

# Political Complexities of Ethnochoreological Research: The Facets of Scholarly Work on Dance in the Countries of Former Yugoslavia

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**Abstract:** As independent scholarly discipline grounded in folkloristics, ethnochoreology was predominantly founded within the state institutions of the socialist regime of former Yugoslavia after World War II and was consequently molded theoretically and methodologically in accordance with the prevailing ideology of the ruling socialist political system. In post-socialist regimes established in former Yugoslavian republics after the 1990s, which led to emerging market economies and caused huge modifications in the official social and educational policies of each country, ethnochoreology continued to be linked with state institutions. At the same time, however, it has been subject to extensive remodeling which included changes within the discipline itself along with its repositioning in the academic and educational system.

This article examines political facets of ethnochoreological research in former Yugoslavian republics, comparing the experiences of many individual dance scholars. Based on interviews with colleagues from Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro, the study will explore the general position of ethnochoreologists as well as their attitudes toward the relationships between dance research and the concrete political situations in each of their countries. Questions discussed encompass standpoints about how the political realities we are living in influence the remodeling of ethnochoreology in epistemological and methodological terms, but also its position in academic, educational and research contexts.

**Keywords:** Ethnochoreology, former Yugoslavia republics, post-socialism, social and educational policies, individual experiences

In most former Yugoslavia republics, the beginnings of ethnochoreological research can be traced back to the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (ZEBEC 1996:89–110; OPETČESKA TATARČEVSKA 2008:30–39; RAKOČEVIĆ 2015:27–44). However, as is the case in some other East European countries, for example Hungary (FELFÖLDI 1999:57), its organized and discipline-based development, grounded in folkloristics, was inextricably linked with the state institutions of socialist regimes only after World War II. As a consequence, despite different attitudes towards cultivating national cultures in each of the socialist countries, ethnochoreological research from its beginnings had strong national orientations and was theoretically and methodologically molded in

accordance with the prevailing ideologies of ruling socialist political systems (more in GIURCHESCU – TORP:1–10).

The war, vast economic crises and the disintegration of the common state have caused processes of establishing new social systems based on democracy and free market economics in each of the republics of the former Yugoslavia during the second half of 1990s and even later (PRICA 2007:35).<sup>1</sup> Establishing democracy and market economies was interlinked with a shift in the general ideological paradigms of the ruling structures. Political, economic and cultural models of Western societies become the quintessential paragons of the social order, and membership in the European Union become the basic task for all of the republics.<sup>2</sup> This radical political change has led to the commencement of broad social, economic and cultural transformations, which are generally signified in scholarly literature as post-socialist “transitions” (HANN 2004:1). Those processes inevitably affected politics of academic education and science and consequently had an immediate influence on ethnochoreological research.

After 2000, in all the republics of former Yugoslavia, ethnochoreology generally continued to be linked with state institutions (universities and research institutes), but has simultaneously been subject to extensive remodeling. These changes involved the shifting of prevailing disciplinary orientations away from folklore-aligned research topics and a positivist paradigm in their theoretical explorations, along with searching for new methodological approaches and applicable domains of professional activity (more in RAKOČEVIĆ 2013). Such changes can be generally labeled as liberating in view of opening opportunities for professional action and freeing up intellectual thought, which was oppressed during socialism. It could be also said, however, that they are an integral part of a general shift in official educational and research politics toward an almost imperative embracing of the achievements of European and Anglo-American scholarly traditions as generally dictated by the given states through the official policies of line ministries or other government offices. The legacy of the socialist approach to humanities as scientific disciplines is the reason that all research projects, regardless of the institution, are sponsored and controlled through the centralized guidance of the ministries of science. On the other hand, projects of an “applied” character are sponsored by the ministries of culture. This is the case in all former Yugoslavia republics.

Periods of intense social transformation are marked by many contradictions in the official politics of ruling structures (HANN 2004:3). This may directly affect processes in the remodeling of any scholarly research, including ethnochoreology. The underlying theoretical presumption under which one should understand the epistemological basis of each disciplinary field and its positioning in academia and in public is that ideologically neutral social action, including the production of any kind of knowledge, does not exist. The politics of scholarly research are an integral part of broad social processes.

Primarily based on my previous research, this presentation will attempt to explore the views of many individual dance researchers on our current ethnochoreological

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<sup>1</sup> In Serbia, these processes began even later, after Slobodan Milošević admitted defeat in the elections in October 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Slovenia was the first to achieve this goal, becoming a member of European Union in 2004, followed by Croatia in 2013. For the rest of the republics, membership in European Union is still unattainable.

work.<sup>3</sup> With the intention of gaining a regionally specific picture of the position of ethnochoreology in post-socialist societies from the perspective of the scholars themselves, in 2017 and 2018 I conducted a series of interviews with colleagues from former Yugoslavian republics. The geographical focus was put on the region of former Yugoslavia, because despite various histories in shaping dance research in each of the republics, there have existed many similarities between them during their shared socialist past, due to inevitable institutional co-operation and close contacts between scholars. With the involvement of dance researchers with whom I have not previously discussed these issues and as an extension of my previous work, this time I will focus on the disciplinary position and dance knowledge which ethnochoreologists produce, invariably influenced by the post-socialist, transitional political systems in which they act. Comparing the standpoints of dance researchers from Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro, and my own experiences, I will try to explore our attitudes toward the relationships between our professional activities and the post-socialist academic, educational and research policies in our respective countries. In order to understand differences in the current production of ethnochoreological knowledge in former Yugoslavian republics, it is necessary to analyze their various state-level educational and research politics. These involve the foundation and development of ethnochoreological courses at various universities, changing and broadening the themes of research and comprehensions of fieldwork and, consequently, the extensions of methodological orientations toward interdisciplinary permeations, all of which are supported or even dictated by official state politics. In all educational and research aspects of ethnochoreology, state policies in former Yugoslavia republics appear to be contradictory.

## ETHNOCHOREOLOGY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Even though contemporary ethnochoreology in former Yugoslavia republics is characterized by many individual approaches and research topics, as is the case with ethnomusicology (CERIBAŠIĆ 1998: 53; MAROŠEVIĆ 1995: 53–54; MAROŠEVIĆ 2010: 25; PETTAN 2015: 39; interviews: STOJKOVA SERAFIMOVSKA 2017; TALAM 2017), many researchers agree that there has existed distinct discourse of ethnochoreological “disciplinarity” in this region, modeled through academic education (interviews: Opetcheska Tatarchevska 2017; Zebec 2017; Panić Kašanski 2018; Petkovski 2018). Contrary to other East European countries where higher education in ethnochoreology has never been founded,<sup>4</sup> in some former Yugoslavia republics it has taken place since early 1990. Introducing ethnochoreology, understood as a folkloristically grounded scholarly discipline devoted to traditional dance research in university study programs,

<sup>3</sup> My previous research on this subject was conducted for the article presented on the international symposium “Music matters! Ethnomusicology and its socio-political relevance today,” which was organized on the occasion of changing the seat of the ICTM Secretariat in late September 2017 in Vienna. This article was published in 2019 (RAKOČEVIĆ 2019).

<sup>4</sup> Csilla Könzei has written about the reasons why ethnochoreology has never been an established discipline in some East European countries, particularly Romania (KÖNCZEI 2007–2009:187–194).

was the consequence of prevailing tendencies in the higher education policies in each of the republics that sought to enhance knowledge of national cultural heritage in the broad field of humanistic scholarly disciplines, and it was part of the general (re)establishment of separate national cultures after the breakup of the former country. Even though individual study programs in ethnochoreology still do not exist (with the exception of the University of “Goce Delchev” in Macedonia), introducing ethnochoreological courses to ethnomusicological, ethnological or anthropological studies and opening the possibilities to devote students’ final dissertations to dance have enabled creating a formation of professional scholars who declare themselves ethnochoreologists, which consequently influences the development and strengthening of the discipline itself. However, the number of researchers in each of the former Yugoslavia republics is still small for various reasons.

Although both bachelor and master programs in ethnochoreology have existed in Macedonia at the Faculty of Music Arts at the University of “Goce Delchev” in Shtip since 2007, currently there are less than five active dance researchers in this country (KOSTOV 2016:335; interview Opetcheska Tatarchevska 2017).<sup>5</sup> According to Ivona Opetcheska Tatarchevska and Filip Petkovski, there is a huge misbalance in the number of those who entered the study programs in ethnochoreology in Shtip and those who completed them successfully, due to the inadequate quality of the study program at this institution (interviews: Opetcheska Tatarchevska 2017; Filip Petkovski 2018). Students who have completed ethnochoreology courses in Macedonia mostly work as dance instructors in cultural-artistic and folklore societies and are not engaged in scholarly work. Although the state has provided academic education in the field of ethnochoreology, it rarely supports research projects, which turns out to be contradictory to the educational policy in this country.

In the case of Serbia, the existence of a certain number of ethnochoreologists has been rooted in continuous academic education in ethnochoreology since 1990 in Belgrade and in Novi Sad since 2000 (more in RAKOČEVIĆ 2013:70–74), when ethnochoreology was incorporated in the ethnomusicological curriculum. The establishment of the Bologna Declaration in 2006, which was imperatively dictated by the state, consequently increased the number of graduated master students in both disciplinary fields.<sup>6</sup> All of this resulted in the fact that more than five ethnochoreologists are professionally active today, mostly working at institutions of higher education (The Faculty of Music in Belgrade, the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad and the Institute for Artistic Dance in Belgrade) and active in various research projects as an integral part of their professional activities.

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<sup>5</sup> In spite of this, colleagues from Macedonia are very active at international levels, especially within the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), where they continuously take part in the symposiums of the Study Group of Ethnochoreology. The ethnomusicologist Velika Stojkova Serafimovska and the ethnochoreologist Ivona Opetcheska Tatarchevska organized two symposiums of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in South-eastern Europe (in 2008 and 2012). For more about the history of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology in Macedonia see: STOJKOVA SERAFIMOVSKA 2008:23–29; OPETCHESKA TATARCHEVSKA 2005:94–99; 2008:30–39.

<sup>6</sup> The standard quota for the enrolment of students in bachelor studies in ethnomusicology at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade was up to 5 students before transferring to the Bologna system of academic education, while after 2006 this number was doubled. The quota at Academy of Music in Novi Sad was up to 4, and now is up to 8.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>7</sup>, ethnochoreological courses have also existed within the ethnomusicological curriculum at the Academy of Arts in Banja Luka (Republic of Srpska) since 1998, while the ethnomusicological study program at University of Sarajevo included them briefly in 2007/2008 (ZEBEC 2009:146). Unfortunately, according to Dragica Panić Kašanski, there are just two active ethnochoreologists in Bosnia and Herzegovina today (Dragica Panić Kašanski and Sanja Ličina): since ethnochoreology is taught in ethnomusicological study programs, students are not interested in focusing on dance (interview Panić Kašanski 2018). This is similar to the situation in Macedonia, and although the state has provided possibilities for higher education in ethnochoreological courses, there is no interest in professional research activities in the field of dance.

While it could be said that institutionalized ethnochoreological education does not exist in Montenegro (interview Marjanović 2017), in Croatia it exists only as an optional opportunity.<sup>8</sup> In this country, students can devote their final research projects to dance within ethnological or cultural anthropology curriculums. The absence of separate bachelor and master degrees means that there are less than five active ethnochoreologists in Croatia. They mostly work at the Institute for Ethnology and Folklore Research. Despite their small number, they are very active in domestic and international scholarly projects (more in ZEBEC 1996, 2009).<sup>9</sup> Although there is no higher education in the field of dance, the state provides opportunities for various research projects, which influences the continuous development of ethnochoreology in this country.

In the case of Slovenia, the situation regarding higher education in the field of dance and ethno-choreology is similar to Croatia (PETTAN 2017; ZEBEC 2017; KUNEJ 2018). However, even though students can devote their final research projects to dance within ethnological or cultural anthropology programs, they are rare and it could be said that in Slovenia there are only a few active dance researchers.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The study program in ethnomusicology in Sarajevo, established in 1955, is the oldest in the territory of former Yugoslavia and has had continuity on all levels of study since its foundation (interview Talam 2017). For more about the history of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology in Bosnia and Herzegovina see: KARAČA BELJAK and TALAM 2014:240–249).

<sup>8</sup> Thanks to engagement of Croatian scholar Tvrtko Zebec, ethnochoreologically based university courses have occasionally existed at various institutions in Croatia since the late 1990s and early 2000s (more in ZEBEC 2009:145–146).

<sup>9</sup> Ethnochoreologists from Croatia not only actively take part in international conferences, but those employed at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore research in Zagreb have also organized several meetings of the ICTM study groups, for example, the 28<sup>th</sup> Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology held in Korčula in 2014 or the 6<sup>th</sup> Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in South-eastern Europe held in Sinj on April 2018. Ethnochoreology has a long history and is well established in this institution (more in MAROŠEVIĆ 1995:39–53; CERIBAŠIĆ 1998:49–65; ZEBEC 1996:89–110; 2009:136–150).

<sup>10</sup> Those are Rebeka Kunej, who works at Institute of Ethnomusicology of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and Vesna Bajić Stojiljković, who leads Serbian cultural-artistic society in Koper. (Although she lives in Slovenia and is active in this country, Vesna Bajić Stojiljković also teaches ethnochoreology at the Institute for Artistic Dance in Belgrade, Serbia).

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## RESEARCH PROJECTS

In each of the republics of former Yugoslavia, all of the institutions and organizations where ethnochoreologists work are financially supported by the state through funding from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development, and Ministry of Culture. Financial support from other sources is still rare, and it can be said that for now it almost not-existent. This means that the states in this region still directly influence the policies of scholarly research by defining and favoring specific research topics which are supported through regular funding and project financing. However, before discussing current topics in ethnochoreological research, it is important to point out that it is in this area that one of the main contradictions in official policy on scholarly work in East European post-socialist societies appears. Many of the former Yugoslavia republics have the lowest investments in scholarly research and culture in Europe. In Serbia and Macedonia, they constitute less than 1% of the state budgets for 2017 and 2018 ([www.stat.gov.rs](http://www.stat.gov.rs)). Along with very few financial allocations, the market crisis of the 2010s led to official governmental decisions in both countries, but also in Croatia, to ban employment in public services financed by the state, including the education system, research institutions and media.<sup>11</sup> Over the last five years, in spite of unbroken continuity in ethnochoreological education, young people have not had a legally regular opportunity to obtain steady jobs as experts in traditional dance.<sup>12</sup> Since the state directly finances ethnochoreological education, but also appears as the only sponsor of research projects for both faculties and institutes, it consequently has a direct influence on research topics and fieldwork.

The influence of the folkloristic foundation of ethnochoreology was that thematic orientation during socialist time in former Yugoslavia was focused on so-called folk dance of rural origin, primarily of the majority population, with the aim of constructing and strengthening national identity. The processes of widening themes of research first began in ethnomusicology in late 1980s and should be considered as part of the broader remodeling of related folklore-based fields of study such as ethnology and anthropology, which has gradually spread in all Southeast European scholarship from the late years of socialism until now. While these processes ran much faster in some countries of the former Yugoslavia, especially in Slovenia and Croatia, as Svanibor Pettan and Tvrtko Zebec has taught us (interviews: PETTAN 2017; ZEBEC 2017), the real shift in ethnochoreology in this region only occurred in the late 2000s, when interest in various dance genres and a deeper examination of performance style as well as issues of gender, identity processes, concepts of hybridity and interculturalism/transculturalism, cultural politics and ideology were gradually introduced in ethnochoreological scholarly writings (ZEBEC 2009:143–144; RAKOČEVIĆ 2013:75–76; KATARINČIĆ 2015:175; interviews: Karin 2018; Panić Kašanski 2018). The widening of research themes as well as their

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<sup>11</sup> In Serbia, according to this legally approved ban, a person can gain permanent employment only to fill positions left vacant due to retirement or for some other reason. This decision of the government is made annually from 2013 and is verified by the Amendments and supplements of the Law on the Budget System (<http://www.parlament.gov.rs>) (accessed October 10, 2019).

<sup>12</sup> This contradictory situation is the most difficult in Slovenia, where a number of young people with doctoral degrees have not been able to find a job for two years or more (KOTNIK 2007:160).

theoretical exploration basically appeared in masters and doctoral projects. Thanks to the financial support of the institutions where they are conducted, which means thanks to funding provided by the states, many of these are published, mostly in Serbia and Croatia (for example ZEBEC 2005; NIEMČIĆ 2011; RAKOČEVIĆ 2011; KARIN 2019).<sup>13</sup> Despite the fact that their printing is part of the official policy of promoting the results of national higher education in public, these extraordinary studies remain unknown to the wider scholarly community because they are imperatively printed in domestic languages, which influences the development of separate ethnochoreological schools, primarily within national scopes. Nevertheless, scholars who have gained their PhDs with ethnochoreological themes in former Yugoslavia republics continue to succeed in expanding the topics of their research as well as in developing their theoretical and methodological starting points in numerous international scholarly meetings.<sup>14</sup>

Regardless the fact that high educational and cultural policies in former Yugoslavia republics after 2000 involved the encouragement of multicultural dialogue and regional and international cooperation as part of establishing open and democratic societies, nationally oriented themes in scholarly research with a focus on village dances are still very much favored by the state officials in each country, but also by the wider community. This is confirmed by almost all of my interview partners. Since most of the countries of former Yugoslavia accepted the UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage over the last ten years, research topics devoted to various aspects of safeguarding traditional village dances considered to be national intangible cultural heritage are given preferential treatment in both academic circles and by the wider public. This has resulted in a certain number of articles devoted to dance as ICH, published during the last several years in both domestic languages and English (for example KUNEJ 2015:315–319; ZEBEC 2015:243–246; STOJKOVA SERAFIMOVSKA et al. 2016:1–24). Although state strategies for shaping the favored research themes are different and vary according to the current research policies in each country of former Yugoslavia, many researchers from this region share the attitude that they make many compromises when selecting the thematic focus in their research.

Despite the official widening of legitimate choices for field research projects, one of the contradictions of higher education policies in almost all former Yugoslavia republics both today and before 2000 is that there has been no official funding for field research for masters and doctoral students. Possibilities exist within the budgets of accepted research projects, but in order to apply for funding a young researcher first has to be elected for a project as a team member, which is for many a very limiting circumstance. This fact also continuously influences the choice of research subjects, which is in many cases still based on ethnography “at home” through numerous short-term fieldwork trips. However, the multiplication of possible research topics is inevitably pervaded with deliberation concerning the methodology of fieldwork, which in the last ten years has significantly expanded in phenomenological and epistemological aspects in parallel with applied

<sup>13</sup> Some unpublished PhD dissertations on dance include: KUNEJ 2007; KATARINČIĆ 2012; BAJIĆ STOJILJKOVIĆ 2016.

<sup>14</sup> The most important scholarly meetings for ethnochoreologists from former Yugoslavia republics are symposiums of the ICTM’s Study Group on Ethnochoreology and the Study Group on Music and Dance of Southeastern Europe, where most of them are continually active.

methods, including repeated and semi-structured in-depth interviews, participation in performance, archival work and the use of the internet and social networks as sources for investigations. These extensions of fieldwork methodology are certainly influenced by international discussions on this topic.

The fact that ethnochoreological education in Serbia is linked with higher education in music influenced the prevailing methodological focus on structural-formal aspects of dance and dance music and their kinaesthetic and sonic representations; such is also the case with Bosnia and Herzegovina and until 2000 with Macedonia (interviews: Panić Kašanski 2018; Opetcheska Tatarcheska 2017; Petkovski 2018). On the other hand, the fact that in Slovenia and Croatia PhD projects devoted to dance research are linked with ethnology or cultural anthropology university departments influenced their methodological permeations with those disciplinary fields. During the 1990s and early 2000s, colleagues from Croatia signified their field of study as “dance ethnology,” while lately they have begun to label their disciplinary field as ethnochoreology once again (KATARINČIĆ 2015:177–178; ZEBEC 2009; 2017).

Intellectual openness to alternative theoretical interpretations and methodological procedures, which appeared as a consequence of international communication between dance researchers after 2000s, inevitably blurs disciplinary boundaries and positions ethnochoreology somewhere in the vague field of humanistic scholarly disciplines, not only in former Yugoslavian republics, but also in other European countries. Nevertheless, in all former Yugoslavia republics during the last ten years interdisciplinarity has become a key word in all formal recommendations for research project applications in the sense that projects and articles based on interdisciplinary approaches are far more favored by the officials who decide about funding. Consequently, many researchers regard the imperative of interdisciplinarity, which is forced by the state and generally accepted as a dominant source of methodological research orientation, as kind of a pressure. This attitude causes the reaction of defending disciplinary fields determined by the topics and methodology of research: most of the scholars with whom I spoke (including myself) share the common view that both ethnographic and theoretical narratives about contextual and kinesthetic representations of dance are specificities of the domestic ethnochoreological scholarly traditions, in which we have the opportunity to build our scholarly relevance internationally.

## INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

While Slovenian and Croatian researchers were already active internationally in the late 1990s, ethnochoreologists from other former Yugoslavia republics (primarily Serbia and Macedonia) only started becoming continuously active in international expert associations after 2000, primarily within the ICTM.<sup>15</sup> Here appears another

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<sup>15</sup> While colleagues from Slovenia and Croatia became active in the ICTM in the early 1990s and immediately after wars in former Yugoslavia (interview Zebec 2017), in Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina these activities only became possible after the 2000s (PANIĆ KAŠANSKI 2018; STOJKOVA SERAFIMOVSKA 2017), as was the case in Serbia as well (KARIN 2018).



contradiction in post-socialist policies in higher education and scholarly research. In all former Yugoslavia republics, as is also the case worldwide, states not only officially support international cooperation, but favor this in relation to activities within national frameworks through the model of annual evaluation of researchers' activities. However, in some former Yugoslavia countries, there is no official funding for membership in international associations. Scholars are forced to cover such expenses from their own funds or to find alternative solutions. In most of the countries, there are possibilities for researchers to apply for partial cost coverage for participation in international scholarly meetings annually or once every two years, but only for those who are involved in official projects of the Ministry of Science. While this financial situation is also common for Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro (KARIN 2018; MARJANOVIĆ 2017; PANIĆ KAŠANSKI 2018), established researchers in Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia have more official support for international cooperation (interviews: Opetcheska Tatarchevska 2018; Kunej 2018; Zebec 2017), even though students and researchers in these countries who do not have an institutional background also have to bear costs for participation in international scholarly meetings on their own.

It could be said that Slovenian and Croatian scholars are generally in a better position than others, thanks to their EU membership. Slovenian and Croatian researchers, institutions and organizations can apply for various EU university exchange programs and project funds while their colleagues, institutions and organizations from other non-EU countries can only be so-called affiliated partners and have greater difficulties in implementing complicated EU application forms and requirements.

### SOME FINAL REFLECTIONS

Along with identifying contradictory trajectories of official educational and research policies in former Yugoslavia republics, we should attempt to offer an answer to the following question: What kind of ethnochoreological knowledge do we produce when influenced by the educational and research policies of our states?

There is a significant strand of continuity in the topics and locations of ethnochoreological research. The hallmark of contemporary ethnochoreology in the post-socialist countries of former Yugoslavia tends to lie in 'close-up' ethnographies still acquired through nationally and ethnically bordered field research. Qualitative data are the main currency of this ethnochoreological knowledge. At the same time, themes devoted to global dance genres are very slowly starting to be explored and they are always investigated in local contexts. Research of similarities on the higher regional and transnational level is still neglected. Although institutional cooperation between dance scholars in former Yugoslavia republics has started to develop again, it seems that nationally based ethnochoreological traditions keep expanding separately in each country. While themes of research as well as the methodologies of their exploration have been widening along with the idea of favoring the academic standards of the Bologna system of higher education, their national orientation as the legacy of academic knowledge production during socialist times continues to survive. Contradictory education and research policies reflect the ambivalent production of ethnochoreological knowledge, which tends to keep the national legacies of previous times and remodel them with the aim of strengthening national educational and

cultural values while methodologically and technologically making large strides towards the knowledge models of western academia.

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