life: that is, this view of life has become a lifestyle, a way of living, an identity thoroughly associated with the level of prosperity and possession in the postmodern period. In its second part, however, the paper argues how this view of identity has faced far-reaching crisis in the wake of the economic downturn since 2007 as represented in the life, view and identity of Kureishi's fictional character Mike in *The Decline of the West* after he is fired from his job in a bank. Having lost his job, Mike finds himself at once financially unable not only to keep his personal material comfort and satisfaction and maintain his social status and prestige but also to meet the demands of his family as in the past. Once he finds himself incapable of upholding his level of "buying" and "spending" power, therefore, Mike feels insecure and lost, so that his sense of stable self falls apart, and he loses psychologically both his soul and firm ground under his feet, as well as his vision of "the future", and eventually he wants to "die" to rid of his psychological disturbance and frustration and chaos (Kureishi, 2010, p. 405).

Consumerism, unquestionably entwined with capitalism, is one of few crucial issues which visibly affects the daily life in the postmodern society, constantly shaping and re-shaping social structures and institutions, along with habits, perceptions and identities by imposing its hegemonic and controlling grip on individuals and group lives and behaviours (Lasch, 1979; Smith, 1986; McKibben, 1989; Suzuki, 1997; Baudrillard, 1998; Beaud, 2001; Emerald, 2004; Malpas, 2005; Dittmar, 2007a; Todd, 2012; Chotiudompant, 2013 and Jansiz, 2014). As OED defines it, consumerism is an act of "the buying and using of goods and services" or "the belief that it is good for a society or an individual person to buy and use a large quantity of goods and services" (2010, p. 312). For *Encyclopaedia of Science, Technology, and Ethics*, it is "a way of life combining high level of material affluence with an emphasis on symbolic and emotional meanings associated with shopping and possessions"

(2005, p. 538; emphasis added). Douglas and Isherwood (1996) succinctly describe consumerism as the possession of a product for the purpose of meeting certain needs as well as a part of social system which explains the desire to work for retaining goods with the aim of forming a relationship with other people in society (Qtd in Jansiz, 2014, p. 78). Finally, Suradech Chotiudompant (2013) argues that “consumerism is a crucial issue nowadays because we need to consume not only to meet our basic needs but also to satisfy our wants, which are increasingly complex and hard to distinguish from the former. We need to consume...to create our identity, to state our political standpoint or to quench our insatiable desires” (p. 83; emphasis added). As seen in these definitions and arguments above, consumerism in the first place is merely linked to the satisfaction of basic material needs and demands of everyday life in which individuals simply buy and consume certain goods and use services as part of their daily lives and in which individuals basically also tend to accumulate material goods for the future to secure their lives. In this respect, consumerism is simply defined and shown as an inevitable act and part of life in its normal routine way to sustain life activities by meeting our basic needs, along with satisfying our desires in life.

However, as the critics above and many others elsewhere point out, consumerism is not a naïve activity or issue in life to deal with in its ostensible meaning but has deep social, cultural, and ideological meanings generated by capitalism particularly as for the identity politics and formation because the “high level of material affluence” with its “symbolic and emotional meanings associated with shopping and possessions” on both social and personal levels is clearly identified not only with the material standing of a particular society but also with the lifestyle and way of life of an individual personal (Fromm, 1978; McCracken, 1990; Rose, 1996; Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi, Golledge, and Scabini, 2006; Kasser and Kanner, 2004; Malpas, 2005 and Dittmar, 2007b). Consumerism or consumer culture, which is very much stimulated by capitalist economic system worldwide through various means of communications such the advertisements such as TV, mass media, billboards, internet, online-shopping and so on, obviously bombard us every day to buy and consume commodities more and more by creating an interactive relationship in the markets: we depend on the commodities in the market just as much as the commodities in the market depends on us as individuals. In this inseparable relationship, what we buy and consume eventually shapes our way of life, organize our lifestyle, perception of life and our world view, as well as our social status and prestige in the late capitalist mass consumer period even sometimes beyond our knowledge and control, so that goods and services that we purchase and use give shifting and constant new meanings to our life and make us feel good and happy in our daily lives (McKibben, 1989; Cook, 1992; Andersen, 1995; Suzuki, 1997 and Cross, 2000). As for this “symbolic” and ideological meanings behind consumerism,

which obviously create a sense of who we are, for example, James B. Twitchell (2002) argues that “The one unambiguous result of modern capitalism, of the industrial revolution, and of marketing...is: In the way we live now, you are not what you make. You are what you consume” (p. 1). Moreover, Danielle Todd (2012) also sees a profound relationship between consumerism and identity politics and formation which, she argues, is firmly “tied to the creation and production of a sense of self”, and for her, “products are imbued with a greater significance than what their primary function may be.” In her view, “Today, it is virtually impossible to buy any product not embedded with certain symbols of identity acquired by the buyer knowingly or otherwise. Recognizing this, it is possible to draw the conclusion that consumption functions as a way to create a sense of self” (p. 48). In *The Consumer Society*, finally, Jean Baudrillard (1998) regards consumerism as the system of sign in the Saussurian and Lacanian sense or as a kind of motivation that he argues has its own language or code in which the identities of postmodern consumers are programmed and constructed without being sometimes conscious and sometimes unconscious of this “language” and “code”:

The circulation, purchase, sale, appropriation of differentiated goods and signs/objects today constitute our language, our code, the code by which the entire society communicates and converses. Such is the structure of consumption, its language, by comparison with which individual needs and pleasures are merely speech effects (pp. 79–80).

This quotation clearly tells us that commodities we buy and the way we use them are not just simple products but they have their own “language” and “code” which allows us to communicate with the outside world and vice versa, in which we are located into the pool of various complex meanings and relationships through the way we purchase and the way we consume. In the first place, how we are seen by the outside society is, in fact, decided and constructed as in the symbolic order of Lacan by the “language” and “code” of “goods” which we buy and consume, yet in this process, the great truth behind the “language” and “code” of “goods” is never told, but the “language” and “code” of “goods” knowingly or unknowingly construct us as subjects in a way that we get used to leading this kind of life in time. Hence there seems no escape from the “language” and “code” of “goods”, as well as from their untold own ideology always imposed on consumers.

In the second place, what is suggested in the quotation above is that consumption on the personal level creates a sense of who we are and thus is closely bound up with our innermost desires and “pleasures” as in the Freudian pleasure principle: the continuous pursuit of pleasure and happiness in the commodities we buy and consume in our daily lives. What we consume causes us to feel ourselves personally in different ways. The goods we consume, the clothes we wear, the house we own, and the car we drive visibly touch our subconscious realm – feeling, emo-

tion and aspiration – and thus influence the way we feel and act. Such a feeling boasts our subconscious desires and gives us a sense of identity in which we perceive the life in accordance with what we purchase and what we spend. In this view of identity, there is always stimulating to spend more and more to remain in the intensity of happiness and satisfaction. These commodities become part of us and vice versa. As Baudrillard (1998) argues, therefore, the postmodern consumer is apparently placed under the influence of such a feeling into an “array of sham objects, of characteristic signs of happiness, and then waits . . . for happiness to alight’ (p. 31).

Likewise, “sham objects” also become the source of “happiness” and “pleasure” for Mike in Kureishi’s *The Decline of the West*. He represents Mike in a way that he acts in line with the demands of capitalism and consumer culture, in which he immensely enjoys the power of “buying” and “using goods”. Simply, Mike’s philosophy of life is that “Everyone should have what they want whenever they want it” (Kureishi, 2010, p. 407). Since he is working for a bank and makes good money, therefore, Mike noticeably becomes able not only to meet his own personal and family needs and make himself and family comfortable and happy whenever he wants but also to achieve a kind of social standing and prestige that position him at once into a discernible social situation where he is given an identity and place as an individual by the others outside. What is of vital importance for Mike with his material affluence in the late capitalist period is to keep his current level of unavoidable power of buying and consumption in which he will be able to manage to continue personal happiness, satisfaction, and freedom and keep his good social standing and esteem in his life. That is, Mike has ideologically been taught by the postmodern economic system and consumer culture in the 1980s and 90s that “capitalism was flourishing and there was no finer and more pleasant way to live but under it, signing and spending” (p. 404; emphasis added).

In *The Decline of the West*, Mike works for a bank. He has a good job and makes good money, even though he, aged 45, works twelve hours every day. The money he earns avails him of opportunity to lead a luxurious, comfortable material life, a life in which he is able to satisfy not only his own basic needs but also that of his family in line with the demands of consumer culture in the early decade of the twenty-first century. As soon as the story opens, the reader is immediately given the impression about the life Mike and his wife Imogen lead. Once he arrives home in the prosperous outskirts of London from his job in the bank, for example, Mike is always used to looking forward to “the door into the warm hall, hearing voices of his wife and children, and seeing that the cat come down the stairs to rub itself against him” (p. 401). He has a five-storey house with “off-street parking, overlooking a green” (p. 401), and also he, together with wife, has decorated a “hyper-shiny dining-room table where he liked to have supper and talk with his friends” in their

spare times (p. 402). In addition to this, Mike is “seriously planning more work on the garden as well as the rest of house”, and he had already built “a shed” for “the boys to play music in, fitted with a TV, drum-kit and sound system” (p. 402). Moreover, why Mike urgently desires to enlarge his garden has two reasons. First, “As [Mike’s] boys liked to point out, other children at their schools lived in bigger places; their fathers were the bosses of record companies or financial advisors to famous footballers. Mike, in corporate finance, was relatively small-time,” and secondly, his friends have been constantly “improving their properties. It was a natural law: you never lost money on a house” (p. 402). As seen in the quotations above, having a comfortable and luxurious house evidently stands for personal material power, happiness and satisfaction. Hence it is this stimulation that psychologically forces him to go ahead and expand the scope of what makes him and his family happy and satisfied in their lives. What is more, these quotations also suggest that there is an implicit social and ideological pressure on Mike and his children in that he strives to give a message to the outside world about his identity and social standing that he has enough material power and affluence to accommodate himself properly into an acceptable place in his social and cultural environment. As in the Marxist world view, it is the spirit of time – social, cultural and political factors – which knowingly or unknowingly constructs the human identity, and thus Mike feels himself obliged to carry out what is socially, culturally and ideologically demanded of him in the early decade of the twentieth-first century: that is, he should achieve “continuous material improvement” (p. 404).

As for Mike’s social material position, another sign of “continuous material improvement” in *The Decline of the West* is that his two sons - Tom and Billy - are part and product of consumer culture. Their education and the goods they demand give an idea about the family’s material position, and Kureishi portrays them in a way that they become representatives of almost all the children across the world today. Mike’s sons are “attending private schools” (p. 404), which puts him and his children at once into a different but higher social status achieved by Mike’s level of earning and consumption because today not many families are able to afford to send their children to “private schools” in the world. “As well as attending private schools”, Mike’s sons also take “tennis, Spanish, piano, swimming, signing and karate lessons” in accordance with their status, and they, like children of well-off families, “frequently attended the cinema, the theatre and football matches” (p. 2). Given the fact that private education institutions have dramatically increased, along with the increase in the number of their students in recent years across the world, the situation of Mike’s children is not surprising and unusual but part of the general state of affairs in the postmodern era. In order not to fall behind other children around him, Mike feels it necessary to participate in the competition for the education of his children. Sending children to “private schools” sometimes overtly and sometimes cov-

ertly means good education and then good job in the future, so that many families tend to send their children to “private schools”, even though it requires hard work and a respectable amount of income and material wealth to achieve this purpose. However, the deep meaning and implication behind is that the education at “private schools” also illuminates the power of money and spending of a particular family associated with its social identity, position and prestige because “private schools” become a sign of who Mike is; he is judged and categorized in a way that he is different from the others, who are unable to send their children to “private schools”. Finally, the demands of Mike’s sons never end. Like children of many contemporary families, they are in a music band and thus want to take the “guitar lesson”, yet they first need “guitar, an amp and a microphone”(p. 407). As seen in these quotations above, what Mike, now unemployed, is required to do for his sons entails the material affluence and consumption, yet all these objects - “private school”, “guitar lesson”, “guitar, an amp and a microphone” - have their “language” and “code” in the Baudrillardian sense which give an ideological and cultural message to the outside world about Mike’s lifestyle and identity, along with that of his sons.

It is not only Mike’s sons who enjoy a luxurious life but also his wife Imogen who also becomes a sign and “language” of high material standard through her life style in *The Decline of the West*. As soon as the story begins, Imogen immediately gives the reader an impression as if she was a queen and had servants at her service all round to clean her house and cook for her. First, she is seen in the hall as “carrying gin and tonic”, and the reader learns that she is used to having “bath” everyday as part of her life at home (p. 401). Moreover, the narrator tells us that Imogen has “never knowingly ingested anything non-organic” (p. 402), and she always “appeared to dress in diamonds and gold when at lunch with her friends” (p. 406) and continuously asks her husband for “a new computer” (p. 407). As seen in these quotations above, Imogen is different from a traditional woman who had satisfied herself with what she had, who had not been demanding and who had led a normal simple life, yet Imogen’s life apparently seems comfortable, luxurious and expensive, and she seems to have been captivated by this kind of life. Without a certain level of money, the life she leads is not possible. Not only does it require money and material prosperity, but it also entails continuous spending or consumption.

Having taken all these quotations above into consideration, Mike, as an annoying sculptor in *The Decline of the West* refers to, is “the cult of money” (p. 404): he earns money and spends it extravagantly. It is what he is culturally and ideologically required to do by capitalist consumer culture: in the eyes of an annoying sculptor, Mike is what he earns and what he spends. Mike’s way of life and world-view, together with that of his family, have been shaped very much by this culture, which has constantly inculcated them with an idea that “there was no finer and

more pleasant way to live but under it [capitalism], signing and spending.” Under this perception of life, Mike and his family members have continuously desired to improve further their material affluence and conditions not only to satisfy their basic material needs but also to retain their social position as culturally and ideologically requested by the postmodern world view. This shiny and luxurious lifestyle is very colourful, talismanic and captivating, and what Mike buys and how he consumes is obviously imbued with a greater significance than their primary meanings and functions may be. That is, the way he purchase and the way he consumes function as a means to create a sense of Mike’s self, in which he is called “the cult of money”, or he just calls himself “the Delivery man” (p. 407). These attributions evidently form Mike’s worldview and the identity assigned to him, and he, like many of us, is just a mechanical money-making machine, which replaces his true spiritual identity inside. As for this view of identity, Adem Caylak (2011, December 12) argues that “the production relationship of capitalism and the system of its values regard everything in life from the materialistic point of view and [thus] ignores what should dominate human life – morality and virtue”, and in such a system of relationship, he continues to state that “being just and good is not given priority; instead, earning much money and attaining power are accepted as success in today’s world.” In such a view of identity, Mike is nothing but the one who helps capitalism to sustain and further improve its existence in an enthralled way because the level of consumption is, in fact, the measure of the economic system – his value is what we buys and consumes. In addition, as in Baudrillard’s words above, each goods Mike buys and each activity he conducts become “signs”, “codes”, and “language” or what I call an ideology by which he communicates with the larger outside world; he gives the outside world different messages where he fits with the social, cultural and political structure of the outside physical world. Besides, whether or not they are aware of it, the identities of Mike and his family members are also very much constructed and controlled by the capitalist consumerist lifestyle, so that Mike is psychologically, culturally and ideologically shown and mesmerized in the 1980s/90s that “capitalism was flourishing and there was no finer and more pleasant way to live but under it, singing and spending” in the globalized postmodern world.

However, this “finer and more pleasant way to live” under capitalism by “singing and spending”, gets into serious trouble at once when “capitalism was cracking under the weight of its contradictions as the Marxists had predicted”, and Kureishi radically questions the view of the fragile identity constructed by the forged perception of capitalism and of its ingrained consumer culture through the life and views of Mike in *The Decline of the West*: that is, “If there was no comfort, what then were consolations of capitalism?” (Kureishi, 2010, p. 408) For the continuation of their existence, as seen here, capitalism and consumer culture had to advertise and propagate implicitly the ideology of “comfort” to show that the capitalist eco-

conomic system was able to achieve a constant stable growth, low unemployment and low inflation, which would have made individuals happy, comfortable, and prosperous in their lives. Hence it is obvious today and represented in the story that this ideology has gradually become in time a way of life and eventually a view of identity, forcing individuals unconsciously to buy and consume goods more and more so as to be comfortable and happy in their lives, even though sometimes they did not need to do so. Thus, Kureishi illuminates in his short story how this perception of ideology or way of life and identity Mike has experienced excessively so far in his life are, in fact, false, lie, fragile and vulnerable. Mike eventually comes to realize this fact once he is fired from his job in the bank and forsakes almost everything behind: that is, the promise of constant stability by capitalism has been a big veiled lie.

Indeed, there is a close relationship between the dismissal of Mike from his job in the bank and the financial crisis which took place in 2007/8 with a wave of bank nationalisations across North America and Europe possibly due to international trade imbalances, the higher credit rate, the deterioration in export earnings and weak stock markets, lax lending and so on (Wolf, 2010; Sorkin, 2010; Stiglitz, 2010; Peters, 2012). This financial crisis, though it had started mainly in North America and Europe, has eventually turned into a global financial crisis, throwing economies around the world into a great recession since the Great Depression of the 1930s (Wolf, 2007; Reinhart and Rogoff, 2009). Among many crippling negative impacts of this recession on the economics around the world are deep uncertainties, panic and worry about the future, yet what has been alarming for some time is the sharp increase in the rate of unemployment after many employees across the world had been sacked from their jobs, leading them not only to lose their proper income but also to be deprived of their power of “buying and spending”, which had given them a sense of who they are in the capitalist market economy. Eventually, there has been a major shock to the consumer culture, which not only sustains the capitalist economy on track but also gives an impression to the consumers that the economy is moving steadily in its stable way. This economic slump was also a blow to the identity because consumer culture had often propagated through various means of advertisements the view that there has been close relationship between money and identity or between the “buying and spending” power and identity since the advent of the capitalist economic system in which consumers are identified with what they buy and what they consume. Hence when this relationship becomes unbalanced, the capitalist economic system, which mainly dominates the economies today around the world, momentarily suffers a situation of crisis and paralysis. Once the basis of this view is significantly undermined and crumbled across the world, therefore, consumers find themselves in a state of identity crisis and thus become very fragile, restless, hopeless and pessimistic about future in their lives; their existence and expectations fall apart and crumble away, leaving their place to a sense of misery and

fragmentation in life (Jansiz, 2014).

In *The Decline of the West*, similarly, Kureishi represents such kind of fragmented and crippled identity through the life of Mike in the wake of his dismissal from his job in the bank. Mike, like many employees across the world, becomes the victim of the “financial crash” of 2007-2008 when “the financial system was out of control” in the British society in the early decade of the twenty-first century (Kureishi, 2010, pp. 407, 401). When the story of *The Decline of the West* opens, the reader learns at once the news that Mike has been fired from his job in the bank. As soon as he enters home, he appears to the reader in shock and crisis; he wants to “give his wife the news straight away”, yet she does not pay attention to him but continues her life as usual (p. 401). With the crippling and disturbing feeling of his dismissal in his mind, he strives to get involved in things to remove himself from the psychological disturbance, so that he immediately gets “a frozen meal from the freezer” and puts it “in the microwave. Waiting for it to heat up, he poured himself a glass of wine” and blankly stands “at the long windows which overlooked the garden” (p. 401). Moreover, Mike cannot control himself but desires to engage himself further with other activities, so that he “switched on the garden lights and, looking out at the new deck where last summer they’d held barbecues” (p. 401), and then Mike sees “three £20 notes Imogen had left for the cleaner. Mike picked one of them up and looked at it closely. How had he never noticed what sardonic little Mona Lisa smile the blinged-up monarch wore, mocking even, as if she pitied the vanity and greed the note inspired” (p. 402). As seen in these quotations above, it is obvious that Mike seems very much confused, frustrated, fragmented and fallen apart in views because the means - job and money - which had added meaning to his life and identity in various ways have gone out of his hand, leaving him in a great limbo. He strongly feels an urgent need “to be cheered up tonight” for letting his frustrating and disturbing feeling disappear (p. 403), so that Mike endeavours to keep himself busy doing other things just to drown his sorrow. In addition, his frustration also increases further once he looks at one of £20 notes and then perceives for the first time “language” and message which communicate with him. The paper money simply stands for exchange of goods, yet at the same time it is closely associated with the power of “purchase and spending”, together with a sense of who we are and of social status.

Thus, Mike, in this “sardonic” and “mocking” situation, perhaps comes to realize the real meaning lying behind the paper money: that is, the paper money is not naïve but actually a sign which provides us knowingly and unknowing with a sense of self: we are actually what we buy and what we consume, yet this sense of identity, as in the case of Mike, is a false identity in which he also becomes the victim of consumer culture under the perception that he is free and comfortable and has more options when he buys and consumes.

Mike's crippled sense of identity may derive from three reasons. First, now he feels unable to sustain his own personal luxury and comfort. Although he had worked hard and long hours, he, like many people around the world, had enjoyed it fully. But now he comes to realize that his luxurious and comfortable life was fake and apparently subjected to fragility, so that what capitalism and consumer culture have pledged – “comfort”, happiness and satisfaction – was deception and illusion. Secondly, he is a father and has responsibility for his family because his two sons and luxury addict, acquisitive wife are so demanding in their way of life and thus always want to have whatever they want - a new “guitar, an amp and a microphone”, as well as “a new computer”, and so on. These demands obviously put him under huge burden and pressure because he is unable to fulfil their habitually never-ending demands since he is unemployed now and is also in debt; he is psychologically intimidated and worried about his material weakness because he has already declined in his power of “buying” and “spending”, even though his family does not know yet. The third reason behind his frustration and crush is also the view that Mike seems to have lost his social status and standard in society. This situation is clearly seen in his rumination, while roaming aimlessly from one room to another in his house: “there in the semi-darkness, gripping and ungripping his fist, he wondered whether he might go mad with fury. He knew he would be shut out now from the company of those he knew and liked, becoming a sort of ‘disappeared’” (p. 405). As seen clearly in this quotation and in many others throughout the story, the “financial crash” causes obviously not only the collapse of the dream-like polished life, but it also gives an idea that what individuals - identity or social status- have gained through the material improvement and purchasing is not a real but a transitory and false one, so that once individuals encounter reality and lose a bit of what they have materially gained, they immediately find themselves in panic and crisis and lose their sense of security and their centre of self in life. Hence Mike realizes “how easy it was to fall...suddenly [it] would be best...to die” for making away with his psychological frustration and unhappiness instead of living in such a crippling misery and frustration of his downfall (p. 405).

Eventually “the financial crash” leads Mike and his friends to think of different alternatives until the economic downturn recovers because they seek to survive the crisis as much as possible. For example, some of Mike's colleagues state “their intention of becoming gardeners until the recession lifted; apparently the only requirements were an empty head and a desire to develop your muscles. Others had said they might be forced into teaching. Mike, at forty five, had no idea what he would do. First he had to lose everything” (p. 403). As seen in this quotation, there may be possibility to turn back to the traditional way of life in which there seems not much risk. One can earn his/her living as long as his/her muscles are strong enough

to work. But what is so dangerous today is that people, like Mike, cannot manage to do so because their abilities are dulled and thwarted very much by the capitalist market economy in which they are considered machines to consume. Mike, for instance, has fallen apart in his view of life, as well as in “his idea of future” (p. 401), so that he cannot recover himself and decide what to do “until the recession lifted.” It is loss of his sense of ability and centre, yet towards the end of the story, Mike also starts to think of finding “a smaller place, sharing the household duties, like everyone else” in life (p. 408). That Mike and his colleagues, like many other people across the world, think of alternative way of life and earning in the post-modern era because capitalism is full of its “contradictions” and thus is unreliable, fragile and vulnerable to outside negative forces. In this respect, the traditional way of life seems an alternative, even though it is not an easy option today. What was the reason which has forced the current capitalist economic to undergo crisis and recession? The answer is given by Mike in the story: “...like many people, Mike had also worried whether the present catastrophe was punishment for years of extravagance and self-indulgence; that that was the debt which had to be paid back in suffering” (p. 404; emphasis added). It is easily seen in Mike’s own life, as well as in the lives of his family members. As the narrator informs the reader, for example, Mike’s house is full of “paint cans, broken children’s toys, a decade’s worth of discarded purchases and bags of credit card receipts” (p. 405; emphasis added). Alone this quotation is, in fact, enough to show us the level and magnitude of consumption in the postmodern period.

In conclusion, consumerism in its simplistic naïve meaning is closely related to what Zygmunt Bauman (2007) calls “a happy life”, and “indeed, the society of consumers is perhaps the only society in human history to promise happiness in earthly life, and happiness here and now and in every successive ‘now’; in short, and instant and perpetual happiness” (p. 44). Thus, today individuals pay much attention to the charm of this temporary “happiness”, so that consumerist society, entirely bound up with the view of capitalism based on the perpetual “profit”, always stimulates the idea that the more we buy commodities and the more we consume them will uphold our happiness and satisfaction in life. However, consumerism, as Jean Baudrillard and Danielle Todd have argued above, is far beyond the mere act of “buying” and “consuming”; it is a way of life; it is an ideology in which commodities we buy and consume have symbolic meaning, “language” and “code” which actually not only tell us who we are as a person but also fits us into society and culture where we are judged and branded in the eyes of the others. In this respect, our identity is constantly constructed and re-constructed by what we buy and what we consume, so that we are stimulated in a perpetual way to spend more and more on commodities since they will ultimately enable us to increase not only personal happiness and satisfaction but also social status as seen in the life of Mike in *The Decline of the*

West. As discussed above, on the other hand, this kind of identity and social status is subjected to be fragile and vulnerable to possible negative conditions in the economic system. As Kureishi represents it in the story through the life of Mike, possible negative economic imbalances may bring about disappointment, anger, frustration, worry about the future and a sense of weakness once the power of “buying” and “consuming” declines. When his power of “buying” and “consuming” declines, Mike immediately panics and y starts to feel lonely, desolated, and insecure and in his life, and this feeling cause him to be crippled and fragmented in his view, and relationship not only with his family members but also the people around him.

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TEACHERS' COMPETENCES FOR EDUCATIONAL WORK

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Abstract

Competence is a combination of knowledge, skills, attitudes, motivation and personal characteristics enabling individuals to act actively and efficiently in a certain (specific) situation. In the time of large social and technological change teachers' role change as well. Modern changes in the u overall nurture and education system require teachers to take new roles. The aim of this paper is to explore teachers' competence in the nurture-education process. The results show that teachers are very satisfied with the functioning of working with students. Most of them plan to work in accordance with the objectives and outcomes of each subject, using appropriate methods and techniques, they are satisfied with the training courses, cooperation with parents and the process of evaluating student achievement. A competent teacher should affect their work on improving the overall quality of the school as it would not only be a place of acquisition and reproduction of knowledge but also a place of interaction, communication, tolerance, and freedom of expression and critical thinking.

Key words: competence, teacher, student, educational process, evaluation, quality schools, academic achievements.

Theoretical approach

Teacher competencies in the field of building curriculum classes

According to Matijevic (2010) curriculum is a project or a pedagogical document which is prepared and drafted by experts in certain teaching area, and in which are specified learning objectives, described conditions and equipment that are required to achieve those objectives and planned models for monitoring and evaluation.

Curriculum construction of modern school is based on self-evaluation of management, efficiency and atmosphere of school staff. The modern school curriculum, which clearly indicates the function of the school, and the development of autonomy, with flexible organizational models, asks employees to work as a team with the characteristics of teamwork. With the knowledge and skills that the process of education should achieve, the school curriculum must include the value of which would be at the school should adopt, should define the objectives to be attained education schools (which along with cognitive, necessarily including the value component), but also ways which they want to achieve, which is not limited only to the ways of teaching and learning, but also include the relationships between school staff (Jurcic, 2012).

Sekulic-Majurec (2009) describes the role of different social and political change and participants in the educational process in the design, implementation and evaluation of school curricula, it cites the key role of principals in the formation of the specific targets of school, take care of the school culture and professional development of teachers. School evaluation and self-assessment is the way to quality and excellence. Pedagogical standards and / or indicators of quality and excellence are guidelines to assist in monitoring, assessment, self-assessment, and evaluation of the effects of schooling. The objectives of the evaluation and self-evaluation of teachers are associated with quality assurance of the teaching process and the teacher's professional development in order to achieve a high level of professional aspiration; openness to change; the will to experiment in their teaching and openness to criticism and self-criticism; good knowledge of all aspects of teaching the subject and educational areas. If we want to develop quality teachers and improve their professional, it is desirable to promote mutual exchanges of successes in the process of self-evaluation. Presenting strategies that the teachers use, and experiences they had, they will learn from each other, creating a sense of pride and interconnectedness. Therefore, constructive debates are welcome and are an integral part of evaluation and self-evaluation as an active process (Buljubašić-Kuzmanovic, Kretic Meyer, 2008).

According Domović (2009) contemporary needs and business requirements at the same time looking, but also offer the possibility of continuous professional development and continuing education in the form of three main groups of competences for teachers; work with information, knowledge and technology, working with people and work in the community and for the community.

Teacher competencies in the field of organizing and managing the educational process

Teacher competencies in the field of organizing and managing the educational process cannot be described as a system of rules, or can be developed only on the basis of respect expressed and formally present rules. They acquire and develop learning and action, following the procedures of teaching and students' progress in learning.

A competent teacher in the field of organizing and conducting educational process works with students understand, prepares and realizes so that: A competent teacher tries to adapt teaching and learning, and to win over the students according to their own possibilities, which are more conducive to the common cause (education students). As important features competent organization and management of the educational process stands out rational use of time and space, the implementation of teaching that encourages students to the activity and learning. (Jurcic, 2012). The cooperation of teachers and students and the teacher's guidance on the development of human classes characterized by cooperation, understanding, friendship, mutual respect, appreciation, communication as a prerequisite for the development of students' competencies and technological culture, moral and spiritual stability, or all that they could, to live, work and enjoy the community leads to quality in the organization and management of the educational process leads (Previsic, 2000).

Teacher competencies in the area of determining the efficiency of achievement at school

A competent teacher is the one who understands the theoretical level and in their practice apply the most important determinants of evaluation and assessment of students, and those are: school to assessments of students' success in learning derived from assumptions for learning (skills, motivation, interest, work ethic, commitment, learning conditions and the like); the level of students' knowledge (reach degree of understanding and application, procedures and propositions); evaluation criteria (fairness) and objectivity (in the forms and methods); continuity and the public; written notes as a prerequisite for a number evaluation or as a descriptive grade; interpretation of the results of student achievement in oral or written verification or practical tasks completed and the possible elimination of the fear of school

failure; some special features in the process of determining the value of the students' achievements in the course of cooperative learning and for students with disabilities (Jurcic, 2012).

From the research results (Tot, 2010) it is apparent an understanding of the purpose of evaluation of teaching by students, but also the awareness that evaluation is carried out in an appropriate manner. Testing and evaluation knowledge is an inseparable part of the unique educational process. Teachers almost every day, check and evaluate the knowledge of their students, without such control their educational achievement has at least two functions: a) to obtain information about the kind of success students acquire and the government of the facilities (which allows them to monitor their educational development), b) provided they obtain feedback on their teaching so they could more appropriate and more successful design and implement (Grgin 1986).

The school assessment of knowledge is, by its nature, measuring knowledge. Each evaluation given by the teacher has a function to control the students' knowledge, his intelligence, general school behavior, adaptation of school criteria (Fulgosi, 1980). The purpose of the evaluation of student achievement is associated with selection to continue their education, motivation for learning, focusing learning, correction of errors and evaluation of teaching and learning (Matijevic, 2004).

Teacher competencies in the field of design classroom atmosphere

School climate (atmosphere) is usually defined as a set of internal characteristics that schools are different and that affect the behavior of its members, and thus indirectly on the quality of educational processes and outcomes. Earn school climate at the same time and the effect itself and the factor that affects the other effects of school. There is a correlation between school climate and a sense of trust between teachers and trust between teachers and principals (Domovic, 2004).

The teaching process is a joint work of students and teachers, and as such, should include consultation, download of individual tasks, and the achievement of the agreed valuation performed. Various research projects, development of class newspapers, going on picnics, learning games, and correspondence with students from other schools, contribute to a climate that encourages the achievement of the goals of human rights education. The result of such activities is usually not possible to measure and evaluate tests of numerical estimates, but it should be borne in mind that they are in life more important than the variety of information that are subject to evaluation (Spajic Vrkas et al., 2004).

The class atmosphere that a teacher can establish has a strong impact on students' motivation and attitude towards learning. Therefore, the art of establishing of a positive classroom atmosphere is especially important. The class atmosphere which is generally considered as one which best encourages pupils to learn is the one that is described as purposeful, hardworking, relax, friendly, stimulat and tidy. Such an atmosphere facilitates learning time as establishing and maintaining a positive attitude and motivation of students for the lesson. When the breakdown skill required to establish a positive classroom atmosphere, it is obvious that this atmosphere is largely based on the implicit values that pervade nastavu- and that is that the students and their learning so important (Kyriacou, 1998).

The school and classroom climate are logically interconnected and are in the "interconnection" established "mutual relations", which means that the study of classroom atmosphere it is necessary to know the basic factors of school climate and vice versa (Jurcic, 2012).

Teacher competencies in the field of educational partnership with parents

One of the important features of an effective school is developing cooperation with parents. There are many reasons why parents and teachers should meet more often and communicate the objectives of education and development of children.

Bakker et al. (2007) in Maricic et al. (2009) distinguish three aspects of parental involvement in a child's education: educational activities at home, communicating with the school and participate in school activities.

Vizek Vidovic et al. (2003) suggest a number of practical tips for teachers to increase the possibilities for good cooperation. For example, communication with parents should be established at the beginning of the school year, not when there is a problem. Establish communication should be maintained throughout the school year through various forms, including informal contacts. The teacher should also get to know each family by the students through a discussion with parents, the student, the student entering the task of writing an essay on the subject and the like.

According Maricic et al. (2009) parental involvement in a child's education, attitudes about the existing school system, and the expectations of changes are significant independent determinants of parental general attitude towards schools effectiveness.

Methodological approach

The aim of this study was to determine the competence of teachers in the educational process. The study was conducted on a sample of teachers from Primary School Orebic. The sample was special. In order to achieve the objective and tasks of research and perform the appropriate conclusions were used method of theoretical analysis and descriptive- analytical method.

The instrument of data collection was a questionnaire for teachers designed for the purposes of this research, which consisted of 29 claims on the Likert scale of 5 degrees.

Results and discussion:

Ensuring quality education that would effectively respond to the new needs and interests of individuals and society includes the question of competence of teachers in the educational work. This research led to the insight into the competence of teachers in the different segments of the teaching process, and the ways in which teachers themselves perceive themselves to interact with all stakeholders of the school and contribute to improving the quality of school life. They further isolated, presentation and analysis of key issues of competence of teachers tested questionnaire.

On the statement, "In planning the content and methods of work is guided by the objectives and outcomes of the subject" agree almost all teachers. Thus, 48% completely agree with the above statement, an identical number of teachers agreed with this statement while only 5% of teachers disagreed with this statement. Teachers play a crucial role in the education of students, and it is advisable that to achieve the objectives using appropriate content and ways of working. All teachers use methods and techniques appropriate to the case, but their pupils.

The contents of the case submitted by the example from everyday life and experiences connect almost all teachers. 52% of teachers agree that in planning and organizing fully guided educational standards. 33% of respondents agreed with the statement, 10% neither agreed nor disagreed while 5% of them do not agree with this statement. 43% of teachers in the statement that claimed a possible vocational training and that they are satisfied with the possibilities of further improvement responded to and agree and disagree. 14% of teachers are fully agree with this statement, while 33% of teachers agree with this statement. 5% of teachers disagreed and certainly does not agree with the above statement.

In the statement, "I believe that every student has their own style of learning and progressing in accordance with their abilities because I approach each student individually" obtained by the check results, so the 52% of teachers in full agreement with the statement, 24% agreed. This finding was true for the teachers agree to know and use different ways of monitoring and evaluation work. Of these, fully 43% of teachers agree, agree 48% of teachers, and agrees and disagrees 10% of teachers.

38% of teachers are fully agrees to use student achievement as an indicator of the efficiency and effectiveness of their work, 43% of them agree with the statement while 19% agree and disagree with the statement. It is important to inform students about their achievements, but also elements that need to be improved because it can be a stimulus for new developments or to improve in those areas where the perceived shortcomings.

All the teachers think that the goals of their work aimed at improving the quality of learning and to better student achievement, so this claim is confirmed. Reply strongly agree yielded 76% and 24% disagree teachers.

The results show that teachers are very satisfied with the functioning of working with students. Most of them planned to work in accordance with the objectives and outcomes of each subject, using appropriate methods and techniques, and connect them with the amenities of daily life. Also, teachers are satisfied with the training courses. It is important that teachers are willing to constantly learn, upgrade the knowledge and the practical application thereof. Lifelong learning is a prerequisite for the quality of work, as well as the overall educational quality. Evaluation and monitoring of student progress and achievement is certainly one of the indicators of quality, with which agrees the majority of respondents in this study. Since the quality of education in part be predicted on the basis of the possibilities offered by the surroundings, the first family, the paper highlights the importance of parental involvement in the educational process, as well as a positive school climate that affects the behavior of all members and based on common perception, behavior in school, as an important factor in the overall quality of school.

CONCLUSION

In education teacher has a very important role. With changing needs of students comes changing role of teachers. The paper stresses the importance of competence in the construction of curriculum, knowledge of technology, evaluation and self-evaluation of their work, social competence, emotional competence, the importance of teachers 'work with students with special needs, teachers' competences in the field of organizing and managing the educational process, evaluation

and assessment of students, Professional development of teachers. It also pointed out that the establishment of a teacher classroom atmosphere can strongly affect the motivation of students, and how the success of a child is important competence of teachers in the educational partnership with parents. The teacher should be prepared to meet the challenges faced by, and be the initiator of changes in promoting understanding and tolerance. Without competent and quality teachers there is no quality education, and therefore no good educational outcomes, which leads to the conclusion that teachers should be open and willing to change and motivated for lifelong learning and continuous professional development

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WHAT DOES THE EUROPEAN UNION'S (EU'S) NEW APPROACH BRING TO BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (B&H)?

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Abstract

Bosnia and Herzegovina has been lacking the collective political power to address the reforms that were necessary for progress towards EU over the years. The B&H politicians could not agree upon any effective coordination mechanism on EU issues. The lack of coordination mechanism has negatively affected the country's interaction with the EU. Beside the coordination mechanism the other political issues could not be resolved. The EU Commission intensively facilitated resolution of the Sejdić-Finci ruling of the European Court of Human Rights that B&H has to implement, but without any success. The political actors have also been unable to agree upon countrywide strategy required for Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance, in sectors, such as: agriculture, energy, transport and environment. These negative developments led to a substantial reduction of funding in these areas. Political disagreements have caused economic stagnation on moving towards European standards. In February 2014, widespread, citizen-led protests have occurred. These protests have underlined the fragility of the socio-economic situation. The EU Commission has launched a New Approach for B&H towards EU aiming to shift the focus towards economic reforms and issues of direct concern to citizens. This included development of a 'Compact for Growth and Jobs'. The Compact is supposed to be the yardstick for the necessary economic reforms. In this paper we will explain the importance of the New Approach for B&H, as well as what 'Compact for Growth and Job' brings to B&H.

Key words: EU New Approach, Economic reforms, Compact for Growth and Jobs, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Introduction

Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) is post-conflict country with very complex political system that provides opportunities for political elite instability. The country has fragmented society, complicated state structure and weak institutions. B&H has been lacking the collective political power to address the reforms that were necessary for progress towards EU over the years.

The B&H politicians could not agree upon any effective coordination mechanism on EU issues. The lack of coordination mechanism has negatively affected the country's interaction with the EU. B&H is the first and only country ever that lost pre-accession funds. It is the only case when the EU redirected its pre-accession funds from B&H to Kosovo. The political actors have also been unable to agree upon countrywide strategy required for Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance, in sectors, such as: agriculture, energy, transport and environment. These negative developments led to a substantial reduction of funding in these areas. Beside the coordination mechanism the other political issues could not be resolved. The EU Commission intensively facilitated resolution of the Sejdić-Finci ruling of the European Court of Human Rights that B&H has to implement, but without any success.

Political disagreements have caused economic stagnation on moving towards European standards. In February 2014, widespread, citizen-led protests have occurred.

These protests have underlined the fragility of the socio-economic situation. Political instability negatively affects investments and economic growth causing poverty and dissatisfaction of the people. Peoples' dissatisfaction brings social unrests which again have effects on stability of the government. In order to assist B&H, the EU Commission has launched a New Approach for B&H towards EU aiming to shift the focus towards economic reforms and issues of direct concern to citizens. This included development of a 'Compact for Growth and Jobs'. The Compact is supposed to be the yardstick for the necessary economic reforms.

In this paper we will explain the importance of the New Approach for B&H. The main purpose of this approach is to make consensus about the goals of main economic policies between all levels of B&H government and to work together in order to fulfilling those goals. The second purpose of the new approach is to help B&H citizens regain the confidence in their governments which is an essential factor for economic development.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 1. represents the Introduction. Section 2. gives the review of the previous literature. Section 3. presents the back-

ground on B&H and EU relations. Section 4. analyzes and explains the importance of the EU's New Approach to B&H, and Section 5. represents the Conclusion.

Previous literature on the political instability and the economic growth. The growth theory of a new political economy considers the political stability to be a necessary condition for the economic growth. The thematic literatures usually distinguish two kinds of political instability: 1.) non-elite political instability (i.e. violent coups, riots, revolutions, civil wars, etc.) and elite political instability (e.g. cabinet changes, government crises, instability due to frequent instances of minority governments, etc.).

Rodric (2000) stated that development and improvement of democracy ensures a high-quality growth. In his paper the author pointed out the importance of institutions and stated which institutions are deemed to be significant and crucial for the economic growth.

Alesina et al. (1992) stated that the political instability represented a negative element for the economic growth. They used a sample of 113 countries from the period 1950-1982 and showed that the economic growth was lower in countries with high probability of government collapse. Similarly, Aisen & Veiga (2011) used a sample covering 169 countries, in the period 1960-2004 and found a negative relationship between the political instability and the economic development. They stated that the political instability, viewed as cabinet change, reduces the GDP growth rates, significantly. Political instability has a negative effect on total factor productivity, also affects growth through the physical and human capital accumulation. The paper suggests that the countries need to address the political instability.

Jong-A-Pin (2009) offered a survey on how to measure the political instability and its impact on the economic growth. He distinguished four dimensions of political instability: civil protest, politically motivated aggression, instability within regime and instability of the political regime. In his paper the author questioned the credibility of the political instability in regards to single proxies as viewed through the cabinet changes.

Political elite instability and institutional weakness in B&H are causes that country is unable to formulate and adopt the appropriate policies that encourage long-term growth and needed unique and innovative policies toward joining the EU.

Background on B&H and EU relations

In the early 1990s, the collapse of the centrally, and by only one, Communist

party, planned self-managed economic system and the transition to a market economy started with the disintegration process of former Yugoslavia. As a result of the breakup, there emerged seven countries: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo and Former Yugoslav Republic (FRY) Macedonia. Slovenia joined the EU in 2004 and Croatia in 2013. Serbia, Montenegro and FRY Macedonia are candidate countries, while Bosnia and Kosovo are still the potential candidates.

As other countries in the region, Bosnia and Herzegovina is still in the process of transformation from a socialist, previously self-managed economy, to a modern market economy. This process started in 1989, but was interrupted by the aggression and internal war in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992-1995. The process of the transformation restarted in 1996, immediately after the Dayton Peace Agreement was signed. Bosnia and Herzegovina was economically growing and progressing towards the EU membership. As a result of that progress the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) between B&H and the EU was signed in 2008 and ratified in 2011. While Bosnia-Herzegovina signed the SAA with the EU in 2008 it has lagged behind its neighbors. Ongoing ethnic tensions in Bosnia-Herzegovina have prevented that country from carrying out the necessary reforms for Euro-Atlantic integration. However, SAA has entered into force in 2015, when the EU switched its approach towards B&H.

The political system in Bosnia and Herzegovina is defined by the Dayton Peace Agreement. The Agreement outlines the Constitution of the state. There were established two entities (i.e. the country was divided into the two parts – one is the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (F.B&H) and the other is Republika Srpska (RS)). Later, in 2000, a new administrative unit District Brcko was established. The government is highly complex. Bosnia and Herzegovina has around 14 governments (1 at the state level, 2 at entity level, 10 cantonal in FB&H and 1 for the District of Brcko). Beside different levels, in order to ensure the ethnic representation the government on each level requires the participation of different ethnic groups. Decision making process is very complex and it gives the possibility to the elected representatives to protect the members of their own ethnicity. However, the possibility of protection, the right to veto and the right to protect the vital interests has been overused and become main weapon of the political elites to stop certain changes or economic progress. For these reasons B&H's government cannot make prompt and adequate decisions regarding any issues. This complex situation causes delays in the policy realization, slows down and largely brings to the halt the economic growth.

The political environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina was unstable during the whole transition period but it was highly unstable during the mandate from

2010-2014. Fifteen months was needed to form the state government (i.e. Council of Ministers, and in the period of three years there were four changes of the coalition partners). Thus, the coalitions were changed several times at the different levels, as well.

By 2014, the EU insisted in B&H's fulfilling the Copenhagen political criteria, which required the stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities.

The European Commission undertook the intensive facilitation efforts to B&H in order to resolve the Sejdic-Finci ruling of the European Court of Human Rights. The Sejdic-Finci vs. Bosnia and Herzegovina is the legal case, ruled in December of 2009, which proclaimed the ethnic discrimination for representation in the institutions of the country for persons not belonging to one of the three constituent peoples (i.e. Bosniak, Serb and Croat). The ruling has not been implemented due to narrow political parties' or ethnic interests. Having not implemented the Sejdic-Finci ruling, the country has not yet ended the discriminatory practice whereby citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina not declaring themselves as belonging to one of the three Constituent Peoples are prevented to run for the Presidency and/or the House of Peoples' of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, the legislative processes, in general, remain extremely slow, due to the lack of political will to reach necessary compromises. The frequent use of the urgent procedures to introduce laws in the Parliamentary assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina resulted in an extensive use of the Vital National Interest procedures. Due to the lack of political agreement, the legislations were often blocked by using the Entity veto.

Furthermore, B&H lacks an effective government coordination mechanism on the EU issues. Political tensions within the ethnic groups related to the division of competences across different levels of government have continued. This unfortunate situation has been compounded by the complexity of the institutional arrangements in the country. The political actors have been unable to agree on countrywide strategies required for the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance in sectors, such as: energy, transport, environment and agriculture. A failure by the authorities of B&H to agree upon Pre-Accession Assistance for Agriculture and Rural Development (IPARD) structure, has forced the EU to suspend funds for this purpose. In 2013, 45 million EURO in pre-accession assistance funds for B&H has been redirected to Kosovo. It is the first case that the EU redirected its pre-accession funds from one country to another. Moreover, constant political disagreements led to a substantial reduction of funding in different areas. In that sense, the new EU approach would help B&H's government to reach the necessary agreement on economic issues. This will open the way for Bosnia and Herzegovina to benefit fully from the

available pre-accession funding.

A lack of collective political will to address the reforms necessary for progress on the EU path is the main obstacle in B&H. There has been very limited progress on the political and economic issues and on moving towards reaching and/or accepting the European standards. The economic stagnation and an increase of poverty brought widespread, citizen-led protests in February of 2014. The demonstrators' demands and complaints were about the economic and social issues. Unemployment, difficult living conditions, dysfunctional local administrations, reviewing corrupt privatizations of local companies and lowering salaries for official were some of the concrete demands of the protesters. Furthermore, the severe floods, which hit the country in May of 2014, have had a considerable socio-economic impact on the whole country.

The EU provided the immediate and substantial rescue and relief efforts and organized a donors' conference in July of 2014. Significant recovery assistance pledges were made from the international community for the recovery and reconstruction phase.

In order to facilitate B&H, the Commission has launched three initiatives to shift the focus towards reforms that B&H needs and on addressing the issues of direct concern to citizens. It has expanded the EU's initiative called- Bosnia and Herzegovina Structured Dialogue on Justice, in particular, the fight against corruption. It has set up a joint EU- Bosnia and Herzegovina Working Group to accelerate the implementation of the EU's funded projects. It has focused on strengthening the economic governance in B&H. This included development of a 'Compact for Growth and Jobs', an economic agenda that was developed together with the domestic experts, as well as with the international financial institutions.

What Does the EU's New Approach Bring to B&H

In late May of 2014, the European Delegation organized the Forum for Prosperity and Jobs for B&H, in order to identify the economic reform package for B&H. It became clear that B&H's authorities could not agree upon any important political issue. These disagreements halted the country's economic growth and caused severe social unrests. People and society become frustrated and irritated with flagrant irresponsibility of the politicians. Constant changes at all levels of the B&H's government, the initiatives of policy makers who tried to take benefit of the position they have, various disagreements regarding the Sejdic-Finci case and constitutional changes among political party leaders without the discussion at the Parliamentary Assembly, as well as inability to use the IPA funds for certain sectors

created a serious uncertainty with the respect of institutions' functioning.

The EU realized that a large unemployment in B&H and stagnation in socio-economic reforms had to be addressed. The EU Delegation in B&H facilitated the various governments' levels in B&H with creation of the Compact for Growth and Jobs and an announcement that the EU is shifting its approach towards B&H, (i.e. switching from the political to the economic roadmap). The Compact for Growth and Jobs is the document that defines several socio-economic areas that have to be reformed in B&H.

These documents define six measures (e.g. taxes on jobs, barriers to registration of the companies, increasing competitiveness, restructuring enterprises, fighting corruption and providing social protection) that are intended to spur investment, accelerate the creation of the jobs, encourage the fight against corruption, properly define and target for social protection. Dapo & Ridic (2015) explained how a new economic initiative "Compact for Growth and Jobs" may influence the economic growth and accelerate the transition process in B&H.

The main purpose of this economic agenda created by the EU is to eliminate the political instability that exists due to the complexity of decision-making process in B&H, to regain the confidence of the people in their governments and provide the citizens with the vision for the existence of the better and brighter future.

In political economy literature, it is known that "nothing is more damaging to successful development than incompetent, irresponsible and corrupt government; nothing brings development more effectively to an end, indeed so effectively reverses it, as an internal conflict" (Galbraith, 1994). Many post-conflict societies are defined by the political instability, an endemic corruption and lack of the effective state institutions (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). B&H is not exempt from these characteristics that reversely affect the economic development. Corruption is increasing and presents a key obstacle to the necessary economic reforms and the establishment of the rule of law in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dapo & Ridic 2015). The previous literature review shows that the political instability is one of the factors that negatively affect the economic development. Both, domestic and foreign investors are discouraged by the threat of political upheaval and changes in the policies. Political instability scares away new investments, and, in case of B&H, it stops the pre-accession funds needed for development of the country. Soubbutina & Sheram (2000) explained that the existence of the political instability prevents a faster economic growth and improvements in people's economic welfare, causing even more dissatisfaction, which causes more demonstrations and again, through a new social conflicts, it increases the political instability. As a result, a country falls into a vicious

circle of political instability. Falling into the vicious circle of political instability can seriously impede the efforts to boost the economic development.

In order to reduce the political instability in B&H and positively influence the economic development, the new EU initiative presented as “The Compact for Growth and Jobs” was created in a way that all levels of B&H’s government should maintain a consensus about the goals of main economic policies. The new EU initiative was supposed to break the vicious circle that the country was falling in (see Figure 1). Its goal was to achieve the political stability regarding the economic issues. Having consensus regarding the economic policies should relax the relations between different ethnic groups and different entities. Political stability regarding the economic policies would be the advancement on the roadmap towards the EU and these achievements would accelerate the pre-accession funds which are quite needed to B&H.

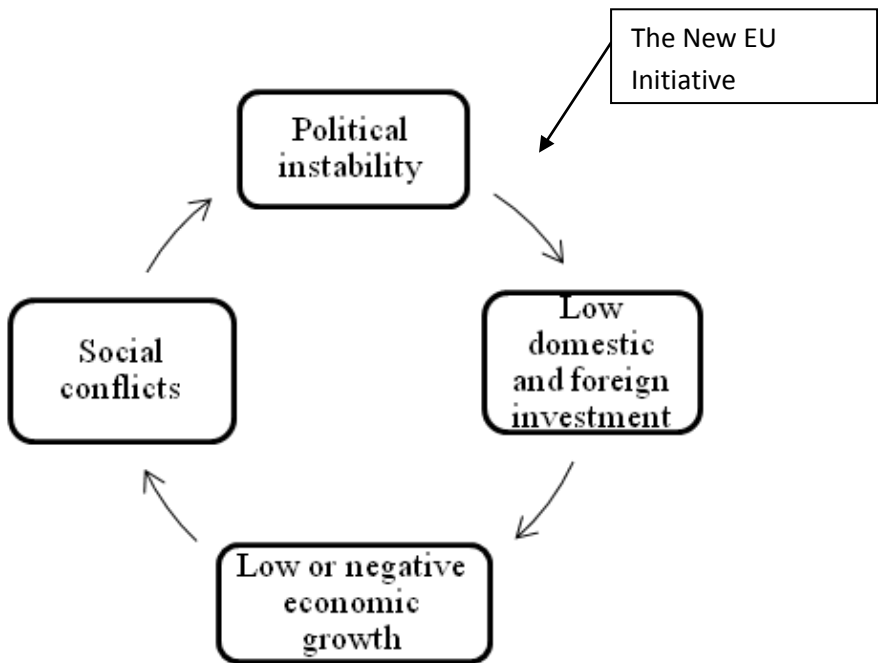


Figure 1. The New EU Initiative Breaking the Vicious Circle of Political Instability

The other important purpose of the new EU approach towards B&H was that various B&H’s governments regain the confidence of its own people in institutions. The confidence of people and their support presents an essential factor for the development (Kohama, 2003). B&H’s government should maintain a consensus about the goals of economic policies. Those goals should be transparently presented and explained to the public. This would motivate the people and would help them to easily accept various measures. This is the way for B&H to improve the functionality and efficiency at all levels of the government and to include its social partners into the decision-making processes. Governments need to focus on addressing the socio-economic priorities, adopt countrywide strategies for various sectors and im-

plement the pre-accession assistance. This is the way, as to how B&H may meet the EU standards on the economic development. After fulfilling these standards, in order to join the EU, B&H must meet the EU standards on the political freedoms.

Conclusion

In this paper we explained the importance of the political stability for the economic development of the country. B&H was progressing on its way towards the EU, until, 2008. Later, due to the internal political disagreements it stays far behind its neighboring countries. Political instability has the negative influence on the economic growth, which usually causes poverty and dissatisfaction of the people who try to make changes through the social unrests, which again cause the political instability. This is the way how the country falls into the, so called, vicious circle of the political instability. In order to help B&H, the EU introduced the new approach for B&H towards the EU.

Introduction of the new approach towards B&H presents the EU creativity. The EU was taking into account the specific problems that B&H was faced with. In this way, the EU contributes more actively to the solution of country's problems by facilitating the government to take the right path towards the EU. The EU facilitates the B&H government by defining the key areas that should be reformed. In the new agenda, "The Compact for Growth and Jobs", the priority is on the improvement of the B&H's economy. Another important aim of the new agenda is the fight against corruption.

Improvements in these areas would provide B&H with the resources offered by the Instrument of Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA funds). This initiative should bring the economic reforms that B&H badly needs to make a complete transition to the market economy, the economic growth in order to bring B&H closer to the EU.

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