

Adnan Tufekčić

PATHS FROM TRADITION TO MODERNITY

Some Short Ethnopedagogical Studies





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Preface

The book represents some previous and expanded studies related to various ethnopedagogical issues and traditional Bosnian culture, both from the period of 2003 – 2008 and from the last five years 2014 – 2019. The chapters are accordingly revised and upgraded versions of the articles published in two journals Wychowanie w rodzinie/Family upbringing and Edutainment (Wroclaw, Poland).

Chapter One will present the results of a field study that was conducted within a group of rural settlements on the Majevica Mountain in North-East Bosnia. The aim of the research was related to ethno-pedagogical problems and aspects of the process of growing up and upbringing in traditional Bosnian-Herzegovinian families in a rural society in the first half of the twentieth century. The research seeks to achieve insight into the processes of growing up and the most significant patterns of upbringing that followed these processes and which were modified and partially lost in the second half of the twentieth century. The method of intensive interviews has been used during the research and the relevant data was collected in direct contact with narrators (examinees) who were born until 1945. The most important determinants of family upbringing in a traditional rural

society are presented through descriptions of educational actions related to the birth of a child, preserving the life and health of a newborn and encouraging his spiritual and physical development, the position of the child within the family, the relationship with the parents and other elders in the environment, the children's attitude towards their peers, and attitudes towards values, work and property. In addition, the importance of the children's work responsibilities is presented, their games and religious upbringing within the family upbringing, as well as the educational provision related to the attitude towards orphans and illegitimate children, and the taking care of the spiritual and physical health and personal hygiene of the children.

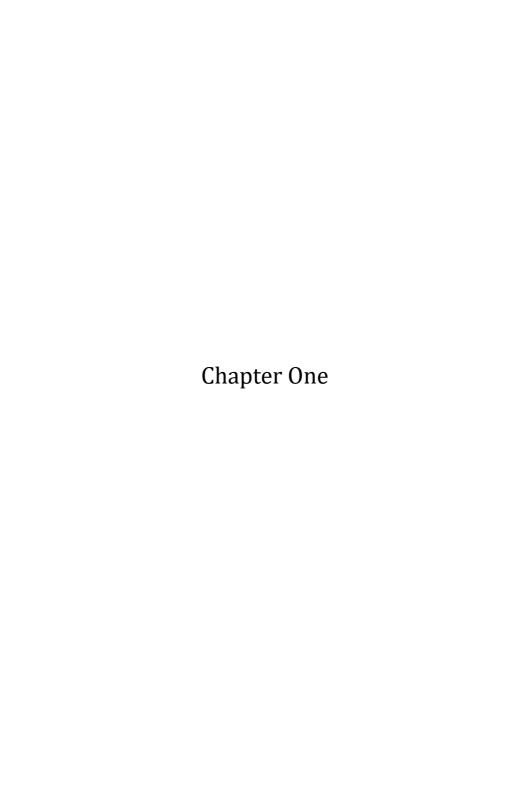
The results of the second field research which also has been conducted in several villages in North-East Bosnia and Herzegovina are presented in Chapter Two. The main aim of the research has been related to understanding of the most important culturological processes and dynamics within the organization of marital life and the structure of family life in rural Bosnian family in the first half of the twentieth century. The obtained results represent a presentation of the organisation of family life in extended (multi-generational) and nuclear families. Therefore, the structure and dynamics of intra-family culture, work and sharing of work obligations/chores of family members, house decoration, traditional folk costumes and footwear, healthcare and treatment of family members, nutritional culture, role of traditional folk beliefs and religion in family life, as well as the distortion of intra-marital and intra-family life, are specifically described. With all this in mind, the claim that culturological organisation of a family life arose from everyday life of one concrete community and that it included the whole life cycle from birth till death, was derived as the main conclusion. In the process, the specific ethnopedagogical activity was immanent for various life situations, and thereby a functional connection was

being achieved between an individual and the community. In all this, components of the traditional, rural Bosnian culture such as: work, habitation, nutrition, clothing and decoration, and especially folklore and folk creativity in all its forms, had the most important (primary) role.

Chapter Three represents an endeavor to connect of tradition and modernity in the context of children games. Traditional children's games represent an important area within pedagogical culture and tradition of every ethnic group. The opportunities for popularization of traditional children's games in contemporary educational system through information-communication technology are elaborated in this chapter. In doing so, two main aims of this process are emphasized. The first aim is related to opportunities of digitalization and virtualization of various traditional children's games into educational computer programs and applications. The second aim, without which the first would not be sufficient, is related to motivating and encouraging children for "transmission" of traditional games from virtual world into real life. It would include different children's activities, after introducing traditional games through specially created computer programs, making of real props and organization of these games in real world, in natural environment within free activities in school and some subjects such as: Physical Education, History, Nature and Society, Practical and Handwork.

This book is dedicated to my students in the course "Ethnopedagogy" as well as, everyone who is interested in this "exotic" discipline. I hope that they may find the book useful.

Author



Growing up and Upbringing in a Traditional Bosnian Family

INTRODUCTION

Upbringing, as a universal (timeless and generation-wide) phenomenon, is a specific characteristic of the human race. It encompasses conditio sine qua non when it comes to people's path of development and their becoming a human being. The history of pedagogy and pedagogical ideas accurately and clearly indicates that the historical period leading to formal birth of pedagogical science was a time marked by numerous famous and unknown thinkers in the area of upbringing, during prehistorical and historical eras. Their pedagogical insights and initiatives contribute to the birth and development of the most significant pedagogical ideas which humanity has at its disposal today. Their viewpoints and ideas were mostly rooted in the people (in the broadest sense of the word) they lived among. Prominent pedagogues in history paid attention to studying pedagogical points of view among the populace and their pedagogical experience. Classical pedagogues (Komenský, Pestalozzi, Ushinski [Ушински] etc.) believed that folk pedagogy enriches educational science and

serves as its base and support (Volkov [Волков] 1999). The reason for this is the fact that primal upbringing always takes place in the medium of concrete culture, therefore "the incentive to reach new cognitions regarding upbringing and education stems precisely from research which explores the relation between culture and upbringing" (Slatina 2005, p. 61). The nature of the relation between culture and upbringing may be understood through ascertaining the difference between authentic (primal) and instrumentalized (institutionalized) upbringing and education. This difference presupposes upbringing as an anthropologic category, on the one hand, and upbringing as a pedagogical (didactic) category, on the other hand (Slatina 2006). Authentic upbringing is connected with culture, "but this term *surpasses* the notion of mere cultivation of inclinations which a human being brings upon birth. This means that authentic upbringing stems from the values of living, from objective (universally accepted) values from religion. Precisely these are the values that cannot be 'spent' through human use and application, which cannot be lost in the fog of the past" (Slatina 1999, p. 246). This is why understanding pedagogical tradition in the populace is of utmost importance in understanding contemporary pedagogical challenges and problems. The studies which will be presented in this book represents an attempt in this direction. The research that will be presented in this chapter is a part of a more encompassing and wider research, which reflected ethnopedagogical problems of growing up and upbringing through all periods, from birth to maturity and to end of life, and it was conducted in rural communities on Majevica Mountain in northeastern Bosnia and Herzegovina. The largest part of that research is presented in the author's book 'Osnove etnopedagogije' [Basics of Ethnopedagogy], Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga and CNS; as well as in several published papers regarding traditional children's games, traditional patterns of healing children and religious upbringing

of children, all of which will be mentioned with bibliographic references in the following parts of this chapter, when we tackle the above-mentioned topics. The book and papers mentioned here present the basic source for detailed explanation of methodology used during this research. Especially informative is the chapter 'Gathering ethno-pedagogical corpus' (pp. 101-109). For this reason, in the following sections of this chapter, in order to meet the needs of the research, the most important elements of methodological approach to the research problem will be presented in a somewhat summarized manner in comparison to the mentioned chapter in order that the reader is provided with a clear description of applied research methodology.

METHODOLOGY

The interest of this research is aimed at an attempt to shed light on the most important characteristics of upbringing and growing up in life periods from newborn child and childhood in the medium of traditional Bosnian and Herzegovinian culture. This served to provide insight into the processes of growing up and the most significant upbringing patterns which accompanied these processes in aforementioned periods of life and were modified in the second half of the 20th century and partly got lost under the influence of school as a social institution of formal upbringing and education as well as under the influence of the so-called mass culture (Spajić-Vrkaš 1996). Here are the basic guidelines and starting points for approaching the research problem, which define its aim and tasks.

The subject of this research are ethnopedagogical problems of growing up and upbringing in traditional Bosnian and Herzegovinian culture, which are concerned with life periods of a newborn child and childhood, through an example of a small rural community, consisting of a cluster of villages (Zahirovići, Memići, Straža, Jasenica) on Majevica Mountain in northeast Bosnia. This community is multilateral and comprised of settlements with Muslim (Bosniak), Catholic (Croat) and Orthodox (Serb) populations. The aim of the research relates to examining the most important content, manners and processes of transferring and learning culture as a space for growing up and nurturing during the first year of life in the second half of the 20th century in the area of a rural multilateral environment.in this research, the method of content analysis was used, as well as environment case study method with elements of terrain method for culture research (Kreč, Kračfild, Balaki 1972, p. 363) and comparative method. The content analysis method was used to analyze the content of all documents relevant for research of this problem (examinees' personal documents, documents kept in churches and Islamic community center). Besides this, the content of folk intellectual creations which was gathered during research, was also analyzed. The instrument for application of this method was the evidential sheet (protocol), while analyzing content of relevant documents and folk intellectual creations. The method of location case study, with elements of terrain analysis method, is "a way of organizing social data with the aim to preserve the unique character of the examined object" (Gud & Het 1966, p. 313). The social entirety in this case is a group of rural communities on Majevica Mountain in northeast Bosnia and Herzegovina. This entity cannot be viewed as a social object which is a completely closed unit. Therefore, location case study method "cannot be imagined as encompassing a unit, but as an attempt to encompass, as a social unit, those characteristics that are significant for the scientific problem at hand" (Gud & Het 1966, p. 314). The technique employed within this method was depth interviews. This means that relevant data was gath-

ered through the process of interviewing in direct contact with examinees (respondents). This manner of gathering data was necessary, considering the nature of facts we aimed to gather, which are: intimate information from personal life, personal habits and characteristics, facts from family life, as well as opinions and beliefs1 (Good & Scates 1967, p. 510). Conducting interviews in this case implied the use of so-called individual and group interviews. An individual interview is conducted with one respondent and is used when the nature of needed information is personal and intimate as well as when there is a need to check verity of certain information with different examinees, while a group interview with more than one respondent is used in situations where the needed information are not personal, but related more to conditions in the social community and social processes. Comparative method is employed to compare certain data gathered from various examinees (respondents). Also, a comparison of different religious teachings and cultural norms and customs with regard to multi-religious character of communities included in the research.

When it comes to the research sample, it is possible to distinguish its three directions. In a territorial sense, the research sample is a group of rural settlements in the northwest section of Majevica Mountain in northeast Bosnia. These settlements comprise of Bosniak population (Zahirovići, Memići), Croat pop-

In the context of this research, interview had special advantages, such as: age structure of examinees was such that a questionnaire could hardly be applied: examinees (respondents) can provide personal and confidential data in personal contact; the examiner can carefully follow and direct the flow of examinee's telling, the examiner can shape the impression about the examinee which gives relevant information and, to a certain point, judge the verity of response ('reading between the lines'). During conducting interviews, special attention was paid to preparations for interview procedure, methods for beginning an interview, length of the interview, relation and sensitivity towards examinees (Good, Scates 1967, p. 516; Đurić 2007, p. 61-144). With all this, the interviews were not one-sided, i.e. they implied providing certain information to respondents by examiners that could serve the examinees as incentive in conveying certain information (Good, Scates 1967, p. 510-511).

ulation (Straža) and Serb population (Jasenica). The settlements are not intermixed in terms of ethnic and religious belonging, but spatially they are in immediate proximity to one another and are connected. The second explanation of the term sample is related to the number and category of examinees (respondents) in the interview. In that sense, the sample comprised of men and women in above-mentioned settlements, who were born up to 1945. For the content analysis, the sample is comprised of birth certificates, christening certificates, oral folk intellectual creations, and pieces of clothing.

Growing up and Upbringing in the Period of a Newborn Child and Toddler

EXPECTING AND FORETELLING PREGNANCY

With the arrival of *mlada snaha* (the newly arrived young bride) in the household and upon her assumption of the position of ona najmlađa (the youngest daughter-in-law) in the family community, she is expected to ostane noseća (become pregnant). There were not many cases where a child was not born very soon, and if that was the case, then it was usually understood in the community as božije određenje ili davanje (God's will). Whether childbirth occurred or not in the first year of marriage significantly influenced both marital and family relations, and sometimes even led to disturbances in those relations. In the case where mlada (the young bride) got pregnant right away, a lot of attention was paid to gatanju hoće l' bit muško il' žensko (fortune-telling if it would be a boy or a girl). Monitoring the pregnancy and determining the baby's sex was assigned to older women from the village. The most common 'test' these women used to foretell the child's sex included wrapping a knife in

one cloth and scissors in the other and put both in front of the pregnant woman. If she would choose the cloth with scissors inside, that meant she was pregnant with a girl, and if she chose the cloth with knife, she was pregnant with a boy. Besides foretelling the baby's sex, there were also attempts to influence it. Often, after a male child was born, its umbilical cord was saved and kept to be given to a future pregnant woman, so that her future child would also be male. The baby's sex was not one of the reasons for disturbance in marital and family dynamics as was the case when the woman could not have a child. However, there were cases where fathers insisted on having a male child, which resulted in a great number of pregnancies for the wife, until she would give birth to a male child. The Muslim population also exhibited occurrences where the man (father) would perform special prayers far from the village and near a spring with a plea to God da dobije muškog evlada (to have a male child).

A pregnant woman was recognizable also by often having different specific yearnings regarding food that is sour and also green, still not ripe, sour fruit, especially *zelene rzdelije* (green cherry plums). During family meals, when the pregnant woman would eat with the rest of the family or other people, everybody would have to be very careful not to take any food from her plate because that person would get a sty.

DELIVERY

During pregnancy, young women were not spared from agricultural chores, although they were assigned easier tasks on the arable land. There were often cases of women giving birth right after performing an agricultural chore and coming home. There were also cases when women did not have time to come

home and the delivery would begin or even finish on the field. During the research, we came across data that certain women gave up to 10 or 11 childbirths on the field while doing chores. However, childbirth mostly took place in the family house. Help during childbirth, for members of all three ethnic communities, was provided by other women, mostly older women or married ones who had already given birth. These women were called babe (midwives). There was a popular belief that childbirth can be made easier and faster. That is why the women who helped during childbirth would put an axe or some other metal object on the floor and the pregnant woman would step over it several times, since the belief was that this can facilitate childbirth. Also, some water was poured into the husband's shoes, i.e. the future father's shoes, which should also make childbirth easier. These instances occurred in all three ethnic communities. In Muslim population, it was often customary, if a mosque is nearby, to open its doors when delivery begins, which was also supposed to make childbirth easier.

When the child is born, baba sveže pupak (the midwife cuts the umbilical cord and ties it). She would use a piece of thread, and in the Muslim population, the thread would come from a broken tespih (Muslim rosary). In addition to sveže pupak (tying the umbilical cord), baba (the midwife) would also come to the new mother's house to bathe the baby. Beside older women, during childbirth mother-in-law and sisters-in-law would also help. There were cases where mother-in-law would not allow some other woman to be baba (midwife) to her grandchildren. There were also occurrences when a woman would be her own baba (midwife) after birth, if she was not able to call an older woman from the village or if she did not have a mother-in-law. In order to avoid these occurrences, women made an arrangement. A pregnant woman would agree during pregnancy with some neighborhood women to call her to be her baba (midwife)

after giving birth. So, women would sometimes give birth alone and call baba (midwife) afterwards. If the pregnant woman had other children, she would often send them for baba (midwife). All children delivered by the same *baba* (midwife) in the village were called her *unuci* (grandchildren) regardless of the fact that they were not blood relatives. There were cases where women had so many such grandchildren in the village that they called them baba Mara, baba Mina, baba Jela etc. (grandma Mara, grandma Mina, grandma Jela etc.) all their lives. Aside from the custom that mothers-in-law helped their daughters-in-law during childbirth, there were cases where the situation was reverse. Namely, if the first mother-in-law died and the father-in-law remarried and had children with the second wife, i.e. the second mother-in-law, baba (midwife) during childbirth for that woman would be the oldest daughter-in-law. In these situations, when the oldest daughter-in-law was baba (midwife) during delivery for her new mother-in-law; i.e. when she was baba (midwife) to her brothers-in-law, a special emotional connection was formed between this daughter-in-law and her younger brothers-in-law in terms of great respect and mutual help. This can be clearly seen from the following statements of our female storytellers: Ma to su isto k'o i moja braća, opeta malo još i pretežnije neg' *moja braća* (They are like my brothers, and even more than my brothers).

Some women had a difficult childbirth, which made them ill or they even died during delivery, or several hours or days after. The folk belief was that they died because those women poremete utrobu (disturb the inner organs in the body). In these cases, often both the mother and the child would die. However, there was a significant number of cases where the mother died during childbirth or days after childbirth and the baby survived. Women who died during childbirth were shown special respect in all three ethnic groups: Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim. These

women were considered *dobrim ženama* (as good women). In Muslim population, it was considered that women who *presele na drugi svijet* (pass away) in this situation were especially *odabrane* (selected by God). Women died not only due to difficult childbirth, but also because sometimes they wanted to abort the pregnancy and not give birth. There were not many cases of this, and deliberate abortion was considered as a bad deed and a sin.

CARE FOR A WOMAN AFTER CHILDBIRTH

In members of all three ethnic groups, there was a norm which required that a woman stay in bed during the first forty days after childbirth. This norm was formulated as follows: Porođenoj ženi četr'est dana je otvorena raka or otvoren mezar (Woman who just gave birth is one foot in the grave for forty days). It was considered, therefore, that a woman in that period is especially sensitive and vulnerable. However, hard living conditions often led to deviations from that norm. The amount of work the new mother did at home and outside depended on the number of people in the household, i.e. whether there were enough adult family members who could perform different chores instead of her. Also, the norm regarding above-mentioned forty days was symbolically respected in a way that the woman would stay in bed forty days after giving birth or at least her bed linen was not moved for forty days, which served as a reminder that there is a newly delivered woman in the house, and in folk belief, this had a significant meaning. The mother-in-law would pay special attention to daughter-in-law just after childbirth, and if there were enough capable family members in the household, she would not let the daughter-in-law work. The new mother was given

better food. Immediately after childbirth, women would come to visit and bring maslenjake (traditional pie with dough and butter oil), cheese and sour cream. When possible, the women would also bring some eggs and a piece of meat. If the mother of the woman who gave birth was nearby, that is, if the new mother got married in the same or neighboring village, the mother would regularly send through her other children, usually the new mother's sister, one *maslenjak* (traditional pie with dough and butter oil) every day. Mothers would then also make special egg cakes called *cicvare* and send them to their daughters who just gave birth. A new mother would also receive maslenjak regularly from all the women who came na oblaz (to visit) and at that time the child was given gifts. The usual gifts (stavljanje na čelo) were one or two chicken eggs. While giving gifts, the child was especially blessed, most commonly with words: Dabogda bilo živo i zdravo, ni za kakvo zlo ne znalo, imalo svoju sreću etc. (May God give you life and health, May you never know of any evil, May you have your happiness etc.). In the late 50s of the 20th century, newborn children received gifts in money. Often it was customary to use money the baby girl got (stave na čelo) to buy earrings and keep them until the girl grows up and becomes cura na udaju (girl ready for marriage). These earrings women bought from one another and they were mostly called grmiluci because they were made from ducat called grmiluk (Turkish ducat coin, from the era of Sultan Mahmud II; the older ducats were more expensive than the newer ones).

During the entire *četresnica* (forty days after childbirth), the midwife would *činila uslugu ženi* (be at the new mother's disposal to help her). However, there were instances, if the midwife was preoccupied with her own chores, then she would spend only three days with the new mother and then she would continue taking care of the newborn child on her own.

CARING FOR A NEWBORN CHILD

The newborn child would immediately be bathed and then wrapped in its first diapers that women wove during pregnancy. If there were not any woven diapers made from *ćeteno* (flax), the child would be wrapped in diapers made from old clothing, mostly old women's shirts. After bathing and wrapping the child, it was time for the first breastfeeding. The newborn baby was usually, in all three ethnic communities, breastfed for the first time by another woman from the village who was already breastfeeding her own child. This custom had several reasons, for instance: a woman who just gave birth was not strong enough, so she did not breastfeed until she felt better, and, also, it was considered important that the child was first breastfed by another woman who could become its nurse in case of the biological mother's illness or death. The woman who breastfed a newborn baby, in all three ethnic communities, became its mother by milk. In later life, this was a significant fact regarding marriage. Namely, children who were breastfed by the same woman, could not get married in adulthood. This norm of restriction of marriage between brothers and sisters by milk was very important. In order to avoid an unwanted situation beforehand, whenever possible, children were breastfed, aside from mother, by a member of closer family. That way, brothers and sisters by milk were also blood related and could not get married in any case. Relation by milk was, therefore, considered stronger than blood relation, and there was a belief that this relation could never disappear. However, there were cases where marriages were formed between spouses who were breastfed by the same woman. That was mostly the case only when it was not the first breastfeeding. i.e., when a woman breastfed someone else's child when it was a bit older and not a newborn. In all ethnic groups, breastfeeding lasted mostly for about a year. There were cases when children were not given any other food but mother's milk, which was not a rule. If the mother had problems breastfeeding, i.e., if she did not have enough milk, pulpy meals with milk and flour were made for the child. In the case when a mother died at childbirth and the child survived, it was taken care of by the mother-in-law, or if the father remarried, the stepmother. If the father did not want to get remarried right away, and his mother or mother-in-law could not take care of the child, he would give the child to other women, usually from his family (mostly his sister-in-law) or from the neighborhood. He would often provide compensation for this.

The relation to and the mother's care for the child after četresnica (first forty days after childbirth) were always determined by her work commitments in the house or on the land. This presented a great difficulty for women who were trying to harmonize the need to be with their child and center of their attention toward it, on the one hand, and their work chores, on the other hand. In the cases when there was no one in house to take care of the child during the woman's work on the land, she would often take the child with her, where she would work and care for it. The woman would take her child with her only when working on her own land, but when she went to help others on their land, she would leave the child at home. Leaving children alone sometimes had tragic consequences and that is why women were free from agricultural chores in order to take care of the child. For some women, this represented resting from hard labor. This was in accordance with folk belief that breastfeeding immediately after a woman comes home tired can be very dangerous for the child's health and life. Namely, there was the belief that breastfeeding can be healthy only if the mother is not tired and under stress.

After bathing, wrapping the child and first breastfeeding, the child was *spuštalo u bešiku* (laid in the cradle). Newborns

were laid in the cradle by an older brother or sister, depending on the sex of the child, and firstborn children by their cousins. Bešika (cradle) was made by craftsmen in the village, and oat straws or hav from young grass, which was soft, were put inside the cradle. Oat straws were put in the cradle because it was believed that the child will not be ill because of it, and also it was softer than wheat straws. Straws or hav were covered with cloth or thoroughly washed old clothing. Before the child is settled in the cradle, it was wrapped in diapers which were hand-woven. Swathe for the child was made mostly from wool, and children were swathed because it was believed that it will enable regular bodily growth and development. Since straws or hay were put in bešika (cradle), different insects would often appear. That is why much attention had to be paid to the hygiene of the cradle. Apart from hay and straws, in all three ethnic groups, a little bit of dirt from a horseshoe was also put in *bešika* (cradle) because it was believed that the child will sleep better because of it. Beside this, in Orthodox population especially, one or two garlic cloves were put in the cradle, as well as wrapped up umbilical cord part that fell off.

In the season of major agricultural work, young mothers had to work, so the children were most commonly put to sleep by mothers-in-law (grandmothers), sisters-in-law or older female children, who stayed at home. During winter the situation was different, mothers spent much more time putting their children to sleep.

Before children would start walking, *sijeda* (a wooden child seat) and *dubak* (a wooden stand for a child to keep it in an upward position) were made for it to stay in after waking up. These pieces were also made by local craftsmen. The child would sit in *sijeda*, which was in a shape of a wooden lifted chair with three closed sides. There was a large wooden bar on the fourth sid, through which the child was put in the chair and it

prevented the child from falling out of it. After *sijeda*, the child would be put in *dubak*. When the child would grow out of *dubak*, than *hoda* (children's walker) was made to help the child start walking. *Hoda* was in the shape of a wooden round pillar which connected floor and ceiling in the room, and there would be a fence around it in the shape of a stand, so that the child could walk around that pillar.

In the first months of its life, the child would spend most of its time sleeping in bešika (cradle). When it grew stronger, it started using *sijeda* where it spends most of the time sitting. When the child is capable of standing up, the child is transferred to dubak, and when it is time for the child to walk, hoda was made in the house. These acts of supporting and encouraging child's development were correspondent with natural laws in processes of its upbringing. Of course, this also had other reasons related to organization of life and work. Dubak and hoda made the care for the child easier in periods when most of the time had to be dedicated to agricultural work. During the time when the child was starting to learn to walk, mothers used every free moment to encourage that learning. They would say soft words to the child, such as: Hajd', hajd', dušo moja, baci lipove noge, uzmi drenove noge (start standing firmly on the ground) and they would open their arms toward the child in order to entice its need to stand up on its feet and make several steps to reach the mother's hands. The syntagm baci lipove, uzmi drenove noge symbolically connected the strength in child's legs with the strength of a tree. That means that the child, while making its first steps would reject *lipove noge* (legs made of soft and gentle linden tree) and gradually assume drenove noge (legs made of well drain wood, which is firm and sturdy). This way accent was placed on gradual support of the child's development in early life. Namely, we can see here such a natural perspicuity and completeness of knowledge of the child by the mother - the

most significant and efficient folk pedagogue. We can only imagine how much subtlety, quiverings of the soul, and steadiness in pedagogical tact were present while she holds her hands out and feels her child's legs transform from *lipove* to *drenove* in the very act of walking slowly and with joy. It can be easily said that this pattern of upbringing may serve as an ideal when we talk about pragmatics, gradual approach, the sense of what is too early or too late in upbringing activities. On the other hand, it can be implied how much we are adrift from that ideal when we "support" the process of children's learning to walk with contemporary so-called walkers with wheels, where children learn to walk without ever falling and their mothers never notice the change from *lipa* to *dren* in their children's legs.

Naming Child

Special attention in the entire relationship with a newborn child was paid to name giving and christening. In Catholic population, the child was christened and assigned godparents after birth. Catholic children were christened in a church in Breške. The parents would not attend christening, only godmother and godfather were there carrying the child. On that day, the parents would stay at home, where a special dinner was made. In Orthodox population, the child was christened by a priest in a church, but sometimes he would also come to the house to christen the child. A neighborhood woman or a family member who breastfed the child for the first time (mother by milk) would usually carry it to the church for christening. The godfather did not carry the child to church, but during christening in church, he would hold it in his hands and name it. The time from birth to christening was not always precisely determined. Upon birth,

in Muslim population, the child would be taken to khoja or he would come to the house to recite *ezan* (Muslim call for prayer in Arabic) and certain sections from the Qur'an in the child's ear. Parents, in all three ethnic groups, usually named the child after their parents, brother, or father.

Growing up and Nurturing in the Period of Middle and Late Childhood

CHORES AND PLAYTIME

Middle childhood is a period in which children were involved in everyday jobs and chores in a household. The age limit that presented the period in which children started to become involved in specific chores depended from the type of the chores and the gender of the child. Hence, when household chores were to be done, such as milking of domestic animals and preparing food, female children were guided by their mothers from as early as their eight year. Besides milking the animals and taking care of food, girls were also taught to dance and do embroidery and weaving. It was considered that the period between seven and eight years was the best period to teach young girls how to weave and do embroidery. During this tutoring, mothers paid attention to the order in which these skills were taught. It was considered that a girl should first learn how to weave. Embroidery was taught only after a girl had learned to weave and crochet. There is a notable systematicity in the learning process and the age

of a child. Teaching these skills to girls was done mainly when there were no other chores to be done. The main reason for this is because the most important obligation for these children was to take care of the livestock. Children started taking care of livestock around the ages of nine and ten. It can be said that their entire lives and all their individual and social activities revolved around taking care of livestock. Since every house had several children, two were usually sent to take care of the livestock, one younger (nine to ten years) and an older one (twelve to thirteen vears). Besides taking care of the livestock, the older kids had to take care of their younger siblings. The intergenerational effect was present here. Namely, children took care of the livestock because the youth and the adults did not have time to take care of it because they had to do other more difficult agricultural jobs. Younger children had no introduction to this job but were tutored by their older siblings. In this way a certain distribution of jobs happened between the children themselves. A single child almost never went alone to take care of the livestock. Every child had their herd: Muslim children had goats and sheep, and Catholic and Orthodox children had goats, sheep and pigs. However this was a group activity and children from all three ethnic groups went together. On this secondary level of socialization (the first level being the family), group norms and interpersonal relations were formed. These were not determined by ethnicity or religion, but by mutual territory and a common task to feed and take care of the livestock. When children became "čobani" (a person whose profession is taking care of hoards of specific domestic animals) they then took a big part of the chores and responsibilities on themselves. During the grazing time, the children were in charge of feeding and bringing the livestock back home. During these tasks, they encountered numerous difficulties in their social and natural environment which they had to overcome. To prevent possible accidents and casualties, elders

who were unable to work on the fields followed the children every morning to oversee them and make sure nothing happens to them. These elders only looked after the children and did not interrupt them in their activities.

Turning fourteen and fifteen meant for the children that, besides taking care of the livestock, they were now to become involved in field chores. Male children in this period had already become involved in plowing. If the first child of a family was a girl, she also helped during plowing. This went on until male children became old enough. First encounters with plowing frequently meant injuries. Besides helping during plowing, boys at the age of fifteen often went with their older brothers to Majevica to get timber. This is when they started to learn how to cut trees and which trees should or should not be cut. They also learned the ethno-ecological facts about their natural environment. Besides working with their families, children also went to other locations to work for other families in exchange for money. ²

As noted, the main childhood activities were looking after the livestock and gradual involvement in family chores. It is because of this that playtime was not a separate activity. Playtime was more of a part of the main chores the children had. This, of course, does not apply to children who were too young and too weak to be involved in everyday chores. These children usually spent time playing near their houses. Older children made up their games, and they were a part of the everyday chores. These games were characteristically for one gender, or they were mutual games in which both girls and boys were involved. Playgrounds for these games were in the fields and meadows where the livestock grazed. Children made their own toys, mainly from

For additional references read: Tufekčić A. (2009) Radni odgoj u tradicijskoj kulturi [Work Education of Children in Traditional Culture]. In: Baština sjeveroistočne Bosne, No. 2, pp. 77-85.

natural materials such as wood, cow hair, dirt and fruits. During the fifties, metal coins also become a part of the games. The most common games were: *treska* (a game for both boys and girls), *zvrk* (a boys only game), *titaraka* (a girls only game), *kamenčići* (pebbles – a girls only game), *topovi* (cannons – boys and girls), *kuće* (houses – boys only), *baće* (boys only), *piriz* (boys only), *topići* (mutual), *žmirka* (hide and seek - mutual) etc. ³

The above games had their rules and organization. Besides these, there were games that required no rules nor had a determined number of players. The most common of these were: *bebe* (swinging on a wooden board).

In the period when children became adolescents, new games emerged. These were specific for boys and would happen at night time when parents were asleep. These games usually involved stealing fruits, riding horses, and playing with sleighs.

As presented, playing was an everyday activity that happened throughout the day while children did their chores, and it represented a basic part of secondary socialization, during which peers had a major influence on the development and the establishment of social relations and contacts.

RELIGIOUS UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN

Religious upbringing began from early childhood and by its methods and was by its purpose complementary with maternal upbringing. It can be said that both religious and maternal upbringing at the early stages of childhood had the same goal. Learning

A detailed description of the games can be found in: Tufekčić, A. (2009) Etnopedagoški prikaz tradicijskih dječijih igara s Majevice [Ethnopedagogical Review of Traditional Children's Games from Majevica]. In: *Školski vjesnik*, Vol. 59, No. 2, pp. 223 – 239.

and religious upbringing had the same basics of what is known today as authentic upbringing. The mother, as the most important factor in the upbringing of a child in the early childhood and the entire system of upbringing, for all three religious groups, was the main source and the main interpreter of the religious content as well of the implied religious ideas. There were cases where mothers themselves did not know specific religious contents, but were still the main factor in the upbringing of their child. Namely, mothers who did not have a large religious knowledge still tutored their children with what they knew and pointed out the importance of religion to them. Here we see a specific "supremacy" of the goal of the upbringing over the content of the upbringing which is certainly an important characteristic of the upbringing. This can be formulated with the next thesis: "The way in which the upbringing affects people is much more important than the content of the upbringing itself". We can understand this as a thesis that if upbringing is seen as a process then everything involved in the process during the process itself will have an effect on the final outcome of the process. For people from the Bosnian area, this thesis is seen in proverbs such as: "učin-doček" (what you do is what you what you will get) or "kako si posijo tako ćeš i žeti" (what you plant is what will grow) etc.

In case a mother dies at birth or some time later, her role was taken over by grandmas and stepmothers. Mothers had the best methods for teaching religion to children. This proved the postulate that every transfer of knowledge begins with emotion. This was one of the key characteristics of authentic upbringing. After this period when children would turn five or six years others would join the religious tutoring of the children, usually hocas, rectors, and priests. At this period the role of the father starts to stand out as he gradually takes over the religious upbringing from the mother. This means that the father encouraged children to join the maktab or the church. At home the father also organized

collective prayers. In cases where the father died while the child is still young this role would be transferred to a grandfather or to a stepfather. Maktab education was the core of the religious upbringing of both male and female Muslim children. It was also the first step to becoming literate as children learned Arabic alphabet in maktabs. In the first decades of the twentieth century the number of children in maktabs was greater than those in schools. This started changing in the fifties and the sixties when the number of children joining primary schools started growing.

Catholic children had religious education every Sunday in churches. This period of their lives was also marked by the first communion which was one of the most important events in the life of every child. It usually happened when a child is around eight years old, and was preceded by a one year preparation period. Boys and girls attended the religious education together and were also prepared together for the first communion. Parents were not involved in the preparation of the child for the communion but were to give contributions to the church (money or groceries) for the preparation of the common lunch on the day of the communion. After the preparation the child would do a confession, after which a checkup of the knowledge of the prayers which were obligatory to know was done. The first communion was always done on Sundays in churches. During the communion girls would be located on one side and the boys on the other side of the church. After the ceremony the Sunday mass would be served and the child would receive hostija4 (the wafer) for the first time. After the communion the child gets a candle and a holy painting. After that there is a common lunch. New traditional wardrobe was made for the communion, and this was the parents' obligation. Sometimes clothes and shoes from older siblings were used. Girls had white scarves or wreath of flowers on their heads. Boys would wear white hats or noth-

⁴ Hostija – in Catholic Church a thin round biscuit made of wheat.

ing at all on their heads. One minister was always in charge of the preparations and another one for the act of communion itself. These events were a joyful period in their lives which they will remember for a long time to come. The period of late childhood was marked by the sacrament of confirmation. They were again well dressed and received presents.

In church or in *mehtef* (maktab) children acquired specific knowledge about their religion which in return changed the role of the parents in their religious upbringing. Parents were now in charge of applying the knowledge of kids at home. It was a testimony of a mothers success in upbringing when their child went to *parok*, *pop* or *hodža* (khoja or priest). This is why mothers showed great interest in their child's religious upbringing. The older kids represented a role model for their younger siblings. Children which learned and knew a lot about religion got a lot of recognition from the society and all three religious groups. This attention and recognition is why younger children were motivated to learn from their older siblings. A special part of the religious upbringing was giving gifts to the children as well as designating special responsibilities for them during religious holidays which made the children happy.⁵

GUIDELINE AND PROHIBITIONS

Childhood is a period in which children acquire many social skills from which their position and their role inside their family and the community is derived. Prohibitions were in all three religions relative to the following areas:

⁵ More on the traditional religious upbringing in: Tufekčić, A. (2013). Religijski odgoj djece u tradicijskoj kulturi [Religious Education of Children in a Traditional Culture]. In: *Školski vjesnik*, Vol. 62, No. 1, pp. 27 – 41.

- relationship with parents
- relationship with other elders
- relationship with peers
- relationship towards values, work and property.

It was considered that children would have the correct behavior towards other people only when they have learned to respect their own parents. The dynamics of their relationship with their parents determined the quality of their relationship with other elders. Parents aspired to develop in their children a sense of respect towards the elders. A child which turned their head away from an elder was considered as poorly raised. A shameful thing for a parent was if their child does not greet an elder. The children were taught to respect the oldest ones the most. It was a very bad thing if a child should insult an elder. These events often resulted in punishments for the children. Their behavior towards visitors was another way of expressing their respect. Respect for the elders was also displayed through how a child was dressed when in their presence. The most common guidelines concerning children's behavior towards their peers was mainly focused on prevention of conflicts and prohibition of socializing with problematic peers. Other common guidelines were directions and prohibitions about cursing, stealing and respecting other people's property. Cursing was one of the worst things a child could do and was often sanctioned by beating. Parents also paid a lot of attention to make sure their children would not steal - especially fruits and vegetables. The punishments for stealing were general and social sanctions not only for the child but for the parents too. Every theft was publicly condemned which caused both the child and the parents to be embarrassed and ashamed. All of this points out that a child's behavior was considered a reflection of their upbringing and his or hers parents. In the traditional society the antisocial manners of conduct were mainly related to either socialization or the child's parents themselves. It was considered that the most important factors that lead to good or bad behavior have their roots in the upbringing of the child. It is notable that in modern society there are numerous factors that affect the informal upbringing of a child such as the media, school, the outside world, different peers. These factors indeed have a massive effect in a child's upbringing. However, today, many justifications and reasons for a child's behavior are sought after through these modern factors which in turn reduce the importance of family.

PATTERNS OF UPBRINGING AND ACTIONS RELATED TO CLOTHING AND SHOES

In the early childhood and large part of middle childhood, the primary item of clothing was košulja (a shirt). The shirt was white, made from *lan* (flax), and looked the same for both boys and girls. By the time they were ten years old they started wearing *qaće* (handmade pants). These were also made from flax by weaving and tailoring. Some children could get their pants later which depended from the financial stature of the family. The moment when a child got its pants was actually the moment when it became capable of doing labor. Košulja was often inherited from an older sibling while the first gaće or pelengaće (pants) were always specially woven and sewn. This is why the act of acquiring their first pants was a major event for the children. This is because they became equal to their older siblings which were usually their role models. This was a very emotional moment which stayed carved in their memory for a long time. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the shirt and the pants did not differ much in all three ethnic groups.

After the period of middle childhood specific differences in clothing start to emerge depending on the gender and the religious group. At that time, besides the shirt and the pants, an integral part of a boys clothing was also $p\hat{a}s$ (belt) which went around the waist. It was made of wool and was very colourful. Mothers made sure that their kids wore their belts for many reasons. Namely, the belt meant that the child was now an adolescent and is to be separated from the smaller children. It was considered that the children should start getting used to the belt from this early age since it will later be a part of their clothing when they become adults. Besides this, catholic boys later started *šeširić* (hat). Muslim children also wore a belt over their shirt and *ćulah* (a type of a wool cap) on their heads in colder periods.

In the late childhood in the middle of the twentieth century differences in clothing for female kids emerge. In the period of the late childhood, Muslim girls would change shirts and pants for *dimice* and *košuljci* (tschalvar and different kinds of shirts). Female catholic and orthodox children still wore shirts and pants with the addition of *tkanica* (a type of female belt) made from wool with many colors. They were colorfully fringed at the ends.

A mandatory part of female clothing for all three ethnic groups in the period of the late childhood was a scarf on the head. Besides this, clothing for special occasions and holidays was made. These were specially cleaned and taken care of, although it looked the same as the regular clothing. Shoes were much scarcer throughout the childhood than clothes. There were often no shoes and children would walk around barefoot which lead to many injuries. Another very emotional moment in the childhoods of the children was when their parents bought them rubber shoes. It was as emotional as getting their first pants.

It is noticeable that children's growth and development was followed by different clothing patterns. Clothing represented the age of the children, but also their position in the division of labor in the family, but also broader community. This means that clothes represented not only a sign of a certain stage in physical growth and development, but also a sign of stages in social development while growing up, and gradually, a sign of religious belonging. New sets of clothing meant that the children entered new stages of their lives and had new obligations, as well as new positions in a wider group of children, which consisted of multiple generations in the entire community.

STATUS OF ORPHANS AND ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

In the first half of the twentieth century, every generation had children which had lost one or both parents. Children usually lost their fathers because of their participation in hard labor (in the forest, and the mine Jasenica which dated back to Austro-Hungarian empire), or in wars (the First and the Second World War). Most common cause of death for mothers was at birth or immediately after the birth. The way the community treated an orphan depended on whether the child had lost their mother or their father. When a child lost its mother, the father was the most responsible one for the child's upbringing. The role of the child's mother was taken by grandmothers, or aunts who mostly made sure that the child ate right. If a child lost its mother in early childhood, the father often got married again so the stepmother took on the responsibilities of the mother. Men (fathers) told their new wives that they have small children who need special care, and this was usually well received by the new wives. Children that lost their fathers got into many depressing situations and often encountered problems when it came to various aspects of family socialization as well as gaining their own position in the social environment. Namely, the death of a father meant that the child will probably lose its mother too in a certain way, since the mother would then usually get married again. Then the child would be taken care of by a grandfather, an aunt, or an uncle from the father's side. If a mother got married, the aunt and the uncle would become the guardians and the grandfather would be in charge of the material things the child needs. However, some children went with their mothers to live with the stepfather, as a request from the mother. Most men accepted the kids but in the first decades of the 20th century approximately six months needed to pass before the new father invited his wife's children to live with them. Later, in mid-20th century, this period was much shorter and children could live with their stepfather after a month. If the stepfather promised to take in the children, he would, after the determined period of time, go and bring them home himself. This however did not break the bonds with the family of the deceased father. Grandmothers, aunts and uncles regularly visited their former daughter-in-law and her children. This helped develop specific interpersonal relationships between stepbrothers and stepsisters. This also led to the division of chores among children, which created more time and space for playing games. This cannot be said about children whose mother and stepfather did not have any more children, because they had take on all the chore and had less time for playing.

Illegitimate children, who were very rare, would stay with their grandmothers after birth, who took most care of them. Grandmothers were the protectors of the illegitimate children and were usually the ones to raise those children. This was because the mother usually got married later and because the grandmothers, as older women, had a more subtle and protective attitude towards the illegitimate child, than the social environment. A special ethno-pedagogical and social-psychological role was played by older women in the community, who took

care of illegitimate children in terms of their entire development. These children formed special psychological bonds with their grandmothers. They were usually labeled and stigmatized amongst their peers but were protected by their grandmothers, cousins, or relatives, all of which were important factors in the development of their personalities.

HEALTHCARE AND PERSONAL HYGIENE

During the first half of the twentieth century curses and hexes were considered as the most dangerous thing for a newborn and an older child. A belief that a child can die from a curse was omnipresent not only while the child is a baby, but throughout its childhood too. The parents themselves could in a way curse the child in special circumstances, such as making the child too happy or too joyful or if they went to play with it immediately after they got back from the fields after doing some difficult chore. This is why special attention was paid to treating the children from curses, and the best ones for this were women which had special knowledge that was transferred throughout generations. A very small number of women had the ability to treat the children. The most common procedures while treating the child were: *odučavanje* (chanting religious prayers), *saljevanje strave* (curing the child from fear), proturanje kroz lozu, skidanje kroz tespih and paljenje alame.6

Skin diseases were also cured: crveni vjetar (a kind of dermatitis), sugreb (skin rash), other physical injuries and high

⁶ A detailed description of the procedures can be found in: Tufekčić, A. (2010) Etnopedagoške odrednice očuvanja dječijeg zdravlja u tradicionalnoj kulturi [Ethno-pedagogic Guidelines of Child Health Preservation in Traditional Culture]. In: *Baština sjeveroistočne Bosne*, No. 1, pp. 102 – 111.

fever were treated by using balms. Wounds that children often got while shepherding and playing were mostly treated with different skin balms. In contrast to curing curses, which was the specialty of older women, older men were usually the ones that made balms. These balms were made from animal fat, certain grains and medicinal herbs. Not many people knew how to make this ointments and for this reason they were respected and children would come to them in the community from all three ethnic groups. Children with high temperature would usually be treated with animal fat and vinegar. Apples were also believed to have healing characteristics and were given to sick children. Another cure that was given to children was fried flour, apart from fruit and other natural food.

By the middle of the twentieth century, personal hygiene was mainly consisted of washing the face, hands and feet. Children were encouraged to use fresh water to wash their face in the morning, i.e., to go to the first spring or drinking fountain and wash their face with fresh water. This was especially connected with the obligation of female children to go early in the morning and to bring fresh water to the house in *fučije* (special wooden water containers) so that the rest of the family could wash their faces with fresh water. Muslim children were obligated to bring fresh water before sunrise so the head of the house, domaćin (father or grandfather) could *uzeti avdest* (ritual washing of face and hands before Muslim prayers) in order to) da klanja sabah (perform the first morning Muslim prayer in the dawn before sunrise). Coffee was also made with fresh water. The rest of the body, especially hair, was washed with *lukšija*. This was made from a combination of ashes and hot water, where *lug* (ashes) would be wrapped in a rag and boiling water was poured on it; then the solution was strained and used for washing hair. During the middle of the 20th century soap became available in the stores, so children could bathe with water and soap. Children

cleaned themselves especially for holidays when they also got new or freshly cleaned clothes. Male children were given haircuts by the older residents of the village. As the children entered adolescence and youth their personal hygiene and clothing became more and more important.

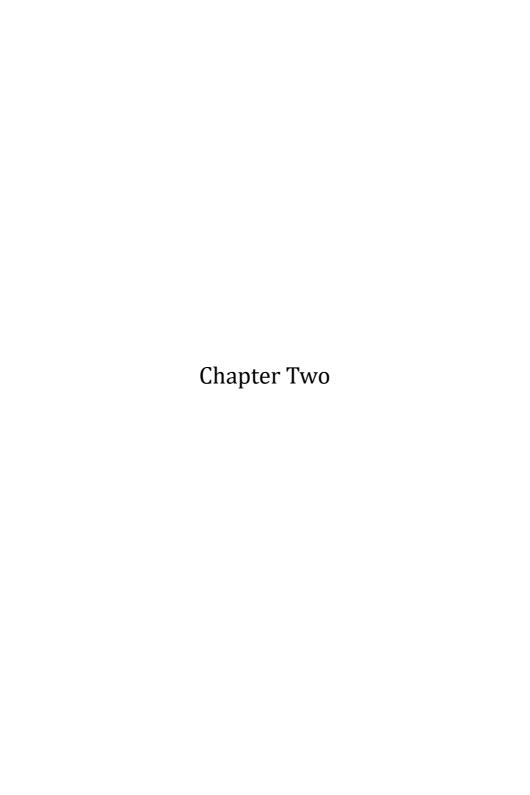
Conclusion

This research was an attempt to gather, study and popularize a geographically concrete traditional pedagogical culture in the area of several villages on the west side of the mountain Majevica in the northeast part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most important processes of upbringing and growing up throughout the stages of a child's life, from newborn child, early, middle and late childhood in traditional culture are as follows:

The period that refers to the birth and the first years of life is characterized with special social expectations and predictions related to the pregnancy and the birth itself, as well as the perseverance of life and health of the newborn and the encouragement of spiritual and physical development. The most important ethno-pedagogical moments from this period are the expectation of the pregnancy, the obligations during the pregnancy, the birth and accidents during the birth, taking care of the woman, taking care of the baby, and encouraging the spiritual and physical development of the newborn.

Childhood is a period in which children adopted numerous social norms from which their status inside the family and the community is derived. These norms referred to the following areas: relationship with parents, relationship with other elders, relationship with peers, relation towards values, work and property. The most important ethno pedagogical aspects in

this period were: work and chores, playtime, religious upbringing, directions and prohibitions, rules about clothing and shoes, relationship towards orphans and illegitimate children, healthcare and personal hygiene.



The Ethnopedagogical Dimensions of the Traditional Rural Bosnian Family

Introduction

A contemporary Bosnian family has gone through numerous changes typical for the so-called transitional and post-conflict society (see: Alić 2012, pp. 281-316; Alić 2018). During these significant transformations, the Bosnian family has largely lost its traditional characteristics. Therefore, some basic ethnopedagogical and culturological determinants of the organization of marital and family life in a traditional rural Bosnian family which existed until the end of 1970's will be presented in the following pages.

This review represents a part of the results of ethnopedagogic research conducted in the Tuzla region in north-east Bosnia.⁷ The research encompassed villages where members of the three largest ethnic and religious groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina live, i.e. Bosniaks (Muslims), Serbs (Orthodox) and Croats (Catholics). In the field research, the scientific interest was directed towards

⁷ For more information on this see Tufekčić, A. (2012). *Osnove etnopedagogije* [The Basics of Ethnopedagogy], Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga & CNS.

the most important aspects of the organization of family and marital life in a rural society and within the framework of traditional Bosnian culture. The aim of such approach was to gain insight into the most significant ethnopedagogical and cultural processes and dynamisms of family culture modified in the second part of the 20th century and partly lost. The basic reason why the research was aimed towards a smaller, spatially and culturally homogenous group (a group of villages) was the effort to record a large number of source data related to the research problem. Since the environment in which the study was conducted consists of several villages with the population of different ethnic and religious affiliation, the organization of marital and family life was also analyzed in the context of the acculturation process. With this regard, in addition to consideration of the most important elements of family organization within different ethnic and religious groups, interaction among the different religious and cultural teachings, customs, habits and norms that exist in a common framework of traditional Bosnian culture (Bosnian syncretism) was also studied. This approach fundamentally determined the methodological framework of the study.8 In terms of methodology, the dominant approach to the problem of this research is the qualitative approach.

Organization of Marital and Family Life in Extended Families

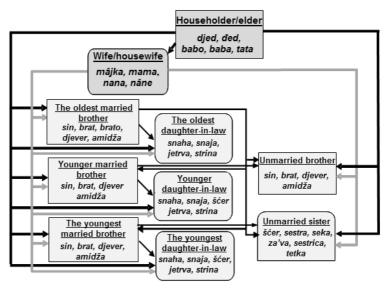
A young couple, after marriage,⁹ mainly lived in the house of husband's parents together with other married or unmarried brothers and sisters, and sometimes other relatives. Those were extended,

⁸ For more information on methodological framework, see *Methodology* in the previous chapter.

⁹ For understanding of some specific marriage customs in Bosnia (e.g. the elopment of girl) it is very inspiring and useful to consider the following book: Doubt, K. (2014). *Through the Window - Kinship and Elopement in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Central European University Press, Budapest-New York.

i.e. numerous and multigenerational families, and that extension (complexity) of the family was the major determinant of inter-family dynamics, interpersonal interaction and inter-generational relations, and it certainly had a special role in the process of socialization and enculturation, not only for children but also for adults. This means that, in a certain way, a young couple became a subsystem of a larger family system, until *dijeljene od oca* 10 (the separation from the father; they would separate themselves from their father) would occur, i.e., they would form their own households.

In the family hierarchy (see Scheme 1.) *starješina* (the elder) or *domaćin* (the householder) obtained the highest position, who had always been a grandfather or father, depending on whether the common family was three-generational or two-generational.



Scheme 1. The hierarchy of interpersonal relations in an extended (complex) family (Source: the author's own scheme, see in: Tufekčić, Doubt 2017, p. 2014).

¹⁰ The original Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian folk phrases are italicized and they are translated, explained, or partly explained in English (in brackets).

Other family members addressed him as babo (dad, Muslim population) or tata (dad, Orthodox and Catholic population), and sometimes djed (grandfather) or ded (granddad). Starješina (the elder) took care about the whole life of his family, and as the housefather was a kind of its representative in relations with the various factors of the social environment (neighbourhood, religious organizations, and state institutions). A special function of starješina (the elder) was to direct others to work, to distribute and schedule their chores and obligations, which were of existential importance for every family. He also took care of zirat (land holdings), money, important documents, purchase and sale of land and mal (livestock), as well as the procurement of everything *što se nije moglo proizvest, što se moralo kupit u dućanu* (that could not be produced, and which had to be bought in a store). At home, starješina (the elder) sat u pročelju (at the most prominent place in a room), and during meal time, he broke and shared the bread and led the prayer.

If *starješina* (the elder) was absent, his family was led by his wife – *domaćica* (a housewife). She was addressed as *mâjka* (mother) (Othodox and Catholic population) and *mama* (mom), *nâne* (nana), *nana* (nana) (Muslim population).

So, domaćica (a housewife) was in charge of everyday functioning of a family (scheduling house chores and giving obligations snahama/snajama (to daughters-in-law), taking care of food and its preservation. Usually, a key which was used to open a box or rooms where the food was kept, stayed with her. This meant that she was the only one who decided what and how much money would be spent for preparing everyday meals, as well as the meals that were prepared for poslanike na njivama (field workers), or for holidays. The next place in hierarchy held the oldest married son – djever (a husband's brother, brotherin-law), who was addressed as brato (brother) by adults, djevere (brother-in-law), or by his name, and children belonging to all

three ethnic groups addressed him as *amidža* (uncle, a father's brother). In a case there was no father in the family, the oldest married brother would, together with his mother, assume the role of *starješina* (the elder) and *domaćina* (the householder). His wife – *najstarija snaha/snaja* (the eldest daughter-in-law), would after the death of her *svekrve* (mother-in-law) assume the role of *domaćice* (a housewife). *Snahe/snaje* (daughters-in-law) would address each other by their names, and they were *jetrve* (sisters-in-law). Adult family members would address them as *snaho/snajo/ćeri* (daughter-in-law/sister-in-law), and children would address them as *strina* (aunt-a wife of father's brother).

A young snaha/snaja (a newly married daughter-in-law/ sister-in-law) had the lowest position in the family. Other adult family members were neoženjena braća/djeverovi (unmarried brothers, unmarried brothers-in-law), and for children they were amidže (uncles) and neudate sestre/za've (unmarried sisters, unmarried sisters-in-law), and for children tetke (aunts) and other adult unmarried cousins. Young snahe/snaje (daughters-in-law/ sisters-in-law) would most often address their unmarried sisters-in-law as za've, by their names, and sometimes seko (sis), sejo (sys), sestrice (little syster), and Muslims also keko (sis). A marital life of a young couple was determined by a system of values that was in force within the extended family as the intergenerational system. It was mostly related to the fact that they could not sit next to each other during meals because it was frowned upon and not being able to have a proper conversation due to this. During meals, daughters-in-laws, especially the youngest ones, never sat za siniju (at small round tables with short table legs) next to their husbands. Moreover, they could sit next to other man in the family (brothers-in-law) during other occasions, but never next to their husbands. Young husbands and their wives obeyed the rules and never showed disrespect. The young couple would communicate during certain mutual chores (going to the mill - žunje or vodenica, or in the fields). The most intimate part of the communication was reserved for the intimacy in their bedroom, if they had one in the house. All young members of the extended family among the members of all three ethnic groups, a sense of great respect towards parents was developed and nourished.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF DUTIES AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY

Chores that were existentially necessary for each <code>zadruga</code> (shared household/joint family) were usual agricultural chores whose main purpose was to obtain food, everyday household chores, maintenance of the house and the area around it, and various crafts. These jobs and chores could be distributed based on the sex and whether they are common for solely one or for both sexes. The distribution was also based on which chores were for which member of the household, according to their place in the hierarchy of the family. That is the way we can speak about jobs and chores for only men, only women, or for both. Furthermore, we can speak about the jobs and chores assigned to <code>snahe/sna-je</code> (daughters-in-law), especially the youngest ones and jobs and chores assigned to only one married couple within a joint family.

The age limit which represented the period when the children were introduced to different jobs depended on the type of the jobs and chores and also on the sex of the child. It was thought that the age of seven to eight was appropriate age for teaching female children to knit, embroider and weave. While acquiring these skills, the order of acquiring them was taken into account. Namely, it was thought that girls should first learn how to knit, and when they master this skill, and then the mother should learn to them how to crochet and embroider, and then

how to weave. What is noticeable here is that systematization and gradualness followed the complexity of the skills and the age of a child. They were taught these skills mostly during the winter period, when there was no work and chores to be done outside the house. The reason for this was that, in addition to household chores, the most important and the most dominant obligation of the children of both sexes was herding marva (livestock). Children would mostly start doing this around the age of nine and ten. It can be said that, during this period, the entire life of children and all their individual and social activities were determined by this obligation. Since each family had many children, one group (8-10 years old) and another group (12-13 vears old) would go and herd marva (livestock). Besides taking care of the livestock, older children had to take care of the younger children as well. Intergenerational impact was present here. Since teenagers, adolescents and adults did not have time for herding *marva* (livestock), it was left to younger children. There was no special process of engaging children into this chore because it was left to older children. This way, there was a division of responsibilities and obligations between the older and younger children and mutual educational impact.

All adult household members were in charge of agricultural chores in the field i.e., *obradu zirata* (cultivation of land holdings) and it was mostly related to growing grains (corn, wheat, barley, and oats), fruit and vegetable growing, cultivation of plants for the production of garments (odd/hemp/flax) livestock breeding. In addition to growing grains and vegetables, every household had a large number of fruit trees (plums, pears, apples, cherry plums, walnuts, cherries). One part of the fruit, usually apples or pears were *trapljene* for winter (they were kept in special containers made of soil), the other part was "beaten" in *torkulja* (a special device for chopping and squeezing fruit) and was used for making *pekmez* (jam).

Out of the plants used for making clothing items, konoplja (hemp) was grown the most. It was planted by the majority of families because it was used for making many clothing items. In addition to hemp, another responsibility of women in the household was the processing of other materials used to make clothing items and items used for decorating the house. It mostly included twisting, spinning and dyeing wool, knitting, embroidery, crocheting and weaving rugs and carpets. These were performed by women mostly in the winter and also in the summer during rainy days when they could not go and work in the field. Every household raised livestock (sheep, goats, cows, oxen and horses, Catholic and Orthodox population raised krmke (hogs) as well, poultry (chickens and turkeys). Horses used for riding were of a special value and that is why many people raised a large number of horses. All agricultural jobs/chores have always been closely connected ethnoecological attitude towards the environment. The most important determinants of this attitude related to the protection from adverse weather conditions and determining when certain agricultural chores can be carried out. The hail was a major threat to agriculture. It was believed that led nije određen da obije sela (hail is not destined to occur in villages) but only on the mountains and that people cause the hail in their villages because of their bad deeds. If the hailstorm would occur, it was thought that it would soon stop if a child, who is sjerota (orphan, without parents), put a piece of hail in his/her mouth. Carrying out agricultural chores was related to many guidelines of the people's calendar whose content was connected to brojanje hefti po pravoslavnom Božiću i Jurijevu/ Đurđevu (counting weeks according to Orthodox Christmas and Saint Yuri's Day/George's Day), and the most important turning points of this calendar were *Blagovijest* (March 25), *Jurijev/* Đurđev/Đurđevdan – početak ljeta (May 6, Saint Yury's Day/ Saint George's Day, the beginning of summer according to traditional beliefs), *Alđun/Ilinden – sredina ljeta* (August 2, Saint Elijah's Day, the middle of summer according to traditional beliefs) and *Kasum/Mitrovdan – kraj ljeta i početak zime* (November 8, St. Demetrius' Day, the end of summer and the beginning of winter according to traditional beliefs).

ORGANIZATION OF FAMILY LIFE AFTER 'SEPARATION'

Dijeljenje (separation) of married brothers would occur after their father's death or during the period of time when he was still alive if the number of married and unmarried sons was too high for one house. In this case, dijeljenje (separation) would start with the oldest son who would iziš'o od oca i odijelio se (move away from his father's house) and later, po starini (according to their age), other sons would do the same. Beforehand, a house would be built for each of them. The most common materials for building the house were oak and beech trees, stone and soil. Due to that, domaćini (householders) especially cared for certain types of trees in the forests because they were used to build houses. They provided themselves with timber from their own forests. The start of building house foundations, among the members of all three ethnic groups, was followed by slaughtering a sheep in order to pustiti krv (put its blood) on the foundation. Among Muslims, putting a roof on a house was followed by *darivanje sljemena* (a ceremony of relatives and neighbours bringing gifts for a house under construction when the roof construction is done). Na šljeme (a ceremony, whose literaral translation is "on the housetop"; šljeme is a gift for the completion of the roof of the new house), people would usually bring new woven towels, shirts, and from the middle of the 20th century, bought shirts and money. All the presents would be put on a bar

which was on the roof of the house. For the occasion, a man with *dobro grlo* (a man whose voice is loud) who could *vikat na šljeme* (shout) quite well would be chosen for the occasion. His assignment was to shout in the name of all people who brought the presents to thank them on behalf of the owner of the new house and to bless them. He would shout *mašala*, *mašala*¹¹ several times as the introduction, and after that he would shout the name of a person who brought the presents and wished him/her all the best his/her life. All the presents would go to the craftsmen who built the house, not to the owner of the house.

The most significant elements of house decoration were related to the ways of heating the house, places for preparing food, sleeping and necessary household items. At the beginning of the century, people built *furune* (furnaces) in the form of *babura* (special type of furnace) which were not used for preparing food but for heating the house in the winter. Necessary household items were the ones used for storing, preparing and serving food, tools used for everyday household chores and women's handicrafts. The outhouses of the members of all three ethnic groups consisted of auxiliary facilities: *magaza* (a shed), *hudžera/udžera* (a very small house), arovi and štale (barns), koš and hambar/ambar (a small building commonly used for storing and drying maize). In avlija (a yard) near the house, mostly near the house entrance where the entrance of *hudžera* was, the members of all three ethnic groups grew flowers: miloduh (hyssopus), ćabuša (a type of fern bush), koloper (crisantem), and vratić (tansy). These flowers were usually planted *na primaljeće* (in the erly spring).

¹¹ Mašala (mashallah) is an Arab word that has entered into South Slavic languages in the period of the Ottoman rule and used for showing appreciation as well as joy when welcoming guests and visitors. Some believe that it should also be used when a person sees something nice and beautiful (See: Škaljić, A. (1989). Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku [Turkisms (Turkish Loanwords) in the Serbo-Croatian Language], Srajevo: Svjetlost, p. 448). It is commonly used upon hearing good news and upon witnessing good deeds, too. It is very often (daily) used by population of Bosnia.

The area where these flowers were planted *ograđivao se kamenjem* (was surrounded by stones). Women painted the stones every spring. After their own house was built, the married couple, together with their children, would continue to live as an autonomous family but if the father/grandfather was still alive they would maintain ties with so-called complex family, especially when it was related to the organization of work and chores, and carrying out family duties related to religion and wider social environment.

CLOTHES AND FOOTWEAR

Traditional garments are a very significant element of our traditional culture. Many important culturological moments are tied exactly to these traditional garments. Considering that the parts of these garments were mostly homemade, the studying and art of designing these clothes, whether for everyday or formal events, was an important area of folk-pedagogy. Besides, clothes and the style were a symbol of belonging to specific age, sex and other social groups (religious or ethnic), so the traditional clothes represented an important element of socialization on all of its instances. All three ethnic groups have the same name for most traditional clothes. The appearance of this wear, which is called *bjelina* (whiteness-because it was made out of white) gaća (pants) and košulja (shirts), was quite identical among all three ethnic groups at the beginning of the 20th century. Later, there was a difference in the appearance of traditional clothing in the three groups and, in the second half of the 20th century, this traditional clothing was lost as an everyday garment, being replaced by modern clothes without traditional décor. The clothes were washed na česmama (using outside taps) or in the river. Traditional clothing, especially the specific parts of it, was a significant part of the esthetical component of the folk upbringing. Namely, the handicraft process itself and *uređivanje* (dress-up process) and *nadešavanje* (primping), developed special esthetical experiences and evoked feelings of beauty and *udešavanja* (pampering). The creation of national clothes was always directed towards specific life situations: preparing the diapers for the newborn baby, making the first shirt for children, making shirts and underpants for those who were about to start their teenager life, the shirts for men and women who were preparing for their wedding, creating pieces of clothing as a part of female *ruha/ruva* (attire), making clohes and shirts for *ogrtanje svatova* (white shirts would be put on the wedding guests), clothes and shoes for adults and the elderly and preparing new clothes for the deceased.



Figure 1. White shirts would be put on the wedding guests

(Source: The photograph was collected by the author during his field research)

All the important moments in the process of growing up were connected with some elements of traditional garments. Because of that, it came to the internalization of values of each detail of these traditional garments in all parts of life. Among all three ethnic groups, *opanci* (traditional shoes worn in rural areas) were the most common footwear. *Opanci* were mostly handmade from cow skin and almost all adult men knew how to make them. During the third decade of the 20th century, the first shoes started to appear.

DETERIORATION OF MARITAL RELATIONS AND DIVORCE

Disturbance of marital relations occurred due to disagreements between spouses and extramarital affairs which rarely lead to the divorce. In such situation, women were in charge of the most important chores and parental duties within the family and their position in all of that was determined by taking special care for children. When it comes to extramarital affairs, those were mostly the cases of husbands who *varali* (cheated) their wives. *Varanje* (cheating) was strongly condemned by the social environment. Otherwise, the disturbance of marital relations rarely occurred because marriage represented a great value for members of all three ethnic groups and only some exceptional cases would end up in divorce.

RELIGION IN FAMILY LIFE

Regardless of the fact that religious duties were not completely carried out at all times, religion and faith were a part of everyday organization of life and work in the family and social community of members of all three religious groups. Religion was reflected in prayers, visits to mosques and churches, marking of holidays and *svečanih dana* (ceremonial dates). Muslim population took special care about fulfilling five daily prayers. A special place in religious life was reserved for *izlaske na dove* (reciting Duas and prayers at the special places in the nature, mostly at the top of the hills) which took place at several nearby *dovišta* (places in the nature for praying-reciting Duas). Eids were marked by women cleaning the houses and gardens. A very significant event for a family but also for wider social community was trip to the Hajj by certain individuals.



Figure 2. Common send-off ceremony of Hajj pilgrims to Mecca in Saudi Arabia

(Source: The photograph was collected by the author during his field research)

Among Orthodox population, *starješine* (elders) would pay special attention to church visits on Sunday. Religious life of the family had a special place for marking Christmas and Orthodox Easter, as well as marking *porodične slave* (the family-patron saint's day).

Besides attending Sunday masses in the church, Christmas and Easter represented special, significant and cheerful holiday for every household among Catholic population. Days of Eid, Christmas and Easter were marked together with friends and acquaintances that belonged to different ethnic and religious groups from wider surroundings.

FOOD, HEALTH AND THE TREATMENT OF ILL FAMILY MEMBERS

An important concern of each family was providing food. All groceries that were used to feed families were cultivated and narađene (provided) through daily agricultural work throughout the year. Grains that were used for food preparation were: 'šenica (wheat), žito (maize), ječam (barley) and zob (oats). Meat was rarely prepared, and it was usually on the menu jenoć u mjesecu (once a month). Vegetables that were mostly used included pepper, cucumber, bunda (pumpkin) and curta (squash). For sweet dishes, people mostly used *pekmez* (jam), flour, boiled cheese and cream, fruit (mainly prunes) and vegetables (ćurta-squash). A special kind of a sweet dish in Muslim families was halva and, sometimes, when possible, it was made in large quantities. An integral part of the daily diet consisted of *hošaf* (a non-alcoholic beverage) made of dried plums and pears, and vareno mlijeko (boiled milk) in pršulja (a dessert made of milk) made in special pots made of clay. On special occasions (religious holidays, feasts, selected days of the week and the arrival of guests), a somewhat better food was prepared. In Orthodox families, this was the case on Sundays, Christmas, Easter and family events. In Catholic families special feasts took place kad je Božić i Uskrs (on Christmas and Easter too). In Muslim households, special meals were made u'či petka i u'či ponediljka i kad je Bajram (in the evenings before Friday and Monday and on the days of Eid). All adults in the house ate together at the *sinija* (a small round table with short table legs).

For eating, almost until the middle of the 20th century, people used wooden spoons which were mostly bought from people who hand made them. The dishes were mostly made of clay/soil (*ćupovi*, *ćase* – pots and bowels) and wood (*čankovi* – wooden dishes used for packing chease and cream).

The first person to begin the meal would be *starješina* (the elder/chieftain) of the household. The elder *odsiječe i podijeli hljeb ostalima* (cuts the bread and shares it with everyone). When it comes to meals of the Orthodox and Catholic people, *moralo se pomoliti* (which means all members of the family had to pray together). Water used for drinking was mostly kept in gourds that had the stoppers made of *od paturika od žita* (maize/corn). Special attention was paid to the leftovers in all three ethnical groups. *Sinija* had to be clean from crumbs, and after that the crumbs would be stored in a safe and clean place *đi se neće gazit* (where they cannot be stepped onto). The reason for this was the fact that householders would teach their family members that if the food is thrown away, *gladne godine* (the hunger years) would strike.

Family's healthcare was, until the middle of the 20th century, mostly in the hands of folk doctors and incantations. Most common diseases that were treated by folk medicine were cuts, wounds, fractures, *sugreb* (a skin disease), snake bites, etc. Apart from that, certain spiritual diseases (fear, anxiety, etc) were treated *kruženjem alame* (by circling alama), *salijevanjem strave* (a ritual called 'melting the fear'), and *skidanjem sihira i uroka* (removing curses). Wounds, cuts and fractures were treated by a wide range of *melema/mehlema* (balms and creams). The most common *melem* was made out of hellebores in the spring. Among the Muslim population, if somebody would hurt himself/herself with a sharp object in, those wounds would be treated by butterfat. In order to pre-empt fractures of bones and to *ojačati noge* (strengthen the legs), at the

beginning of spring they would often use *srijemoš* (ramsons-wild garlic) that was harvested in the woods because, *ako hoćeš dobre kosti i jake noge, trebaš do tri put' jesti srijemoša do Jurijeva* (if you want strong bones and legs, you have to eat *srijemoš* three times until Saint Yuri's Day). Balms were also used for curing headaches.

The most important elements for personal hygiene were face washing and bathing. For baths, they used wooden troughs. Muslim women would often *knile* (use henna to draw on or to color their fingers (nails), their hands and feet. Among all three ethnic groups, long and clean hair was highly appreciated, especially worn in a braid. In the first half of 20^{th} century, the process of healing sick people was mostly done in the village itself; people would rarely visit a doctor so it would often happened *da se umire kod svoje kuće* (that people would die in their own homes).

The death among people of all three ethnic groups was taken as an act from God and all traditions related to *dženaza ili sahrana/sa'rana* (the funeral) were connected to religious and folk beliefs.



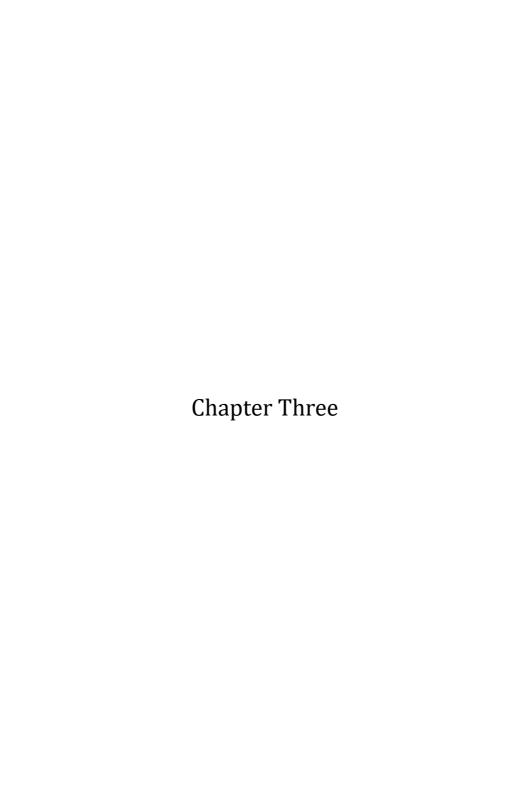
Figure 3. Dženaza (Muslim funeral) (Source: The photograph was collected by the author during his field research)

Čitavo selo je obilazilo (the whole village visited) the sick person was visited and special grief would be caused by the death of young people and children. *Dženaze/sa'rane* (funerals) were also situations where people would visit and chat and connect with their friends and family regardless of the ethnic and religious group they belonged to.

Conclusion

The most significant aspects of culturological organization of life in traditional Bosnian family in the first half of the 20th century were in this regard the following: organization of family and marital life in extended (multiple generations) families and nuclear families, the position of individual in the family, intergenerational relations, chores and activities of family members, house and outhouse decoration, providing food, clothing and dressing up, the care about health and medical treatment, extramarital affairs, religious life of the family, attitude towards death, attitude towards social and physical environment (relations with neighbors, interethnic and interreligious relations, ethno-ecological attitude towards nature). Bearing all of this in mind, we can say that everyday life in traditional rural Bosnian culture was a determining framework as well as a source for all processes and dynamism within the family. Therefore, the basic ethnopedagogical and culturological determinants of organization of marital and family life in traditional rural Bosnian family came out of the life itself in concrete communities, and it included the entire life cycle from birth to death. Also, every life situation had immanent culturological effect establishing harmonic relations between an individual and the family. In all of this, elements of traditional culture in every form had the most important (primary) role and

their essence included acculturation moments. Here, we cannot speak entirely about acculturation process because traditional Bosnian society was not about contact and permeating with completely different cultures. Actually, here we can speak about the encounter of various individual elements of one culture as well as the encounter of different religious teachings which were the primary source and determinant of specific (special) factors affecting processes within the family but not in a way where they were always the source of fundamental values in the life of a human and community. Besides "space" of joint elements of traditional culture in different ethnic groups, there was also the organization of family life which included "space" of "permeating" and forming of different elements of traditional culture and religious teachings. In such ways, there was the creation of different elements of structure and dynamics of family culture, which were related to the formation of moral attitude towards others and towards social environment, all of which had sources in the attitudes towards particular natural (native) surroundings.



Popularization of Traditional Children's Games through Information-Communication Technology

INTRODUCTION

The persistence of games is remarkable. Empires and institutions may disappear, but games survive with the same rules and sometimes even the same paraphernalia. The chief reason is that they are not important and possess the permanence of the insignficant. Herein lies a major mystery. For in order to benefit from this kind of fluid and yet obstinate continuity, they must be like the leaves on the trees which survive from one season to the next and remain identical. Games must be ever similar to animal skins, the design on butterfly wings, and the spiral curves of shell fish which are transmitted unchanged from generation to generation. However, games do not have this hereditary sameness. They are innumerable and changeable. They are clad in thousands of unequally distributed shapes, just as vegetable species are, but infinitely more adaptable, spreading and acclimating themselves with disconcerting ease. Their diffusion does not remain determinate for very long (Caillois 2001, p. 81).

The game is a natural human activity. ¹² Eugen Fink (1979) considered a game in the context of the basic phenomena of human existence. The game is, therefore, the human activity in general not related to some utilitarian purpose. "Where the individual develops from personal internal initiative without external compulsion and coercion, where with no external objective a personality is confirmed and manifested, strengthened and developed, there we are dealing with real beginnings of the appearance and playing games" (Slatina 2005, p. 265). The basic functions of the game and playing run various instinctive actions that originate from different systems of behaviour that is the launch of a special motivational natural resource, development and maintenance of natural activity and curiosity and excitation of a sense of beauty.

The phenomenon of the game is the focus of various experts in the field of anthropology, pedagogy, sociology, psychology, kinesiology, but in modern times also experts in the field of information-communication sciences whose effect is particularly marked in the field of edutainment, gamification of education, and the use of games, information-communication technology (ICT) and other innovations in teaching and learning. In the process of gamification of modern educational process, one should take into account the essence of the phenomenon of the game and its es-

The complexity and difficulty defining the term <code>game</code> ("play-concept"), as well as semantic and etymological determinants of the term in different languages of the world in more detail see in: Huizinga, J. (1980). <code>Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-element in Culture</code>. Boston: Beacon Press, pp. 28-45. Here we will mention one of the definitions of games that Huizinga gives in the mentioned section in the chapter <code>Nature and Significance of Play as a Cultural Phenomenon:</code> "Summing up the formal characteristics of play we might call it a free activity standing quite consciously outside <code>Nordinary*</code> life as being <code>Nordinary*</code> at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means" (p. 13).

sential characteristic of sense of ownership in itself and not something out of it. This is important because it plays a "fundamental option of creativity and form of human unity which presupposes and requires individual freedom. The game is a form of creative existence" (Životić 1986, p. 227). In this regard, the following will try to explain the idea of the use of modern information and communication technologies in the process of popularization of traditional children's games in everyday life and education of modern generations of children and young people.

The purpose of this paper is actually explanation and pedagogical argumentation of this idea. There will not be given detailed explanations and vocational-technical instructions regarding the use of appropriate programs and tools in the field of information-communication technology made in relation to the development of computer and other electronic versions of traditional children's games, because it would exceed the terms and purpose of this work. Of course, these explanations and instructions and the very creation of electronic games are an area of professional activity of experts in the field of information-communication technology. Here, then, we want to emphasize primarily pedagogical features of traditional children's games and the importance of introducing them to modern children through technology that surrounds and follows them in their everyday life.

ETHNOPEDAGOGICAL EXPLANATION OF TRADITIONAL CHILDREN'S GAMES

Traditional children's games represent an important area within pedagogical culture and tradition of every ethnic group. The game itself is a special cultural phenomenon. The relationship between culture and game is visible throughout the history of

human kind¹³. The game is one of basic factors of traditional folk upbringing (Volkov 1999; 2004; Tufekčić 2012). It always represented the area of specific connection between the development of child's personality and natural environment. Through game, in the classic sense of the word, a symbiosis between these two natures realizes itself: the "external" that represents the space for life, work, play and the "internal" specific human nature that, from within the flow of growth and development, implemented and achieved in landscapes of the first one. One should, therefore, agree with Volkov [Волков, Г. Н.] that the game is a sort of a miracle that a man develops in harmony with nature. Traditional children's games had a huge educational impact because different activities of children and youth permeated through them. Thus, it is emphasised in ethnopedagogy that games can be considered a sort of "realised fairy tales" (Volkov 1999; Tufekčić 2010; 2012). In tradition of all peoples, the importance of games and playing for development of children are emphasised. One Azeri proverb: "Do not grow a child of food, but of joy" (Volkov 1999; Tufekčić 2010; 2012). The importance of game, thus, is placed at the level of child's basic existential needs such as, e.g. food. In modern society we will often hear that representatives of senior generation, grandfathers and grandmothers, having rich life experience, warn strict parents not to forbid children to play. We can often hear young parents that they are not satisfied with the fact that their parents (grandparents) are too "indulgent" towards their children and that they did not allow many things to them that they now allow to their grandchildren.

Životić (1986) states: "Friedrich Schiller was one of the first who emphasised the importance of game for culture. In Letters Upon the Aesthetic Education of Man he says: »For, to speak out once for all, man only plays when in the full meaning of the word he is a man, and he is only completely a man when he plays« (Schiller 1967, according to Životić 1986, p. 226). See also in: Holmes, R. M. (2013) Children's Play and Culture. In: Scholarpedia, 8(6). Also, on the significance of a child's game in general as well as on the development of children's games through the history of human kind see in: Brehony, K. J. (2004). Theories of Play. In: Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society.

Since the traditional children's games manifest creative (wit, imagination, ingenuity, cr e ativity, etc.) and expressive (agility, skill, dexterity, etc.) character, their role in the development of different spheres of the child's personality is great, and in certain irreplaceable. Thanks to these games children come to know themselves and their environment gradually, step by step, revealing an area of activity, art and beauty in the broadest sense of the word. Therefore, traditional games were the most important content that filled the space of children's subcultures. In particular, one can point out their importance for the development of self-education and mutual education of young generations. Children's games in the traditional culture were important area of education and socialization that were realized through the development of autonomy, creativity, freedom, responsibility, spontaneity and activity. Through these children developed their own and for children's subcultures specific "moral code" that was not primarily imposed upon by adults, unlike many modern games that are designed by adults, where the structure, rules and all other characteristics of the primary. and often exclusively, are resulting images of the world that adults have rather than children (Volkov 1999; Tufekčić 2010; 2012).

The world of game and play was a sort of subcultural space and authentic life area and as such was primarily a creation of children and youth. Adults set "external" borders and limitations of this area, but without direct interference in a sense of artificial creation and change of the world of childhood and youth according to adults' measures, as can be seen in the modern (Tufekčić 2012). During the process children were specific innovators because games encouraged development of intellect, emotion, and will but also stimulated creative activities and amateurism. All of this is emphasised in the traditional toys themselves. In their purpose, significance and method of development children met

with adults but not as mere "consumers" of what the world of adults comes up with but as active creators. Through traditional children's games and toys, they connected the world of childhood and the world of adults but also the childhood of human kind and modernity (Volkov 1999, Tufekčić 2010; 2012). The most significant characteristic of traditional children's toys is that children made them on their own, or with the help of adults that, most of all, reflected in the support of development of active characteristics of will and character of a child, and from different materials from their own environment (wood, soil, stone, water, plants and other handy materials from everyday life). In that child's activity, creativity and spontaneity developed in a natural way. The workmanship of toys and play equipment was fulfilled with different intellectual and manual activities but the very playing itself represented a wide range of different forms of children's activities because it was developed with movement (running, walking, crawling, jumping), song, dance, different body movements (clapping, swinging arms, stretching, bending), as well as fairy tales, local legends, sayings, riddles, tongue twisters, and therefore verbally expressive activities such as recitation, acting, imitation of various sounds and voices from the nature. Traditional children's games, in this manner, were an unintentional, natural life school through which children developed relationships towards themselves, their peers, older children and adults as well as towards the concrete and real natural and social surrounding. Characteristics of genuine education, such as naturalness and integrity, developed through these (Volkov 1999; Tufekčić 2010; 2012).

In the process of the game, children were involved early in the self-education that has no pre-determined goals because it was spontaneous since natural game has a purpose in itself. If we can talk about some of the goals of the game, then we can say that they grow, are defined in the very process of the game, with its essence are connected and are fully in line with the capabilities, performance, and achievements of the child. The games originated from the child's authentic life and its values, and in this sense are also significant because according to them one could try and judge personality, character, interests, aptitudes, abilities and attitudes of a man (Volkov 2004; Tufekčić 2010; 2012). It is believed that even Plato emphasized the following "You can discover more about a person in an hour of a game than in a year of conversation".

Modern pedagogical science should always evaluate and analyze the role of traditional children's games with the aim of their participation in the upbringing-educational process at school, especially if one takes into account the large number of disorders in the development of children and even some physiological and psychological diseases that are directly or indirectly linked to the increasing lack of direct contact with other children, decreased physical (bodily) mobility of children, and also the presently socalled "sedentary culture of life" from the earliest age (Tufekčić 2010; 2012). Basic provisions of popularizing traditional children's games in the modern educational system through the information-communication technology are thus explained below. In doing so, two main aims of this process are emphasized.

POPULARIZATION OF TRADITIONAL CHILDREN'S GAMES VIA ICT

Traditional children's games disappeared from the life of a modern child at large and are today unknown to children. They are not part of everyday natural environment of a modern child any longer. One can even talk about disappearance of a large number of elements of children's sub-cultures in connection to games and playing that traditionally shaped the world of childhood and

youth. Here it should be emphasised the most important characteristic of traditional children and youth's sub-cultures - there was no total control over children's and young's activities by adults, and the existing limitations were not directly manifested and in some way stood outside of borders of interpersonal relations into sphere of general culture (Burykin 2004, according to Tufekčić 2012). As stated before, children created games, toys and rules on their own at large, and also, independently solved possible "misunderstandings" and "conflicts" in the game without any major interference of adults. The absence of interference of adults is reflected in the impossibility of reducing the game and playing exclusively on teleological context. Spaces and colors of games that children were creating on their own can be found in the original acts of human nature, such as the natural feeling for education, the natural openness to the world's natural acumen and curiosity, the natural activity, and the like. In contemporary society "patchwork" of these coloring games becomes invisible for children both in the physical (appearance) and the spiritual sense.

At the same time, a specific form of colonization of child-hood's and youth's space is visible. Adults "conquer" bigger areas in children's sub-cultures. Many sociologists of childhood warn that this could lead to "disappearance" of childhood. The unusual and strange process of accelerated "push" of children into the world of adults is staged in a way that the contents and forms of children's experiences in the modern society come from the adults' visions. In this way children are increasingly running out of primary experiences, i.e. "the first-hand experiences", while the number of secondary and tertiary experiences is growing rapidly. Children and young people are increasingly faced with processed and pre-interpreted experiences. Facilities for children of primary notions of the world, in modern times, are almost completely pre-formed and as such actively prevent

"confrontation" with the child's reality (Gudjons 2012). Therefore, these activities can be considered "depleted" with respect to the well-known importance of child's own activity in the development of his personality. Such depletion facilities cannot fully meet the wealth, mobility, and liveliness of child's nature as a human being in development. They cannot be the content of upbringing and education that are consistent with human nature and that have anthropocentric character. They can neither confirm nor develop individual life forces of the child and his specific human characteristics. They also distort and damage the internal independence of the child.

In turn, while the world of adults increasingly occupies the world of childhood, the appearance of infantilization of the world of adults is also evident. Many activities that are formally connected to childhood and youth are too often dominant in the world of adults. This certainly applies to the area of games and playing. Many contemporary games, and even toys are becoming "more interesting" to adults than to children. The question that imposes itself is whether the reason for this is that those games and toys are mostly the product and creation of adults and that they are more suitable to them regardless of the fact that they are formally intended for children. Let us pay attention to the methods and criteria while shopping in modern toy shops. It should be surely more thoroughly explored, but even superficial observation of parents and children during shopping factory-made toys often leads us to conclude that chosen toys "impressed" and "emotionally enticed" more parents than children. Everything that a child sees as a toy also has a magical character, but if this "magic" of a toy affects more adults than children than it is less of a toy for a child. Furthermore, it is interesting and provocative to ask: Who plays more with modern toys, adults or children? Or even more provocative: Who are these toys bought for? It is not our intention to answer these or

similar questions with this chapter. We believe that it is enough to ask them and think about possible answers and explanations. The mentioned colonization of childhood, thus, reflects in the fact that games and toys of contemporary children are mostly designed and made by adults. In that way, games and playing become part of mass industrial production and thus more affected by the so-called mass culture and in that way separated from a child's authentic life. As if our own children sometimes, even in infancy, face us with this fact. In fact, often as parents we are very surprised that the children instead of playing with toys, which we purchased for them in various toy stores and we buried the children's rooms and other spaces for the game, rather choose a plastic bag at the supermarket or other slippery subject, a pot from the kitchen at which one can bang, ordinary cardboard box or any other "ordinary" matter that for us adults do not even look like a toy. It appears that many "interesting" characteristics of the mass produced toys (with the help of the battery can sing, cry, move, "pronounce mom, dad", laugh, make sounds and light, i.e., be as nearly as "right as human or animal beings" or "right things") we often cannot attract children's attention as rustle of nylon bags can, the sound of pots on which she/he freely attacks or hides in a cardboard box which in their imagination becomes a house, a boat, cave, plane, car, rocket, etc. Some philosophers and anthropologists have even warned of the deleterious effects of mass culture for the game itself and its essence.14

¹⁴ Here is one such thinking: "As a leisure, sandwiched by world ruled norms of domination over man, game is being lost more and more. The modern mass culture destroys every game. The mass culture is created according to the standards of mass industrial production and expanding mass communication to meet the needs of mass society (...) in which there is no possibility of developing individual personal qualities, but there are only general, typical, standard features ... The mass culture is a culture that by means of modern industry produces values as a commodity available to everyone ... In the mass culture prevail values of the dominant ideology ... The mass culture exists to abolish the contradiction between ideology and personal consciousness ... This is why the mass culture is dangerous for every game" (Životić 1986, pp. 230-233).

In addition to this, a large part of the so-called "world of game" has been moved from the real into virtual space and the space of hyperreality. Possibilities that in that field, through some of its characteristics such as disintermediation, prosumation and momentariness, gives us information-communication technology are really great and keep expanding. The modern era is also marked with a large number of most diverse and constantly produced computer (PC) games that have become the lives of children and adults as well. They are also largely created by adults who have their own vision of those games. Regarding this, we must not lose sight of the fact that adults do not understand a game from a child's point of view, but from their own. This represents an inexhaustible source for many recent scientific analyses and daily discussions aimed at bringing benefits, disadvantages, consequences and influences that these games have on the development and education of children and young people. We will not discuss advantages and disadvantages here, but our intention is to observe information-communication technology and computer games in the context of their usage for introduction of children and youngs with forms of games and playings that disappeared from everyday life. Namely, information-communication technology, computer, "smart phones" and other devices are integral part of immediate life environment of children who are in daily contact with them.



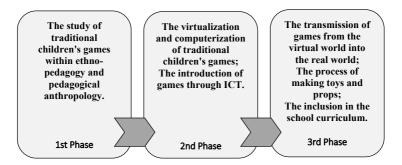
Figure 4. ICT is an integral part of the living environment of a modern child (Source: The author's original photo)

However, many of the contents that occur in the processes of reality "production" by adults and that are mediated to a child through this technology belong to the virtual world and are sort of simulacrums, e.g. illusion of playing football through display and keyboard or touch-screen as a replacement for real playing football at the real grass field. Thus, a constant tendency that something can be and is a true part of the real world transformed into simulacrum and as such is presented to a child as a life reality. Surely, virtualization of playing football, as stated as an example, does not prevent real playing of football because children can immediately see and experience this game in their real surrounding. But, what happens with those children's games, such as traditional children's games, that are no longer present in the real world and were present some time ago? We have already stated that creation of computer games often entails conversion of real into

simulacrum. But, things in this field can be designed differently in, tentatively, different direction. We believe that information-communication technology can be a very good device for children to be presented with games and toys that they can no longer see in everyday life in the virtual form which would further develop their interest and motivation for their playing in the real world. Since children themselves made traditional games and toys, the introduction of traditional games in lives of modern children would actually be introduction of something that had been created exclusively by children in the past. In that way children would be mediated with contents made in children's, and not in adults', world. Due to all aforementioned, here we want to open reflections about the input of traditional games and toys into the world of modern child through information-communication technology. In order to avoid unnecessary elements of aforementioned colonization of childhood, the virtualization of the traditional games offers, through the virtualized and by adults created world, something that children formerly created on their own way. In this regard, information-communication technology appears as an important means for gathering information and knowledge about traditional children's games.

This idea goes into the direction of finding the opportunities for popularization of traditional children's games in the contemporary educational system through information-communication technology. In doing so, two main aims of this process are emphasized. The first aim is related to opportunities of digitalization and virtualization of various traditional children's games into educational computer programs and applications. Firstly, we must think about ways to introduce structures, shapes and appearances, game modes and props of various traditional games through computers to children in class, since children cannot see traditional children's games in their natural environment in the contemporary society. The second aim, without which the

first would not be sufficient, is related to motivating and encouraging children for "transmission" of traditional games from virtual world into real life. Thus, in the sense of organization, the popularization of traditional children's games would develop into three phases as presented below (Scheme 2.).



Scheme 2. The three phases of the process of popularization of traditional children's games via ICT (Source: The author's original illustrations)

The first phase would present a field ethno pedagogical work with the aim of collecting data on names of traditional games, methods of playing, toys, devices and their design. These data would be processed and on their grounds virtual examples of these games in a form of modern computer games would be made. Children and young people could be included into research teams, and with expert guidance they could collect data on games originating from places where their schools are situated. In the following, we would show drawings which were created during of the research of traditional children's games from the first half of the XX century within the area of the North-eastern Bosnia.¹⁵

¹⁵ The basic explanation of the methodology of ethnopedagogical field research and a number of drawings and descriptions of traditional children's games in the first half of the 20th century that were created in the course of extensive research ethnopedagogical aspects of growing up and raising in the traditional Bosnian





Figure 5. Drawings of traditional children's games (Source: The author's original illustrations. See in: Tufekčić 2010, pp. 231 – 232 and Tufekčić 2012, pp. 159 – 160)

society in north-eastern Bosnia see in Tufekčić, A. (2012). Osnove etnopedagogije [The Basics of Ethnopedagogy]. Sarajevo: Dobra knjiga, CNS. In addition, for understanding of methodological assumptions for research of games as sociocultural, philosophical and pedagogical phenomenon and the importance of proper collection and description of traditional children's games through field work is very inspiring and useful consider the following works: Reprintseva, E. [Репринцева, Е.] (ed.) (2006). Игра: мыслители прошлого и настоящего о ее природе и педагогическом потенциале [The Game: Thinkers of the Past and Present About Its Nature and Pedagogical Potential], Москва - Воронеж: Издалётство Московского психолого-социального института; Reprintseva, Е. [Репринцева, Е.] (2011). Феномен игры в культуре и образовании [The Fenomenon of Games in the Culture and Education], Saarbrücken: LAP LAMBET Academic Publishing; Reprintseva, E. A. [Репринцева, E. A.], Gorokhovskava, I. V. [Гороховская, И. В.], Ilinskaya, І. Р. [Ильинская, И. П.], Lakhin, R. A. [Лахин, Р. А.], Тікhonova, О. G. [Тихонова, О. Г.] (eds.) (2011). Энциклопедия традиционной молодежной игры Центральной России [The Encyklopedia of Traditional Youth Games in the Central Russia]. Курск: Курский государственный университет.

The second phase would represents making of computer games on the basics of the collected data about traditional games. So, children would have touch with traditional games through various, special made computer games and IC applications. In this phase plays the especially important role of cooperation and mutual interdisciplinary work from experts in pedagogy, psychology, ethnopedagogy, information-communication sciences. Children and young people would also take part in this phase. Through curricula of informatics in schools, children could with adequate guidance make special computer games and other applications on their own, and their basic content would be traditional children's games.

The third phase should be playing these games in real world. It would include different children's activities, after introducing traditional games through specially created computer programs, making of real props and organization of these games in real world, in natural environment within free activities in school and some subjects such as: Physical Education, History, Nature and Society, Practical and Handwork. In this way traditional children's games would become a part of the school curriculum.

These three phases are, actually, ways for "mediatisation" of the traditional children's games and the "pedagogization" of the information-communication technology. The essence of this process is, not the permanent ascertained and opposing highlight of advantages and usage, on the one hand, and the disadvantages and mischievousness of modern information-communication technology for the development of child's personality, on the other hand, but the attention on the process of pedagogization of this technology. It is important because information-communication technology represents civilizational accomplishment and as such is regularly present during the process of growing-up, shaping of elements of will and character, socialization, learning about the world and education of modern generations

of children (more in: Semonov, Pereverzev, & Bulin–Sokolova 2005; Wastiau, Kearney, & Van den Berghe 2009). In other words, youngs should learn that modern technology is a device that they as creative creatures use in the process of game, learning and realization of their creative needs and activities and not to be "governed" or "owned" by technology. In this way, the difference in understanding modern technology between children and youngs would develop and deepen.¹⁶

All this points to the fact that all our thinking about games and gamification of education cannot be reduced to the study of the funds for game and ways to use them. The game is much more than just playing techniques or forms of toys. Games and game modes are in its various forms products of different cultures, but Huizinga (1980) once emphasized, the opposite belief that culture is the one that arises from the games (see in: Caillois 2001, pp. 57-67).

Additional dimensions of the idea of popularizing traditional children's games through the information-communication technology is the fact that in this way, children could get to know not only traditional games within their own culture, but traditional and children's games from various cultures around the World. We believe that it has its own significance in the context of intercultural education. In this sense, one can talk about the possibilities of a specific contact and the permeation of the elements of traditional culture related to the game and play, and

[&]quot;The results of most studies on the use of computers and the Internet by children and young people, among other things, show a clear discrepancy in the understanding of computer technology between parents and children. Parents perceive computers and the Internet as an important aid in the education of their children as well as a special link between school and home, while children see computers and the Internet more for entertainment, playing games, hanging out with friends and making space policy beyond the control of parents (Kerawalla, & Crook 2002). The sense of the potential and the future in general in children are slow to develop which, among other things, leads to understanding of computers primarily as resources, tools for the game, not for education. "Children's horizons are oriented more towards the present than the future« (Holloway, & Valentine 2003, p. 156)", quoted according to: Nikodem, Kudek Mirošević, & Bunjevac Nikodem 2014, p. 213).

thus in life the total number of members of different cultures around the world through virtual and real spaces. This is one way of learning not only about one's own culture but also about other different cultures that make up the totality of humanity. In today's world full of conflicts, prejudice, stereotypes, this is one of the existential human needs and tasks.

OVERVIEW

The idea of popularizing traditional children's games through the information-communication technology is based on the intention of intertwining of tradition and modernity. The purpose of this permeation is to preserve the essential characteristics of the game as one of the fundamental human existentials. The game as a phenomenon that is immanent to human nature has its own substance that is universal and unchanging at all times while the forms and means of the game can be changed. Information-communication technology in this context can be a very important source of information but also motivation and initiation of activity and leisure activities of children and youth. This includes not only the process of transforming the real games in the virtual game, but also the process by which virtualization of almost forgotten games encourages playing these games in the real world thus reactivating spontaneity, freedom, responsibility, independence, activity, contemporary reality, initiative, creativity, primary and secondary socialization and thus the formation of personality on grounds of own activity and primary experiences. To conclude, I note the following words of the writer Khalil Gibran from A Handful of Sand on the Shore: "Progress lies not in enhancing what is, but in advancing toward what will be" (Fiala 2006, p. 127).

Afterword

A concept for the pedagogy of culture

By Mujo Slatina

This book, Paths from Tradition to Modernity consists of three chapters (Growing Up and Upbringing in the Traditional Bosnian Family, The Ethnopedagogical Dimensions of the Traditional Rural Bosnian Family, and Popularization of Traditional Children's Games through Information – Communication Technology). The structure of the first chapter outlines the entire life cycle of activities and responsibilities in different life situations (caring for the pregnant woman and the newborn baby, giving names, care for development and upbringing, guidelines and prohibitions, an orphan's status, personal hygiene, and health care). Then, the structure of the second chapter focuses on one life process (organization of marital and family life, distribution of work responsibilities and duties of family members, deterioration of marital relations and divorce, diet, costume, belief, and

the health and treatment of sick persons). Finally, the structure of the third chapter is a conceptualization linking tradition and modernity in the context of children's games with an emphasis on the importance of the child's own agency in the activity.

This study sheds light on the characteristics of children's upbringing and growing up in the medium of traditional Bosnian culture. The most important ethnopedagogical patterns and topics of growing up and upbringing of children and young people in settlements with Muslim (Bosniak), Catholic (Croatian) and Orthodox (Serbian) populations are pointed out. This study shows how the ethnopedagogical organization of family life organically arises from daily life.

Through three nodal pedagogical points (growing up and upbringing, ethnopedagogical family organisation, and children games), the book Paths from Tradition to Modernity shows that each transfer of culture is, in the same time, a crucial educational process, and that growing up and development of personality are unimagined outside of culture. The author, through this study, not only introduces the reader in an immediate and succinct manner to the ethnological dimensions of upbringing and education, but also directs the reader to the importance of the generational axiom of upbringing and education, since every path from traditional to modernity comes from the shoulders of the previous generations. Hence, the author with good reason, separates and differentiates tradition from traditionalism, as titled in this study as *Paths from traditional to modernity*, which can be clearly read in particular in the chapter *Popularization* of Traditional Children's Games through Information-Communication Technology.

The study is an affirmation of the learning of culture, which in previous pedagogical studies was mostly implied and understated, which is therefore presented here to the reader in an interesting way. This is a kind of pedagogical pilgrimage that is free of speculative fictions since it searches for the birthplace of upbringing and education and the pedagogy of the birth itself. This pilgrimage is unburdened by the condemning scientific attitudes as well as its enthrallment with the modern age. The study is not a romantic presentation of learning for a living, learning cultural patterns of behaviour, but a phenomenological account of upbringing and educational phenomenon as a demonstration of how cultural differences enrich social life.

The book *Paths from Tradition to Modernity* is a study on the transmission, preservation, and learning of culture. It is a study on learning for living and living for learning. Within the culture, the child learns the language, learns how to think and remember, how to feel, what patterns of cultural behaviour to use, what worldview to take, acquiring different skills, knowledge and abilities. In culture, all active processes of learning, imagination, creation and performative practices are noticed. In this sense, the book is a valuable concept for the pedagogy of culture. It is a kind of pedagogical dialogue that not only contributes to ethnopedagogy but also provides valuable elements in regard to intercultural pedagogy. This work is a part of the author's pedagogy of culture with which he has been engaged for many years.

A list of previously published articles on which the chapters are based

"Growing up and Upbringing in a Traditional Bosnian-Herzegovinian Family". *Wychowanie w Rodzinie/Family Upbringing*, 2014, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 63-91.

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The book Paths from Tradition to Modernity is a study on the transmission, preservation, and learning of culture. It is a study on learning for living and living for learning. Within the culture, the child learns the language, learns how to think and remember, how to feel, what patterns of cultural behaviour to use, what worldview to take, acquiring different skills, knowledge and abilities. In culture, all active processes of learning, imagination, creation and performative practices are noticed. In this sense, the book is a valuable concept for the pedagogy of culture. It is a kind of pedagogical dialogue that not only contributes to ethnopedagogy but also provides valuable elements in regard to intercultural pedagogy. This work is a part of the author's pedagogy of culture with which he has been engaged for many years.

Mujo Slatina, University of Sarajevo

Leaning on his previous excellent book Basics of Ethnopedagogy from 2012, Tufekčić presents the results of studies that are about growing up and upbringing in a Bosnian traditional family, that is, ethnopedagogical dimensions of the traditional rural Bosnian family. Also, Tufekčić in this book further shifts the boundaries of ethnopedagogical research, dealing with the possibility of popularizing traditional children's games through modern information and communication technologies.

Haris Cerić, University of Sarajevo

The book represents a work of very important ethnopedagogical insights derived from ethnographic research conducted in the area of Majevica, and the wider region of north-eastern Bosnia. Even if there were more such researches and works, studies of this kind would have occupied a special place in Bosnia and Herzegovina's social sciences. The manuscript was created as a result of a long, thorough, well-planned, devised field-based research, and as such, offered an abundance of materials necessary for a more systematic and scientific understanding of the local (not so far) past.

Amel Alić, University of Zenica



