

# Translation from Croatian into English: Translation and Analysis of Texts of Different Genres

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UNIVERSITY OF RIJEKA  
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**TRANSLATION FROM CROATIAN INTO ENGLISH:  
TRANSLATION AND ANALYSIS OF TEXTS OF DIFFERENT  
GENRES**

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the B.A. in English Language and  
Literature and German Language and Literature at the University of Rijeka

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## **ABSTRACT**

The focus of this thesis is the translation and the analysis of three texts of different genres from Croatian into English. Each translation is preceded by a brief introduction and followed by a commentary and analysis section describing the problems encountered during the process of translation and providing the solutions to these problems. The three texts differ in the topic, style and level of formality. The first text is an interview on life and career as well as politics. The second text is a research from the field of psychology and the third text is a travel offer consisting of itinerary and other information relevant for a trip.

Key words: translation, analysis, Croatian into English, problems

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION .....	4
2. TRANSLATION OF THE SOURCE TEXT I .....	7
2.1. Introduction .....	7
2.2. Translation.....	7
2.3. Commentary and analysis .....	22
3. TRANSLATION OF THE SOURCE TEXT II.....	25
3.1. Introduction .....	25
3.2. Translation.....	25
3.3. Commentary and analysis .....	46
4. TRANSLATION OF THE SOURCE TEXT III.....	49
4.1. Introduction .....	49
4.2. Translation.....	49
4.3. Commentary and Analysis .....	59
5. CONCLUSION.....	62
6. APPENDICES .....	63
6.1. APPENDIX A .....	63
6.2. APPENDIX B .....	71
6.3. APPENDIX C .....	82
7. BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	89

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis will display the process of translation of three texts differing in the level of formality and topic. The texts were translated using various translation techniques, which can broadly be classified as direct and indirect translation. Direct translation techniques include: borrowing, calque and literal translation. These techniques are used when there is a possibility of translating each element, word for word, from the source language into the target language or when a term can be kept in its original (source language) form, i.e. when it is assumed that the target language speakers are familiar with the term. Indirect translation techniques are used when direct translation technique would fail to transfer the meaning successfully from the source language into the target language. This is usually the case with idioms, proverbs, collocations and culturally specific terms which often do not have an equivalent in the target language. These techniques include: transposition, equivalence, modulation, adaptation and compensation.

According to Munday (5) “*The process of translation between two different written languages involves the translator changing an original written text (the source text or ST) in the original verbal language (the source language or SL) into a written text (the target text or TT) in a different verbal language (the target language or TL).*” A translation should successfully transfer the meaning provided in the source text into the target language. For a very long time the equivalence of words from the source text to those in the target text was more important than getting the meaning across: “... *it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that fidelity really came to be identified with faithfulness to the meaning rather than the words of the author.*” (Munday 25). The translation should be faithful, i.e. successfully render the message from the source text into the target text in order to be understood by the target audience. However, translation is a complex procedure requiring sufficient knowledge

of the source as well as the target language. The translator should also be familiar with both cultures to be able to provide a successful translation.

This thesis aims to display the problems encountered during the process of translation as well as provide the solutions to these problems. The texts are translated using dictionaries, bilingual as well as monolingual. Some of them are *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, *Cambridge Dictionary*, *Glosbe* and *Merriam-Webster* online dictionary. Often the terms had to be looked up in online sources in texts using the terminology equivalent to that of the source text.

The texts are of different genres, topics and levels of formality. The first text is an interview and its main focus is personal life and career as well as politics. It is written in a semi-formal style. The second text is written in a very formal style and it is a medical research paper from the field of psychology. The third and last text is a travel offer which describes the trip schedule in detail and also provides information on charges and accommodation.

Genre is determined by the purpose of the text and the targeted audience and it is “*a conventionalized form of speaking or writing which we associate with particular ‘communicative events’ (e.g. the academic abstract). Participants in these events tend to have set goals, with strict norms regulating what can or cannot be said within the confines of given genre settings.*” (Basil and Munday 88). Katharina Reiss distinguishes between three text types, or communicative situations: informative, expressive and operative and provides characteristics of each type (Munday 72). She also provides examples of genres (or text types) depending on their characteristics. An interview is primarily informative, because it provides information on a discussed topic as well as the interviewee’s opinions. However, it can also contain expressive and operative elements, which is the case in the interview translated in this thesis. The interview discusses politics and points out issues in the country and therefore could,

to some extent, aim to persuade the reader to think about those issues and try to make a change. A research paper is purely informative and does not display any characteristic of an operative text type nor an “*aesthetic dimension of language*” (Munday 72) which is characteristic of expressive text type. Reiss uses a tourist brochure as an example of a genre that has all three characteristics as it needs to both provide information, use creativity to make the offer more appealing and also persuade the reader to choose that particular travel offer.

This thesis is comprised of an abstract, an introduction, a table of contents, the translations of three texts, each preceded by an introduction and followed by commentary and analysis section which describes the problems encountered during the process of translation and the solutions to these problems. It also contains a conclusion, appendices, where all source texts can be found, as well as a bibliography.

## 2. TRANSLATION OF THE SOURCE TEXT I

### 2.1. Introduction

This text is an interview from a Croatian online news portal, *Telegram* and it was written by Vedran Vrabec. The interviewee is Dario Juričan, a Croatian film director and a producer as well as a political activist, mostly known as a candidate at the 2019 Croatian presidential elections. The text focuses on his personal life and career. It is written in a semi-formal style. Out of the three texts I translated this is the only one which has colloquialisms and idioms. Nevertheless, it was not particularly demanding and overall, it was the most interesting to translate due to its humorous tone and relatively short sentences.

### 2.2. Translation

Author: Vedran Vrabec | Photographer: Vjekoslav Skledar

## **An interview about the life of a former kid from an unpaved street in Dubrava: Who is even Dario Juričan and where did he come from**

An open conversation about growing up, achievements, disappointments, and the day he decided to attack Bandić. Also, why Bernardić is next

“First of all, I have been dealing with these criminals in Zagreb for many years now. Particularly, I have been closely monitoring Milan Bandić, 8 hours a day for the past 2 years. People think I’m spellbound, obsessed, but they don’t understand that’s my job. My job is Milan Bandić.”

04.02.2020



**Dario Juričan** was 10 minutes late for the interview. As soon as he sat down, he showed us a full bag of purchased items from the official gazette *Narodne Novine*, where he stopped by before our meeting to buy a new planner. “Look what I got. A planner, a notebook, and two calendars. I have a very particular taste when it comes to planners, and I have been buying the same one for five years. I went to *Narodne Novine* and asked if they had one. When they found it, they told me to wait for a moment because they had a gift for me. And so, I waited until they packed everything they wanted me to have. Ordinary bookstore employees, it’s not a propaganda ploy devised by some manager”, says Juričan.

“Okay, that was a nice experience, but it is not always so pleasant. Sometimes people would ambush me in situations when I really didn’t need it. I remember once I was leading a corruption-tour downtown when two older ladies suddenly grabbed me from the back. So, in front of me is a group of people I’m speaking to, and the two of them are standing somewhere behind me eating burgers. I didn’t even notice them until they jumped. Each grabbed me on one side and made me take a picture with them. What could I do, I let them take pictures of me” laughs Juričan.

### **BURST IN POPULARITY AFTER THE DEBATE**

I trust his every word. I see people approach him freely during our meeting. The waiter recognized him immediately and began to display servile friendliness as he was recommending us the best burgers. One lady came to us to shake hands, but said that they don’t have to take a picture together because a couple of days ago, her daughter had taken a selfie with him. Another lady passing by told him that he is “hilarious” and “truly original”, and that she likes how he “strikes those bandits”. On the other hand, three students from Šibenik surrounded him without hesitation and captured him in a group hug, and got me to take pictures of them.

Juričan seems to be infinitely patient, ready to talk to anyone, tell a joke, or listen to political gossip. He says the situation with people approaching him on the street has escalated following the debate organized by the Croatian National Television (HTV) before the first round of presidential elections. “The consequences of that debate are bad for me personally, but publicly it has brought me really good things. It is a demonstration of the power of television. We had been working constantly for two months before the debate, we did not stop. Then the debate came and showed us that that reach, which you might think is extensive due to Facebook and fieldwork, is meaningless without television” says Juričan.

### **CHILDHOOD IN DUBRAVA**

The path that led Juričan to television as a candidate for the president of the Republic of Croatia is the story that brought us together. What is behind the antagonism towards the mayor of Zagreb, which is so intense that he became the inspiration for a documentary and the emergence of the most original political persona in the history of Croatian politics? And where does the man who wants to be Milan Bandić even come from? Originally from Zagorje, it turned out. “My mother is from Klanjac, just like the presidential candidate of the Croatian party of all čakavian, kajkavian and štokavian speakers, **Nedjeljko Babić**”, laughs Juričan.

“I prayed to God that he wouldn’t find out about that, because you can imagine what the conversation would look like then. In the end, I kept silent about it at the presidential debate”, he admits. Juričan was born in Dubrava, where he spent the first seven years of his life. “It’s a small street, one hundred meters away from the cemetery. Just as we were moving out, they paved the road for the first time. This probably gives you an idea about where I lived. Gornja Dubrava was really a dump at the time. My childhood pictures are of gypsies with horses and carts collecting scrap metal” says Juričan.

### **ONLY BEDS AND A TABLE IN THE APARTMENT**

He lived in a rented apartment with his parents in Dubrava. “Then my parents got a loan and used the money to buy a flat in Špansko. Since much of their wage was spent on loan installments, we only had beds in the apartment for several years. I think after two years they bought a kitchen. Also, they bought me a desk when I started school, but I only got a desk lamp after three or four years. When I was 11, I also got a brother.”

After graduating from high school, Juričan wanted to study German at a university, but realized that he first needs to master that language. He looked for job ads and ended up as a babysitter with a German family in Mainz. “They had a huge villa and two children. The job was quite traumatic, especially when I realized after a month that the older kid had serious health problems. Of course, the parents confessed that only after I had sensed it myself. Besides, these Germans were infinitely stingy. For example, when they went on a vacation, they told me that I am also free during that week and that they wouldn’t pay me anything.”

### **INGLORIOUS EXPERIENCE WITH THE EDUCATION SYSTEM**

Juričan spent six months as a babysitter in Germany. All the money he earned, he spent, or how he put it, invested in traveling around Germany and France. When he returned to Croatia he enrolled at a university, graduated with a degree in German and comparative literature and got a job at a private high school in Zagreb where he faced the reality of the Croatian school system, such that he was fired after four and a half months of working.

“In high school, final grades are first given to seniors, a month before everyone else. I graded them fairly. If you have a D, a C, and a C, the final grade absolutely can’t be a B. But when the school board saw that I was not going to give the students higher grades than they deserved, as they wanted me to do, they started setting traps for me. I had to work once on Saturday, only one class. I informed them in writing that I couldn’t make it at that time, after which I got an extraordinary dismissal.”

## **A TICKET FOR THE GLOBAL TV INDUSTRY**

After being fired, Juričan got depressed, he says. He began to recover only after he went to a library and looked into the Labor Law. He was shocked when he found out that even someone who had not come to work for days could not get an extraordinary dismissal in Croatia. After such enlightenment, he knew exactly what to do. “I found a lawyer immediately, who agreed that my case was indisputable, so we sued the school.”

And so, after the Croatian school system, Juričan also got the opportunity to get to know the legal one. “You come to court. The judge asks if you are employed. You say you are and she replies that, in that case you will see each other again in six months. You tell her: *Wait, this is a labor dispute, it has a priority*, to which she says: *Well, there are also those who are more important than you.*” With such treatment from the court, the process dragged on until Juričan gave up on the litigation and the career in education, and decided to devote himself to his great love, film.

## **HE DECIDED TO DEVOTE HIMSELF TO FILM**

“I really had been watching a lot of movies and visiting all the art cinemas around Zagreb. In addition, I had been making small experimental films for a long time, and at some point, I started applying to festivals with these films. Over time, the films got a narrative structure, and so, step by step, I ended up in the feature film. At one point, it hit me - this is it.” Juričan quickly realized that he has to leave Croatia to become a professional filmmaker. “I was 26 and I couldn’t ask my parents again for money to study at the Academy of Dramatic Art. I wanted to go to the United States, but I didn’t manage to get a scholarship.

When they called me from Britain and said that I have great references, offered me half of the tuition, and added that they look forward to having someone from Croatia, I immediately packed up and went to London.” Juričan got accepted to London Film Academy, a film school

with a study program that immediately appealed to him. “The best thing about LFA is that the days are divided between academic and practical elements. I particularly enjoyed the latter. The mentors were awesome, people with strong references from the world of film, music, and commercials. I met there a great team that got me to join the projects they were involved in.”

## **BLANK INCUBATOR IS A HIT**

Acquaintances made in London have enabled Juričan to participate in some of the world’s biggest sports competitions. He worked at the Turin Winter Olympics, the Pan American Games in Rio de Janeiro, and the Doha Asian Games, after which he decided to return to Croatia. “These colleagues of mine who have remained in that area of work are now making tremendous amounts of money, but I do not regret not being with them. I took the money and ran away”, laughs Juričan, who started making his own films after returning to Zagreb. He made around twenty of them and produced even more.

“I started working with young filmmakers and that work quickly turned into *Blank filmski inkubator* (*Blank film incubator*). It gave young filmmakers the opportunity to shoot with high-quality equipment, make their own projects, and gain the first experience. We have assembled a wonderful team and last year, ten of the *Blank*’s students were admitted to the Academy, and to all majors - directing, production, filming, and editing. This shows just how good they are. When you come to the entrance examination and say you are from *Blank*, that is a big plus. At the incubator, we apply the method I learned in England, which means that I insist on a practical approach. I don’t have time to discuss the contemporary feminist film with them, but if they want to make such a movie, *Blank* is the best place to do that.”

## **THE BREAKING POINT**

Filmmaking and teaching young filmmakers would probably still to this day be Juričan’s only preoccupation if he had not met **Siniša Labrović**, a man he describes as “an intellectually and

morally superior person.” This conceptual artist has attracted the eye of the public with crazy performances such as the *Pilgrimage to St. Milan*, when he made a circle around the City Hall on his knees, or when he brought a group of young Roma people singing Ustasha songs to Cvjetni Square. Juričan was so amazed that he offered him filming equipment for free. Labrović did not accept the offer, but he became Juričan’s supervisor.

It was precisely Labrović’s decision to move to Berlin that awakened in Juričan the anti-Bandić activist whom we know today. “His departure from Zagreb was actually the last straw, and it made me realize how dangerous Bandić is for the future. When a person with whom you are so close and whom you highly respect, tells you that they can no longer live in this city, and when you realize that he, one of the greatest artists in Croatia, cannot provide basic working and living conditions for himself and his family, it crushes you. That was the point when I said: ‘No, you won’t, bandit.’ It was then that I started thinking about the presidential elections, and all of this started”, says Juričan.

### **‘MILAN BANDIĆ IS MY JOB’**

After defining his goal, Juričan began to systematically attract public attention with activities such as changing the names of the streets, visiting Pantovčak, or writing completely absurd, but perfectly justified requests with which he bombarded government institutions. He obviously knows how to get the interest of the media, so I ask him who comes up with the jokes. “First of all, I have been dealing with these criminals in Zagreb for many years now. Particularly, I have been closely monitoring Milan Bandić, 8 hours a day for the past 2 years. People think I’m spellbound, obsessed, but they don’t understand that it is my job. My job is Milan Bandić. I have been keeping track of all his campaigns, and so, learning from the worst, I figured out what are the best tools. I followed the paths he paved and then I went a little

further. I said out loud what he would say if he could: *‘I came to lie to you, I came to deceive you, I came for your vote.’* and I kept repeating that wherever I came.”

## **THE TEAM BEHIND JURIČAN**

The sketch of the campaign was made by Juričan and his team 2 months before the elections. Every 2 weeks during those 2 months they had big meetings during which ideas were brainstormed for the upcoming two-week cycle. He also had people who were in charge of short-term projects, whose task was to react quickly to daily events. “For example, **Pupovac** excluded the posters in Cyrillic, and we reacted almost immediately, accepted the game, and wrote on a poster in Cyrillic: *Corruption to all, not only them.*”

Juričan gathered people from literally everywhere on the team. “Some of them are from the film world, some are my old friends and the rest are famous activists”, he says. “We were a small team, 4 or 5 of us at the core of the project, and the inner circle consisting of around 15 volunteers. Recently we submitted a financial report and it turned out we have spent 10 000 euros when we take away 200 000 kunas worth media space that was donated to us. We focused on Zagreb and I think that’s good, we would probably have been crushed if we went beyond that.

We were highly creative. There was a timetable on a wall on which we would stick everything that was going on each day from Monday to Friday. Another wall contained a pool of ideas with over twenty ideas at every moment. We quickly realized we shouldn’t come up with so many ideas because the media and the public couldn’t absorb everything we came up with. We concluded that there is no point in having more than two big actions per week, as each is talked about for three days and so you cover a week’s worth of the campaign”, he describes.

## **HOW DOES HE ACTUALLY MAKE A LIVING?**

Creativity can obviously be a substitute for strong finances and compensate for a team small in numbers, still, you have to eat, stay warm, drive ... live. How does Dario Juričan actually make a living? “Currently, I make money only with the project *Kumek*<sup>1</sup>, the film I’m working on, and the workshops I’m running. The budget for *Kumek* is around half a million kunas. I received around 400 000 from HAVC<sup>2</sup> and a 100 000 more was raised through crowdfunding. When this is done I will be crushed financially, but that is normal. Then I will focus more on the workshops until I get the money again to work on another film I’m planning”, says Juričan. With his 3 jobs, which are the “Milan Bandić job”, working on *Kumek*, and managing workshops in *Blank*, Juričan says he does not have time for hobbies. Nevertheless, I remembered that he occasionally posts pictures from running. That reminds me of the legendary joggings in Kušlanova when the times were better for Bandić and the media enthusiastically reported that the mayor was jogging in the company of his dog Rudi and his assistants from the office. However, Juričan explains that his jogging is not ridicule of Bandić.

## **A NEW MARATHON RUNNER**

“Well, I was a fat pig, weighted over 80 kg, and given how tall I am I should weight 70 kg. I realized I should take the bull by the horns, so I looked into what I could do and figured out that running could be a challenge. It was brutal at the beginning, but the team at the *Forca* athletics club is awesome. We run along the Sava embankment. I started in April 2019. I attended practice regularly and diligently, so at the end of November, I ran the first marathon in Ljubljana. Those are 22 kilometers that I ran in 2 hours and 10 minutes. It’s not the best time, but the atmosphere was fantastic. There were at least 5 bands around, the whole city of Ljubljana got out on the streets to cheer, and the route was not too demanding.

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<sup>1</sup> *Kumek* is a feature film that is a part of the *Gazda* film series

<sup>2</sup> HAVC (Croatian Audiovisual Centre) is a public institution promoting the production of audiovisual industry and culture.



I also ran the *Zagreb cener*, and that was interesting because the mayor opened the race with his little trumpet. I ran next to him and raised my thumbs up. Later, I saw on his Facebook that they published that photo. It was hilarious, they probably didn't know who I was.", he recalls. He doesn't have other hobbies because he just doesn't have free time. "People have become very ardent, sending me e-mails, personally, through social networks, giving me information, therefore the communication and research take up a lot of my time", says Juričan.

### ***KUMEK IS ALMOST DONE, ISUS IS NEXT***

What is really going to happen with Juričan when the mayor of Zagreb, one way or another, leaves the political scene? What is the man who says 'Bandić is my job' going to do when the justice system, the decision of the voters or Bandić's own decision to step down, take away the meaning of his life? "Yes, that actually means I will lose my job. Okay, I have another project in mind. Actually, I'm already making preparations for a new film. It will be called *Isus Krist* (Jesus Christ)", says Juričan. I'm trying to think of a politician or a businessman with such a nickname, who could have attracted Juričan's attention and who could share the same unpleasant destiny as the mayor of Zagreb or the owner of the bankrupted Agrokor, but nothing comes to my mind.

"*Isus Krist naš svagdašnji* is the working title of the film. *Isus Krist* is my last *Gazda*<sup>3</sup>. I will deal with the Church", Juričan tells me finally. "I think that is the only living organism representing Gazde (Bosses) left in Croatia. **Todorić, Kutle**, Bandić, and in the end *Isus Krist*. For *Isus*, I got the support from *Društvo redateljja* ("The society of film directors") and the support from HAVC for script development, with which I am almost done. As soon as I finish editing *Kumek*, I will start with it, and I expect that the first shots will be made during the

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<sup>3</sup> *Gazda* (*The Boss*) is a documentary movie directed by Dario Juričan about privatization and corporations in Croatia.

summer. With that film, I'm going to end this series of documentaries, and I don't think I will engage in this type of documentaries anymore", he says.

### **HE WANTS THE PREMIERE AT THE *EUROPA* CINEMA**

But before he tackles the Church, he needs to finish the film story about Bandić. *Kumek* will be Juričan's third big documentary film about the interconnection between politics and the economic sector in Croatia. The film should be finished in a few months, Juričan reveals. "We waited for this campaign to end. Two-thirds are done, we are waiting to see which direction I will as *politicus* take. I am hoping the premiere will be at the cinema *Europa*. That's the cinema that Bandić closed down, and still hasn't started renovating, which clearly shows he did it out of pure spite and hatred towards the freedom in culture", he notes.

Juričan is not sure if the viewers will be able to see *Kumek* on HTV as well. He recalls how much he struggled to get *Gazda* on public broadcasting. He sent offers, organized petitions, and publicly denounced the authorities in Prisavlje. When public broadcasting finally contacted him, it was too late. He clearly remembers that day. "That was when the police came to Kulmerovi dvori to arrest Ivica Todorić, who had already fled to London. They called me from HTV and offered to take the film, but RTL was quicker for a few hours. They probably heard that Todorić will be arrested, so they hurried up. I brought them the film that morning, they paid me within two minutes, and broadcasted it that evening" he narrates.

### **BERNARDIĆ AS A NEW TARGET**

To entertain himself between working on films, Juričan has found a new target in politics for the times to come after the fall of Milan Bandić. "It's **Davor Bernardić**'s turn", he says with a smile. The SDP (social democratic party) president became Juričan's target because of his ties with Bandić, of course. He is convinced that the Zagreb mayor was Bernardić's mentor, and according to his information, the ties between the two go back more than a decade. Juričan

is certain that it is exactly Bernardić who is the key to Milan Bandić's survival in the city and national politics.

“Considering how many SDP members are employed in Grad and Holding<sup>4</sup>, with the information they have, they could have destroyed Bandić whenever they wanted. And I am managing to bring him down with few sources in the municipal administration and Holding. But he is protected by Bero, the king of inactivity, the main safety net for Milan Bandić in this city. He doesn't even criticize him. Have we ever heard Davor Bernardić say anything about the Advent, or about any problem in the city? Bero is the first man Bandić can thank for his slacking opposition in Grad. I stand by that statement. He is the most low-life political pest.”

Juričan noticed something interesting regarding the selection of SDP candidates at the local elections in Zagreb. “Year after year, they send to the Assembly (Zagreb Assembly) people who are bound by interest to the Grad or Holding, and then these people, of course, run away. **Tamara Čubretović, Radenko Tomić**, those are the people whose contracts were expiring and they transferred to the Bandić's party. Well, you can't put people likely to be blackmailed to a position requiring such responsibility. SDP does that on purpose, and that is not a coincidence. After the next local elections, they will send such people there again. It is an organized, focused slackness which is systematically carried out”, Juričan is convinced.

## **IN ZAGREB, NOBODY NEEDS A BUSINESS PLAN**

When the alleged opposition will not get to the mayor, there is someone who will. In early December, Juričan founded a company which he named *Milan Bandić services quid pro quo j.d.o.o.*<sup>5</sup>. At the time, he said his goal was “to bring every citizen at the heart of the Advent's

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<sup>4</sup> Zagreb Holding (Zagrebački Holding d.o.o.) is a company in Zagreb, Croatia offering municipal, market, energy, and pharmacy services.

<sup>5</sup> “A simple limited liability company (j.d.o.o.) is a capital company whose minimum share capital is only 10 kn (as opposed to a d.o.o. when the share capital required is 20,000 kn minimum). A j.d.o.o. can have up to five founders.” (expatincroatia.com)

profit; give advice on how to choose an escort, how to paint tunnels twice, offer tax deduction counseling”, and in general, how to find various ways to bend the law and enable the users to get rich through corruption. The concept appealed to me immediately, so I asked Juričan to outline a business plan that would allow me as well to make some money at the next Advent.

The great visionary of corruption looked at me pitifully. “Well look, you are naive, that’s the first thing I get. You don’t need any business plan; you just need to know who to turn to in order to get in the game. Those are simple things that I cover during my corruption-walks or corruption-dribbles. I take people from the Ban Jelačić Square, pass Gajeva, and over Zrinjevac we reach Praška. That short route is enough to explain to them how the system works. All you have to do is find a gray-black area which you can infiltrate, kiss the right person’s ass, promise a favor, and you’re at the top”, Juričan explains.

### **CORRUPTION STEMS FROM THE LOW PRICE OF TRAM TICKETS**

If things really are that clear, and if everyone knows that city structures are riddled with corruption and nepotism, what is the secret of the mayor’s success at the elections? Who votes for him? “We can talk about that for days”, says Juričan, “but I always start explaining the Milan Bandić phenomenon starting from the tram. How much is a tram ticket? Four kunas? Is that a normal price? No, that is absolutely not a normal ticket price. The reasonable price is at least ten kunas. But you cannot explain this to people, nor can you explain to them the fact that, for example, the price of ten kunas for a swimming pool ticket on a weekday is not a normal price.

And that’s it. People can accept that at the end of the year, ZET (the public transport operator) is at a loss of 100 million kunas, but they cannot accept the fact that the price of a tram ticket is ten kunas. Because of this hypocrisy, Milan Bandić cannot lose an election. I only described one percent of the whole problem, but that is the key. That pool ticket and that tram ticket, for

me, are the start of everything. The corruption starts right from that point. People get corrupted as soon as they enter the tram, but nobody can accept that. A little, corrupt man has a hundred excuses: it's better to pay something than nothing, besides, public transportation should be free of charge - there is always an excuse", Juričan concluded somewhat resignedly.

### **ZAGREB IS ON THE VERGE OF DESTRUCTION**

It is not pleasant to think about in which state that kind of politics has brought the city's finances. Juričan believes the extent of the disaster will become clear only when the current mayor leaves. "All hell will break loose. Complete chaos. Of course, not because he runs the city well, so we would miss him, but because then, a hidden septic tank will open, next to which Agrokor will look like a child's play. The people that will win Zagreb over after Bandić, will be faced with serious problems."

Juričan is ready to express and justify his unflattering opinion about the Zagreb mayor for hours; after all, he built his public persona on it. But I wonder if there is any information on what Milan Bandić thinks of him? "I don't bother with that. I know he is a little coward, and I know how he functions. And I know he knows that his end is near. However, it is also clear to me that, that end cannot come through me, but it must come through institutions", says Juričan.

Bandić's end is near? "I observe all those trials", Juričan explains, "and despite the witnesses often having amnesia, the physical evidence on the criminal organization is so strong, and he is capo at the top of that pyramid, so there is no way he can get away with it".

### **BANDIĆ CHANGED HIS CLOTHES**

Even though he is certain that Bandić will be convicted, Juričan does not believe in a particularly harsh sentence. "I consulted with legal experts, journalists who have long been observing him and other well-informed people. There is a consensus that he will receive less

than five years in prison, meaning he remains free until the final sentence is passed. We expect he could get around 3 years”.

Juričan likes to watch the mayor’s troubles with the law live. He was at the last hearing for the Agram affair. “I watched him at the trial the day after I posted a letter in which I mentioned the suits which were tailor-made for him in Italy. He had obviously read it, so he was careful in choosing his clothes. He came to court in some strange suit, his pants were so short that half his legs were sticking out. I laughed hysterically when I saw that”, laughs Juričan.

### **HE WILL GET HIS HANDS ON HOLDING**

It seems to me that his trick with name changing faded away. Ever since he made his reputation at the debate, he is less represented in the media as ‘Milan Bandić’, or ‘the man who wants to be Milan Bandić’. He became too well known as Dario Juričan, so I ask him if he gave up on the other name. He categorically rejects any thought of that and launches an attack on institutions that prevented him from running for president as Milan Bandić.

“The problem is that the lower-ranking institutions ignore the ruling of the Administrative Court which states that I am Milan Bandić. It is completely clear that I will win the legal battle concerning the name because I have done absolutely everything legally. If it continues this way, we will have to go to the European Court of Justice, but this cannot take forever. When all of this is over, I’ll continue to be named Milan Bandić, and I really don’t understand why that is strange. As Milan Bandić would say: *Milan Bandić is the solution, not the problem.*”

That aphorism seemed like a great prompt for me to end the interview, but Juričan had a different idea.

“You forgot to ask me something very important”, he says sternly, “and that is something I’ve been talking about for weeks. Since I achieved a good result at the presidential elections, and since I am the fifth political force in the country, actually the fourth, considering that **Kolakušić**

wavered, I want Zagreb Holding for myself. I know, they think it's all some kind of a joke, but I don't understand why anyone would get such an idea. Now I'm telling you all, they will meet their Waterloo at the Holding. I will not give up on it, my mission is to get that Holding, and they can agree among themselves how will they give it to me", concluded Juričan looking dead serious.

### 2.3. Commentary and analysis

The first terminological problem that I encountered was "životni intervju" and debated between "a life interview" and "an interview about the life". I chose "an interview about the life" since it sounds more natural in English. I had problems translating the verb "zaskočiti" in the sentence "Znalo se događati da me ljudi zaskoče u situacijama kada mi to stvarno ne treba." and decided to use equivalence as the translation technique. At first, I was debating between "come at" and "surprise", but then I opted for the verb "ambush" as it indicates a sudden attack by surprise and refers to the situation described in the next sentence ("I remember once I was leading a corruption-tour downtown when two older ladies suddenly grabbed me from the back.").

There were some creative compounds which I wanted to keep as close to the original as possible, such as "koruptotura" in the sentence "Sjećam se, jednom sam vodio koruptoturu po centru grada, kada su me s leđa iznenada zgrabile dvije starije gospođe." which would sound a bit odd as "corrupto-tour", hence I opted for "corruption-tour". I did the same in "To su jednostavne stvari koje obrađujem na svojim koruptošetnjama, ili koruptodriblinzima." and translated them as "corruption-walks or corruption-dribbles".

In the sentence "Konobar ga je odmah prepoznao i pretvorio se u suštu ljubaznost dok nam je preporučivao najbolje burgere." I had problems translating "pretvorio se u suštu

ljubaznost”, which I first tried to translate using the verb “transform”, but could not find any phrase that would go well with it and also turned out to be too formal for this context. In the end I translated the sentence as “The waiter recognized him immediately and began to display servile friendliness as he was recommending us the best burgers.”.

There were some terms which did not have English equivalents such as “j.d.o.o.” in the sentence “Početkom prosinca Juričan je osnovao tvrtku koju je nazvao *Milan Bandić usluge protuuслугe j.d.o.o.*” and had to be further clarified. I kept the Croatian term “j.d.o.o.” and opted for compensation translation technique. I explained in form of a footnote what “j.d.o.o.” stands for in Croatian and translated the sentence as “In early December, Juričan founded a company which he named *Milan Bandić services quid pro quo j.d.o.o.*”.

There were many other sentences where I had to use indirect translation techniques such as the sentence “No, iako je siguran da Bandiću osuda ne gine ...” where I used modulation and translated it as “Even though he is certain that Bandić will be convicted...”, and also the Croatian phrase “Nastat će krš i lom.” which I translated using an idiom: “All hell will break loose.”. In the sentence “Pismeno sam ih obavijestio da tada ne mogu doći, nakon čega su mi zafitiljili izvanredni otkaz” I could not find a word for “zafitiljiti” which would go with “izvanredni otkaz”, therefore I focused only on the meaning of the word in this context and simplified it. The final sentence was “I informed them in writing that I couldn’t make it at that time, after which I got an extraordinary dismissal.”.

Furthermore, the Croatian phrase I also found problematic was “slomiti zube na čemu” in “Sad vam svima kažem, oni će slomiti zube na tom Holdingu.”. Literal translation would not work here, so I focused again on the meaning of the phrase which is “to suffer a defeat; to fail”. I looked up English phrases which would fit into this context and decided to use “to meet one’s Waterloo”. The final sentence was “Now I’m telling you all, they will meet their



Waterloo at that Holding.” I found the translation of the slogan “*Korupcija svima, ne samo njima*” in several news articles online. The most often used were “Corruption for everyone, not just for them.” and “Corruption to all, not only them“. I chose the latter which I found at *Hrvatski centar za istraživačko novinarstvo i slobodu medija* website (HRCIN; Croatian Center for Investigative Journalism and Freedom of the Press).

### 3. TRANSLATION OF THE SOURCE TEXT II

#### 3.1. Introduction

The second text is a medical text on psychopathy written by an author of many publications in the field of psychology, Katarina Sokić, professor at Effectus, College for Finance and Law. The source of this text is *Hrčak*, Portal of Croatian scientific and professional journals. The text is very formal and abounds in medical terms. It gives an overview of research data on the risk factors for the development of psychopathy. This text discusses genetic, environmental, and neurobiological factors for the development of psychopathy as well as the effects of parental behavior on the development of psychopathic traits. It also addresses preventive procedures and treatment for individuals displaying psychopathic traits.

#### 3.2. Translation

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## **Biological and psychosocial risk factors for the development of psychopathy**

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#### **Abstract**

The purpose of this paper is to give an overview of the findings on biological and psychosocial risk factors for the development of psychopathy. Albeit the etiology of psychopathy is not completely clear, a significant amount of research has been conducted, including genetic and biochemical hypotheses, showing that psychopathy has a strong biological basis. In the conceptualization of the etiology of psychopathy, it is important to consider the share of genetic and environmental factors, in conjunction with cognitive, emotional, and neurological correlates of psychopathy. Research shows that persistent antisocial behavior is genetically conditioned. Children with prominent callous-unemotional traits display numerous emotional and cognitive characteristics of adult psychopaths. Findings indicate a correlation between psychopathic personality traits and significant impairment in emotional and stress reactivity, which indicates that psychopathic traits are linked to neurocognitive deficits in emotional learning. Taking into account the research which indicates that parenting is associated with the development of psychopathic traits in children, this work also analyzes the nature of the relationship and the direction of the correlation between certain family variables and parenting (i.e. the quality of the early parent-child relationship, affection, physical punishment, child neglect).

Key words: psychopathy, biological risk factors, psychosocial risk factors

## **Introduction**

Psychopathy demonstrates a specific set of personality traits which includes various affective and interpersonal characteristics such as lack of empathy, shallow emotions, callousness, fearlessness, manipulateness, grandiosity, aggression, and taking advantage of others, which are often found in chronic antisocial behavior and impulse control deficits (Hare and Neumann, 2008; Lilienfeld et al., 2012; Skeem, Polaschek, Patrick and Lilienfeld, 2011; Venables, Hall and Patrick, 2014). Psychopathy is conceptually similar to antisocial personality

disorder according to DSM-V (APA, 2013)<sup>6</sup> and its main characteristic is antisocial behavior. However, the empirical connection between psychopathy and antisocial personality disorder is not symmetrical; most psychopaths meet the diagnostic criteria for antisocial personality disorder, but not vice versa (Blair, Mitchell and Blair, 2008). The prevalence of psychopathy in the general population is assumed to be 0.6 - 1% (Coid, Yang, Ullrich, Roberts and Hare, 2009; Hare, 2003), while the proportion of psychopaths in a population of convicts with an established antisocial personality disorder is 15-25% (Hart and Hare, 1989).

The etiology of psychopathy is not completely clear. Many studies emphasize a strong biological basis for psychopathy (e.g. Begić, 2011; Glenn and Raine, 2008; Sadeh et al. 2010). More recently, research has been carried out providing the first molecular genetic evidence for the existence of the genetic basis of psychopathy, however, crucial data on the role of genetic factors as well as the functioning of neurotransmitter and neuroendocrine systems in individuals with pronounced psychopathic traits is still missing (Blair, Peschardt, Budhani, Mitchell and Pine, 2006). This paper will present findings on genetic impacts considered to be the basis of psychopathy. Furthermore, research results on the role of neurotransmitter and neuroendocrine systems in the development and maintenance of psychopathy will be presented. Principles of neurobiologically oriented models related to emotional deficits and cognitive dysfunctions as the correlates of psychopathy will also be described, as well as the dual deficit model which attempts to integrate findings of its complex neurobiological nature. Given that no effective therapy for psychopathy has yet been developed, literature review (e.g. Glenn and Raine, 2008) shows that the understanding of its neural basis is the key to developing preventive procedures and treatments for individuals with pronounced psychopathic traits.

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<sup>6</sup> *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, DSM-V, is a classification system of the *American Psychiatric Association* (APA)

Understanding of the developmental predictors of psychopathy demands looking at externalized problems that begin in early childhood classified as conduct disorder (CD). According to the DSM-V (APA, 2013) criteria, a conduct disorder is characterized by persistent behavior pattern in which the basic rights of others or important societal and age-appropriate norms are violated. The DSM-V (APA, 2013) distinguishes between conduct disorder with childhood-onset (childhood type), adolescence-onset (adolescent type), and an unspecified type of this disorder characterized by the presence of callous-unemotional traits (CU traits). The CU traits are deemed predictive of the development of psychopath because they include lack of remorse and/or guilt, callousness, lack of empathy, lack of interest in fulfilling obligations, and lack of emotions, i.e. shallow emotions (Frick, 2009).

This paper will also consider family variables related to parenting, which represent risk factors for the development of conduct disorder with strongly pronounced CU traits. The nature of the relationship and the direction of the correlation of certain family variables and parenting (i.e. the quality of the early parent-child relationship, affection, physical punishment, child neglect) with the development of psychopathic traits, will be analyzed. Several longitudinal studies, that tested the bidirectional effects of parenting behavior and child characteristics, show that CU traits are a better predictor of changes in parenting behavior over time than the parenting behavior is predictive of changes in CU traits (Hawes, Dadds, Frost and Hasking, 2011; Muñoz, Pakalniskiene, and Frick, 2011). However, there is still no research that has clearly identified the family and parental variables which are correlates of psychopathy.

### **The biological basis and neurobiological correlations of psychopathy**

#### **The molecular genetic basis of psychopathy**

Recently, the first studies of families, twins, and adopted children which provide evidence for the genetic basis of psychopathy, were conducted. On a sample of male

adolescents (Taylor, Loney, Bobadilla, Iacono, and McGue, 2003) genetic and environmental effects on the development of two dimensions of psychopathy were tested: impulsivity/antisocial behavior and interpersonal alienation/callousness. The findings showed that a large part of the common environmental variance in predicting the dimension of emotional alienation cannot be attributed to specific environmental factors associated with impulsivity/antisocial behavior, which indicates that the same environmental factors contribute differently to the development of antisocial behavior and emotional alienation.

The first known study of the heritability of psychopathic traits was conducted on a sample of 3687 seven-year-old twin pairs (Viding, Blair, Moffitt and Plomin, 2005). For the analysis of the strongly pronounced CU traits, same-sex twin pairs were selected, where at least one in the pair displayed a standard deviation of 1.3 above average on the CU traits scale. The sample of children with strongly pronounced antisocial behavior was then divided into children who, in addition to pronounced antisocial behavior, also had strongly pronounced CU traits and into antisocial children with CU traits. It was determined that there is a high heritability (67%) of antisocial behavior accompanied by CU traits and that antisocial behavior without pronounced CU traits is strongly influenced by environmental factors. In another study on 1865 nine-year-old twin pairs, it was investigated if there were differences in heritability of antisocial behavior followed by the prominence of CU traits with statistically controlled hyperactivity (Viding, Jones, Frick, Moffitt and Plomin, 2008). Participants were divided into two groups: participants in the first group had, along with antisocial behavior, pronounced CU traits, and in the second group the participants had pronounced antisocial behavior without pronounced CU traits. Antisocial behavior was shown to be more heritable when it is accompanied by CU traits, and when hyperactivity symptoms were controlled, there was an even greater deviation in heritability of antisocial behavior, with or without pronounced CU traits. Bezdjian, Raine, Baker, and Lynam (2011) examined the impact of genetic and environmental factors on the

development of psychopathic traits by measuring psychopathy on the *Child Psychopathy Scale* (CPS, Lynam, 1997) on a general sample of 1219 twins and triplets aged 9 and 10. The results showed that genetic factors have a strong impact on the interpersonal-affective dimension of psychopathy (heritability was 64% in boys and 49% in girls) as well as on the impulsive-antisocial dimension (heritability was 46% in boys and 58% in girls). A recent study using a sample of 1189 5-year-old twin pairs in Sweden (Tuvblad, Fanti, Andershed, Colins and Larsson, 2017) found that both genetic and mutual environmental factors impact psychopathic personality traits in early childhood, measured by the *Child Problematic Traits Inventory* (CPT, Colins, et al., 2014). Genetic influences accounted for 57% variance in the grandiose-manipulative dimension, 25% variance in the callous-unemotional dimension, and as much as 74% variance in the impulsive need for stimulation dimension. Considering the findings of the aforementioned studies, further research is needed on the origin of differences in developmental pathways in antisocial children, with and without pronounced CU traits. The high heritability of these traits suggests that molecular genetic research of antisocial behavior should be directed precisely towards these traits as genetic bases of psychopathy.

Taking into account that psychopathic features manifest themselves in the environment and the socioeconomic status potentially being an important environmental factor, research carried out in two separate studies (Sadeh et al., 2010) examined the impact of polymorphic variations on a gene which regulates the transfer of serotonin (SLC6A4) and socioeconomic status on the development of psychopathic traits in young people with an average age of 14. The key aim of this research was to obtain preliminary data on the risk arising from the SLC6A4 gene and poor economic status, on a sample of youth with a wide range of psychopathic tendencies. This is the first research that discovered the impact of a specific gene on psychopathic tendencies among youths. The purpose of the first study was to examine how the socioeconomic status and 5-HTT genotype individually and in combination contribute to

the emergence of psychopathic tendencies in young adolescents. The purpose of the second study was to examine the reliability and possibility of generalization of the results obtained in the first study on a younger sample of adolescents with different environmental and demographical characteristics. According to the acquired results, the 5-HTT genotype was related to the impulsive dimension of psychopathy, while the 5-HTT genotype and environment in interaction had an impact on the CU traits and narcissism. Psychopathic tendencies in youth have been shown to vary in the function of the socioeconomic status. The results of this study provide the first molecular genetic evidence to support the etiological model of psychopathy, in which the hereditary components of impulsivity and emotional-interpersonal psychopathy traits are different. According to the results, individuals homozygous for short alleles, s/s genotype (i.e. genes that occupy the same place on homologous chromosomes), displayed greater impulsivity in comparison with individuals homozygous for long alleles. Young people with the s/s genotype had higher average scores on impulsivity, consistent with the earlier study on serotonin dysfunction and impulsivity. On the other hand, young people with l/l genotype who grew up in disadvantaged socio-economic environment displayed in the first study a higher level of CU traits and narcissism. The different genotype-impact on separate dimensions of psychopathy points that the absence of short alleles on the 5-HTT gene can pose a risk for the development of antisocial deviances in the emotional range, especially callousness. Research shows that individuals who do not have short alleles display brain activity characteristic of relatively low emotional arousal, more efficient control of internal emotional arousal, and reduced amygdala activation, compared to the l/s and s/s genotype. The data indicate that low arousal related to the l/l genotype poses a risk for the development of CU traits in an unfavorable environment. In contrast, CU traits and narcissism increase in the function of low socioeconomic status only in young people with a homozygous long (l/l) genotype. This genotype poses a risk for the emotional deficit and predatory traits associated



with psychopathy in young adults growing up in an unfavorable environment. A haplotype consisting of OXTR-rs237885 A allele and OXTR-rs2268493 A allele was associated with significantly higher levels of CU traits.

The first known study examining the links between CU traits in extremely aggressive children and adolescents with the oxytocin hormone (OXT) and the oxytocin receptor gene (OXTR) (Beitchman et al., 2012) was conducted based on the already known impact of the oxytocin hormone on aggression, social memory, attachment, sexual and aggressive behavior, stress and anxiety in a way that oxytocin reduces anxiety, adjusts social behavior, feelings and tendency for socialization (Campbell, 2010). The authors assumed that oxytocin might be involved in the development and manifestation of CU traits in aggressive children. The study involved 162 children (106 boys and 56 girls), aged between 6 and 16, who were involved in medical treatment and prior to the study had, according to their parents, at least a two-year history of aggressive behavior. Three dimensions of psychopathy were measured: callousness and apathy, poor urge control, and narcissism. Genotyping of oxytocin itself and its gene receptor was performed using commercially available analysis (ABI). The study found that OXTR\_rs 237885 AA genotype carries higher values of callous-unemotional traits than AC or CC genotypes. A haplotype consisting of OXTR-rs237885 A allele and OXTR-rs2268493 A allele was associated with significantly higher values of CU traits than other haplotypes. The results showed that there is a high correlation between oxytocin hormone polymorphism and CU in children and adolescents. Malik, Zai, Abu, Nowrouzi, and Beitchman (2012) examined the correlation of genetic regulation of oxytocin with antisocial behavior and CU traits in extremely aggressive children. The study aimed to identify a phenotype of highly aggressive behavior for which they assumed to have a strong genetic background. A total of 236 children aged between 6 and 16 (162 boys and 74 girls), with highly aggressive behavior, participated in the sample testing. The comparison group consisted of 160 healthy individuals who had no

history of aggressive behavior in childhood. The results of the genotyping analysis showed that oxytocin receptor genes OXTR SNPs rs6770632 and rs1042778 could be associated with continuous, pervasive, antisocial behavior in both sexes, particularly in male subjects. The deregulation of oxytocin, resulting from genetic variation, may inhibit prosocial behavior and be a predisposition for the development of antisocial behavior. The study showed that there are some gender-related specific differences. The OXTR rs6770632 genotype occurs only in women, while the correlation in the OXTR rs1042778 genotype is significant only in men. These results reflect on the sexual dimorphism; oxytocin manifestation is relatively higher in women than in men, possibly due to differences in genetic variations activity on the OXTR gene. Furthermore, oxytocin expression is regulated by steroid hormones, including estrogen and thyroid hormones, which can contribute to a decreased activity of some single nucleotide polymorphisms (SNPs) in women compared to men and vice versa. The studies listed above are the first known studies to have identified the impact of specific genes on psychopathic tendencies in young people and showed that certain genotypes pose a risk for emotional deficits and predatory traits associated with psychopathy among young people growing up in the unfavorable environment. These studies can help identify relevant biochemical connections that occur in aggressive and antisocial behavior. The above overview of the research on the genetic contribution to the development of CU traits, undoubtedly indicates that these traits are, to a considerable extent, genetically conditioned, therefore, future research should focus on the additional examination of the obtained findings to further clarify the contribution of genetic factors in the etiology of psychopathy.

### **The role of neurotransmitter and neuroendocrine systems in the development and maintenance of psychopathy**

Unlike numerous studies dedicated to psychopathology, particularly depression and schizophrenia, few studies are committed to analyzing the role of neurotransmitters in the

development and maintenance of psychopathy, so we are still far from understanding its neurotransmitter and neuroendocrine basis. Research findings indicate that psychopathy is related to an increased level of dopamine and serotonin metabolites, which is an indicator of an impaired serotonin regulation of dopamine activity, which results in an inability to control aggressive impulses (e.g., Söderström, Blennow, Manhem, & Forsman, 2001; Söderström, Blennow, Sjodin and Forsman, 2003). Sodestron et al. (2003) examined the relation of serotonin metabolite concentration in cerebrospinal fluid with psychopathic traits on a sentenced prison population. Low levels of serotonin metabolites and high levels of dopamine metabolites were shown to be in a positive correlation with psychopathy. Dolan and Anderson (2003) determined that serotonin activity negatively correlates with the impulsive, and positively, with the interpersonal dimension of psychopathy in violent, adult offenders, which indicates that serotonin may have different effects on certain psychopathic dimensions.

Research results indicate a connection between neurotransmitters and endocrine systems (e.g. Glenn and Raine, 2008). The neurotransmission of serotonin affects HPA (hypothalamus-pituitary gland-adrenal gland) axis in such a way that increased serotonin receptor activity in the hypothalamus increases cortisol production. The HPA axis represents a well-established network of stress reactivity which connects the central nervous system and endocrine system (Kudielka and Kirschbaum, 2005). The HPA axis activation triggers are new/threatening stimuli that quickly activate cortisol release from the adrenal cortex into the blood and saliva. Cortisol is linked to stress conditions (Kudielka and Kirschbaum, 2005) and fear (Schulkin, Gold and McEwen, 1998), and is also involved in sensitivity to punishment and behaviors which mean giving up as a response to fear (Schulkin, 2003).

A weakened response to stress is implicated in the development of psychopathic personality traits. Several studies have found a correlation between low cortisol production and aggressive behavior (e.g. Netter, Hennig and Rohrmann, 1999; Pajer, Gardner, Rubin, Perel,

and Neal, 2001). Low cortisol levels are also associated with an increased urge to seek arousal (e.g. McBurnett, Lahey, Rathouz, and Loeber, 2000), and a weakened response to fear (e.g., Kagan, Reznick and Snidman, 1988). A study (Sobczak, Honig, Nicolson, & Riedel, 2002) on individuals with bipolar personality disorder found that disruption in serotonin neurotransmission interferes with cortisol reactivity in a speech task which causes (induces) stress, indicating that deregulation of serotonin in the brain may contribute to lower cortisol levels observed in psychopaths. Boissy and Bouissou (1994) note that the widely accepted hypothesis of the role of testosterone in aggressive behavior is based on the understanding of significant gender differences in testosterone levels and aggressive behavior. The study by Higley et al. (1996) showed that low serotonin levels combined with high testosterone levels increase the frequency and intensity of aggression. However, testosterone alone does not account for aggressive behavior and is more strongly associated with dominance than with aggression (Birger et al., 2003). A study conducted on men, alcohol and/or substance abusers, convicted on multiple counts of serious criminal offenses, found that there was a positive correlation between testosterone levels, lifestyle, and the antisocial psychopathy traits (Stålenheim, Eriksson, von Knorring and Wide, 1998 ). The authors of this study hold that this correlation is likely to be the result of the comorbidity of psychopathy, drug addiction, and other mental disorders. Birger et al. (2003) assume that raised testosterone levels trigger the need for dominance, and in situations that are frustrating for an individual because of the inability to achieve dominance, low levels of serotonin can increase the probability of an aggressive response. A literature review (cf. Glenn and Raine, 2008) also shows that the findings of the above-listed research point that deregulation of neurotransmitter systems could be involved in psychopathy, and that neurotransmitters in interaction with neuroendocrine systems can affect the functioning of certain regions in the brain. Further research is needed to examine the nature of this correlation to account for the role of neurotransmitters in the

development and maintenance of psychopathy. Further studies should aim to identify different neurobiological correlates of psychopathy as well as look at possible impacts of other personality traits (e.g. anxiety) on the development of psychopathy. If psychopathic traits are neurodevelopmentally determined, successful prevention and persistent intervention could be most effective when introduced in early childhood. In this regard, research on the mutual interaction between hormonal and serotonergic systems could represent a key element in the future understanding of how biochemical activity in the body is related to psychopathy.

### **Neurobiological correlates of psychopathy - emotional and cognitive deficits**

Neurobiologically oriented models assume that different emotional and cognitive deficits are the basis of psychopathy (e.g. Blackbourn, 2006; Patrick and Bernat, 2009). Most of these models point out that negative emotional reactivity is present in psychopathy, resulting in a lack of anxiety or a weakened response to fear (e.g. Fowles, 1980; Lykken, 1995). Laboratory tests show that psychopathy is associated with poorer recognition of frightened and sad facial expressions and emotionally colored words (e.g. Iria and Barbosa, 2009; Kimonis, Frick, Fazekas and Loney, 2006), and also with autonomic nervous system dysfunctions, such as reduced rate of blinking and lower electrodermal activity in response to experimental stressors (e.g. loud explosion), (Fung et al., 2005). It is also associated with atypical activation of the amygdala in response to emotional stimuli (Marsh et al., 2008).

Brain imaging studies have detected structural and functional differences in the region of the amygdala (which process emotionally unpleasant conditioned responses) and the orbitofrontal cortex in individuals with pronounced psychopathic traits (Glenn, Raine, Schug, Gao, & Granger, 2011). However, results from other laboratory research (e.g. Verona, Patrick, Curtin, Bradley and Lang, 2004; Williamson, Harpur, and Hare, 1991) show that convicts scoring high on psychopathy display a decreased autonomic and cortical reactivity to pleasant

stimuli such as, for example, the sounds of children's laughter, erotic sighing and when selecting affectively positive words. The results of the research above are consistent with Blair's hypotheses (Blair, 2006; Blair et al., 2008) that in individuals with psychopathy a larger number of deficits caused by amygdala dysfunction is present, i.e. that there is reduced amygdala reactivity to aversive stimuli. A different group of authors holds that there are deficits in higher levels of cognitive processing in individuals with psychopathy, but opinions on the nature of these deficits and their meaning for psychopathy are somewhat divided. Some authors (e.g. Newman, Schmitt and Voss, 1997) point out that there is a deficit in cognitive processing in psychopathy, which is reflected in a weakened ability to divert attention from an event in progress, and a weakened ability to find an alternative, more appropriate response in a given situation. Kosson (1996) indicates that psychopaths have difficulty processing peripheral stimuli, i.e. perceptual cues, when the attention is more directed towards central stimulus which is directed towards a goal, especially in tasks involving activation of the left hemisphere. According to another cognitively-oriented perspective (e.g., Brinkley, Newman, Harpur and Johnson, 1999; Hare and McPherson, 1984) the disparity between words and actions in psychopaths is a reflection of language processing disorders.

Attempting to integrate etiological model findings which differ from one another regarding the connection of emotional and cognitive deficits with certain components of psychopathy, Fowles and Dindo (2009), and Patrick and Bernat (2009) developed a dual deficit model which focuses on two psychopathic traits: fearlessness and poor impulse control. According to this model, fearlessness is important for interpersonal-affective psychopathic traits and is a reflection of the weakness of the defensive motivation system in the brain, consisting of the amygdala and related brain structures. In contrast, poor impulse control is the basis of the impulsive-antisocial dimension of psychopathy and is a reflection of deviations in

the forebrain function, including the prefrontal cortex, which affects the regulation of emotions, decision making, and behavior.

## **Psychosocial risk factors for the development of psychopathy**

### **The relationship between psychopathy and attachment**

Attachment is a strong emotional bond of an individual to his/her loved ones, which evokes comfort and joy when interacting with them (Berk, 2008). Bowlby (1969) points out that a child's failure to form secure attachment at an early age can lead to an inability to form close relationships in adulthood. The stability of attachment styles was also confirmed in a meta-analytic study (Fraley, Waller, & Brennan, 2000), where results showed that attachment styles developed in early childhood have a strong impact on a person's attachment style in adulthood.

There is a general agreement that individuals with psychopathic traits are not capable of developing genuine emotional bonds and that they have difficulty developing secure attachment (Blair et al., 2008; Clekley, 1976; Hare, 1999; McCord and McCord, 1964). Furthermore, early inadequate experiences with an object of attachment are considered an important developmental predictor of psychopathy (Fowles and Dindo, 2006). Research findings indicate that children which have not developed close bonds will probably respond more aggressively to their peers and will be prone to adopting criminal behavior (Allen, Hauser and Borman-Spurrell, 1996; Greenberg, Speltz, and DeKlyen, 1993; Turner, 1991).

According to the available literature, the relationship between psychopathy and attachment has been investigated in a small number of studies. A study on male adolescent offenders ( $N = 51$ ) (Flight and Forth, 2007) in which psychopathy was measured using the *Psychopathy Checklist Youth Version* (PCL: YV; Forth, Kosson and Hare, 2003 ), and attachment was measured using the *Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment: Mother, Father,*

*Peer Version* (IPPA; Armsden and Greenberg, 1987), showed that the negative correlation of psychopathy exists only in relation to the attachment to fathers, but not in relation to the attachment to mothers and peers. A study on students (N = 209, 65% women) (Mack, Hackney, and Pyle, 2011) examined the relation of psychopathy, measured by the *Levenson Self-Report Psychopathy Scale* (LSRP, Levenson, Kiehl, and Fitzpatrick, 1995) and attachment, measured by the *Experiences in Close Relationships: Revised* (ECR-R; Fraley, Waller and Brennan, 2000), which measures the avoidant and anxious attachment dimension. It has been shown that there is a correlation between primary psychopathy and avoidant attachment dimension only in those subjects who were high on the anxious attachment dimension. The expected positive relationship between secondary psychopathy and the anxious attachment dimension was also found as well as the unexpected positive relationship between secondary psychopathy and the avoidant attachment dimension.

Pasalich, Dadds, Hawes, and Brennan (2012) examined the relation of CU traits and attachment on a sample of 55 boys, aged between 3 and 9, with clinically established conduct disorder. Children's attachment description was determined using *Manchester Child Attachment Story Task* (MCAST; Green, Stanley, Smith and Goldwyn, 2000). The authors of the study assumed that callous-unemotional traits predict a high prevalence of experiencing insecure attachment, particularly its disorganized and avoidant form. The results show that 49% of tested children rated their attachment with their parents as insecure, out of which only 13% was an avoidant attachment, and 36% was a disorganized attachment. This leads to the conclusion that, contrary to the hypothesis, the presence of callous-unemotional traits is not related to the experience of avoidant attachment in child-parent relationships. The results of this study are consistent with the results of some earlier studies (e.g. Fite, Greening and Stoppelbein, 2008; Pardini, Lochman, & Powell 2007) which, while researching the attachment



from children's perspective displayed a connection between a poor quality of the parent-child relationship and high levels of CU traits.

The results of research where participants were students (Allen, 2013) have shown that secure attachment priming leads to a decrease in psychopathic traits in individuals with a highly pronounced anxious attachment dimension.

A study on a convicted population of perpetrators of serious crimes (N = 139, 83% men), (Schimmenti et al., 2014) examined the relationship of psychopathy, which was measured by the *Psychopathy Checklist-Revised* (PCL-R; Hare, 1991, 2003) and attachment, which measured by two clinical assessment measures: *Adult Attachment Interview* (AAI; Main, Kaplan and Cassidy, 1985) and *Attachment Style Interview* (ASI; Bifulco, Moran, Ball and Bernazzani, 2002). Individuals scoring high on psychopathy demonstrated a devaluation of close relationships and also prevalence of insecure and disorganized attachment styles. Considering that most participants with high scores on psychopathy and pronounced disorganized attachment reported exposure to serious forms of abuse in childhood, the authors concluded that these findings also demonstrate the role the unfavorable environmental conditions in childhood, such as abandonment, abuse, and neglect by parents, play in the development of psychopathy and insecure attachment styles. Despite these results, it is uncertain whether attachment styles displayed by adult offenders can be detected in early childhood, and whether particular attachment types, which develop in childhood, could predict future psychopathic disorder which will develop later. The question remains whether certain attachment styles are a general risk factor for the development of antisocial behavior or they are simply indicators of the emotional deficit which exists in a small number of children with a conduct disorder. There is only a small amount of empirical research focusing on these issues. There are mainly indirect studies on the relation of certain attachment styles and antisocial tendencies that manifest themselves in childhood. Research on early socialization and moral

development (Kochanska, 1991; Kochanska, Aksan and Koenig, 1995; Maccoby, 1992), focused on the role of early positive attachment between children and their primary caregivers as determining factors for the later development of conscience and internalization (the process of adopting social norms, standards of behavior and experiencing). The essence of their discussion is the view that two partners involved in a reciprocal relationship feel responsible for each other's well-being; they are considerate to one another and act responsibly according to the other partner's needs in that relationship. At the same time, they expect the other partner to be sensitive and caring regarding their well-being. Hence, the early attachment relationship is conceptualized as the motivational basis for early moral internalization. Studies on the early development of conscience have shown that children who develop close and affectionate relationships early are more likely to feel responsible for the well-being of others. Saltaris (2002) points out it can be assumed from the above-listed findings that children whose early bonds are disturbed or disrupted, will not be successful in forming moral and emotional bonds with others throughout childhood and adulthood, potentially leading to an extreme alienation found in psychopaths. However, the assumption about disrupted attachment as a strong predictor of psychopathy should be empirically verified by conducting longitudinal research, which should aim to have a better understanding of the numerous factors on parents and children's side, which together form a model of early attachment relationship and monitor the development of complex attachment patterns over time.

### **The relationship between child neglect and physical punishment with the development of psychopathy**

According to Bowlby (1973) separating a child from a parent as well as threatening of abandonment induces a feeling of intense anger in a child, and prolonged separation in combination with intimidation causes contempt for parents. These negative feelings can be restrained and directed towards other people. Research on a clinical sample, conducted by

Zanarini, Gunderson, Marino, Schwartz, and Frankenberg (1989), showed that 58% of adult individuals with antisocial personality disorder confirm having a negative experience with primary caregivers in childhood (i.e., physical and verbal abuse, neglect and abandonment). Physical abuse in childhood is identified in publications as a potential correlate of psychopathy (Blair et al., 2008; Gao, Raine, Chan, Venables, and Mednick, 2010; Weiler and Widom, 1996). However, whether physical punishment in childhood is indeed a developmental predictor for psychopathy, remains an open issue. A four-year-long longitudinal study on the possible correlation between adolescent psychopathic traits and parental behaviors (Salihovic, Kerr, Özdemir, and Pakalniskiene, 2012) involving 875 adolescents, sought to answer whether positive parental behavior (e.g. showing understanding, warmth) and negative parental behavior (e.g. fits of rage, cold rejection) predict changes in adolescent psychopathic traits and whether adolescent psychopathic traits are predictors of changes in parental behavior. Results showed that parental behavior is more of a reaction to psychopathic traits in adolescents, rather than a predictor for the development of these traits. The psychopathic traits in adolescents lead to an increase in the negative and a decrease in the positive parental behavior, and this impact was systematic throughout the four years over which the study was carried out. There are several possible explanations for these findings. First, there are theoretical understandings and empirical findings that confirm that children and adolescents with highly pronounced CU traits are insensitive to punishment and are therefore also less affected by parental behavior than other children (Frick, 1998). These findings point to a conclusion that young individuals with pronounced psychopathic traits are immune to impacts of parental behavior (Oxford, Cavell and Hughes, 2003; Wootton, Frick, Shelton and Silverthorn, 1997) which confirms the view that psychopathic traits are relatively stable personality traits on which environmental impacts have limited effects. There are notable results of research on the relation of parent-child relationships, physical abuse of children, and separation of children from parents, with certain

elements of psychopathy in adulthood (Gao et al., 2010). Psychopathy was measured by the *Self-Report Psychopathy Scale* (SRP-II; Hare, 1985). The study was conducted on a general sample of 333 participants from the island of Mauritius, taking into account a balanced ethnic representation of the entire island's inhabitants. The first measurement was performed when subjects were 3 years old, and the second measurement was performed after 25 years when they were 28 years old. The results showed that a disrupted relationship between children and parents, especially with a lack of maternal care and poor paternal control, was related to psychopathy in adulthood. Lack of maternal care has the highest correlation with both factors of psychopathy (interpersonal-affective and antisocial factor). Relationship with the father is associated with psychopathy in adulthood; poor paternal protection is associated with an affective component of psychopathy. Physical abuse in childhood was shown to be positively related only to the antisocial factor of psychopathy.

The results of a research on boys aged 4 - 12 (Psalich, Dadds, Hawes and Brennan, 2011) show that there is a statistically important negative correlation between CU traits and paternal warmth ( $r = -.40, p < .01$ ), whereas this relationship was not found between CU traits and maternal warmth, nor between CU traits and paternal or maternal coercion. Furthermore, this research has shown that there is a moderating effect of CU traits on the relationship between parenting and problems in behavior. Namely, parental coercion is more strongly positively associated with conduct disorder in boys with a low level of CU traits, while parental warmth is more strongly negatively related to problems in behavior in boys with highly pronounced CU traits. In children with low levels of CU traits who have a relatively high level of emotional alertness, interventions aimed at reducing coercion in the parent-child relationship and establishing "emotionally neutral" discipline; e.g., "time-out" or "time-in", allow these children to control negative effects of conduct disorder (Hawes and Dadds, 2006). However, these interventions are less effective in treating children with a high level of these traits (Hawes

and Dadds, 2005). When disciplining children with highly pronounced CU traits, parents are threatened by the possible escalation of punishment (Stellwagen and Kerig, 2010), which, paradoxically, may serve to increase the insensitivity of these children to punishment (Dadds and Salmon, 2003).

## **Conclusion**

The neurodevelopmental view of adult psychopaths shows that psychopathy has its roots in early life (Caspi, Moffitt, Newman and Silva, 1996; Giedd et al., 1999), develops systematically throughout childhood and adolescence (Moffitt, 1993; Lynam, 1996) and has a continuous, progressive direction that does not change significantly over time and is relatively resistant to conventional treatments (Rice, 1997; Robins, 1999). Studies of neurocognitive and psychophysiological risk factors for the development of psychopathy show that there is a biological basis for its development, which includes genetic, biochemical, and other hypotheses (Begić, 2011; Blair et al., 2008; Sadeh et al., 2010). Psychopathic traits associated with neurocognitive deficits in emotional learning may interfere with forming an attachment (Blair, 2005) so that children and adolescents with these traits are resistant to the impact of parenting behavior (Oxford et al., 2003; Wooton et al., 1997 ). This confirms the view that psychopathic traits are relatively stable personality traits on which environmental impacts have a limited effect. The results of molecular genetic studies show there is a genetic predisposition for psychopathy and they support an etiological model of psychopathy, in which the hereditary components of impulsivity and emotional-interpersonal traits are different.

Research of the genetic contribution to the development of CU traits undoubtedly indicates that these traits are strongly genetically conditioned. Future research should further explain the contributions of genetic factors to the etiology of psychopathy and identify corresponding biochemical bonds which occur in aggressive and antisocial behavior.

Hormones can also have an impact on the functioning of key brain areas by altering behavioral patterns and are therefore particularly important for our understanding of the underlying factors that can cause and sustain the neurobiological abnormalities which are seen in psychopathy. Hormonal imbalance of cortisol and testosterone levels at an early age can impair social development. Low cortisol levels can weaken sensitivity to stressors and reduce the fear of punishment. Similarly, increased testosterone can weaken sensitivity to punishment and rewards, make socialization difficult, and thus increase the risk of future antisocial behavior. Future research should seek to identify different neurobiological correlates of psychopathy, as well as consider the possible confounding effects of other personality traits (for instance, anxiety). If psychopathic traits are neurodevelopmentally determined, successful prevention and persistent intervention may be the most effective if introduced in early childhood. In this regard, hormone research could be the key element for the future understanding of how brain dysfunction and brain activity are related to psychopathy.

Findings indicate that psychopathic traits systematically lead to an increase in negative and a decrease in positive parental behavior and that parental behavior is more of a reaction to a child's psychopathic traits than a predictor for their development (Salihovic et al., 2012). Greater control and monitoring of child behavior do not assist parents of children with significantly pronounced callous-unemotional traits to get to know their children better, hence they decrease parental control over time (Muñoz et al., 2011). These children are not sensitive to punishment (Dadds and Salmon, 2003), and therefore the parents are at risk while disciplining their children because of possible punishment escalation (Stellwagen and Kerig, 2010). This points to a reverse direction of influence in which these children have a greater influence on their parents than vice versa. Furthermore, it points to the need to try to establish a meaningful relationship with children early on in order to prevent later negative consequences. Despite these findings, it has been proved that the quality of the parent-child relationship can

still have an impact on the improvement of these traits by teaching parents how to develop empathy and language skills in children (Frick, 2009), while emotional and social support can contribute to alleviating psychopathic symptoms (Begić, 2011). Taking into account the new findings on the nature of the relationship and the direction of the correlation between psychopathic traits and the quality of the parent-child relationship, future research should aim to find a more effective treatment for children and young people with conduct disorder. The treatment of such children should be comprehensive, individualized and timely, and the probability of finding new forms of preventive interventions and therapy procedures depends primarily on recognizing various forms of this disorder and different causes underlying each of these forms.

### 3.3. Commentary and analysis

This text was the most demanding and time-consuming out of the three due to many medical terms and very long sentences. The translation required a lot of research, because almost all medical terms had their equivalents in English which were mostly literal translations (e.g. “psihopatske osobine ličnosti” – “psychopathic personality traits”; “model dualnog deficita” – “dual-deficit model”, “afektivno-interpersonalni faktor psihopatije” – “interpersonal-affective dimension of psychopathy”). Some terms already had their English equivalents included in the original text such as “osobine bešćutnosti-bezosjećanosti” which are “callous-unemotional traits” in English, also “poremećaj ophođenja” was translated as “conduct disorder”. Both are examples of a transposition translation technique.

There were also terms that had many different possible translations, for example, for the term “varijance dimenzije impulzivne potrebe za stimulacijom” in the sentence “Genetski utjecaji objasnili su 57 % varijance dimenzije grandioznosti-lukavstva, 25 % varijance dimenzije bešćutonosti-bezosjećajnosti i čak 74 % varijance dimenzije impulzivne potrebe za

stimulacijom.” I found three possible equivalents: “daring-impulsive”, “impulsive-irresponsible” and “impulsive need for stimulation dimension”. In the end I opted for “impulsive need for stimulation dimension” because I came across an article that is likely to be the source of the information provided in the source text.

I debated whether to translate “neadekvatna iskustva” as “inadequate” or “insufficient” in the sentence: “Štoviše, smatra se da su rana neadekvatna iskustva s objektom privrženosti značajni razvojni prediktor psihopatije ...”. The word “insufficient” would mean in this context “not spending enough time” whereas “inadequate” could also refer to being “deficient” or “lacking” in something in general. In the end I decided to keep it closer to the original term and translated the sentence as “Furthermore, early inadequate experiences with an object of attachment are considered an important developmental predictor of psychopathy ...”.

The last sentence was extremely long “Imajući na umu nove spoznaje o prirodi odnosa i smjeru povezanosti između psihopatskih osobina s kvalitetom veze između djece i roditelja, buduća istraživanja treba usmjeriti pronalaženju učinkovitijih tretmana djece i mladih s poremećajem ophođenja rukovodeći se sviješću da tretman ove djece treba biti sveobuhvatan, individualiziran i pravovremen, te da vjerojatnost pronalaženja novih oblika preventivnih intervencija i terapijskih postupaka ovisi prije svega o uvažavanju spoznaja da postoje različiti oblici ovog poremećaja i različiti uzroci koji su u podlozi svakog od tih oblika.”. Therefore I decided to split it into two sentences to ensure better clarity “Taking into account the new findings on the nature of the relationship and the direction of the correlation between psychopathic traits and the quality of the parent-child relationship, future research should aim to find a more effective treatment for children and young people with conduct disorder. The treatment of such children should be comprehensive, individualized and timely, and the probability of finding new forms of preventive interventions and therapy procedures depends



primarily on recognizing various forms of this disorder and different causes underlying each of these forms.”.

In the sentence “... djeca čije su rane veze poremećene ili prekinute neće biti uspješna u stvaranju moralnih i emocionalnih veza s drugima kroz djetinjstvo i u odrasloj dobi ...” I ran into a problem while translating “poremećene ili prekinute”. I first translated the word “poremećene” as “disrupted”, but later found that “disrupted” would be a better substitute for “prekinute”, so I translated the sentence as “... children whose early bonds are disturbed or disrupted, will not be successful in forming moral and emotional bonds with others throughout childhood and adulthood...”.

## 4. TRANSLATION OF THE SOURCE TEXT III

### 4.1. Introduction

The last text is a travel offer from *Integral Zagreb* tourist agency's website. It is written in a formal style and has very short sentences. The text includes an itinerary where each day of the planned trip is described. It also contains inclusions, exclusions, information on additional charges and visa formalities, trip insurance and trip recommendations. This text was easier to translate than the other two, because the sentences are simple and straightforward, it does not contain any idioms and focuses only on providing detailed information relevant for the trip.

### 4.2. Translation

NORWEGIAN FJORDS - 11 days by bus and by ship

The largest full tour of the fjords: included 8 ship rides, the most iconic panoramic roads, glaciers, waterfalls and postcard-like landscapes!

Day 1, ZAGREB - FULDA

The bus departs from Zagreb bus station, tourist platforms 502-506 at 04:30 AM. A drive across Slovenia, Austria and Germany with short stops for rest. The journey takes us past Regensburg and Würzburg towards the north. Arrival in Fulda, a baroque city with beautiful gardens. Sightseeing of the historical city center on foot: St. Boniface Cathedral - city castle - Orangerie park with beautiful baroque garden. Hotel accommodation. Overnight stay.

Day 2, FULDA - KIEL - SHIP

Breakfast. We continue our trip to the north with short stops along the way. Our journey takes us to Hanover and Hamburg and then to the Baltic Sea coast and the northern German region of Schleswig-Holstein. Arrival in Kiel, a large port and an interesting commercial city. Leisure

time in the city center with a rich shopping and gastronomical offer. Boarding and cabin accommodation. The departure of the ship in the evening. It is interesting to observe the ship leaving the Bay of Kiel and the entrance of the channel connecting the North and the Baltic Sea. There are restaurants, bars, ship's stores, and other facilities on board. Overnight stay in the ship's cabins.

#### Day 3, SHIP - GÖTEBORG - SWEDISH WEST COAST - OSLO FJORD - OSLO

Breakfast on board. The arrival of the ship to the Swedish port Göteborg. This city is located on the Göta Älv river near its estuary. The city still has palaces on canals, districts with old wooden houses, and an old fish market along with many interesting examples of contemporary architecture. A drive along Sweden's west coast reveals the indented coastline, bays, and numerous small islands with very interesting rock formations. By crossing the Svinesund Bridge we enter Norway. Driving along the Oslo Fjord and arriving in Oslo, sightseeing: new Opera House - City Hall – marine district Aker Brygge – The Royal Palace - Parliament – the main street Karl Johans gate - Akershus Fortress – The Vigeland Park, a masterpiece of the great Norwegian sculptor Gustav Vigeland with 227 monumental sculptures depicting life and death and human destiny. Leisure time in the city center to shop for typical Norwegian souvenirs, from troll figurines to beautiful and famous Norwegian sweaters and knitwear, to visit museums or very valuable collections of paintings in the National Gallery, or to take a stroll. Hotel accommodation in Oslo. Overnight stay.

#### Day 4, OSLO – LAKE MJOSA - LILLEHAMMER - PEER GYNT ROAD

Breakfast. A visit to the Oslo museum district on the Bygdoy peninsula. Visit to the Viking Ship Museum (ticket included). We begin our journey to the north by heading for Norway's largest lake Mjosa and a panoramic drive along its shores. A stop at Lillehammer which was once a host of the Winter Olympics. A stroll down the main street Storgata and time for coffee.

We continue our tour across the area of an outstanding beauty of nature along the Peer Gynt Mountain Road, one of Norway's most famous tourist routes. Breathtaking beauty of nature, Norwegian rocky fell landscapes, dense coniferous forests, rivers, and rapids rich in fish, flocks of sheep, small picturesque ponds, and emerald green waterfalls will captivate every visitor. Stopping at the most beautiful panoramic views on this trip. The most famous Norwegian fairy tales, myths, and folk tales are related to this part of Norway. Hotel accommodation. Overnight stay.

Day 5, ROAD PEER GYNT - ANDALSNES - ROMSDALFJORD - ATLANTIC ROAD - MOLDE

Breakfast. Drive through the Romsdalen valley along the Lagen river. Here begin spectacular waterfalls and river rapids along with beautiful nature, small typical villages and Norwegian wooden churches. Stopping at panoramic locations and below the Troll Wall, over 1000 meters high rock. Arriving at the picturesque town of Andalsnes, we break out onto the shores of Romsdalsfjord. A drive along the coast and along the fjord by boat from Afarnes to Solnes. We arrive at the Moldefjord shore through an underwater tunnel. Continuing the ride to the famous panoramic Atlantic Road - 8-kilometer-long road with bridges and islets winds across the Atlantic. We will stop at the most beautiful points of this miracle of engineering skill to take pictures and enjoy the extraordinary view of the open sea. Accommodation at a hotel in Molde. Rose bushes flourish in summer in this town, and some of the most famous panoramic fjord landscapes overlooking more than 80 mountain peaks are located in the area of Molde. The hotel is at a unique panoramic location overlooking the fjord and the mountains! Overnight stay.

Day 6, MOLDE - TROLL ROAD - NORDDALSFJORD - GEIRANGERFJORD - HORNINDAL

Breakfast. On this day you will see Norway's most famous landscapes, often photographed motifs from postcards and tourist brochures. A ship ride across Romsdalsfjord from Solnes to Afarnes. A drive along the famous mountain road, the Troll Road, along with waterfalls and beautiful panorama. Stopping at the top by the waterfalls and the visitor center, with the possibility of strolling through the panoramic terraces and across bridges. We descend towards Norddalsfjord and cross it by ship from Linge to Eisdal. We continue along the spectacular Eagle Road and arrive at a lookout above the famous Geirangerfjord, UNESCO-protected natural landmark. Boarding on a ship in Geiranger and sailing the most famous Norwegian fjord along waterfalls with romantic names such as "The Bridal Veil" and "The Seven Sisters" and looking at lonely farms above the fjords. Getting off the ship in Helesylt. Hotel accommodation in the Hornindal area. Hornindalsvatnet Lake, with a depth of up to 514 meters, is the deepest lake in Europe! Overnight stay.

#### Day 7, HORNINDAL - BOYABREEN GLACIER - SOGNEFJORD, THE KING OF THE FJORDS - BERGEN

Breakfast. A ride to Nordfjord, a long and narrow fjord with numerous branches and waterfalls. Crossing the fjord by boat from Lota to Ande. The trip continues along the lake next to Skei where we will head towards the Jostedalsbreen glacier's edge. Stopping below the glacier and the blue lake, an extension of Boyabreen. Possibility of strolling below the glacier and buying souvenirs. We reach the coast of the "King of the Fjords", Sognefjord, the longest fjord in the world, extending deep inland for more than 200 km. Crossing the fjord by boat between Helle and Vangsnes. We continue our drive through the Vikafjell mountain plateau. Stop at Voss, a tourist destination. The trip continues across Hordaland's picturesque area to Bergen. Hotel accommodation in the center of Bergen. Overnight stay.

#### Day 8, BERGEN - BOAT - NAVIGATION ON THE NORWAY COAST

Breakfast. Sightseeing of Bergen, one of the most beautiful major Scandinavian cities: preserved wooden houses from the Hanseatic period - Bryggen harbor - Bergenhus fortress - St. Mary's Church - a picturesque fish market that will illustrate all the richness of Scandinavian fish delicacies. For centuries Bergen has been the center of trade with the Nordic region and its historical core is under UNESCO protection. Leisure time in the center of Bergen until boarding on the ship and cabin accommodation. The departure of the ship in the early afternoon. Enjoy unforgettable sail along the southern coast of Norway, numerous islands and bays, fantastic landscapes, and picturesque towns! The sailing route along the Norwegian coast is one of the most beautiful in Europe. New ships that sail on the route to Denmark offer many restaurants, music, evening entertainment, a large tax-free shop ... Overnight stay in the cabins on board.

#### Day 9, SHIP - HIRTSHALS - AARHUS - FLENSBURG - HAMBURG

Breakfast on board. Disembark in the Danish harbor of Hirtshals in the north of the Jylland Peninsula. A drive along the tamed Danish countryside across Aalborg and fjord to Aarhus, Denmark's second largest city and once an important Viking settlement, which was the European Capital of Culture in 2017. The city center is near the port, sightseeing of the city: Domkirke Cathedral, one of the longest Scandinavian churches - Latin Quarter with narrow streets and art galleries - City Hall - Viking museum. After leisure time in the picturesque pedestrian area, we continue our trip through the Jylland peninsula to the German border and Schleswig - Holstein. We will visit the old town of captain's - Flensburg. A stroll through to the cozy pedestrian area and the historical center to the St. Mary's Church and along the typical architecture of the old captain's houses. Leisure time. Hotel accommodation in the Hamburg area. Overnight stay.

#### Day 10, HAMBURG - NUREMBERG

Breakfast. Sightseeing tour of Hamburg, one of the most important ports in Europe and a city important for trade with Scandinavia: the Hamburg Stock Exchange - Town Hall - Speicherstadt commercial district with neo-gothic brick buildings – St. Michael’s Church - Trostbrücke bridge - St. Petri Church - Reeperbahn Entertainment District - Jungfernstieg Street - City Hall - Hafen City - Elbphilharmonie. Some leisure time. We continue our journey towards the south in the afternoon. Arrival in Nuremberg in the evening. Hotel accommodation. Overnight stay.

#### Day 11, NUREMBERG - ZAGREB

Breakfast. Departure from the hotel. Sightseeing: Kaiserburg fortress - Albrecht Dürer’s House - City Hall - St. Sebaldus Church - Frauenkirche and the main town square which is known for its Christmas fair - Lorenzkirche - city walls. A drive through Germany, Austria, and Slovenia with short stops along the way. Arrival in Zagreb at early hours.

FIRST MINUTE PACKAGE PRICE PER PERSON: 9.390 kn

REGULAR PACKAGE PRICE PER PERSON: 9.690 kn

The FM price is valid until the capacity is filled at the FM price

Application deadline: 30 days before the trip

Minimum number of passengers: 35

Inclusions:

- transport by a high-quality tourist bus according to the program
- accommodation based on a total of 8 overnight stays with buffet breakfast in 3 \* / 4 \* hotels:
- 3 overnight stays in Germany (Fulda, Hamburg and Nuremberg)
- 5 overnight stays in Norway (Oslo, Peer Gynt Road, Molde, Hornindal and Bergen area)

- accommodation in double inside cabins with 1 overnight stay and a buffet breakfast on a passenger ship on the Kiel-Gothenburg route
- accommodation in double inside cabins with 1 overnight stay and a buffet breakfast on a passenger ship on the Bergen-Hirtshals route
- 6 boat rides on the fjords: Afarnes-Solnes, Solnes-Afarnes, Linge-Eisdal, Geiranger-Hellesylt, Lote - Andes and Hella-Vangsnes
- a ticket for the Viking Ship Museum in Oslo
- sightseeing according to the program
- a professional tour guide highly experienced in Scandinavian tours
- tour preparation, organization, and guarantee

Exclusions:

- additional charge for single cabin (includes single inside cabin on ships): 3.590 kn
- additional charge per person for double oceanview cabins on ships: 590 kn
- additional charge for dinners in Scandinavia (5 three-course dinners or buffet dinners at Norwegian hotels and 2 rich buffet dinners on ships (sign up when booking the tour, we recommend paying the additional charge for dinners): HRK 1,690
- Tickets for museums, cultural and historical monuments not listed under “Inclusions”
- additional activities and charges not provided in the program, personal expenses (drinks, additional meals, telephone, public transport tickets, etc.)
- travel insurance



Triple rooms/cabins: It is possible to book double rooms with an extra bed in hotels in combination with a triple inside cabin on ships at a regular price.

Possibility of selecting bus seats with additional charges:

We offer the option of selecting bus seats with an additional charge when booking. The additional charge is not obligatory.

The availability of selected seats is on request and subject to verification when booking.

- seats 5,6,7,8 in the second row additional charge per person 100 kn

#### IMPORTANT! INFORMATION REQUIRED FOR BOOKING THE PACKAGE:

Please make sure to provide the following information when booking the package: first and last name, date of birth, citizenship, and passport number. This information is required for ship passenger lists.

#### ADDITIONAL CHARGES FOR DINNERS IN NORWAY AND ON SHIPS:

We recommend paying additional charges for dinners (including two rich buffet dinners on ships and 5 three-course dinners or buffet dinners at Norwegian hotels, most hotels in Norway serve buffet dinners). Paying additional charges for dinners when paying for the trip is much more inexpensive than on-site a la carte meals, and dinners on ships are a unique experience because of the richness of Scandinavian specialties. Please decide upon booking of the trip and state whether you want to pay an additional charge for dinners or not, no subsequent changes are possible. In the area of fjords and natural sights, the hotel restaurants are often the only places where you can have a cooked meal. We are not able to receive special requests and wishes concerning food because this is a group tourist menu, not a meal of choice (unless you are vegetarian and do not eat meat, please note immediately when booking the program in case you are paying the additional charge for dinners).

## PRACTICAL NOTES:

- Currencies on the trip: Euro in Slovenia, Austria, and Germany, in other countries the national currencies of these countries are valid: Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian kroner. We recommend obtaining currencies in Croatia before the trip if possible as the exchange rate is often lower than on site. During the trip, by following the guide's directions, you can exchange the remaining unspent currency of one country in the currency of the next country on the tour. Credit card payment is widespread in Scandinavia (you often need a PIN to pay with a credit card), while payment in euros is not possible everywhere if it is not the currency of that country.

-Aside from large suitcase, we recommend bringing along a small bag for an overnight stay on the ship so you would not have to carry all your luggage to the ship cabin. Our bus will go with the group to all ships on the tour and you can leave large pieces of luggage in the trunk of the bus if you wish.

-Take clothes and footwear for different weather, be sure to take a jacket, sweater, sturdy sports shoes, warm clothing for the far north, rain protection, but also summer, light clothing.

## TRIP RECOMMENDATION:

We recommend this trip to all travelers who appreciate the beauty of nature. The trip is also interesting for those passengers who have already been on tours Nordkap or Scandinavian capitals, because this tour covers, apart from Oslo, the western Norway area which is not included in other Scandinavian tour programs. On this trip, you will see some of the most extraordinary beauty of nature of northern Europe: fjords, plateau fells, lakes, glaciers, mountain tourist routes, grandiose waterfalls, and particularly appealing sail of the fjords and along the Norwegian coast. In this program, some of the hotels in Norway are panoramic or historical hotels located at attractive places of outstanding beauty of nature. Before departure,

passengers will receive detailed practical instructions on all practical details and preparations before the journey.

Germany is a democratic federal parliamentary state, consisting of 13 federal states (German: Bundesländer) and three independent city-states. The capital city is Berlin where the Parliament (Bundestag) and the Government (Regierung) are located. The land area is 357,050 square kilometers with a total population of 80 422,000. It is the largest European country by population and has the strongest European economy.

Denmark is the smallest Nordic country with a population of 5 580 000 and an area of 43,000 square kilometers. The Danish territory is comprised of 406 islands and the Jylland peninsula. The capital is Copenhagen. Greenland and the Faroe Islands in the Atlantic Ocean are Danish autonomous territories. Denmark is a monarchy ruled by Queen Margaret II.

Sweden is a country in the north of Europe, on the coast of the Baltic Sea. Sweden is the fourth largest country in Europe and covers the southeastern part of the Scandinavian Peninsula. The capital is Stockholm. Due to its large area of 450.295 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of just over 9.540.065 million inhabitants, Sweden has a low population density of approximately 20 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>.

Norway is a northern European country that occupies the western part of the Scandinavian Peninsula as well as the Jan Mayen island and arctic archipelago Svalbard. This 385 252 square kilometer country is inhabited by around 4,900,000 people. Norway is one of the most sparsely populated countries in Europe. The capital of Norway is Oslo. The indented Norwegian coastline along the Atlantic Ocean and the Barents Sea is a home to famous fjords.

Border and visa formalities:

For all Scandinavia programs, Croatian citizens are not required a visa, it is possible to travel with a passport or an ID. Foreign nationals are obliged to inform themselves about the

documents required for entering a particular country at the local Ministry of Foreign Affairs or at the embassy of the country to which they are traveling. We recommend travel insurance covering accidents and illnesses that originate during the trip.

Booking of the tour is valid only after the payment of the deposit. Upon payment of the deposit, you will receive an invoice, which is also a travel contract.

The minimum number of passengers for the tour is 35. The agency reserves the right to cancel the tour no later than 20 (twenty) days before the scheduled departure in case of tours with a duration of more than six days and no later than 7 (seven) days before the scheduled departure in case of tours with a duration between two and six days, if the required number of passengers, listed in the travel program or contract, does not book the tour.

We send the final letter 2 days before the trip.

Travel instructions and general conditions for tourist programs are an integral part of the program and travel contract. By signing the travel contract, you agree to the listed conditions, therefore we ask all passengers to read the terms carefully. Liability insurance policy and Insurance guarantee agreement for tourist package programs, number 078620055045, paid at *Croatia osiguranje*. Please refer to the official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Croatia, <http://www.mvp.hr>, about the risks of traveling to a specific country. Hotel categorization corresponds to local categorization. The organizer reserves the right to change the order of implementation of the program.

#### 4.3. Commentary and Analysis

This text abounds in names of historical sights which all had to be looked up for their English equivalents (“katedrala sv. Bonifacija” – “St. Boniface Cathedral”; “glavna ulica Karla

Johanna” – “the main street Karl Johans gate”; “burza” – “Hamburg Stock Exchange”; “crkva sv. Mihovila” – “St. Michael’s Church”; “Filharmonija na Elbi” – “Elbphilharmonie”). I was unsure how to translate “visokoturistički” in “prijevoz visokoturističkim autobusom” because I have not found the exact equivalent in English. Knowing that the word refers to the quality of the bus I opted for “transport by a high-quality tourist bus”.

I had difficulties translating “prirodne ljepote” in “Ovo putovanje preporučujemo svim putnicima koji vole velike prirodne ljepote.” and first debated between “beautiful natural landscapes” or “beautiful natural sights”. However, then I came across the phrase “Predivne prirodne ljepote ...” and none of the two translations would work here. Finally, I opted for “the beauty of nature” and the translated sentence was “We recommend this trip to all travelers who appreciate the beauty of nature.”, whereas for the phrase I used “Breathtaking beauty of nature ...”. I also translated “područje velikih prirodnih ljepota” as “an area of an outstanding beauty of nature”.

The Croatian word “put”, which appeared many times throughout this text, had four translations in this text depending on the context. In the sentence “Put nas vodi preko Regensburga...” I translated the word “put” as “journey”, in the sentence “Vožnju nastavljamo prema sjeveru uz kraća zaustavljanja putem.” the translation of it was “way” (“We continue our trip to the north with short stops along the way”). In “Zaustavljanje na najljepšim panoramskim točkama ovog puta.” I translated it as “trip” and in “put Peer Gynta” as “road”. This is an example of the same Croatian word requiring very different translations into English.

I first translated the Croatian sentence “227 monumentalnih skulptura na temu života i smrti i ljudske sudbine ...” into English word for word, however for “na temu” I used modulation translation technique in order for it to sound more natural in English. I ended up with the sentence “227 monumental sculptures depicting life and death and human destiny”.

The word “doživjeti” in “U ovom danu doživjeti ćete najpoznatije krajolike Norveške, često fotografirane motive razglednica i turističkih prospekata.” would sound a bit strange when translated literally, hence I used modulation again and translated it as “On this day you will see...”.

The first translation I found in most dictionaries for the word “aranžman” in “cijena aranžmana” was “arrangement”, however it would not fit into this context because the expression refers to the price of the travel offer. Knowing that the type of this specific travel offer is a “package tour”, a travel deal offered by a tourist agency which provides accommodation, transport and also a tour guide, the best option for translation was “package price”.

I had problems translating “osiguranje od posljedica nesretnog slučaja” in “Preporučujemo osiguranje od posljedica nesretnog slučaja i bolesti na putovanju”. I translated “osiguranje” as “insurance”, omitted the preposition and used the word “covering” instead. I translated “nesretni slučaj” as “accidents” and the final translation was “We recommend travel insurance covering accidents and illnesses that originate during the trip.”

## 5. CONCLUSION

In this B.A. thesis I have translated three texts of very different genres and faced many problems while translating them. The process of translation is very time-consuming and requires an in-depth knowledge of both the source and the target language. It also requires a lot of research since many terms, medical in particular, already have their translations and there are often many terms available for one concept. A translator is faced with many problems and sometimes even with the use of all tools available, online sources and dictionaries, might not find a translation for a particular term. Nevertheless, the translator must provide a translation which successfully transfers the meaning from the source language into the target language.

Throughout this process I have learned that translating can expand one's vocabulary to an extent and also how important it is to be attentive to detail while translating. The translator should focus on nuances of meaning to provide the most accurate translation. Although my translating skills have not significantly improved, I have been given valuable feedback and expanded my knowledge of English during the translation of these three texts.

## 6. APPENDICES

### 6.1. APPENDIX A

Piše: Vedran Vrabec | Snima: Vjekoslav Skledar

## **Životni intervju nekadašnjeg klinca iz neasfaltirane ulice u Dubravi: Tko je uopće Dario Juričan i odakle se pojavio**

### **Otvoreni razgovor o odrastanju, uspjesima, razočaranjima i danu kada je odlučio krenuti na Bandića. Plus, zašto je Bernardić sljedeći**

‘Prije svega, ja se ovim kriminalcima u Zagrebu bavim već dugi niz godina. Posebno intenzivno pratim Milana Bandića, osam sati dnevno posljednje dvije godine. Ljudi misle da sam opčinjen, da sam opsjednut, a ne shvaćaju da je to moj posao. Moj posao je Milan Bandić’

04.02.2020

Na dogovoreni intervju **Dario Juričan** zakasnio je desetak minuta. Čim je sjeo, pokazao je punu vrećicu iz Narodnih novina, kamo je prije našeg dogovora svratio kupiti novi rokovnik. “Gle što sam dobio. Rokovnik, notes i dva kalendara. Imam vrlo specifičan ukus po pitanju rokovnika, i već pet godina kupujem isti. Ušao sam u Narodne novine i pitao imaju li takav. Kad su mi ga našli, rekli su mi da još malo pričekam jer imaju poklon za mene. I ništa, čekao sam dok nisu spakirali sve što su mi odlučili pokloniti. Obični zaposlenici knjižare, nije to propagandna fora koju je smislio neki menadžer”, kaže Juričan.

“Ajde, to je bilo lijepo iskustvo, ali nije uvijek tako ugodno. Znalo se događati da me ljudi zaskoče u situacijama kada mi to stvarno ne treba. Sjećam se, jednom sam vodio koruptoturu po centru grada, kada su me s leđa iznenada zgrabile dvije starije gospođe. Znači, ispred mene je grupa ljudi kojima nešto govorim, a njih dvije stoje negdje iza mene i jedu hamburgere. Nisam ih ni primijetio dok nisu skočile, dohvatile me svaka sa svoje strane i navalile da se slikam s njima. Što sam mogao, pustio sam ih da me fotkaju”, smije se Juričan.

## **POPULARNOST EKSPLODIRALA NAKON DEBATE**

Vjerujem mu svaku riječ. Vidim kako mu ljudi bez pardona ulijeću tijekom našeg druženja. Konobar ga je odmah prepoznao i pretvorio se u suštu ljubaznost dok nam je preporučivao najbolje burgere. Jedna gospođa je prišla kako bi se rukovali, ali kazala je da se ipak ne trebaju slikati zajedno, jer je prije par dana selfi s njim opalila njezina kći. Druga gospođa mu je u prolazu samo dobacila da je “presmiješan” i “pravi original”, te da joj se sviđa kako “lupa one bandite”. Tri šibenska studenta zato su ga bez oklijevanja opkolila i uhvatila u grupni zagrljaj, a meni su uvalili mobitel da ih zajedno slikam.

Juričan je naizgled bezgranično strpljiv, spreman popričati sa svakim, baciti foru ili poslušati politički trač. Kaže da je situacija s ljudima koji mu prilaze na ulici eskalirala nakon debate koju je uoči prvog kruga predsjedničkih izbora organizirao HTV. “Posljedice te debate su za mene privatno loše, ali javno mi je donijela jako dobre stvari. To je demonstracija moć televizije. Mi smo prije debate rokali dva mjeseca neprestano, nismo stajali. A onda je došla



debata i pokazala nam kako je taj *reach*, za koji misliš da je velik zahvaljujući Facebooku i radu na terenu, beznačajan bez televizije”, kaže Juričan.

## DJETINJSTVO U DUBRAVI

Put kojim je Juričan došao na televiziju kao kandidat za predsjednika Republike Hrvatske je priča zbog koje smo se našli. Što stoji iza antagonizma prema zagrebačkom gradonačelniku toliko snažnog da je postao inspiracija za dokumentarni film, i za nastanak najoriginalnije političke persone u povijesti hrvatske politike? I odakle uopće dolazi čovjek koji bi htio biti Milan Bandić? Iz Zagorja, pokazalo se, barem porijeklom. “Mama mi je iz Klanjca, baš kao predsjednički kandidat Hrvatske stranke svih čakavaca kajkavaca i štokavaca, **Nedjeljko Babić**“, smije se Juričan.

“Boga sam molio da on to ne dozna, jer možeš misliti na što bi taj razgovor onda sličio. Na kraju sam mu to na predsjedničkoj debati prešutio”, priznaje. Juričan je rođen u Dubravi, gdje je proveo prvih sedam godina života. “To je jedna mala ulica, sto metara ispod groblja. Kada smo se selili, tu su cestu taman asfaltirali po prvi put. Iz toga je valjda jasno gdje sam živio. Gornja Dubrava je u to vrijeme stvarno bila rupa. Moje slike iz djetinjstva su Romi koji s konjima i zapregama skupljaju metalni otpad”, priča Juričan.

## U STANU SAMO KREKETI I STOL

S roditeljima je u Dubravi živio u podstanarskom stanu. “Onda su starci dobili kredit, i skucali lov za stan u Španskom. Kako im je dobar dio plaće išao na ratu kredita, imali smo samo krevete u stanu, i to nekoliko godina. Mislim da su nakon dvije godine kupili kuhinju. E da, stol su mi kupili kad sam krenuo u školu, ali stolnu lampu sam dobio tek nakon tri-četiri godine. Kada sam imao 11 godina, dobio sam i brata”.

Nakon završetka srednje škole Juričan je htio upisati studij njemačkog, ali shvatio je da mu prvo treba usavršavanje tog jezika. Proučio je oglase za poslove, i na kraju završio kao babysitter kod njemačke obitelji u Mainzu. “Imali su viletinu i dvoje djece. Posao je bio prilično traumatičan, posebno kada sam nakon mjesec dana shvatio da stariji klinac ima ozbiljne zdravstvene probleme. Naravno, roditelji su mi to priznali tek nakon što sam ih sam naslutio. K tome, ti Nijemci su bili beskrajno, beskrajno škrti. Recimo, kad su išli na godišnji, rekli su mi da sam i ja slobodan tih tjedan dana, da mi ništa neće platiti”.

## NESLAVNO ISKUSTVO U PROSVJETI

Juričan je kao dadilja u Njemačkoj proveo šest mjeseci. Sav novac koji je zaradio potrošio je, odnosno, njegovim riječima, investirao na putovanja po Njemačkoj i Francuskoj. Kada se vratio u Hrvatsku upisao je fakultet, završio germanistiku i komparativnu književnost, i zaposlio se u jednoj privatnoj zagrebačkoj gimnaziji. Tamo se suočio se realnošću hrvatskog školskog sustava, takvom da je otkaz dobio nakon četiri i pol mjeseca rada.

“U srednjoj školi se ocjene prvo zaključuju maturantima, mjesec dana prije ostalih. Ja sam im ocjene zaključio pošteno. Ako imaš dva, tri i tri, nikako ti ne mogu zaključiti četiri. No, kada je uprava škole vidjela da neću poklanjati ocjene kako su oni zamislili da bih trebao, počeli su mi postavljati zamke. Stavili su me da radim jednu subotu, i to samo jedan školski sat.

Pismeno sam ih obavijestio da tada ne mogu doći, nakon čega su mi zafitiljili izvanredni otkaz”.

## **ULAZNICA ZA GLOBALNU TV INDUSTRIJU**

Juričan je nakon otkaza potonuo u depresiju, priča. Počeo se oporavljati tek kada je otišao u knjižnicu i proučio Zakon o radu. Na noge ga je podiglo saznanje da u Hrvatskoj izvanredni otkaz ne može dobiti čak ni netko tko danima nije došao na posao. Nakon takvog prosvjetljenja nije dvojio što treba učiniti. “Smjesta sam našao odvjetnika, koji se složio da je moj slučaj zicer, pa smo školu lijepo tužili”.

Tako je nakon hrvatskog školskog sustava Juričan dobio priliku upoznati i pravni. “Ti dođeš na sud. Sutkinja te pita jesi li zaposlen. Kažeš da jesi, a ona ti odgovori da se onda vidite za šest mjeseci. Kažeš joj: *Čekajte, pa ovo je radni spor, ima prioritet*, na što ti ona kaže: *Pa ima i onih koji su bitniji od vas*“. Uz takav pristup suda, proces se razvlačio sve dok Juričan nije digao ruke od parničenja i karijere u školstvu, i odlučio se posvetiti svojoj velikoj ljubavi, filmu.

## **ODLUČIO SE POSVETITI FILMU**

“Stvarno sam gledao puno filmova i posjećivao sva art kina po Zagrebu. Uz to sam dugo radio male eksperimentalne filmove, s kojima sam u nekom trenutku počeo ići po festivalima. S vremenom su filmovi dobili narativnu konstrukciju, i tako sam mic po mic završio u igranom filmu. U jednom trenutku u meni se prelomilo i shvatio sam – to je to”. Juričan je brzo shvatio da mora otići iz Hrvatske kako bi postao profesionalni filmaš. “Imao sam 26 godina i starce nisam mogao ponovo žicati novac za pet godina studiranja na Akademiji dramske umjetnosti. Htio sam u Ameriku, ali nisam uspio dobiti stipendiju.

Kad su mi se javili iz Britanije, rekli da imam super reference, ponudili mi pola školarine i spomenuli da se vesele što će imati nekoga iz Hrvatske, spakirao sam se i otišao u London”. Juričan je upao je na London Film Academy, filmsku školu čiji ga je program smjesta oduševio. “Najbolje na LFA-u je to što se dani dijele na akademske i zanatske. Meni je posebno odgovarala ova zanatska komponenta, odnosno praktični rad. Mentori su bili sjajni, ljudi s jakim referencama iz svijeta filma, glazbe i reklama. Tamo sam upoznao super ekipu koja me povukla na projekte kojima su se oni bavili”.

## **BLANK INKUBATOR JE HIT**

Poznanstva stečena u Londonu Juričanu su omogućila angažman na nekim od najvećih svjetskih sportskih natjecanja. Radio je na Zimskim olimpijskim igrama u Torinu, Panameričkim igrama u Rio de Janeiru i Azijskima igrama u Dohi, nakon čega se odlučio vratiti u Hrvatsku. “Ovi moji kolege koji su ostali u tome sada okreću nenormalne novce, ali nije mi žao što nisam s njima. Ja sam uzeo novac i pobjegao”, smije se Juričan, koji je nakon povratka u Zagreb počeo snimati vlastite filmove. Snimio ih je dvadesetak, a još više ih je producirao.

„Počeo sam raditi s mladim filmašima, i taj rad se ubrzo pretvorio u *Blank filmski inkubator*. U njemu su mladi filmaši dobili priliku snimati na vrhunskoj opremi, raditi neke svoje projekte i steći prva iskustva. Skupili smo divnu ekipu, a koliko su dobri, pokazuje i činjenica

da je prošle godine deset polaznika *Blanka* upalo na Akademiju, i to na sve smjerove – režiju, produkciju, snimanje i montažu. Kada dođeš na prijemni i kažeš da si iz *Blanka*, to ti je veliki plus. U inkubatoru radimo po metodi koju sam naučio u Engleskoj, što znači da inzistiram na praktičnom pristupu. Ja s njima nemam vremena raspravljati o suvremenom feminističkom filmu, ali ako takav film žele napraviti, *Blank* je najbolje mjesto za to”.

## TOČKA LOMA

Juričanu bi snimanje filmova i poduka mladih filmaša i danas vjerojatno bili jedina preokupacija da nije upoznao **Sinišu Labrovića**, čovjeka kojeg opisuje kao “intelektualno i moralno superiornu osobu”. Taj konceptualni umjetnik je pažnju javnosti privukao ludim performansima poput *Hodočašća Sv. Milanu*, kada je na koljenima napravio krug oko zgrade Gradskog poglavarstva, ili onoga kada je na Cvjetni trg doveo skupinu mladih Roma koji su pjevali ustaške pjesme. Juričana je tako oduševio da mu je besplatno ponudio opremu za snimanje. Labrović tu ponudu nije prihvatio, ali postao je Juričanov mentor.

Baš je Labrovićeva odluka da se preseli u Berlin u Juričanu probudila antibandićevskog aktivista kakvog danas poznajemo. “Njegov odlazak iz Zagreba je zapravo bila kap koja je prelila čašu, i otvorila mi je oči oko toga kolika je Bandić opasnost za budućnost. Kada ti tako bliska osoba, koju izuzetno cijeniš, kaže da više ne može živjeti u ovom gradu, i kada shvatiš da on, jedan od najvećih umjetnika u Hrvatskoj, sebi i svojoj obitelji ne može osigurati osnovne uvjete za rad i život, to te slomi. To je bila točka u kojoj sam rekao: ‘E nećeš, razbojniče’. Tada sam počeo razmišljati o predsjedničkim izborima, i sve je ovo tada krenulo”, kaže Juričan.

## ‘MILAN BANDIĆ JE MOJ POSAO’

Kada je definirao cilj, Juričan je pažnju javnosti na sebe počeo sistematski privlačiti akcijama poput promjene imena ulica, posjeta Pantovčaku ili pisanja potpuno apsurdnih, ali sjajno obrazloženih zahtjeva kojima bombardira državne institucije. Očito je da zna izazvati interes medija, pa ga pitam tko mu smišlja fore. “Prije svega, ja se ovim kriminalcima u Zagrebu bavim već dugi niz godina. Posebno intenzivno pratim Milana Bandića, osam sati dnevno posljednje dvije godine.

Ljudi misle da sam opčinjen, da sam opsjednut, a ne shvaćaju da je to moj posao. Moj posao je Milan Bandić. Pratio sam sve njegove kampanje, i tako, učeći od najgorih, shvatio koji su najbolji alati. Išao sam stazama koje je on utabao, i onda sam otišao još malo dalje. Na glas sam izgovorio ono što bi on izgovorio da može: ‘*Došao sam vas lagati, došao sam vas prevariti, došao sam po vaš glas.*’ i to sam ponavljao gdje god da sam došao”.

## EKIPA IZA JURIČANA

Kampanju su Juričan i njegov tim skicirali dva mjeseca prije izbora. Svaka dva tjedna tijekom ta dva mjeseca imali su velike sastanke na kojima su se *brainstormale* ideje za predstojeći dvotjedni ciklus. Imao je i ljude zadužene za kratkoročne projekte, čiji je zadatak bio brzo reagirati na dnevne događaje. “Recimo, **Pupovac** je izbacio plakate na ćirilici, a mi smo praktički odmah reagirali, prihvatili igru i na plakat ćirilicom napisali *Korupcija svima, ne samo njima*”.

Ekipu je Juričan okupio sa svih strana. “Jedan dio njih dolazi iz svijeta filma, neki su moji stari prijatelji, a ostali su poznati aktivisti”, kaže. “Bili smo mala ekipa, nas četiri ili pet u jezgri projekta, i uži krug od 15-ak volontera. Nedavno smo predali financijsko izvješće, ispalo je da smo potrošili deset tisuća eura, kada se eliminira 200 tisuća kuna vrijedan medijski prostor koji smo dobili kao donaciju. Koncentrirali smo se na Zagreb i mislim da je to dobro, vjerojatno bismo poginuli da smo išli šire od toga.

Bili smo brutalno kreativni. Na jednom zidu je bio raspored na kojem smo lijepili što se dešava koji dan od ponedjeljka do petka. Na drugom zidu nam je bio bazen ideja. U tom bazenu je u svakom trenutku bilo preko dvadeset ideja. Vrlo brzo smo shvatili da ne smijemo izbacivati toliko ideja jer mediji i javnost nisu mogli apsorbirati sve što smo smislili. Zaključili smo da nema smisla ići s više od dvije velike akcije tjedno. O svakoj se priča tri dana, i tako pokriješ tjedan dana kampanje”, opisuje.

## OD ČEGA ON ZAPRAVO ŽIVI?

Kreativnošću se očito može nadomjestiti snažne financije i brojčano skromnu ekipa, ali i dalje treba jesti, grijati se, voziti... Živjeti. Od čega Dario Juričan zapravo živi? “Trenutno samo od projekta Kumek, filma na kojem radim, i radionica koje vodim. Budžet za Kumeka je oko pola milijuna kuna. Oko 400 tisuća sam dobio od HAVC-a, a još 100 tisuća je prikupljeno *crowdfundingom*. Kad s tim budem gotov, jako ću financijski pasti, ali to je normalno. Onda ću se više posvetiti radionicama dok opet ne dođem do budžeta za rad na idućem filmu koji planiram”, kaže Juričan.

Uz svoja tri posla, Milana Bandića, rada na Kumeku i vođenja radionica u Blanku, Juričan kaže da nema vremena za hobije. Ipak, prisjećam se da s vremena na vrijeme zna objaviti fotografije s trčanja. To me podsjeća legendarne *jogginge* u Kušlanovoj iz nekih boljih vremena za Bandića, kada su mediji oduševljeno prenosili kako gradonačelnik niže krugove u društvu psa Rudija i svojih pobočnika iz Ureda. No, Juričan objašnjava da njegov *jogging* nije rujanje Bandiću.

## NOVOPEČENI MARATONAC

“Ma bio sam debela svinja, prešao sam 80 kg, a na ovu visinu bih trebao imati 70. Skužio sam da je šala odnijela vruga, pa sam gledao što ću, i shvatio da bi trčanje moglo biti izazov. Bilo mi je krvavo na početku, ali ekipa u atletskom klubu Forca je super. Trčimo po Savskom nasipu. Počeo sam u travnju 2019. godine. Redovito i disciplinirano sam išao na treninge, tako da sam potkraj listopada otrčao prvi maraton u Ljubljani. To su 22 kilometra koje sam pretrčao za dva sata i deset minuta. Nije to neko super vrijeme, ali atmosfera je bila fantastična. Okolo je bilo barem pet bandova, cijela Ljubljana je izašla na ulice bodriti nas, a ni staza nije bila previše zahtjevna.

Trčao sam i Zagrebački cener, to je bilo zanimljivo jer je gradonačelnik sa svojom trubicom otvorio utrku. Trčao sam pored njega i dignuo mu palčeve. Poslije sam vidio na njegovom fejsu da su tu fotku objavili. Bilo je užasno smiješno, valjda nisu znali tko sam ja”, prisjeća se. Druge hobije nema jer naprosto nema slobodnog vremena. “Ljudi su postali vrlo intenzivni, javljaju se mailovima, osobno, preko društvenih mreža, daju mi informacije, tako da mi komunikacija i istraživanje oduzimaju puno vremena”, kaže Juričan.

## KUMEK JE PRI KRAJU, SLIJEDI JE ISUS

Što će se zapravo dogoditi s Juričanom kada zagrebački gradonačelnik milom ili silom siđe s političke scene? Što će čovjek koji kaže ‘Bandić je moj posao’ raditi kada mu pravosuđe, volja birača ili Bandićeva odluka da sam siđe s vlasti oduzmu smisao života? “Da, to zapravo znači da bih ostao bez posla. Dobro, na umu imam sljedeći projekt. Zapravo već radim na pripremi za novi film. Zvat će se Isus Krist”, kaže Juričan. Pokušavam se sjetiti političara ili poduzetnika tog nadimka koji je mogao privući Juričanovu pažnju i podijeliti neugodnu sudbinu zagrebačkog gradonačelnika ili vlasnika propalog Agrokora, ali ništa mi ne pada na pamet.

“*Isus Krist naš svagdašnji* je radni naslov filma. Isus Krist je moj posljednji Gazda. Pozabavit ću se Crkvom”, kaže mi Juričan napokon. “Mislim da je to jedini živući organizam koji predstavlja Gazde preostao u Hrvatskoj. **Todorić, Kutle, Bandić** i na kraju Isus Krist. Za Isusa sam dobio potporu Društva redatelja, i potporu HAVC-a za razvoj scenarija, s kojim sam pri kraju. Čim završi montaža Kumeke krenut ću u to, i očekujem da ću prve kadrove Isusa Krista snimiti tijekom ljeta. Time ću zaokružiti tu seriju dokumentaraca i mislim da se više neću baviti ovakvim stilom dokumentarnih filmova”, kaže.

## ŽELI PREMIJERU U KINU EUROPA

No, prije nego što se dohvati Crkve, treba završiti filmsku priču o Bandiću. Kumek će biti treći veliki Juričanov dokumentarac o isprepletenosti politike i gospodarskog sektora u Hrvatskoj. Film bi trebao biti gotov za nekoliko mjeseci, otkriva Juričan. “Čekali smo da završi ova kampanja. Dvije trećine su gotove, čekamo da vidimo u kojem ću smjeru ja kao politicus otići. Nadam se da će premijera biti u kinu Europa. To je ono kino koje je Bandić zatvorio, a još nije ni započeo renovaciju, iz čega se jasno vidi kako je to napravio iz čiste objesti i mržnje prema slobodi u kulturi”, napominje.

Juričan nije siguran hoće li gledatelji Kumeke moći vidjeti i na HTV-u. Prisjeća se koliko se mučio da Gazdu ugura na javnu televiziju. Slao je ponude, organizirao peticije i javno prozivao nadležne na Prisavlju. Kada su mu se s javne televizije naposljetku javili, bilo je prekasno. Točno se sjeća tog dana. “To je bilo onda kada je policija došla u Kulmerove dvore uhiti Ivicu Todorića, koji je već pobjegao u London. S HTV-a su me nazvali i ponudili da uzmu film, ali RTL je bio brži za nekoliko sati. Vjerojatno su dobili dojavu da će uhiti Todorića, pa su se požurili. Toga dana ujutro ja sam im donio film, platili su u roku od dvije minute, i prikazali su ga tu večer”, prepričava.

## BERNARDIĆ KAO NOVA META

Da se zabavi u pauzama između rada na filmovima, Juričan si je za vremena koja će doći nakon pada Milana Bandića pronašao novu metu u politici. “Na redu je **Davor Bernardić**”, kaže sa smiješkom. Predsjednik SDP-a je na Juričanov nišan dospio zbog veza s Bandićem, naravno. Uvjeren je da je zagrebački gradonačelnik bio Bernardićev mentor, a prema njegovim informacijama, veze između te dvojice sežu više od desetljeća unatrag. Juričan je siguran da je baš Bernardić ključ opstanka Milana Bandića u gradskoj i nacionalnoj politici.

“S obzirom na to koliko je članova SDP-a zaposleno u Gradu i u Holdingu, s informacijama koje imaju, mogli su od Bandića napraviti kašu kad god su htjeli. Pa ja ga s tim malim brojem

izvora u gradskoj upravi i u Holdingu uspijevam razvaljivati. Ali čuva ga Bero, kralj nečinjenja, glavna sigurnosna mreža Milanu Bandiću u ovom gradu. On ga čak ni ne kritizira. Jesmo li ikada čuli da Davor Bernardić nešto kaže o Adventu, ili o bilo kojem problemu u gradu? Bero je prvi čovjek kojem Bandić može zahvaliti za mlitavu oporbu u Gradu. Stojim iz te tvrdnje. On je najveća politička niškoristi i štetočina”.

Juričan je zapazio jednu zanimljivost o izboru kandidata SDP-a na lokalnim izborima u Zagrebu. „Iz godine u godinu oni u Skupštinu šalju ljude koji su interesno vezani za Grad ili Holding, i onda im ti ljudi, naravno, pobjegnu. **Tamara Čubretović, Radenko Tomić**, to su ljudi kojima su isticali ugovori i prešli su u Bandićevu stranku. Pa ne možeš potencijalno ucjenjive ljude slati na tako odgovornu funkciju. A SDP to čini namjerno, i to nije nikakva slučajnost. I nakon sljedećih lokalnih izbora će slati takve ljude. To je organizirana, usmjerena mlitavost koja se planski provodi”, uvjeren je Juričan.

## **U ZAGREBU NITKO NE TREBA POSLOVNI PLAN**

Kada navodna proba neće udarati po gradonačelniku, ima tko hoće. Početkom prosinca Juričan je osnovao tvrtku koju je nazvao *Milan Bandić usluge protuusluge j.d.o.o.* Tada je kazao kako mu je cilj “dovesti svakog građanina u centar adventske zarade; savjetovati kako odabrati eskort-pratnju, kako tunele farbati dvaput, ponuditi savjetovanje vezano za porezna odterećenja”, i uopće, na različite načine izigrati zakone i korisnicima omogućiti koruptivno bogaćenje. Koncept mi se odmah učinio primamljivim, pa sam Juričana zamolio da skicira poslovni plan koji će i meni omogućiti da izvučem neki novac na idućem Adventu.

Veliki vizionar korupcije na to me pogledao sa sažaljivim izrazom lica. “Pa gle, ti si naivac, to je prvo što shvaćam. Ma ne treba ti nikakav poslovni plan, samo trebaš znati kome se obratiti da bi mogao ući u igru. To su jednostavne stvari koje obrađujem na svojim koruptošetnjama, ili koruptodriblinzima. Odvedem ljude od Trga bana Jelačića, prođemo Gajevom, pa preko Zrinjevca dođemo do Praške. Taj kratki put dovoljan je da im objasnim kako sistem funkcionira. Samo trebaš naći sivo-crnju zonu u koju ćeš se ubaciti, malo lizat guzu pravog osobi, obećati protuuslugu i ti si gore”, objašnjava Juričan.

## **KORUPCIJA KREĆE IZ NISKE CIJENE TRAMVAJA**

Ako su stvari zaista tako jasne, i ako svi znaju da su gradske strukture prožete korupcijom i nepotizmom, koja je tajna gradonačelnikovog uspjeha na izborima? Tko glasa za njega? “Možemo danima pričati o tome”, kaže Juričan, “ali ja fenomen Milana Bandića ljudima uvijek krećem objašnjavati iz tramvaja. Koliko košta tramvajska karta? Četiri kune? Je li to normalna cijena? Ne, to je apsolutno nenormalna cijena karte. Realna cijena je minimalno deset kuna. Ali ne možeš to ljudima objasniti, kao što im ne možeš objasniti ni to da, recimo, cijena od deset kuna za ulaznicu na bazene radnim danom nije normalna.

I to je to. Ljudi mogu prihvatiti da je ZET na kraju godine u gubitku od 100 milijuna kuna, ali ne mogu prihvatiti da je cijena tramvajske karte deset kuna. Zbog tog licemjerja ljudi Milan Bandić ne može izgubiti na izborima. Opisao sam samo jedan posto ukupnog problema, ali to je ključ. Meni su ta karta za bazen, i ta karta za tramvaj, početak svega. Korupcija kreće upravo od te točke. Ljude se korumpira čim uđu u tramvaj, ali to nitko ne može prihvatiti. Mali, korumpirani čovjek ima sto izgovora: bolje da platim išta nego ništa, javni prijevoz bi i tako trebao biti besplatan – uvijek se nađe izgovor”, pomalo rezignirano zaključuje Juričan.

## Zagreb je na rubu propasti

Nije ugodno razmišljati o tome u kakvo je stanje takva politika dovela gradske financije. Juričan smatra da će razmjeri katastrofe postati jasni tek kada aktualni gradonačelnik ode. “Nastat će krš i lom. Potpuni kaos. Naravno, ne zato što on dobro vodi grad pa će nedostajati, neko zato što će se onda otvoriti zasad skrivena septička jama uz koju će Agrokor izgledati kao dječja igra. Ekipa koja osvoji Zagreb nakon Bandića će se naći u gadnim problemima”.

Svoje nimalo laskavo mišljenje o zagrebačkom gradonačelniku Juričan je spreman iskazivati i obrazlagati satima; uostalom, na tome je sagradio svoju javnu personu. Ali mene zanima ima li ikakvih informacija o tome što Milan Bandić misli o njemu? “Ma ne zamaram se time. Znam da je to mala kukavica, i znam kako funkcionira. I znam da on zna da mu se bliži kraj. Doduše, jasno mi je i da taj kraj ne može doći preko mene, nego mora doći preko institucija”, kaže Juričan.

Bandiću se bliži kraj? “Pratim sva ta suđenja”, objašnjava Juričan, “i usprkos tome što svjedoci često imaju amneziju, materijalni dokazi o kriminalnoj organizaciji su toliko jaki, a on je capo na vrhu te piramide, da se ne može izvući nikako”.

## BANDIĆ JE PROMIJENIO GARDEROBU

No, iako je siguran da Bandiću osuda ne gine, Juričan ne vjeruje u osobito strogu kaznu. “Konzultirao sam se s pravnim stručnjacima, novinarima koji ga već dugo prate i drugim upućenim ljudima. Postoji konsenzus da će dobiti manje od pet godina zatvora, što znači da ostaje na slobodi do pravomoćnosti presude. Računamo da bi mogao dobiti oko tri godine”.

Gradonačelnikove nevolje sa zakonom Juričan voli pratiti uživo. Bio je na posljednjem ročištu za aferu Agram. “Gledao sam ga na suđenju dan nakon što sam objavio pismo u kojem sam spomenuo odijela koja si je dao po mjeri šivati u Italiji. Očito ga je pročitao pa je pazio kako će se obući. Na sud je došao u nekom čudnom odjelu, nogavice su bile tako kratke da mu je virilo pola noge. Histerično sam se smijao kada sam to vidio”, smije se Juričan.

## DOKOPAT ĆE SE HOLDINGA

Čini mi se da je njegov štos s promjenom imena izbljedio. Otkako se proslavio u debati, sve ga manje medija predstavlja kao ‘Milana Bandića’, ili ‘čovjeka koji želi biti Milan Bandić’. Postao je previše dobro poznat kao Dario Juričan, pa ga pitam je li odustao od drugog imena. On kategorički odbija bilo kakvu pomisao o tome, i lansira napad na institucije koje su mu onemogućile da se za predsjednika kandidira kao Milan Bandić.

“Problem je u tome što niže institucije ignoriraju presudu Upravnog suda prema kojoj sam ja Milan Bandić. Potpuno je jasno da ću ja pravnu bitku oko imena dobiti, jer sam apsolutno sve napravio legalno. Ako se nastavi ovako, morat ćemo otići na Europski sud, ali to ne može trajati do beskonačnosti. Kad sve ovo završi, nastavit ću se zvati Milan Bandić, i stvarno ne vidim zašto je to čudno. Što bi rekao Milan Bandić: *Milan Bandić je rješenje, ne problem*“. Ta mi se mudrost učinila kao sjajno mjesto za kraj intervjua, ali Juričan je imao drugu ideju.

“Zaboravio si me pitati jednu vrlo važnu stvar”, kaže mi strogo, “a to je nešto o čemu pričam već tjednima. Budući da sam na predsjedničkim izborima ostvario dobar rezultat, i da sam

peta politička sila u zemlji, zapravo četvrta, s obzirom na to da je **Kolakušić** podvio rep, za sebe tražim Zagrebački holding. Znam, oni misle da je sve to neka šala, ali ja ne razumijem otkud im takva pomisao. Sad vam svima kažem, oni će slomiti zube na tom Holdingu. Ja od njega neću odustati, moja misija je da dobijem taj Holding, a oni nek se dogovore na koji način će mi ga dati”, zaključio je Juričan smrtno ozbiljnog lica.

## 6.2. APPENDIX B

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Pregledni rad

# Biološki i psihosocijalni rizični čimbenici razvoja psihopatije

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## Sažetak

Cilj ovog rada je pružiti pregled nalaza o biološkim i psihosocijalnim rizičnim čimbenicima razvoja psihopatije. Premda etiologija psihopatije nije u potpunosti rasvijetljena, postoje brojna istraživanja koja pokazuju da psihopatija ima snažnu biološku osnovu koja uključuju genetske i biokemijske hipoteze. U konceptualizaciji etiologije psihopatije važno je razmotriti doprinos genetskih i okolinskih utjecaja, zajedno s kognitivnim, emocionalnim i neurološkim korelatima psihopatije. Istraživanja pokazuju da je trajno antisocijalno ponašanje genetski uvjetovano. Djeca s izraženim osobinama bešćutnosti-bezosjećanosti pokazuju brojne emocionalne i kognitivne značajke odraslih psihopata. Nalazi pokazuju povezanost između psihopatskih osobina ličnosti i izrazitog oštećenja u emocionalnoj i stresnoj reaktivnosti što ukazuje da su psihopatske značajke povezane s neurokognitivnim deficitima u emocionalnom učenju. S obzirom na istraživanja koja pokazuju da je roditeljstvo povezano s razvojem psihopatskih značajki kod djece, u radu se analizira i priroda odnosa te smjer povezanosti pojedinih obiteljskih varijabli i roditeljstva (tj. kvaliteta rane veze između djeteta i roditelja, privrženosti, fizičkog kažnjavanja, zanemarivanja djeteta).

**Glavne riječi:** psihopatija, biološki rizični čimbenici, psihosocijalni rizični čimbenici

## Uvod

Psihopatija predstavlja specifični sklop crta ličnosti koji uključuje različita afektivna i interpersonalna obilježja poput nedostatka empatije, plitkih emocija, bešćutnosti, neustrašivosti, manipulativnosti, grandioznosti, agresivnosti i iskorištavanja drugih, koja su često u kontekstu kroničnog antisocijalnog ponašanja i deficita kontrole impulsa (Hare i



Neumann, 2008; Lilienfeld i sur., 2012; Skeem, Polaschek, Patrick i Lilienfeld, 2011; Venables, Hall i Patrick, 2014). Psihopatija je konceptualno slična antisocijalnom poremećaju ličnosti prema DSM-V (APA, 2013)<sup>7</sup> čije glavno obilježje je antisocijalno ponašanje. Međutim, empirijska povezanost između psihopatije i antisocijalnog poremećaja ličnosti nije simetrična; većina psihopata zadovoljava dijagnostički kriterij za antisocijalni poremećaj ličnosti, ali ne i obrnuto (Blair, Mitchell i Blair, 2008). Pretpostavlja se da u općoj populaciji prevalencija psihopatije iznosi 0.6 — 1 % (Coid, Yang, Ullrich, Roberts i Hare, 2009; Hare, 2003), dok udio psihopata u populaciji osuđenika s utvrđenim antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti iznosi 15 — 25 % (Hart i Hare, 1989).

Etiologija psihopatije nije u potpunosti rasvijetljena. U literaturi je naglašeno kako brojna istraživanja pokazuju da psihopatija ima snažnu biološku osnovu (npr. Begić, 2011; Glenn i Raine, 2008; Sadeh i sur. 2010). U novije vrijeme provedena su istraživanja koja daju prve molekularno-genetske dokaze o postojanje genetske osnove psihopatije, ali se još uvijek malo zna o ulozi genetskih faktora, kao i o funkcioniranju neurotransiterskih i neuroendokrinih sustava kod osoba s izraženim psihopatskim obilježjima (Blair, Peschardt, Budhani, Mitchell i Pine, 2006). U radu će biti prikazani nalazi o genetskim utjecajima za koje se smatra da su u osnovi psihopatije i rezultati istraživanja posvećenih ulozi neurotransiterskih i neuroendokrinih sustava u razvoju i održavanju psihopatije. Prikazat će se i postavke neurobiološki orijentiranih modela vezane za emocionalne deficite i kognitivne disfunkcije kao korelate psihopatije, te model dualnog deficita koji nastoji integrirati nalaze o njenoj složenoj neurobiološkoj prirodi. S obzirom da za psihopatiju još uvijek nije pronađena učinkovita terapija u literaturi je istaknuto (npr. Glenn i Raine, 2008) da je razumijevanje njene neuralne podloge ključno za razvoj preventivskih postupaka i tretmana osoba s izraženim psihopatskim obilježjima.

Razumijevanje razvojnih prediktora psihopatije zahtijeva sagledavanje eksternaliziranih problema koji započinju u ranom djetinjstvu klasificiranih kao poremećaj ophođenja (eng. *Conduct Disorder*, CD). Prema kriterijima DSM-V (APA, 2013) poremećaj ophođenja karakterizira trajno prisustvo modela ponašanja kojim su povrijeđena temeljna prava drugih ili važnije društvene norme i pravila primjerene dobi. DSM-V (APA, 2013) razlikuje poremećaj ophođenja koji započinje u djetinjstvu (dječji oblik), onaj čiji je početak vezan uz adolescenciju (adolescentski oblik) i nespecificirani oblik ovoga poremećaja za koji je karakteristično prisustvo osobina bešćutnosti-bezosjećanosti (osobine BB) (engl. *Callous-unemotional traits*). Osobine BB smatraju se razvojnim prediktorima psihopatije jer uključuju nedostatak osjećaja kajanja i/ili krivnje, bešćutnost, nedostatak empatije, nezainteresiranost za izvršavanje obveza i nedostatak, odnosno površnost emocija (Frick, 2009).

U radu će se razmotriti i obiteljske varijable povezane s roditeljstvom koje predstavljaju rizične čimbenike za razvoj poremećaja ophođenja sa značajno izraženim osobinama BB. Analizirat će se priroda odnosa i smjer povezanosti pojedinih obiteljskih varijabli i roditeljstva (npr. kvaliteta rane veze između djeteta i roditelja, privrženost, fizičko kažnjavanje, zanemarivanje i odvajanje djeteta od roditelja) s razvojem psihopatskih obilježja. Nekolicina longitudinalnih istraživanja koja su testirala dvosmjerne efekte roditeljskih ponašanja i karakteristika djeteta pokazuju da su osobine BB bolji prediktor promjena u roditeljskom ponašanju nego što je roditeljsko ponašanje prediktor promjena osobina BB tijekom vremena (Hawes, Dadds, Frost i Hasking, 2011; Muñoz, Pakalnis kiene i

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<sup>7</sup> Dijagnostički i statistički priručnik za duševne poremećaje (*Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*; DSM-V) klasifikacijski je sustav Američkog udruženja psihologa (APA).

Frick, 2011). Međutim, još uvijek ne postoje istraživanja koja su jednoznačno utvrdila one obiteljske i roditeljske varijable koje su korelati psihopatije.

## **Biološka osnova i neurobiološki korelati psihopatije**

### **Molekularno-genetska osnova psihopatije**

U novije vrijeme provedena su prva istraživanja obitelji, blizanaca i posvojene djece koja pružaju dokaze o postojanju genetske osnove psihopatije. Na uzorku muških adolescenata (Taylor, Loney, Bobadilla, Iacono i McGue, 2003) ispitani su genetski i okolinski utjecaji u razvoju dvaju dimenzija psihopatije: impulzivnosti / antisocijalnog ponašanja i interpersonalne otuđenosti / bešćutnosti. Nalazi su pokazali da se veći dio zajedničke okolinske varijance u predviđanju dimenzije emocionalne otuđenosti ne može pripisati posebnim okolinskim faktorima koji su povezani s dimenzijom impulzivnosti/antisocijalnog ponašanja, što ukazuje da isti okolinski faktori različito pridonose razvoju antisocijalnog ponašanja i emocionalne otuđenosti.

Prvo poznato istraživanje heritabilnosti psihopatskih obilježja provedeno je na uzorku 3687 pari blizanaca u dobi od 7 godina (Viding, Blair, Moffitt i Plomin, 2005). Za analizu snažno izraženih osobina BB izabrani su istospolni parovi blizanaca kod kojih je barem jedan u paru bio za 1.3 standardnu devijaciju iznad prosjeka na skali osobina BB. Nakon toga uzorak djece sa snažno izraženim antisocijalnim ponašanjem podijeljen je na djecu koja su pored izraženog antisocijalnog ponašanja imala i snažno izražene osobine BB i na antisocijalnu djecu kod kojih osobine BB nisu izražene. Pokazalo se da postoji visoka heritabilnost (67 %) antisocijalnog ponašanja praćenog osobinama BB, te da je antisocijalno ponašanje bez izraženih osobina BB pod snažnim utjecajem okolinskih faktora. U drugom istraživanju na 1865 pari blizanaca u dobi od 9 godina ispitano je postoje li razlike u heritabilnosti antisocijalnog ponašanja praćenog izraženošću osobina BB uz statistički kontroliranu hiperaktivnost (Viding, Jones, Frick, Moffitt i Plomin, 2008). Sudionici su podijeljeni u dvije grupe: u jednoj grupi bili su sudionici koji su uz antisocijalno ponašanje imali izražene osobine BB, a u drugoj grupi bili su ispitanici s izraženim antisocijalnim ponašanjem bez izraženih osobina BB.

Pokazalo se da je antisocijalno ponašanje heritabilnije kada je popraćeno osobinama BB, a još veća razlika u heritabilnosti antisocijalnog ponašanja s ili bez izraženih osobina BB pokazala se kad su simptomi hiperaktivnosti bili kontrolirani. Bezdjian, Raine, Baker i Lynam (2011) su mjereći psihopatiju Dječjom ljestvicom psihopatije (engl. Child Psychopathy Scale; CPS, Lynam, 1997) na općem uzorku od 1219 blizanaca i trojaka u dobi od 9 do 10 godina ispitali utjecaj genetskih i okolinskih faktora na razvoj psihopatskih osobina. Rezultati su pokazali da genetski faktori značajno utječu kako na afektivno-interpersonalni faktor psihopatije (heritabilnost kod dječaka iznosila je 64 %, a kod djevojčica 49 %), tako i na faktor impulzivne-antisocijalnosti (heritabilnost kod dječaka iznosila je 46 %, a kod djevojčica 58 %). Recentno istraživanje na uzorku od 1189 pari petogodišnjih blizanaca u Švedskoj (Tuvblad, Fanti, Andershed, Colins i Larsson, 2017) pokazalo je da i genetski i zajednički okolinski faktori utječu na psihopatske osobine ličnosti u ranom djetinjstvu mjerene Inventarom problematičnih osobina djece (engl. Child Problematic Traits Inventory; CPT, Colins i sur., 2014). Genetski utjecaji objasnili su 57 % varijance dimenzije grandioznosti-lukavstva, 25 % varijance dimenzije bešćutonosti-bezosjećajnosti i čak 74 % varijance dimenzije impulzivne potrebe za stimulacijom. S obzirom na nalaze naprijed navedenih istraživanja potrebna su daljnja ispitivanja porijekla

razlika razvojnih puteva antisocijalne djece s i bez izraženih osobina BB. Naime, visoka heritabilnost ovih osobina ukazuje da bi molekularno genetska istraživanja antisocijalnog ponašanja trebalo usmjeriti upravo na ove osobine kao genetske osnove psihopatije.

S obzirom da se psihopatske značajke manifestiraju u okolini, a socio-ekonomski status po-tencijalno je važan okolinski faktor, provedeno je istraživanje utjecaja polimorfnih varijacija na genu koji upravlja prijenosom serotonina (SLC6A4) i socioekonomskog statusa na razvoj psihopatskih osobina kod mladih prosječne dobi 14 godina u dvije odvojene studije (Sadeh i sur., 2010). Osnovni cilj ovog istraživanja bio je dobivanje preliminarnih podataka o riziku koji proizlazi iz gena SLC6A4 i lošeg ekonomskog statusa na uzorku mladih sa širokim rasponom psihopatskih tendencija. Ovo je prvo istraživanje koje je otkrilo utjecaj specifičnog gena na psihopatske tendencije kod mladih. Svrha prve studije bila je ispitati kako socioekonomski status i 5-HTT genotip pojedinačno i zajedno doprinose pojavi psihopatskih tendencija kod mladih adolescenata. Svrha druge studije bila je ispitati pouzdanost i mogućnost generalizacije rezultata dobivenih u prvoj studiji na mlađem uzorku adolescenata s različitim okolinskim i demografskim karakteristikama. Prema dobivenim rezultatima 5-HTT genotip bio je povezan s impulzivnom dimenzijom psihopatije, a 5-HTT genotip i okolina u interakciji utjecali su na osobine BB i narcizma. Pokazalo se da psihopatske tendencije kod mladih variraju u funkciji socioekonomskog statusa. Rezultati ovog istraživanja daju prve molekularno-genetske dokaze koji podržavaju etiološki model psihopatije po kojem su nasljedne komponente impulzivnosti i emocionalno-interpersonalnih obilježja psihopatije različite. Prema dobivenim rezultatima osobe koje su homozigotne s kratkim alelima, s/s genotip, (tj. genima koji zauzimaju isto mjesto na homolognim kromosomima), ispoljavaju veću impulzivnost u odnosu na homozigotne osobe s dugim alelima. Mladi sa s/s genotipom pokazuju veće prosječne rezultate na impulzivnosti, što je u skladu s ranijim istraživanjem disfunkcije serotonina i impulzivnosti. Nasuprot tome, mladi s l/l genotipom koji su odrastali u nepovoljnom socio-ekonomskom okruženju pokazuju višu razinu osobina BB i narcizma u prvoj studiji. Ovi različiti utjecaji genotipa na odvojene dimenzije psihopatije ukazuju da odsustvo kratkih alela na genu 5-HTT može predstavljati rizik za razvoj antisocijalnih devijacija u dijapazonu emocionalnosti, posebice bešćutnosti. Istraživanje pokazuje da pojedinci koji nemaju kratke alele pokazuju moždanu aktivnost karakterističnu za razmjerno nisku emocionalnu pobuđenost, efikasniju kontrolu unutarnje emocionalne uzbuđenosti, te slabiju aktivaciju amigdale, u usporedbi s l/s i s/s genotipom. Ove podatke možemo interpretirati na način da niska pobuđenost povezana sa l/l genotipom predstavlja rizik za razvoj osobina BB u nepovoljnoj okolini. Suprotno tome, osobine BB i narcizma rastu u funkciji niskog socioekonomskog statusa samo kod mladih s homozigotnim dugim (l/l) genotipom. Ovaj genotip predstavlja rizik za emocionalni deficit i predatorske osobine povezane s psihopatijom među mladima koji odrastaju u nepovoljnoj okolini. Haplotip koji se sastojao od OXTR-rs237885 A alela i OXTR-rs2268493 A alela bio je povezan sa značajno višim vrijednostima osobina BB.

Polazeći od već poznatih utjecaja hormona oksitocina na agresivnost, socijalnu memoriju, privrženost, seksualno i agresivno ponašanje, stres i anksioznost na način da oksitocin smanjuje anksioznost, prilagođava socijalno ponašanje, osjećaje i sklonost ka druženju (Campbell, 2010), provedena je prva poznata studija ispitivanja povezanosti osobina BB kod izrazito agresivne djece i adolescenata s hormonom oksitocinom (OXT) i genom za receptor oksitocina (OXTR) (Beitchman i sur., 2012). Autori su pretpostavili da bi oksitocin mogao biti uključen u razvoj i ispoljavanje osobina BB kod agresivne djece. U istraživanju je sudjelovalo 162 djece (106 dječaka i 56 djevojčica) u dobi između 6 i 16 godina koja su bila uključena u medicinski tretman i prema izvješću roditelja imala su prije uključivanja u

istraživanje najmanje dvogodišnju povijest agresivnog ponašanja. Mjerene su tri dimenzije psihopatije: bešćutnost i bezosjećajnost, slaba kontrola nagona i narcizam. Genotipizacija samog oksitocina i receptora za njegov gen obavljena je korištenjem komercijalno raspoložive analize (ABI). Studija je pokazala da genotip OXTR\_rs 237885 AA nosi u sebi više vrijednosti osobina bešćutnosti-bezosjećanosti nego AC ili CC genotipi. Haplotip koji se sastojao od OXTR-rs237885 A alela i OXTR-rs2268493 A alela bio je povezan sa značajno višim vrijednostima osobinama BB nego drugi haplotipi. Rezultati su pokazali da postoji visoka povezanost između polimorfizma hormona oksitocina i BB kod djece i adolescenata. Malik, Zai, Abu, Nowrouzi i Beitchman (2012) ispitali su povezanost genetske regulacije oksitocina s antisocijalnim ponašanjem i osobinama BB kod izrazito agresivne djece. Cilj istraživanja bio je utvrditi fenotip izrazito agresivnog ponašanja za koji su pretpostavljali da ima čvrstu genetsku podlogu. U ispitivanom uzorku sudjelovalo je ukupno 236 djece u dobi od 6 do 16 godina (162 dječaka i 74 djevojčice) izrazito agresivnog ponašanja. Usporednu grupu činilo je 160 zdravih odraslih osoba kod kojih nije postojala povijest agresivnog ponašanja u djetinjstvu. Rezultati genotipizacijske analize su pokazali da geni za receptor oksitocina OXTR SNPs rs6770632 i rs1042778 mogu biti povezani s kontinuiranim, pervazivnim, antisocijalnim ponašanjem kod oba spola, a posebice kod muških ispitanika. Deregulacija oksitocina koja je posljedica genetskih varijacija može narušiti prosocijalno ponašanje i biti predispozicija za razvoj antisocijalnog ponašanja. Istraživanje je pokazalo da postoje određene specifične razlike među spolovima. Genotip OXTR rs6770632 javlja se samo kod žena, dok je povezanost genotipa OXTR rs1042778 značajna samo kod muškaraca. Ovi rezultati odražavaju spolni dimorfizam; ekspresija oksitocina razmjerno je viša kod žena nego kod muškaraca vjerojatno zbog razlika u djelovanju genetskih varijacija na OXTR genu. Nadalje, ekspresija oksitocina regulirana je steroidnim hormonima, uključujući estrogen i tiroidne hormone, koji mogu pridonijeti smanjenom djelovanju nekih polimorfizama pojedinačnog nukleotida (SNPs) kod žena u usporedbi s muškarcima i obrnuto. Naprijed navedene studije su prve poznate studije koje su otkrile utjecaj specifičnih gena na psihopatske tendencije kod mladih i pokazale da određeni genotipi predstavljaju rizik za emocionalni deficit i predatorske osobine povezane s psihopatijom među mladima koji odrastaju u nepovoljnoj okolini. Ova istraživanja mogu pomoći otkrivanju odgovarajućih biokemijskih veza koje se javljaju kod agresivnog i antisocijalnog ponašanja. Gornji pregled istraživanja genetskog doprinosa razvoju osobina BB nedvojbeno ukazuje da su ove osobine u značajnoj mjeri genetski uvjetovane, tako da bi buduća istraživanja trebala usmjeriti na dodatne provjere dobivenih nalaza kako bi se razjasnili doprinosi genetskih faktora u etiologiji psihopatije.

## **Uloga neurotransmiterskih i neuroendokrinih sustava u razvoju i održavanju psihopatije**

Za razliku od brojnih istraživanja posvećenih psihopatologiji, posebice depresiji i shizofreniji, mali broj istraživanja posvećen je ispitivanju uloge neurotransmitera u razvoju i održavanju psihopatije, tako da smo još uvijek daleko od neurotransmiterskih i neuroendokrinih razumijevanja njene osnove. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da je psihopatija povezana s povišenim omjerom metabolita dopamina i metabolita serotonina što je indikator oštećene serotoninske regulacije dopaminske aktivnosti koja ima za posljedicu nemogućnost kontrole agresivnih nagona (npr. Söderström, Blennow, Manhem i Forsman, 2001; Söderström, Blennow, Sjodin i Forsman, 2003). Soderstron i sur. (2003) ispitali su na osuđeničkoj populaciji povezanost koncentracije metabolita serotonina u cerebrospinalnoj tekućini s psihopatskim značajkama. Pokazalo se da je niska razina metabolita serotonina i visoka razina metabolita dopamina u pozitivnoj korelaciji s psihopatijom. Dolan i Anderson

(2003) utvrdili su da djelovanje serotonina negativno korelira s impulzivnom, a pozitivno s interpersonalnom dimenzijom psihopatije kod nasilnih, odraslih počinitelja kaznenih djela, što ukazuje da serotonin može različito djelovati na pojedine psihopatske dimenzije.

Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da postoji povezanost između neurotransmitera i endokrinih sustava (npr. Glenn i Raine, 2008). Neurotransmisija serotonina utječe na HPA osovinu (hipotalamus-hipofiza-nadbubrežna žlijezda) na način da povećana aktivnost receptora serotonina u hipotalamusu povećava proizvodnju kortizola. HPA osovina predstavlja dobro uspostavljenu mrežu stresne reaktivnosti koja povezuje središnji živčani sustav i endokrini sustav (Kudielka i Kirschbaum, 2005). Okidač aktivacije HPA osovine su novi/prijeteći podražaji koji brzo aktiviraju otpuštanje kortizola iz kore nadbubrežne žlijezde u krv i slinu. Kortizol je povezan sa stanjima stresa (Kudielka i Kirschbaum, 2005) i straha (Schulkin, Gold i McEwen, 1998), a uključen je i u osjetljivost na kažnjavanje, te u ponašanja koja znače odustajanje kao reakciju na strah (Schulkin, 2003).

Oslabljena reakcija na stres implicirana je u razvoju psihopatskih osobina ličnosti. U nekoliko istraživanja nađena je povezanost između niske produkcije kortizola i agresivnog ponašanja (npr. Netter, Hennig i Rohrman, 1999; Pajer, Gardner, Rubin, Perel i Neal, 2001). Niska razina kortizola povezana je i s povišenom potrebom za traženjem uzbuđenja (npr. McBurnett, Lahey, Rathouz i Loeber, 2000), te s oslabljenom reakcijom na strah (npr. Kagan, Reznick i Snidman, 1988). Istraživanje (Sobczak, Honig, Nicolson i Riedel, 2002) na osobama s bipolarnim poremećajem ličnosti pokazalo je da poremećaj u neurotransmisiji serotonina remeti reaktivnost kortizola u govornom zadatku koji izaziva (inducira) stres, što ukazuje da deregulacija serotonina u mozgu može pridonijeti nižoj razini kortizola uočenoj kod psihopata. Boissy i Bouissou (1994) navode da je široko prihvaćena hipoteza o ulozi testosterona u agresivnom ponašanju utemeljena na spoznaji o značajnim spolnim razlikama u razinama testosterona i u agresivnom ponašanju. Istraživanje Higleya i sur. (1996) pokazalo je da niska razina serotonina u kombinaciji s visokom razinom testosterona, povećava učestalost i intenzitet agresije. Međutim, testosteron sam za sebe ne objašnjava agresivno ponašanje i jače je povezan s dominacijom nego s agresijom (Birger i sur., 2003). Istraživanje na muškarcima, ovisnicima o alkoholu i/ili opojnim drogama, osuđenima za višestruko počinjenje teških kaznenih djela, pokazalo je da postoji pozitivna povezanost između razine testosterona, životnog stila i antisocijalnih obilježja psihopatije (Stålenheim, Eriksson, von Knorring i Wide, 1998). Autori ovog istraživanja smatraju da je ova povezanost vjerojatno rezultat komorbiditeta psihopatije, ovisnosti o opojnim drogama i drugih psihičkih poremećaja. Birger i sur. (2003) pretpostavljaju da povišene razine testosterona potiču potrebu za dominacijom, te da u situacijama koje su za pojedinca frustrirajuće zbog nemogućnosti postizanja dominacije, niske razine serotonina mogu povećati vjerojatnost za agresivnu reakciju. U literaturi je izneseno i stajalište (Glenn i Raine, 2008) kako nalazi naprijed navedenih istraživanja ukazuju da deregulacija neurotransmiterskih sustava može biti uključena u psihopatiju, te da neurotransmiteri u interakciji s neuroendokrinim sustavima mogu djelovati na funkcioniranje određenih regija u mozgu, ali da su potrebna daljnja istraživanja kako bi se ispitala priroda ove povezanosti i rasvijetlila uloga neurotransmitera u razvoju i održavanju psihopatije. Buduće studije trebale bi nastojati identificirati različite neurobiološke korelate psihopatije, kao i sagledati moguće utjecaje drugih osobina ličnosti (npr. anksioznosti) na razvoj psihopatije. Ako su psihopatske osobine neurorazvojno determinirane, uspješna prevencija i uporna intervencija mogle bi biti najučinkovitije ako se s njima započne u ranom djetinjstvu. U tom smislu istraživanja međusobnog djelovanja hormonskih i serotonergičkih sustava, mogla bi predstavljati ključni element u budućem

razumijevanju načina na koji su biokemijske aktivnosti u organizmu povezane s psihopatijom.

### **Neurobiološki korelati psihopatije — emocionalni i kognitivni deficiti**

Neurobiološki orijentirani modeli pretpostavljaju da su u osnovi psihopatije različiti emocionalni i kognitivni deficiti (npr. Blackbourn, 2006; Patrick i Bernat, 2009). Većina ovih modela ističe kako je kod psihopatije prisutna negativna emocionalna reaktivnost, što za posljedicu ima manjak anksioznosti ili oslabljenu reakciju na strah (npr. Fowles, 1980; Lykken, 1995). Laboratorijska istraživanja pokazuju da je psihopatija povezana sa slabijim prepoznavanjem ustrašenih i tužnih izraza lica i emocionalno obojenih riječi (npr. Iria i Barbosa, 2009; Kimonis, Frick, Fazekas i Loney, 2006), disfunkcijama autonomnog živčanog sustava, poput smanjenog broja treptaja očima i oslabljene elektrodermalne aktivnosti u odgovoru na eksperimentalne stresore (npr. bučni prasak), (Fung i sur., 2005), te atipičnom aktivacijom amigdala u odgovoru na emocionalne podražaje (Marsh i sur., 2008).

Istraživanja slikovnih prikaza mozga otkrila su strukturalne i funkcionalne razlike u područjima amigdala (koje procesiraju emocionalne neugodne kondicionirane podražaje) i orbitofrontalnog korteksa kod osoba s izraženim psihopatskim obilježjima (Glenn, Raine, Schug, Gao i Granger, 2011). Međutim, rezultati drugih laboratorijskih istraživanja (npr. Verona, Patrick, Curtin, Bradley i Lang, 2004; Williamson, Harpur i Hare, 1991) pokazuju da kod osuđenika s visokim rezultatima na psihopatiji postoji smanjena autonomna i kortikalna reaktivnost i na ugodne podražaje poput, primjerice, zvukova dječjeg smijeha, erotskog uzdisanja i kod odabira afektivno pozitivnih riječi. Rezultati gore navedenih istraživanja u skladu su s Blairovim postavkama (Blair, 2006; Blair i sur., 2008) da je kod osoba s psihopatijom prisutan veći broj deficita uzrokovanih disfunkcijom amigdala, odnosno da postoji smanjena reaktivnost amigdala na averzivne podražaje. Druga skupina autora smatra da kod osoba s psihopatijom postoje deficiti viših razina kognitivne obrade, ali o prirodi tih deficita i njihovom značenju za psihopatiju mišljenja su donekle podijeljena. Neki autori (npr. Newman, Schmitt i Voss, 1997) ističu da kod psihopatije postoji deficit u kognitivnom procesiranju koji se ogleda u oslabljenoj sposobnosti skretanja pažnje s događaja koji se trenutno odvija, te u oslabljenoj sposobnosti pronalaženja alternativnog, prikladnijeg odgovora u datoj situaciji. Kosson (1996) navodi da psihopati imaju poteškoća u procesiranju/obradi perifernih podražaja, odnosno perceptivnih tragova, kada je pažnja usmjerena više na središnji podražaj koji je usmjeren prema cilju, posebno u zadacima koji uključuju aktivaciju lijeve hemisfere. Prema još jednoj kognitivno orijentiranoj perspektivi (npr. Brinkley, Newman, Harpur i Johnson, 1999; Hare i McPherson, 1984) smatra se da je nesrazmjer između riječi i postupaka kod psihopata odraz poremećaja u procesiranju jezika.

Nastojeći integrirati nalaze etioloških modela koji se međusobno razlikuju s obzirom na povezanost emocionalnih i kognitivnih deficita s pojedinim komponentama psihopatije, Fowles i Dindo (2009) i Patrick i Bernat (2009) razvili su model dualnog deficita koji u fokusu ima dva psihopatska obilježja: neustrašivost i slabu kontrolu impulsa. Prema ovom modelu, neustrašivost je značajna za afektivno-interpersonalna obilježja psihopatije i predstavlja odraz slabosti obrambenog motivacijskog sustava u mozgu kojeg čine amigdale i s njima povezane mozgovne strukture. Nasuprot tome, slaba kontrola impulsa u osnovi je antisocijalno-impulzivne komponente psihopatije i predstavlja odraz devijacija u funkcioniranju prednjeg mozga, uključujući prefrontalni korteks koji utječe na regulaciju emocija, odlučivanje i ponašanje.

## **Psihosocijalni rizični čimbenici razvoja psihopatije**

### **Odnos psihopatije i privrženosti**

Privrženost je snažna emocionalna povezanost pojedinca s bliskim osobama koja izaziva ugodu i radost kada je s njima u interakciji (Berk, 2008). Bowlby (1969) ističe da djetetov neuspjeh u razvijanju sigurne privrženosti u ranoj životnoj dobi može dovesti do nesposobnosti u stvaranju bliskih veza u odrasloj dobi. Stabilnost stilova privrženosti potvrđena je i u meta-analitičkoj studiji (Fraley, Waller i Brennan, 2000) čiji rezultati pokazuju da stilovi privrženosti razvijeni u ranom djetinjstvu imaju snažan utjecaj na stil privrženosti koji osoba ima u odrasloj dobi.

Postoji gotovo opće suglasje o tome da osobe s psihopatskim značajkama nisu sposobne razviti iskrene emocionalne veze, te da imaju poteškoća s razvojem sigurne privrženosti (Blair i sur., 2008; Clekley, 1976; Hare, 1999; McCord i McCord, 1964). Štoviše, smatra se da su rana neadekvatna iskustva s objektom privrženosti značajni razvojni prediktor psihopatije (Fowles i Dindo, 2006). Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da će djeca s nesigurnim vezivanjem vjerojatnije reagirati agresivnije na svoje vršnjake i biti sklonija usvajanju kriminalnih obrazaca ponašanja (Allen, Hauser i Borman-Spurrell, 1996; Greenberg, Speltz i DeKlyen, 1993; Turner, 1991).

Prema dostupnoj literaturi, odnos između psihopatije i privrženosti ispitan je u manjem broju istraživanjima. Studija na muškim adolescentima prijestupnicima (N = 51) (Flight i Forth, 2007) u kom je psihopatija mjerena pomoću Liste obilježavanja za psihopatiju — Verzija za mladež (eng. *Psychopathy Checklist Youth Version*, PCL: YV; Forth, Kosson i Hare, 2003), a privrženost Inventarom privrženosti roditeljima i vršnjacima: Verzija Majka, Otac i Vršnjaci (engl. *Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment: Mother, Father, Peer Version*, IPPA; Armsden i Greenberg, 1987), pokazalo je da negativna povezanost psihopatije postoji samo u odnosu na privrženost očevima, ali ne i u odnosu na privrženost majkama i vršnjacima. U istraživanju na studentima (N = 209, 65 % žene) (Mack, Hackney i Pyle, 2011), ispitan je odnos psihopatije mjerene Levensonovom skalom za samoprocjenu psihopatije (eng. *Levenson Self-Report Psychopathy Scale*; LSRP, Levenson, Kiehl i Fitzpatrick, 1995) i privrženosti mjerene Revidiranim inventarom iskustava u bliskim odnosima (eng. *Experiences in Close Relationships: Revised*; ECR-R; Fraley, Waller i Brennan, 2000), koji mjeri izbjegavajuću i anksioznu dimenziju privrženosti. Pokazalo se da postoji veza između primarne psihopatije i izbjegavajuće dimenzije privrženosti samo kod onih ispitanika koji su bili visoki na anksioznoj dimenziji privrženosti. Također je nađena očekivana pozitivna povezanost između sekundarne psihopatije i anksiozne dimenzije privrženosti, ali i neočekivana pozitivna povezanost sekundarne psihopatije s izbjegavajućom dimenzijom privrženosti.

Pasalich, Dadds, Hawes i Brennan (2012) ispitali su povezanost osobina BB i privrženosti na uzorku 55 dječaka u dobi od 3 do 9 godina s klinički utvrđenim poremećajem ophođenja. Dječji opis privrženosti procijenjen je pomoću Manchester dječjeg zadatka opisa privrženosti pričom (engl. *Manchester Child Attachment Story Task*; MCAST; Green, Stanley, Smith i Goldwyn, 2000). Autori studije su pretpostavljali da osobine bešćutnosti-bezosjećanosti predviđaju visoku zastupljenost doživljaja nesigurne privrženosti i to prije svega njenog dezorganiziranog i izbjegavajućeg oblika. Rezultati su pokazali da je 49 % ispitanice djece ocijenilo svoju privrženost s roditeljima kao nesigurnu, od čega je u samo 13 % slučajeva bila riječ o izbjegavajućoj privrženosti, a u 36% slučajeva radilo se o

dezorganiziranoj privrženosti. Ovo navodi na zaključak da suprotno postavljenoj hipotezi, prisustvo osobina bešćutosti-bezosjećajnosti nije povezano s doživljajem izbjegavajuće privrženosti u odnosima djece i roditelja. Rezultati ove studije u skladu su s rezultatima nekih ranijih studija (npr. Fite, Greening i Stoppelbein, 2008; Pardini, Lochman i Powell 2007). koje su, istražujući privrženost iz perspektive djeteta, pokazale da postoji povezanost između slabe kvalitete odnosa roditelj — dijete i visoke razine osobina BB.

Rezultati istraživanja na studentima (Allen, 2013) pokazali su da udešavanje na sigurnu privrženost (eng. *secure attachment priming*) dovodi do smanjenja psihopatskih obilježja kod ispitanika s visoko izraženom dimenzijom anksiozne privrženosti.

U istraživanju na osuđeničkoj populaciji počinitelja teških kaznenih djela (N = 139, 83 % muškarci), (Schimmenti i sur., 2014) ispitan je odnos psihopatije mjerene Revidiranom listom obilježavanja za psihopatiju (eng. *Psychopathy Checklist—Revised*, PCL-R; Hare, 1991, 2003) i privrženosti mjerene dvjema kliničkim mjerama procjene: Intervjuom privrženosti za odrasle (eng. *Adult Attachment Interview*, AAI; Main, Kaplan i Cassidy, 1985) i Intervjuom stilova privrženosti (eng. *Attachment Style Interview*, ASI; Bifulco, Moran, Ball i Bernazzani, 2002). Pokazalo se da kod osoba s visokim rezultatima na psihopatiji postoji devalvacija bliskih veza, te da su kod ovih osoba najzastupljeniji nesigurni i dezorganizirani stilovi privrženosti. S obzirom da je većina sudionika s visokim rezultatima na psihopatiji i izraženom dezorganiziranom privrženosti izvještavala o izloženosti teškim oblicima zlostavljanja u djetinjstvu, autori su zaključili su da ovi nalazi ujedno pokazuju kako nepovoljni okolinski uvjeti u djetinjstvu poput napuštanja, zlostavljanja i zanemarivanja od strane roditelja, imaju važnu ulogu u razvoju psihopatije i nesigurnih stilova privrženosti. Unatoč ovim rezultatima, upitno je da li stilovi privrženosti koje pokazuju odrasli prijestupnici mogu biti otkriveni u ranom djetinjstvu i da li pojedini tipovi privrženosti koji se razvijaju u djetinjstvu mogu biti prediktori budućeg psihopatskog poremećaja koji će se kasnije razviti. Ostaje otvoreno i pitanje da li određeni stilovi privrženosti predstavljaju opći rizični faktor za razvoj antisocijalnog ponašanja ili su oni samo pokazatelji emotivnog deficita koji postoji kod manjeg broja djece s poremećajima ophođenja. Vrlo malo je empirijskih istraživanja posvećenih ovim pitanjima. Postoje uglavnom indirektno studije o povezanosti određenih stilova privrženosti i antisocijalnih tendencija koje se manifestiraju u djetinjstvu. Istraživanja posvećena ranoj socijalizaciji i moralnom razvoju (Kochanska, 1991; Kochanska, Aksan i Koenig, 1995; Maccoby, 1992), bavila su se ispitivanjem uloge rane pozitivne povezanosti između djece i njihovih primarnih skrbnika kao odrednice kasnijeg razvoja savjesti i internalizacije (procesa usvajanja socijalnih normi, standarda ponašanja i doživljavanja). Sukus njihove diskusije je u stajalištu da dva partnera uključena u uzajamni odnos osjećaju odgovornost prema dobrobiti onog drugog; oni osjećaju brigu i postupaju odgovorno u odnosu na potrebe drugog partnera u tom odnosu. Istovremeno očekuju da će drugi partner biti osjetljiv i brižan prema njihovoj dobrobiti. Prema tome, rani odnos privrženosti koncipiran je kao motivacijska osnova rane moralne internalizacije. Studije ranog razvoja savjesti pokazale su da djeca koja rano razvijaju bliske i nježne odnose kasnije će vjerojatnije imati osjećaj obveze za dobrobit drugih. Saltaris (2002) ističe da je iz gore navedenog moguće pretpostaviti da djeca čije su rane veze poremećene ili prekinute neće biti uspješna u stvaranju moralnih i emocionalnih veza s drugima kroz djetinjstvo i u odrasloj dobi, što potencijano vodi prema ekstremnoj otuđenosti koja se susreće kod psihopata. Međutim, pretpostavku o poremećenoj privrženosti kao snažnom prediktoru psihopatije treba empirijski provjeriti provođenjem longitudinalnih istraživanja čiji cilj bi trebao biti bolje razumijevanje brojnih faktora na strani roditelja i djece koji zajedno čine model ranog odnosa privrženosti i pratiti razvoj složenih obrazaca privrženosti tijekom vremena.



## Odnos zanemarivanja i fizičkog kažnjavanja djeteta s razvojem psihopatije

Prema Bowlbyju (1973) odvajanje djeteta od roditelja kao i prijetnja napuštanjem, kod djeteta izaziva osjećaj intenzivnog bijesa, a dugotrajno odvajanje u kombinaciji sa zastrašivanjem izaziva prijezir prema roditeljima. Ovi negativni osjećaji mogu biti zadržani i usmjereni i prema drugim ljudima. Istraživanje na kliničkom uzorku koje su proveli Zanarini, Gunderson, Marino, Schwartz i Frankenberg (1989) pokazalo je da 58 % odraslih osoba s antisocijalnim poremećajem ličnosti svjedoči o negativnom iskustvu s primarnim skrbnicima u djetinjstvu (tj. fizičkom i verbalnom zlostavljanju, zanemarivanju i napuštanju). Fizičko kažnjavanje djeteta u literaturi identificirano je kao potencijalni korelat psihopatije (Blair i sur., 2008; Gao, Raine, Chan, Venables i Mednick, 2010; Weiler i Widom, 1996). Međutim, otvoreno je pitanje je li fizičko kažnjavanje u djetinjstvu doista razvojni prediktor psihopatije. U longitudinalnoj studiji smjerova utjecaja između psihopatskih osobina adolescenata i ponašanja roditelja (Salihovic, Kerr, Özdemir i Pakalniskiene, 2012) koja je trajala četiri godine i u kojoj je sudjelovalo 875 adolescenata nastojalo se dobiti odgovore na pitanja da li pozitivno roditeljsko ponašanje (npr. pokušaj razumijevanja, toplina) i negativno roditeljsko ponašanje (npr. nastupi bijesa, hladno odbacivanje) predviđaju promjene u psihopatskim osobinama adolescenata i da li su psihopatske osobine adolescenata prediktori promjena u ponašanju roditelja. Rezultati su pokazali da je roditeljsko ponašanje više reakcija na psihopatske osobine adolescenta nego što je prediktor razvoja ovih osobina. Psihopatske osobine adolescenata dovode do porasta negativnog i smanjenje pozitivnog ponašanja roditelja, a ovaj utjecaj je bio sustavan kroz četiri godine koliko je trajalo istraživanje. Za ove nalaze postoji nekoliko mogućih objašnjenja. Kao prvo postoje teorijska shvaćanja i empirijski nalazi koji potvrđuju da su djeca i adolescenti s visoko izraženim osobinama BB neosjetljivi na kažnjavanje i prema tome su i pod slabijim utjecajem ponašanja roditelja nego druga djeca (Frick, 1998). Ovi nalazi navode na zaključak da su mladi s izraženim psihopatskim obilježjima otporni na utjecaje roditeljskog ponašanja (Oxford, Cavell i Hughes, 2003; Wootton, Frick, Shelton i Silverthorn, 1997) čime se potvrđuje stajalište da su psihopatske osobine razmjerno stabilne osobine ličnosti na koje okolinski utjecaji imaju ograničeno djelovanje. Znakoviti su rezultati istraživanja povezanosti odnosa roditelji-djeca, fizičkog zlostavljanja djece, te odvajanja djece od roditelja s pojedinim faktorima psihopatije u odrasloj dobi (Gao i sur., 2010). Psihopatija je mjerena Samoizvješćem psihopatije (engl. *Self-Report Psychopathy scale*; SRP-II, Hare, 1985). Istraživanje je provedeno na općem uzorku od 333 sudionika s otoka Mauricijusa, a vodilo se računa o ravnomjernoj etničkoj zastupljenosti stanovnika cijelog otoka. Prvo mjerenje izvršeno je kada su ispitanici bili u dobi od 3 godine, a drugo mjerenje obavljeno je nakon 25 godina kada su sudionici bili u dobi od 28 godina. Rezultati su pokazali da je poremećen odnos između djece i roditelja povezan s psihopatijom u odrasloj dobi i to posebice s nedostatkom majčinske skrbi i sa slabom očinskom kontrolom. Nedostatak majčinske skrbi u najvećoj je korelaciji s oba faktora psihopatije (interpersonalno- afektivnim i antisocijalnim faktorom). Odnos s ocem povezan je s psihopatijom u odrasloj dobi; slaba očinska zaštita povezana je s afektivnom komponentom psihopatije. Fizičko zlostavljanje u djetinjstvu pokazalo se pozitivno povezanom samo s antisocijalnim faktorom psihopatije.

Rezultati istraživanja na dječacima u dobi od 4 — 12 godina (Pasalich, Dadds, Hawes i Brennan, 2011) pokazuju da između osobina BB i očinske topline postoji statistički značajna negativna povezanost ( $r = -.40$ ,  $p < .01$ ), dok ova povezanost nije nađena između osobina BB i majčinske topline kao niti između osobina BB i očinske, odnosno majčinske prisile. Osim toga, ovo istraživanje je pokazalo da postoji moderacijski učinak osobina BB na

odnos roditeljstva i problema u ponašanju. Naime, roditeljska prisila snažnije je pozitivno povezana s poremećajem ophođenja kod dječaka s niskom razinom osobina BB, dok je roditeljska toplina snažnije negativno povezana s problemima u ponašanju dječaka s visoko izraženim osobinama BB. Kod djece s niskom razinom osobina BB koja imaju relativno visoku razinu emocionalne budnosti, intervencije usmjerene na smanjenje prisile u odnosu roditelj — dijete i uspostavljanje “emocionalno neutralnog” discipliniranja; npr. “*time-out*” ili “*time in*”, omogućuju ovoj djeci reguliranje negativnih utjecaja poremećaja ophođenja (Hawes i Dadds, 2006). Međutim, ove intervencije su manje učinkovite u tretmanu djece s visokom razinom ovih osobina (Hawes i Dadds, 2005). Tijekom discipliniranja djece s visoko izraženim osobinama BB roditelji su ugroženi zbog moguće eskalacije kažnjavanja (Stellwagen i Kerig, 2010) koja, što je paradoksalno, može služiti jačanju neosjetljivosti ove djece na kažnjavanje (Dadds i Salmon, 2003).

## Zaključak

Neurorazvojni pogled na odrasle psihopate pokazuje da psihopatija ima svoje korijene u ranom životu (Caspi, Moffitt, Newman i Silva, 1996; Giedd i sur., 1999), razvija se sustavno kroz djetinjstvo i adolescenciju (Moffitt, 1993; Lynam, 1996), te ima kontinuiran, progresivan smjer koji se s vremenom bitnije ne mijenja i razmjerno je otporan na konvencionalne tretmane (Rice, 1997; Robins, 1999). Istraživanja neurokognitivnih i psihofizioloških rizičnih čimbenika razvoja psihopatije pokazuju da postoji biološka osnova njezina nastanka koja uključuje genetske, biokemijske i druge hipoteze (Begić, 2011, Blair i sur., 2008, Sadeh i sur., 2010). Psihopatske značajke povezane s neuro-kognitivnim deficitima u emocionalnom učenju mogu interferirati s formiranjem privrženosti (Blair, 2005), tako da su djeca i adolescenti s ovim osobinama otporna na utjecaje roditeljskog ponašanja (Oxford i sur., 2003; Wooton i sur., 1997). Ovime se potvrđuje stajalište da su psihopatske osobine razmjerno stabilne osobine ličnosti na koje okolinski utjecaji imaju ograničeno djelovanje. Rezultati molekularno-genetskih studija pokazuju postojanje genske osnove psihopatije i podržavaju etiološki model psihopatije po kojem su nasljedne komponente impulzivnosti i emocionalno-interpersonalnih faceta različite.

Istraživanja genetskog doprinosa razvoju osobina BB nedvojbeno ukazuje da su ove osobine snažno genetski uvjetovane. U budućim istraživanjima trebalo bi dodatno razjasniti doprinose genetskih faktora u etiologiji psihopatije i otkriti odgovarajuće biokemijske veze koje se javljaju kod agresivnog i antisocijalnog ponašanja.

Hormoni također mogu utjecati na funkcioniranje ključnih moždanih područja mijenjajući obrasce ponašanja i zbog toga su osobito važni u našem razumijevanju temeljnih faktora koji mogu uzrokovati i održavati neurobiološke abnormalnosti koje su vidljive u psihopatiji. Hormonska neravnoteža razine kortizola i testosterona u ranoj životnoj dobi može narušiti socijalni razvoj. Niska razina kortizola može oslabiti osjetljivost na stresore i smanjiti strah od kazne. Slično, povišeni testosteron može oslabiti osjetljivost prema kažnjavanju i nagradama, otežati socijalizaciju i time povećati rizik za buduće antisocijalno ponašanje. U budućim istraživanjima trebalo bi nastojati identificirati različite neurobiološke korelate psihopatije, kao i razmotriti moguće zbunjujuće utjecaje drugih osobina ličnosti (primjerice, anksioznosti). Ukoliko su psihopatske osobine neurorazvojno determinirane, uspješna prevencija i uporna intervencija mogle bi biti najučinkovitije ako se s njima započne u ranoj djetinjstvu. U tom smislu, istraživanja hormona mogla bi predstavljati ključni element u budućem razumijevanju načina na koji su disfunkcije mozga i moždane aktivnosti povezane s psihopatijom.

Nalazi pokazuju da psihopatske osobine sustavno dovode do porasta negativnog i smanjenja pozitivnog ponašanja roditelja, te da je roditeljsko ponašanje više reakcija na psihopatske osobine djeteta nego što je prediktor razvoja ovih osobina (Salihovic i sur., 2012). Roditelji djece s visoko izraženim osobinama bešćutnosti-bezosjećanosti ne uspijevaju niti većom kontrolom i nadzorom bolje upoznati vlastitu djecu, te s vremenom smanjuju roditeljski nadzor (Muñoz i sur., 2011). Ova djeca nisu osjetljiva na kažnjavanje (Dadds i Salmon, 2003), tako da su tijekom njihova discipliniranja djece roditelji ugroženi zbog moguće eskalacije kažnjavanja (Stellwagen i Kerig, 2010). Navedeno ukazuje na postojanje suprotnog smjera utjecaja po kojem ova djeca imaju veći utjecaj na svoje roditelje nego obrnuto i na potrebu ranog djelovanja na kvalitetu ove veze, kako bi se prevenirale kasnije negativne posljedice. Usprkos ovim spoznajama, dokazano je da kvaliteta veze između roditelja i djeteta ipak može utjecati na poboljšanje ovih osobina, podučavanjem roditelja načinima razvijanja empatije i govornih vještina kod djeteta (Frick, 2009), a emocionalna i socijalna podrška mogu pridonijeti ublažavanju psihopatskih simptoma (Begić, 2011). Imajući na umu nove spoznaje o prirodi odnosa i smjeru povezanosti između psihopatskih osobina s kvalitetom veze između djece i roditelja, buduća istraživanja treba usmjeriti pronalaženju učinkovitijih tretmana djece i mladih s poremećajem ophođenja rukovodeći se sviješću da tretman ove djece treba biti sveobuhvatan, individualiziran i pravovremen, te da vjerojatnost pronalaženja novih oblika preventivnih intervencija i terapijskih postupaka ovisi prije svega o uvažavanju spoznaja da postoje različiti oblici ovog poremećaja i različiti uzroci koji su u podlozi svakog od tih oblika.

### 6.3. APPENDIX C

#### NORVEŠKI FJORDOVI – 11 dana autobusom i brodom

Najveća kompletna tura po fjordovima: uključeno 8 vožnji brodovima, najslavnije panoramske ceste, ledenjaci, slapovi i pejzaži kao s razglednice!

#### 1. dan ZAGREB - FULDA

Odlazak autobusa s Autobusnog kolodvora u Zagrebu, turistički peroni 502-506 u 04:30 sati. Vožnja kroz Sloveniju, Austriju i Njemačku uz kraća zaustavljanja putem radi odmora. Put nas vodi preko Regensburga i Würzburga prema sjeveru. Dolazak u Fuldu, barokni grad s prelijepim vrtovima. Razgled povijesne jezgre pješice: katedrala sv. Bonifacija - gradski dvorac - park Orangerie s prekrasnim baroknim vrtom. Smještaj u hotel. Noćenje.

#### 2. dan FULDA – KIEL - BROD

Doručak. Vožnju nastavljamo prema sjeveru uz kraća zaustavljanja putem. Put nas vodi prema Hannoveru i Hamburgu i dalje prema obali Baltičkog mora i sjevernonjemačkoj regiji Schleswig-Holstein. Dolazak u Kiel, veliku luku i zanimljiv trgovački grad. Slobodno vrijeme u gradskom središtu s bogatom trgovačkom i ugostiteljskom ponudom. Ukrcaj na brod i smještaj u kabine. Odlazak broda u večernjim satima. Zanimljivo je promatrati odlazak broda iz Kielskog zaljeva i ulaz kanala koji spaja Sjeverno i Baltičko more. Na brodu su restorani, barovi, brodska trgovina i drugi sadržaji. Noćenje u kabinama na brodu.

#### 3. dan BROD – GÖTEBORG - ŠVEDSKA ZAPADNA OBALA - OSLO FJORD - OSLO

Doručak na brodu. Dolazak broda u švedsku luku Göteborg. Ovaj se grad nalazi na rijeci Göta Älv u neposrednoj blizini njezinog ušća u more, a grad i danas ima palače na kanalima, četvrti starih drvenih kuća i staru riblju tržnicu uz brojne zanimljive primjere suvremene arhitekture. Vožnja zapadnom obalom Švedske otkriva razvedenu obalu, zaljeve i brojne otočiće uz vrlo zanimljive oblike stijena. Prijelazom mosta Svinesund ulazimo u Norvešku. Vožnja uzduž obale Oslo fjorda i dolazak u Oslo, razgled grada: nova zgrada Opere - gradska vijećnica - mornarička četvrt Akker Brygge - kraljevska palača – Parlament - glavna ulica Karla Johanna - utvrda Akershus - Vigeland park, remek djelo velikog norveškog kipara Gustava Vigelanda s 227 monumentalnih skulptura na temu života i smrti i ljudske sudbine. Slobodno vrijeme u gradskom središtu za kupovinu tipičnih norveških suvenira od figurica trolova do prekrasnih i poznatih norveških pulovera i pletenine, posjete muzejima ili vrlo vrijednoj zbirci slika u Nacionalnoj galeriji ili šetnju. Smještaj u hotel u Oslu. Noćenje.

#### 4. dan OSLO - JEZERO MJOSA – LILLEHAMMER - PUT PEER GYNTE

Doručak. Posjet muzejskoj četvrti Osla na poluotoku Bygdoy. Razgled muzeja vikinških brodova (uključena ulaznica). Put prema sjeveru započinjemo odlaskom prema najvećem jezeru Norveške Mjosa i panoramskom vožnjom uz njegove obale. Zaustavljanje u Lillehammeru, nekadašnjem domaćinu zimske Olimpijade. Šetnja glavnom ulicom Storgata i slobodno vrijeme za kavu. Vožnju nastavljamo kroz područje velikih prirodnih ljepota planinskom cestom Peer Gynta, jednom od najpoznatijih turističkih ruta Norveške. Predivne prirodne ljepote, krajolici norveških stjenovitih fjellova, guste crnogorične šume, rijeke i brzaci bogati ribom, stada ovaca, mala slikovita jezerca i smaragdnozeleni slapovi očarati će svakog posjetitelja. Zaustavljanje na najljepšim panoramskim točkama ovog puta. Najpoznatije norveške bajke, mitovi i narodna predanja vezani su uz ovaj dio Norveške. Smještaj u hotel. Noćenje.

#### 5. dan PUT PEER GYNTE – ANDALSNES – ROMSDALFJORD - ATLANTSKA CESTA - MOLDE

Doručak. Vožnja kroz dolinu Romsdalen uz rijeku Lagen. Na ovom dijelu puta započinju spektakularni slapovi i riječni brzaci uz prekrasnu prirodu, mala tipična naselja i norveške drvene crkve. Zaustavljanje na panoramskim mjestima i ispod „Trolovog zida“, preko 1000 metara visoke stijene. Dolaskom u slikoviti gradić Andalsnes izbijamo na obalu Romsdalfjorda. Vožnja uz obalu i prijelaz fjorda brodom od Afarnesa do Solnesa. Podvodnim tunelom dolazimo na obalu Moldefjorda. Nastavak vožnje do poznate panoramske Atlantske ceste - 8 kilometara mostova i otočića kojima cesta vijuga kroz Atlantik. Na najljepšim točkama ovog čuda graditeljskog umijeća zaustaviti ćemo se radi fotografiranja i uživanja u jedinstvenom pogledu na otvoreno more. Smještaj u hotelu u gradu Molde. U ovom gradiću uspijevaju ljeti grmovi ruža, a oko Moldea neki su od najpoznatijih panoramskih fjordovskih krajolika s pogledom na više od 80 planinskih vrhunaca. Hotel je na jedinstvenom panoramskom položaju s pogledom na fjord i planine! Noćenje.

#### 6. dan MOLDE - TROLOVA CESTA – NORDDALSFJORD – GEIRANGERFJORD - HORNINDAL

Doručak. U ovom danu doživjeti ćete najpoznatije krajolike Norveške, često fotografirane motive razglednica i turističkih prospekata. Prijevoz brodom preko Romsdalfjorda od Solnesa do Afarnesa. Vožnja poznatom planinskom Trolovom cestom, uz vodopade i predivnu

panoramu. Zaustavljanje na vrhu puta uz vodopade i centar za posjetioce, uz mogućnost šetnje panoramskim terasama i mostovima. Spuštamo se prema prema Norddalsfjordu i prelazimo ga brodom od Lingea do Eisdala. Put nastavljamo spektakularnom Orlovom cestom i dolazimo na vidikovac iznad poznatog Geirangerfjorda, prirodne znamenitosti pod zaštitom UNESCOa. Ukrcaj na brod u Geirangeru i plovidba ovim najpoznatijim fjordom Norveške uz slapove romantičnih imena kao što je „Nevjestin veo“ i „Sedam sestara“ i pogledom na usamljene farme iznad fjordova. Iskrcaj s broda u Helesyltu. Smještaj u hotel na području Hornindala. Jezero Hornindalsvatnet s dubinom do 514 metara najdublje je jezero Europe! Noćenje.

#### 7. dan HORNINDAL - LEDENJAK BOYABREEN - SOGNEFJORD, KRALJ FJORDOVA - BERGEN

Doručak. Vožnja prema Nordfjordu, dugačkom i uskom fjordu s brojnim rukavcima i slapovima. Prijelaz fjorda brodom od Lote do Ande. Nastavak puta pored jezera kod mjesta Skei gdje ćemo se odvojiti putem do rubnog dijela ledenjaka Jostedalsbreen. Zaustavljanje ispod ledenjaka i plavog jezera, odvojka Boyabreena. Mogućnost za šetnju ispod ledenjaka i kupovinu suvenira. Dolazimo do obale „kralja fjordova“ Sognefjorda, najdužeg fjorda na svijetu koji se dužinom od preko 200 km proteže duboko u unutrašnjost. Prijelaz fjorda brodom između Helle i Vangsnesa. Vožnju nastavljamo kroz planinsku visoravan Vikafjell. Zaustavljanje u mjestu Voss, turističkom središtu. Put se nastavlja kroz slikovito područje Hordalanda do Bergena. Smještaj u hotel u centru Bergena. Noćenje.

#### 8. dan BERGEN – BROD - PLOVIDBA UZ NORVEŠKU OBALU

Doručak. Razgled Bergena, jednog od najljepših većih skandinavskih gradova: očuvane drvene kuće iz doba Hanse - luka Bryggen - utvrda Bergenhus - crkva sv. Marije - slikovita riblja tržnica koja će vam dočarati sve bogatstvo ribljih specijaliteta Skandinavije. Bergen je stoljećima bio središte trgovine s dalekim sjeverom i njegova povijesna jezgra je pod zaštitom UNESCOa. Slobodno vrijeme u središtu Bergena do ukrcaja na brod i smještaja u kabine. Odlazak broda u ranim poslijepodnevnim satima. Uživajte u nezaboravnoj plovidbi uz obalu južne Norveške, brojne otoke i zaljeve, fantastične krajolike i slikovite gradove! Ruta plovidbe uz norvešku obalu jedna je od najljepših u Europi. Novi brodovi koji plove na ruti prema Danskoj nude brojne restorane, glazbu, večernju zabavu, veliki tax free shop... Noćenje u kabinama na brodu.

#### 9. dan BROD – HIRTSHALS – AARHUS – FLENSBURG - HAMBURG

Doručak na brodu. Iskrcaj s broda u danskoj luci Hirtshals na sjeveru poluotoka Jylland. Vožnja pitomim danskim krajolicima preko Aalborga i fjorda do Aarhusa, drugog najvećeg danskog grada i nekad važnog vikinškog naselja koji je bio europska prijestolnica kulture 2017. godine. Gradsko središte blizu je luke, razgled grada: Katedrala Domkirke, jedna od najdužih skandinavskih crkvi - latinska četvrt s uskim ulicama i umjetničkim galerijama - gradska vijećnica - vikinški muzej. Nakon slobodnog vremena u slikovitoj pješačkoj zoni nastavljamo putovanje poluotokom Jyllandom do njemačke granice i Schleswig - Holsteina. Posjetiti ćemo stari kapetanski grad Flensburg. Šetnja ugodnom pješačkom zonom i povijesnom jezgrom do crkve sv. Marije i uz tipičnu arhitekturu starih kapetanskih kuća. Slobodno vrijeme. Smještaj u hotel na području Hamburga. Noćenje.

#### 10. dan HAMBURG - NÜRNBERG

Doručak. Razgled Hamburga, jedne od najvažnijih luka Europe i grada važnog za trgovinu sa Skandinavijom: burza - gradska vijećnica - trgovačka četvrt Speicherstadt s neogotičkim ciglastim zgradama - crkva sv. Mihovila - most Trostbrücke - crkva sv. Petri - četvrt zabave Reeperbahn - ulica Jungfernstieg - gradska vijećnica - Hafen City - Filharmonija na Elbi. Kraće slobodno vrijeme Put nastavljamo u poslijepodnevnim satima prema jugu. Dolazak u Nürnberg u večernjim satima. Smještaj u hotel. Noćenje.

#### 11. dan NÜRNBERG - ZAGREB

Doručak. Odlazak iz hotela. Razgled grada: utvrda Kaiserburg - kuća Albrechta Dürera - Gradska vijećnica - crkva sv. Seebalda - crkva Frauenkirche i glavni gradski trg poznat po božićnom sajmu –Lorenzkirche - gradske zidine. Vožnja kroz Njemačku, Austriju i Sloveniju uz kraća zaustavljanja putem. Dolazak u Zagreb u kasnim satima.

FIRST MINUTE CIJENA ARANŽMANA PO OSOBI: 9.390 kn

REDOVNA CIJENA ARANŽMANA PO OSOBI: 9.690 kn

FM cijena vrijedi do popunjenja kapaciteta po FM cijeni

Rok za prijavu: 30 dana prije puta

Minimalan broj putnika: 35

Cijena uključuje:

- prijevoz visokoturističkim autobusom prema programu
- smještaj na osnovi ukupno 8 noćenja s buffet doručkom u hotelima 3\*/4\*:
- 3 noćenja u Njemačkoj (Fulda, Hamburg i Nürnberg)
- 5 noćenja u Norveškoj (Oslo, put Peera Gynta, Molde, područje Hornindala i Bergen)
- smještaj u dvokrevetnim unutarnjim kabinama na osnovi 1 noćenja s buffet doručkom na putničkom brodu na liniji Kiel-Göteborg
- smještaj u dvokrevetnim unutarnjim kabinama na osnovi 1 noćenja s buffet doručkom na putničkom brodu na liniji Bergen-Hirtshals
- 6 vožnji brodovima po fjordovima: Afarnes-Solnes, Solnes-Afarnes, Linge-Eisdal, Geiranger-Hellesylt, Lote - Anda i Hella-Vangsnes
- ulaznicu za Muzej vikinških brodova u Oslu
- razgledavanja prema programu
- stručnog pratitelja tijekom putovanja s velikim iskustvom na skandinavskim turama
- pripremu, organizaciju i jamčevinu putovanja

Cijena ne uključuje:

- doplatu za jednokrevetnu sobu (uključuje jednokrevetnu unutarnju kabinu na brodovima): 3.590 kn
- doplatu za dvokrevetnu vanjsku kabinu na brodovima po osobi: 590 kn

- doplatu za večere u Skandinaviji (5 večera u 3 slijeda ili buffet večera u norveškim hotelima i 2 bogate buffet večere na brodovima (prijava isključivo i odmah prilikom rezervacije aranžmana, preporučujemo doplatu za večere ): 1.690 kn
- ulaznice za muzeje i kulturno-povijesne spomenike koje nisu izrijekom navedene kao uključene
- dodatne sadržaje i troškove koji nisu predviđeni programom, troškove osobne prirode (piće, dodatni obroci, telefon, karte za javni gradski prijevoz itd.)
- putno osiguranje

Trokrevetne sobe/kabine: Na ovom je programu moguća rezervacija dvokrevetnih soba s pomoćnim ležajem u hotelima u kombinaciji s trokrevetnom unutarnjom kabinom na brodovima po redovnoj cijeni.

Mogućnost doplate za odabrana sjedala u autobusu:

Na ovom putovanju nudimo mogućnost odabira određenih sjedala u autobusu uz nadoplatu prilikom rezervacije. Dopлата nije obavezna.

Raspoloživost odabranih sjedala je na upit i podložna provjeri prilikom rezervacije.

- sjedala 5,6,7,8 u drugom redu dopлата po osobi 100 kn

**VAŽNO! PODACI POTREBNI PRILIKOM REZERVACIJE ARANŽMANA:**

Molimo da prilikom rezervacije aranžmana obavezno date slijedeće podatke: ime i prezime, datum rođenja, državljanstvo i broj putovnice. Ovi su podaci potrebni za brodske liste putnika.

**DOPLATA ZA VEČERE U NORVEŠKOJ I NA BRODOVIMA:**

Preporučujemo doplatu za večere (dopлата uključuje dvije bogate buffet večere na brodovima i pet večera od 3 slijeda ili buffet večera u norveškim hotelima, većina hotela u Norveškoj servira buffet večere). Dopлата za večere prilikom uplate aranžmana znatno je povoljnija od a la carte prehrane na licu mjesta, a večere na brodovima poseban su doživljaj svojim bogatstvom skandinavskih specijaliteta. Molimo da se odmah prilikom rezervacije aranžmana izjasnite i odlučite želite li uplatiti doplatu za večere ili ne, naknadne promjene nisu moguće. Na području fjordova i na mjestima prirodnih ljepota hotelski restorani su često jedina mjesta gdje se može dobiti topli obrok. Posebne zahtjeve i želje u vezi prehrane nismo u mogućnosti primati jer je u pitanju grupni turistički menu, a ne prehrana po izboru (osim napomene ako ste vegetarijanac i ne jedete meso, molimo napomenite odmah prilikom rezervacije programa ako uplaćujete doplatu za večere).

**PRAKTIČNE NAPOMENE:**

-valute na putovanju: Euro u Sloveniji, Austriji i Njemačkoj, u ostalim zemljama vrijede nacionalne valute tih zemalja: danska, švedska i norveška kruna. Preporučujemo ukoliko imate mogućnosti da nabavite valute prije početka putovanja u Hrvatskoj jer je tečaj često povoljniji nego na licu mjesta. Preostali nepotrošeni iznos u valuti jedne zemlje možete promijeniti na putu uz upute pratitelja u valutu slijedeće zemlje na turi. Plaćanje kreditnim

karticama rašireno je u Skandinaviji (često za plaćanje kreditnom karticom trebate imati PIN) dok plaćanje eurima nije svugdje moguće ukoliko to nije valuta te zemlje.

-preporučujemo da na put uz veći kofer uzmete manju torbu za noćenje na brodu kako ne biste morali nositi svu Vašu prtljagu u brodsku kabinu. Naš autobus ide s grupom na sve brodove na turi i Vašu veću prtljagu možete ostaviti u prtljažniku autobusa, ukoliko to želite.

-ponesite na put odjeću i obuću za različite vremenske prilike, obavezno jaknu, vestu, čvršću sportsku obuću, topliju odjeću za daleki sjever, zaštitu od kiše, ali naravno i ljetnu laganiju odjeću.

#### PREPORUKA PUTOVANJA:

Ovo putovanje preporučujemo svim putnicima koji vole velike prirodne ljepote. Putovanje je također zanimljivo onim putnicima koji su već bili na turama Nordkap ili Skandinavske prijestolnice, jer ova tura pokriva osim Osla područje zapadne Norveške koje nije uključeno u druge programe skandinavskih tura. Neke od najvećih prirodnih ljepota sjevera Europe vidjeti ćete na ovom putovanju: fjordove, visoravni-fjellove, jezera, ledenjake, planinske turističke rute, grandiozne slapove i posebno atraktivnu plovidbu fjordovima i uz norvešku obalu. Neki od hotela u Norveškoj na ovom programu su panoramski ili povijesni hoteli na atraktivnim mjestima izuzetnih prirodnih ljepota. Prije polaska na putovanje putnici će dobiti detaljne praktične upute o svim praktičnim detaljima i pripremama pred put.

Njemačka je demokratska parlamentarna savezna država, koja se sastoji od 13 saveznih država (njem. Bundesländer) i tri samostalna grada pokrajine. Glavni grad je Berlin i u njemu su smješteni parlament (Bundestag) i vlada (Regierung). Površina zemlje je 357.050 kvadratnih kilometara s ukupno 80 422. 000 stanovnika. Najveća je europska zemlja po broju stanovnika te ima najsnažnije europsko gospodarstvo.

Danska je najmanja nordijska zemlja s 5 580 000 stanovnika i površinom od 43.000 kvadratnih kilometara. 406 otoka i poluotok Jylland čine danski teritorij. Glavni je grad Kopenhagen. Grenland i Farski otoci u Atlantskom oceanu danski su autonomni teritoriji. Danska je monarhija kojom vlada kraljica Margareta II.

Švedska je država na sjeveru Europe, na obali Baltičkog mora. Švedska je četvrta zemlja po veličini u Europi i zauzima jugoistočni dio Skandinavskoga poluotoka. Glavni grad je Stockholm. Zbog velike površine od 450.295 km<sup>2</sup> te populacije nešto veće od 9.540.065 milijuna stanovnika, Švedska ima malu gustoću naseljenosti od oko 20 stanovnika po km<sup>2</sup>.

Norveška je država Sjeverne Europe koja obuhvaća zapadni dio Skandinavskog poluotoka, kao i otok Jan Mayen te arktičko otočje Svalbard. Ovu zemlju površine 385 252 kvadratna kilometra nastanjuje oko 4.900.000 stanovnika. Norveška je jedna od najrjeđe naseljenih država Europe. Glavni grad Norveške je Oslo. Razvedena norveška obala uz Atlantski ocean i Barentsovo more dom je znamenitih fjordova.

Granične i vizne formalnosti:

Za sve programe za Skandinaviju hrvatski državljani ne trebaju vizu, odlazak na putovanje moguć je putovnicom ili osobnom iskaznicom. Strani državljani dužni su se sami informirati o dokumentima potrebnim za ulazak u određenu zemlju u matičnom Ministarstvu vanjskih



poslova ili veleposlanstvu zemlje u koju se putuje. Preporučujemo osiguranje od posljedica nesretnog slučaja i bolesti na putovanju

Prijava za putovanje vrijedi isključivo uz uplatu predujma. Po uplati predujma primit ćete račun koji je ujedno i ugovor o putovanju.

Minimalan broj putnika za putovanje je 35. Agencija zadržava pravo otkazati putovanje najkasnije 20 (dvadeset) dana prije predviđenog polaska u slučaju putovanja koja traju više od šest dana i najkasnije 7 (sedam) dana prije predviđenog polaska u slučaju putovanja koja traju između dva i šest dana, ukoliko se na putovanje ne prijavi potreban, u programu ili ugovoru o putovanju naveden, broj ljudi.

Završno pismo šaljemo 2 dana prije početka putovanja.

Upute i opći uvjeti putovanja za turističke aranžmane sastavni su dio programa i ugovora o putovanju. Svojim potpisom na ugovoru o putovanju suglasni ste s navedenim uvjetima, stoga molimo cijenjene putnike da pažljivo pročitaju uvjete. Polica osiguranja od odgovornosti i Ugovor o osiguranju jamčevine za turističke paket aranžmane broj 078620055045 uplaćeni kod Croatia osiguranja. Molimo da se o rizičnosti putovanja u pojedine zemlje informirate na službenoj stranici Ministarstva vanjskih poslova i europskih integracija RH, <http://www.mvp.hr>. Kategorizacija hotela odgovara lokalnoj kategorizaciji. Organizator zadržava pravo promjene redoslijeda realizacije programa.

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