Univerza v Mariboru
Filozofska fakulteta

CEPYUS
CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF POST-YUGOSLAV SOCIETIES

FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG

Conference organized by *The Center for the Study of Post-Yugoslav societies (CEPYUS)* at the University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts, together with the *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*, Zagreb Office

20 years after: problems and prospects of countries of former Yugoslavia

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

December, 2011

1 CONFERENCE TIME-TABLE

Day 1 (Thursday, 1.12.2011)

Joint Session (Room A)				
Time	**Content**	**Time use**	**Speakers**	**Chairs**
10.00 - 11.30	Keynotes	10 minutes per paper + 5 minutes for discussion/comments	1. Flere: Opening address 2. Toš 3. Flere 4. Milić 5. Rizman 6. Grabus	Flere
11.30 - 11.45	Pause with refreshments			
11.45 - 13.00	Politics 1	15 minutes per paper + 10 for discussion	1. Kirbiš 2. Bešić 3. Vuletić	Flere
13.00 - 14.30	Lunch			

Parallel Sessions

Session 1 (Room A1)					Session 2 (Room A2)			
Time	**Content**	**Time use**	**Speakers**	**Chairs**	**Content**	**Time use**	**Speakers**	**Chairs**
14.30 -16.00	Politics 2	15 minutes per paper + 10 for discussion	1. Spasić & Birešev 2. Komar 3. Abdullai & Sinani	Kirbiš	Religion 1	15 minutes per paper + 10 for discussion	1. Lavrič 2. Gavrilović & Đorđević 3. Stanković, Rakić & Arsić Discussant: Grabus	Musil
16.00 -16.15	Pause with refreshments							
16.15 -17.45	Politics 3	15 minutes per paper + 10 for discussion	1. Mircev 2. Vankovska 3. Kirbiš & Naterer Discussant: Osonkar	Kirbiš	Religion 2	15 minutes per paper + 10 for discussion	1. Musil 2. Pajaziti 3. Filipova 4. Godina	Lavrič
18.30	Dinner							

Day 2 (Friday, 02.12.2011)

Parallel Sessions								
Session 1 (Room A1)					Session 2 (Room A2)			
Time	**Content**	**Time use**	**Speakers**	**Chairs**	**Content**	**Time use**	**Speakers**	**Chairs**
9.00 -11.00	Family	15 minutes per paper + 5 minutes for discussion/ comments	1. Flere 2. Tavčar Krajnc 3. Popov-Momčinović 4. Zenovich 5. Stanić & Mravak	Tavčar Krajnc	Economy	15 minutes per paper + 5 minutes for discussion/ comments	1. Klanjšek 2. Potočnik 3. Relja & Bešker 4. Janković Discussant: Novak	Klanjšek
11.00 -11.15	Pause with refreshments							

Joint Session (Room A)				
Time	**Content**	**Time use**	**Speakers**	**Chairs**
11.15 - 13.00	Youth	15 minutes per paper + 5 minutes for discussion /comments	1. Kuhar 2. Tomić-Koludrović, Petrić & Zdravković 3. Tomić-Koludrović, Zdravković & Skočić 4. Gvozdanović Discussant: Debeljak	Lavrič
13.00 - 14.00	Lunch			
14.15	Departure to Ljubljana			

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2 KEYNOTE LECTURES

2.1 Sergej Flere: The Development of Research Sociology in Post-Yugoslav Countries (1991-2011)

The development of sociology in post-Yugoslav entities (1991-2011) is analysed. The following topics are focused: transition, war, dissolution, ethnicity, religiosity, stratification, family, gender, politics, youth, and orientation towards the EU. Our study was limited by the availability of sources. A great difference in sociological research among the post-Yugoslav entities is discerned. Whereas Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian scholarship covered most of these areas and at times attained levels comparable to international standards, scholarship in Macedonia and Kosovo is very limited. In Bosnia and Herzegovina the void of public financing of sociological research has in part been partly substituted by non-governmental organisations, although the production remains modest. In Montenegro, the first attempts in sociological investigation are noted. Almost no cooperation, with a view to comparability, among ex-Yugoslav sociologists is noted. Policy recommendations: (1) There is a need for assisting scholars in social science in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia (possibly also in Montenegro) to upgrade their knowledge in methodology and in writing skills regarding scholarly papers, to bring them closer to current standards. An undertaking in this direction would fill a major gap. (2) It would be scientifically relevant to gain systematic comparative knowledge on the societies in question, to gain insight on how much a common development and how differences in development have taken place since 1991.

Keywords: sociology, post-Yugoslav societies, cross-national research.

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2.2 Andjelka Milić: Families and the Challenges of Global Transformation

The aim of the text is to present a panoramic vision of the changes and challenges in the family life during 20 years of transformations of societies of the ex-Yugoslav federation. Of course for the quite precise picture there are needed more empirical evidences and data and references which I do not know. So I shall lean on the data from Serbia (which I know the best) and Croatia (particularly). Despite the tide of strong and revolutionary change that has been sweeping the patriarchal system of relations in the modern family from late 1960s onwards, causing a continuous loosening of its grip, the system is still hanging on worldwide, refusing to leave the stage. Widespread phenomena and processes of deconstruction of the modern family with its multitude of shapes and forms is at one side the indicator of losing the ground of traditional power in the family and on the other still the indicator of preservation of the same power but in negative destructive mode. The final synthetic conclusion warns about the very dramatic social circumstances individuals and their families have to deal with, struggling to live everyday life. The majority of families show in their behaviour as well as in expectations some mix of modern and postmodern habits which are grounded in many cases on traditional structural and functional base of household practice of families living inside them. This mixture of structures, values habitual practices and expectations makes family life more complex and potentially more risky, which can result in not so rare disturbances in family life, individuals and societal surroundings.

Keywords: family, post-Yugoslav societies, transformation, social change.

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2.3 Rudi Rizman: Missing in Transition: Democracy

Author will critically address the issue of missing democracy, which was the core promise during the break-up of former socialist states. Post-Yugoslav societies unevenly face a serious deficit concerning democracy, which has only deepened with the advent of global economic, political and moral crisis. To make matters worse, western democracies, which initially encouraged democratic transition in the socialist world, are after 11.9. and under impact of the world crisis themselves betraying democratic ideals and practices. The absence of the previous ideological competitor has thus substantially defocused their initial democratic allegiances and appeals.

Keywords: transition, democracy, post-Yugoslav societies, global crisis.

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2.4 Nedžad Grabus: The challenge of political pluralism in Muslim countries

The Muslim World of the 20th Century has been shaped by the resurgence of political Islam and the challenge of modernity. The relationship between the two inspired many Muslim thinkers to reflect upon the Islamic understanding of the state and Muslim societies as a whole. In the course of the 20th century and the challenges of modernity, a tension between forces of modernization, which were often seen as agitators of Western Imperialism and sell-outs to the own Islamic values, and elements explicitly representing traditional Islam, which were depicted as pre-modern and anti-modern, evolved. In those circumstances the need for a viable democracy and socio-economic justice is becoming urgent; the number of Muslim intellectuals is increasing. They are also aware (and luckily so) of the Western achievements and failures. Many of them seem to realize now that the way to solve at least some of these pressing problems passes through an area which extends between a rather abstract, procedural liberalism, and suffocating, regressive communitarianism. Having the well-established Islamic values and the results of modern thought and science in mind, the Muslim intellectuals have to develop a new understanding of what one may call "a communitarian liberalism". While trying to do this they have to try to be thoroughly familiar with the Western experience, including the Christian dimensions of that experience in order to *learn* on the one hand, and not to *repeat the same mistakes* on the other hand. Professor Mehmet Aydin from Turkey shares the views of those Western thinkers who believe that especially from the Enlightenment onward religion has not been doing enough in its efforts to combine the rational, scientific and liberal values with ethico-spiritual values of faith.

Keywords: pluralism, Islam, modernity, values.

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3 POLITICAL CULTURE, PARTICIPATION AND CITIZENSHIP

3.1 Does political culture matter? Political Culture and Political Participation in "old" and "new" Europe

Past studies carried out in Western and postcommunist Europe in recent decades point to a decrease in levels of voter turnout, party membership, social (civic) participation and trust in politicians and political/state institutions, yet the nature of association between political participation and (non)-democratic political culture seems understudied. This research problem is especially relevant, since it is argued that consolidation of postcommunist democracies could be halted if *authoritarians* are found more active in political/public life than *democrats* (see Thomassen and van Deth, 1998). Building on Inglehart's theory of postmodernization (1997) and theory of human development (Inglehart and Welzel, 2007), we firstly compared levels non-democratic political culture and three types of political participation in three regions: seventeen established EU democracies, ten Central and Eastern European EU member states (including Slovenia), and six remaining post-Yugoslav non-EU countries. Secondly, we analyzed the relationship between non-democratic political culture and political participation. We employed the newest (2008) wave of European Values Study. The results indicated that 1) postcommunist citizens are more authoritarian oriented than their Western counterparts; and 2) in all three regions "authoritarians" are less likely to be engaged in all three types of political participation. Policy implications: Institutions of representative democracy, policy makers and political elites should embrace and encourage new forms of *cause-oriented* (Norris, 2004) citizen participation, since these are becoming increasingly popular and relevant forms of expression of citizens' voice.

Keywords: political participation, protest participation, postcommunist countries, post-Yugoslav countries, political culture, postmodernization theory, theory of human development, self-expression values.

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3.2 Social Capital Predictors of Confidence in Institutions in Six Former SFRY Republics/States

The main goal of this paper is to examine the factors of confidence in Institutions, in six states/former Yugoslav Republics. Since the approach is explicitly empirical, we will use EVS 2008 survey data. As a method we will use different types of regression modelling, with additional partial correlation as a bivariant statistics measuring. The research will primarily try to employ social capital theories in order to identify main factors of confidence. As far as we know, although very usual approach in westerns democracy scientific practices, this kind of approach is rather insufficiently applied in countries in question. In addition, we will try to include recent theoretical considerations which are focused on political and situational variables significant for the confidence in institutions. As a result of the research we expect to estimate the significance of different factors, especially to compare social capital and political variables. Finally, since we are about to compare the situations in six former SFRY republics, we draw some specific hypothesis which are in relation to different post-socialist histories of the independent countries. Eventually, by analysis of the similarities and dissimilarities among countries, we offer possible explanations which can be empirically grounded.

Keywords: social capital, post-Yugoslav countries, cross-national research, democracy.

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3.3 Trust in National and European Institutions: Case of Serbia

On its way to EU membership Serbia faced additional conditions related to cooperation with Hague Tribunal and solving of territorial issues, other than standard conditions valid for all other countries. While dealing with this problem strong anti-European opposition to pro-European policies, which all governments formed after fall of Milosevic's regime conducted or at least stated that they were doing so, developed on the internal political scene. We were interested to which extent anti-European rhetoric affected the attitude of Serbian citizens towards EU. We thought that the best way to examine attitude towards EU was researching level of trust in its most important institutions – European Parliament and European Commission. Significance of the obtained results was evaluated by comparing them with the results obtained from sixteen other countries, members of EU, during Intune international research project. Besides that, we were interested in determining if citizen's and political elite's level of confidence in European institutions are correlated. In that purpose, we compared data collected during the research concerning political elites, which was conducted in the countries mentioned above during 2009, as a part of Intune project. Based on the results it is possible to determine to which extent new conditions for EU membership set before Serbia affect the mood of Serbian citizens and political elite towards EU.

Keywords: Europe, European institutions, confidence, masses and elite.

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3.4 Moral Critique as the "Small Talk" of Serbian Transition

The aim of this paper is to probe the ways ordinary people discuss the current condition of Serbian society in informal and semi-formal settings. Special attention will be paid to the somewhat curious phenomenon that a thoroughgoing moral and moralizing critique of social actors and processes – especially those endowed with power and/or occupying positions of authority – has become a sort of "small talk" in today's Serbia, that is, the conventionalized, riskless interactional exchange between mutual strangers when they are forced to spend some time together. Instead of talking about the weather, people in Serbia tend to engage in a fierce moral critique of politicians, the rich, the media, social institutions, and generally, the bad things in Serbia – and bad they all seem to be. This thesis will be developed on the basis of data from focus group interviews conducted within the project "Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia". While the research had started from a Bourdieusian framework and aimed at discourses of social classification, it turned out that morality was a much more salient issue than expected. The present paper will illustrate how moralizing discourse plays the role of social cement and discuss what this tells us about the way the current stage of Serbian transition is discursively constructed in ordinary talk. Not pretending to answer to what extent this bleak picture of Serbian society is an accurate one, it will still be argued that discourse is a constitutive part of social reality and hence not to be taken lightly.

Keywords: discourse, morality, Serbia, transition, critique.

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3.5 Subjects or Citizens: A Study of Montenegrin Voters

Montenegro is unprecedented case of undisputed and uninterrupted dominance of one party in post-socialist world almost twenty years after introducing pluralist democracy in post Yugoslav countries. We believe that the value of this case is not isolated to Montenegro only, but that it bears significant implications to understanding post-social voters in general. The research purpose of this article was to profile citizens' participation in elections with the goal to see whether "the subjects" really became "citizens". For that purpose we test usability and value of the primary theories on voters' behavior in the case of Montenegrin voters and try to create a model that would overcome problems of researching behavior of postcommunist voter having in mind limitations of explanatory value that existing theories of voters' motivation have as they were created for American and Western European voting behavior. Within given theoretical framework five possible linkages between voters and parties were tested: social-demographic, affective-habitual, charismatic, programmatic and clientelistic for each selected party in order to establish the degree that voting for the specific party can be explained with each prediction model. At the end a combined prediction model is constructed with the attempt to provide an answer to the question which linkage types would prevail if all five models meet in a unique multivariate space. The result showed that socio-demographic and charismatic linkage explained the highest variance of the voting pointing out that pre-socialist cleavages (ethnic division) and fascination with the leader are main motivations for voting to the contrary of well informed, programmatic driven "super citizen" model described in theory of democracy.

Keywords: participation, voting, citizens, subjects, political culture.

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3.6 Political Culture in Macedonia and the Prolonged Transition

This study confirms that political culture plays an important role in the political order and economic development of the country. The political culture is the most reliable indicator of democracy in Macedonia. In this work are given theoretical aspects of political culture and political system, within which is examined the reflection it has in some aspects of interethnic relations in a democracy. But it doesn't remains only in theory, research made in the field confirm the assertation that political culture is an important factor in the development of democratic processes. The research took place in Tetovo August-September 2011 (Ten years after the Ohrid Agreement) with students and ordinary citizens, the respondents answered question about several aspects of prolonged transition and the integration in European Union. In the Republic of Macedonia, these challenges are even more pronounced, the cause lies in the multiethnic composition and segmented society based on national grounds, where the perception of the political system is not the same by the communities living within the state. The object of analysis of this study deals especially with: prolonged transition in Macedonia and the challenges that faces; politic dialogue; political consensus; interethnic relations; human rights and citizen participation. Political culture in Southeastern Europe countries is analyzed in various aspects; most of all comparing countries that have finished the transition are taken as a model. Results from this work are that Macedonia must meet the required conditions, both political and institutional, political culture based on the integration in the European Union.

Keywords: Macedonia, Western Balkans, political culture, democracy, transition, integration.

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3.7 From Independence to the Threshold of the EU: The Uneven Road of Macedonian Transition

This essay examines the developments, contrasts and results of the two decades long road of Macedonia as independent and sovereign state. Three basic factors have framed these developments: the unexpected long battle for the national identity and name of the state, which still prevents country's full integration into EU and NATO, the sensitive inter-ethnic structure and relations in the country which, apart from conflicts and tensions gave rise to multiculturalism in politics, economy and public life and- transitional processes which, though shaped by the standards and provisions of EU accession, have faced many conceptual dilemmas and questionable choices. This is particularly visible in achieving viable and functional market economy, higher level of protection and advancement of human rights and rule of law as well as in introduction of democratic and participatory structures. The analysis presented in the essay will rely upon research indicators, statistical evidence and- to some degree comparative evidence relating to the developments of the SEE region.

Keywords: Macedonia, European Union, transition, national identity.

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3.8 The Procrustean Bed of the State-Building in the Republic of Macedonia

The paper focuses on the process of state-building in the Republic of Macedonia in the period of two decades (1991-2011). The basic premise is that there has been wavering between the wishful thinking of the domestic and international protagonists and the objective obstacles typical for a weak state in a divided society. The political architecture has been an object of "top to the bottom" changes. During the initial period (1991-2001 i.e. prior to the violent conflict), the copy/paste methodology (from the Western democracies) was used by the political elites as a shortcut in order to import (Westminster) parliamentary model regardless the objective context. After ten years the system has shifted towards a power-sharing model. If liberal democracy was supposed to be the ultimate end in the first period of the political development, the second one has focused on the constitutional and extra-constitutional mechanisms for conflict resolution. The Macedonian dilemma thus reads: peace or democracy? For the sake of peace and stability some of the basic principles and values of liberal democracy are sacrificed, while the process of politicization has moved toward permanent politics of fear and securitization. In sum, arbitrary (political) standards of evaluation of success and failure of democracy-building are still at place which makes scholarly analysis more than necessary.

Keywords: state-building, democracy, peace, Macedonia, power-sharing.

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3.9 Effect of Internet Use on Protest and Conventional Political Participation among Slovenian Youth

Past research on the effect of Internet use on political participation has given conflicting results. In addition, the majority of research still comes from western democracies, and less is known about the Internet and political participation link in postcommunist countries. The aim of our research was to examine the associations between Internet use and online and offline political participation among Slovenian youth. We were also interested in the association between online and offline political participation. The employed data in our analysis was *Youth 2010* survey – a representative sample of Slovenian youth (N = 1257, *M* age = 22.5 years, *SD* = 4.25; 48.8 % female). Building on the work of Quintelier and Vissers (2008) we differentiated between *time spent* online and different *types* of activities performed online. As expected, *time-displacement hypothesis* did not receive confirmation (time spent on the Internet was not associated with political participation after control variables were included), while several *types* of online activities (e.g. use of social media sites, writing opinions on forums and/or blogs, signing electronic petitions, and writing and/or forwarding emails with political content) were found positively associated with offline (conventional and protest) political participation. Secondly, building on the *theory of channel complementarity* (Dutta-Bergman, 2004), we also found strong positive associations between online and offline political participation ($r \geq 0.45$; $p < 0.001$). Policy implications: Since the use of new technologies, especially Internet use has been on the increase in recent years among youth and general populations in advanced modern societies, steps should be taken to include new technologies into the channels of decision-making within representative democracy.

Keywords: political participation, citizen participation, Internet, new media, new technology, Slovene youth, democracy.

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4 RELIGION, VALUES AND ETHNICITY

4.1 Religiosity and Its Effects on Pro-Democratic Orientations in the Region of Former Yugoslavia: Basic Trends and Prospects

Changes in the levels of religiosity and its impact upon democratic orientations in countries of former Yugoslavia were studied, mostly using the WWS/EVS data. Since early 1990s until present, all the post-Yugoslav countries, with the partial exception of Slovenia, have witnessed substantial increases in the levels of self-reported religiosity and importance of God in one's life. Furthermore, the rise of the observed measures of religiosity has been disproportionally high among the young and the more educated segments of the population. On the other hand, during the last two decades, the correlations between religiosity and pro-democratic orientations have substantially decreased in almost all the observed countries. On this basis, it is concluded that the observed religious revival as such does not necessarily represent a significant threat to the democratization processes in the region. Rather, it is recommended that efforts for democratization of the region should substantially focus on promoting the kind of religiosity that is most compatible with pro-democratic orientations. According to the analysis of the YUSTA (Ex-Yugoslav Students' Attitudes, 2009) data, the 'religion as quest' type of religiosity is most compatible with pro-democratic orientations. Thus, it seems plausible to assume that the processes of democratization in the region would largely benefit from stimulating debates that raise fundamental religious questions (rather than provide firm and universal answers).

Keywords: Religiosity, democratic orientations, post-Yugoslav societies.

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4.2 Use and Abuse of Religion in Serbia

The revitalization of religion and its new political relevance (Habermas) are topics which today occupy a significant spot in sociological analyses of religion. The revitalization of religion and religiosity is a process that is also taking place in post-Yugoslav Serbia. Despite social disruptions and upheavals which include changes in ruling systems of values, religion is constantly present both in the public and private sphere of Serbian citizens. The text analyzes the results obtained within the research in the period 2007 – 2011: *Culture of Peace, Identities and Interethnic Relations in Serbia and the Balkans in the Process of Euro integration* [2007] – conducted by the Faculty of Philosophy Niš, *European Values Study* [Serbia 2008], and *Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia* [2011] – conducted by the Centre for Empirical Cultural Studies. The data relates to the level and quality of religious practice in Serbian citizens, as well as to the appearance and functions of religion in the public sphere of Serbian society. Even though the data shows that religious practice is at a relatively low level, and that Serbs are at the beginning of the 21st century religious in the manner of traditional belonging without believing, religion is still very much present in the social sphere which significantly creates the overall atmosphere of the declaratively secular Serbian state. The data from these studies show that a lot of parameters of religiosity have lost their identification and mobilization potential. It seems that religion is being treated as a "sanctuary for identity and foundation of national culture" only by politicians in their instrumentalization of religion for daily political purposes, or by extreme right-wing groups, while the citizens of Serbia rather perceive the SOC and Ortodoxy

Keywords: Religion, Religiosity, Traditional Religiosity, Revitalization, Serbia.

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4.3 Understanding the Kosovo Issue through the Personal Histories of Serbs and Albanians

The last decades in the former Yugoslavia were marked by civil war, large-scale deterritorialization and constant political turmoil. The solution to the Kosovo problem went beyond the grasp of many political regimes since the beginning of the 20th century due to its complexity. Understanding the relationship between Serbian and Albanian people requires insight into its cultural and historical genesis. Great deal of distrust and hatred between Serbs and Albanians is based on generalized perceptions of the other ethnic group. The Albanian collective consciousness as well as the Serbian one, sees itself as the total victim, antagonized by the opposite side. There is a total asymmetry of interpretation of many social or historical facts. History and memory are selective, altered by the portrait of "victim-image". In order to analyze the serbian-albanian relations in the period after 2000, we did an empirical research among Kosovo population in the period between 15th and 19th of July, 2010. The aim of the research was to determine the mutual social distance and ongoing stereotypes between Serbs and Albanians, as well as to establish the basis for the cultural dialogue by providing new stories about the history and future of these two people. Both interviewers and interviewees were coming from Serbian and Albanian background, respectively. Our research employed the "oral history" method. This paper presents the results of qualitative and quantitative data analysis based on the interviews with Serbian and Albanian population.

Keywords: Kosovo, Serbs, Albanians, Conflict, Dialogue, Oral History.

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4.4 Changes in Values in Societies of Former Yugoslavia: Current State and Future Prospects

Since the beginning of 1990s until present all the post-Yugoslav countries have faced intensive and extensive changes (dissolution of former state, socioeconomic and political transition). In intersection of these societal factors with individual ones, we analyze values as beliefs about the desired states of existence on representative samples from WVS/EVS data from different waves. According to analyses, no significant value shifts were indicated. In all countries high importance is on value categories from private (social) sphere (e.g., family, friends) and low importance of societal issues (e.g., politics, religion). However, differences between these two groups of values are more pronounced in younger generation. Rather than changes in separate value categories, differences in the overall assessment of their importance are more pronounced, which indicate significant differences in overall stability of value systems in the countries of former Yugoslavia. In all comparative analyses (also in the context of EVS sample of countries) Slovenia is the most distinct from other countries. If we try to find the common denominator of the countries and changes in them, the crystallized picture is of a weak overall socio-institutional framework and enhanced social identity, based on primary or traditional groups (e.g., family, ethnicity, religion). This fosters perception of security on individual or group level, but in long-term perspective can weaken global social cohesiveness and induce societal instability. The solution is in three maxims: rule of law, transparency, and (civil) political participation.

Key words: values, value shift, post-Yugoslav societies.

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4.5 Capital-Division and Ethno-Urbanization in Macedonian Way: Case of "Skopje 2014"

Macedonia is historically known as 'Catena Mundi' (The Clasp of the World) due to its favorable geographical position as a crossroad place of the important roads, civilizations and religions. According to some analysts, the processes of globalization have enhanced a more aggressive search of identity in the frames of the Balkan peoples, who wish to exclude the other. In FYROM *homo politicus* from its independence till now is following the steps of *homo balkanicus*, nationalism, ethnicization, exclusivism etc. One of the most destructive components of nation-building in this society is VMRO-DPMNE government's antiurban-project "Skopje 2014", described by analysts as "architorture and entombment". The project based on the concept for "the past", "prehistorical", "mythical", "antiquisation" and "the folklore", which costs around 200 million € is purely ethnic-Macedonian project, Slavic, and Orthodox and which is contradicted by a considerable number of citizens, as it favors only one culture, one history, one religion, one nation, and ignores inheritance, tradition of the city and whole societal reality. It uses architecture and sculpture to support the culture of the party into power and the monoethnization of the state. This paper tries to analyse from the perspective of urban sociology the repercussions of this project for the lifespace, social cohesion, its disintegrative dimension, destructive aspects for coexistence and multicultural *geist*.

Keywords: ethno-urbanization, cultural exclusivism, antiquisation, anti-multiculturalism.

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4.6 Treatment of National Art History within the Courses of the Once History of Art of Yugoslavia in the Middle Ages and New Age

Methodology/approach: Change of title of the courses and change of approach to the national part of the art history-its enlargement and turning into course dealing only with the art history monuments on the very land of the national institution where the course is tough. Instead of being aware and acquainted in details with the art history of the neighbouring countries, our students are taught to know perfectly modern European and American art and the local art achievements, but not the related historically, politically regions of the Balkans and their art and interchanges of artists and art influences. Findings, limitations: political changes in our countries seem to favour the nationalistic approach to art history developing very subjective approach to the main reasons why something was created, and also giving high praise to. Policy implications: We shall once again turn to comparative approach to the Balkan art history and study the related issues and influences, political reasons for changes in style and preferred art concepts. Originality/value: This is part of the evaluation process and is quite original approach to sensible nationalistic way of approaching local art history that demand being aware how limited out studies and methodology become.

Keywords: medieval and national art, architecture, sculpture, frescoes, paintings, relics, methodology, course curriculum, nationalism, political impact, art influences, interchange of ideas.

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5 FAMILY AND GENDER ISSUES

5.1 Recent Changes in the Post-Yugoslav Family

Family structure types in the former Yugoslavia historically differed substantially as to size, pattern and family relations. In this paper, after a historical overview, the trends in basic dimensions of family life in post-Yugoslav entities are studied. The further development of a modern family structure is noted, particularly in those parts of the former Yugoslavia, where an extended family was present until the very dissolution of Yugoslavia (Kosovo, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina). The presence of the extended family may presently be practically excluded, with partial exceptions of diminished extended families. The diminution of family size and the parity of spouses – after transitory retraditionalization and during post-communist transition – are basic trends in all environments, although changes are most noted in the former economically least developed entities. The impact of various factors in explaining the diminution of the number of children is studied, pointing in various directions, within post-Yugoslav states. Policy recommendations: The diminution of the number of children has, in all environments, except for Kosovo, reached a point where having children needs to be stimulated by social policy in order to renew replacement level. Results indicate that this is a particular problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the number of children in the 30-50 age group was in 2008 the lowest among the environments observed. The findings support the view that raising income is a major stimulus for child bearing.

Keywords: family, household, extended family, nuclear family, 'zadruga'.

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5.2 Traditionalism Versus (Post)Modernism: Gender Perspective in the Study of Student Population on the Territory of Former Yugoslavia

The contribution explores gender perspective in value comparison between male and female students on the territory of former Yugoslavia, taking into account the starting point of very intensive process of value change. Traditionalism in our discussion is considered as the concept of values and manners, which means that individuals live in accordance with traditional patterns and idealize the past (Mannheim 1953; Shills 1981). Weakening traditional practice, believes and values cause the existential and ontological crisis, and the late modernity comes into life (Giddens 1991, Beck 1992), where the traditions lose their impact on the social and the individual aspects of life. The survey database of the research study titled Value change in post-Yugoslav countries was employed for our discussion of this topic. All the data were collected by Cepyus member and their colleagues surveying the student population in the study year 2008/09 at Universities in Maribor, Split, Novi Sad, Niš, Priština, Skopje, Podgorica, Sarajevo and Banja Luka. The quota sample of 2.187 respondents was structured by country and gender; the questionnaires were operationalized for cross-cultural analysis. Comparing the answers of female and male students, all the items in the questionnaire were explored, but only some of them were analyzed for the present contribution. Here we have emphasized the items where we would, on the basis of previous theoretical and empirical research, expect to find statistically significant differences between male and female population. Gender differences were found regarding marriage and family values, as well as attitudes regarding the public sphere (work and politics). Male students have higher scores on the majority of traditionalism constructs. Cross-cultural comparison in studied countries shows that the thesis about polarization of traditionalism versus (post)modernism is mostly supported by survey data arguments.

Keywords: gender, post-Yugoslav societies, values, postmodernism, students.

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5.3 Civil Society from the Perspective of Gender: The Case of BiH in Post-Yugoslav Perspective

The issue of civil society's development in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) from the perspective of gender will be addressed in this study. The purpose of the study is to gain deeper insight and find patterns of women's engagement within civil society. As the Dayton peace agreement institutionalized the politics of nationalism and war, female activism developed in opposition to the existing channels of political power as women established own networks of work and support in order to challenge existing policies. In order to find out the dynamics of civil society development in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina within a gender perspective, twenty in-depth interviews were conducted with women activists from different women's groups in different regions: central Bosnia, Herzegovina, Krajina, and Eastern Bosnia. The findings show patterns of civil society fragmentation, which leads to careerism and separatism between different groups. On the other hand, activists' connections across the new states borders of the former Yugoslav republics provide important resource for women's activism and solidarity which then overcomes civil society fragmentation. The study is policy relevant for it indicates that future strategies regarding civil society development should provide policy options for solving the problems of civil society fragmentation, by highlighting the aspects of solidarity including the found inter-state female activists' connections, and shared memories on life in the former state and system. The limitations of the study are in the very nature of civil society in that it represents specific, often fluid, forms of political engagement that escapes precise scientific measurement.

Keywords: civil society, female activism, Bosnia-Herzegovina, former Yugoslavia, post-Yugoslav society, civil society fragmentation, solidarity.

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5.4 A Woman Divided: Women's Ideological Conflict in Post-Socialist Montenegro

Using a communication perspective and qualitative interview method, this research essay examines the role of women in a transitioning Montenegro. Focusing on an a fifty-eight year old woman, the purpose of this essay is to provide a space for women who have been a part of Montenegrin society, but have not been a part of the historical record, to take part. Opening space for these experiences to be seen and heard exposes the dialectical tensions between patriarchal tradition and the modern impingement of a transitioning society on women and their social role in Montenegro. Although socialism theoretically opened the public sphere to women, the transitional period after socialism has seen a resurgence of traditional values, wherein women experience incongruities in public and private spheres of life. Women in transition are torn between modern and traditional demands to obey each symbolic order. I examine the voice of a woman who exists as a product of these traditions, while living through the transition, as an example of the effects of these disparate systems. This unique post-socialist situation creates a strong ideological conflict, which results in systematic and institutional marginalization of women in both private and public spheres. Women who have been raised and socialized by Montenegro's patriarchal system take on the values of the system and reinforce it, denying themselves selfhood and continuing a patriarchal power system. Through an understanding of my interviewee's experiences during socialist times and post, this essay paints a picture of a typical situation of women in transition.

Keywords: Patriarchy, Transition, Women, Montenegro, Post-Socialist.

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5.5 Experiencing War – Women in the Croatian War of Independence

The war is a profound disruption of social structure, destruction of community, society, material and other goods. However, equally destructive war is reflected on the individual level, leaving a lifetime, indelible consequences. The research was conducted with the main aim of gaining knowledge about the perceptions and the experiences of women in the war. With regard to the specificity of the issue examined in the study, we used a qualitative methodology, semi-structured interview method. The study was conducted in 2011, in the Split-Dalmatia County. Eight women, selected according to the research objectives, participated in interviews. All of them, in different ways, were engaged in Croatian War of Independence. Among them was a woman who participated in the war, an immigrant, the member of the Serbian minority, the widow, the refugee, two health care professions, and two humanitarian activists. The results show that there are no significant differences in the perceptions of the war among the respondents with regard to their socio-demographic characteristics. All respondents reported that the War associate negative feelings such as pain, sorrow, suffering and sadness. Differences were established and discovered in terms of women experience during the war. The women who were actively engaged in the humanitarian activities confirmed the association of women and their solidarity. Most respondents expressed anti-war and anti-militaristic attitudes, but are divided about attitude of forgiveness, reconciliation and commitment to peace. The reason for this is still vivid experience that the respondents had passed through during the war.

Keywords: women, Croatian War of Independence, perception, experience, solidarity, forgiveness, reconciliation.

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6 ECONOMIC ISSUES AND EDUCATION

6.1 20 Years After: Economic Development after the Breakup of Yugoslavia

The breakup of Yugoslavia meant not only the disintegration of a political federation, but also the collapse of centrally planned economic system and market that was associated with. Reorientation to the west, structural reforms, democratization of political sphere and the establishment of market economy were seen as a recipe that will eventually bring former Yugoslav republics to a standard of living experienced by the West. The current paper analyzes some of the most common indicators of economic development in order to show what happened to political entities that used to form a joint state of Yugoslavia. Results from the analysis indicated that: a) all units were eventually able to advance economically after the breakup process (higher GDP per capita in PPP terms); b) Slovenia maintained its status as the economically most developed county, although it was not able to extent its lead in comparison to the average income in the region; c) the process of transformation/transition brought considerable changes to the social fabric, including social costs that are usually not captured by the growth indicators (higher levels of unemployment and less security in the job market, higher levels of inequality, and rise in poverty).

Keywords: Yugoslavia, breakup, economic development indictors, social costs, transition.

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6.2 Intergenerational Mobility and Political Transition in Croatia: 20 Years Later

Still, sociology of stratification has been neglected in Croatia in the past twenty years. This paper aims at deserting that practice; we will discuss inequalities in education, different parental strategies of investing into cultural and economic resources of their offspring, and status of different professions at the Croatian labor market. In the past two decades Croatia has undergone profound changes; war and transition has brought altered socio-political context, changes of the social structure and unfavorable economic situation. Emerged social diversification has led to very sharp social stratification with almost vanished middle social stratum and very narrow stratum of the new elite. The consequences are unequal approach to education and unequal chances at the labor market, with prolonged situation of social instability. We will identify patterns of intergenerational mobility in different periods (1984, 1989, 1996 and 2004) and conduct analysis of transmission of cultural and economic capital by comparison of social status through education and profession of our respondents. Goals of this paper are: 1) to identify direction and strength of social stratification in socialist and transition period; and 2) to compare systems of social stratification between socialist and transition period. The data base will comprise researches conducted at the Institute for Social Research in Zagreb between 1984 and 2004: The Socio-cultural development, The Social Structure and Quality of Life, The Social Structure and Quality of Life in the Transition Period and The Social and Religious Changes in Croatia. The analysis will show Croatian society is characterized by a relatively low degree of intergenerational mobility, with a high degree of social reproduction.

Keywords: Croatia, social stratification, education, profession, intergenerational mobility.

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6.3 Labour Market in the City Of Split – Participant's Assessment on Importance of Education for Employability

This paper is result of empirical research of labour market participants in the city of Split. Research was conducted during July 2010 by interviewing 299 participants, both employers and work contingent participants. Results have provided us with the insight in differences and similarities among them when it comes to assessing some aspects of education. Although both of those see professional knowledge as very important to increase one's employability on labour market, it seems that employers rather than work contingent participants also appreciate some behaviour patterns and soft skills which can be learned through education process. These findings imply that education policy makers should also improve hidden curriculum approach, as well as development of soft skills training for students during high-school and/or college education in order to improve their employability. Therefore, one should also be trained to work in team environment, to have certain communication skills, to understand the importance of liability in work environment and to be able to present himself/herself to employer. It seems that professional knowledge nowadays represents just one of many qualities required on labour market, especially due to increasing share of university graduates.

Key words: labour market, city of Split, education, employment, work, hidden curriculum.

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6.4 Socio-Economic Status of Montenegrin Citizens

Socio-economic factors are key determinants of citizens' position in the system of social stratification. Position of the significant number of citizens in Montenegro with that regard is not clear yet with because of dynamic changes in contemporary political, cultural and economic environment in the past twenty years. Namely, the question which material status indicators influence positioning in the class scheme of the society is still opened since there are no precisely set patterns of vertical social mobility. The primary goal of this article is to define predictors of material status of citizens in Montenegro using regression as a method. For that purposes an empirical research was conducted involving 1500 adult citizens. As predictors in our regression model we used variables that according to the supporting theory contribute to creating of socio-economic status (SES): education, years spent in education, personal income, employment status and level of managerial authority. Then we created SES score that is being compared to different categories of population of Montenegro. Hypothesized predictors of SES in our article are type of residence place, gender, region, health condition, occupation, property, age and ethnicity. Prediction value of each of these variables is measured. We found that the greatest possibility for low SES value have non qualified workers, Bosniaks and Muslims, females, older people and people living in the country. On the other side we find higher possibility for high SES at managers and highly educated people. The results point out very extensive influence of education and working position to socio-economic situation of an individual.

Keywords: class, social status, social mobility, social exclusion.

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7 YOUTH

7.1 'Frozen' Youth Transitions in ex-Yugoslav Countries?

The presentation takes a closer look at the effects of socio-political transition in biographical transitions (to employment, housing and parenthood) after 1990 in the ex-Yugoslav countries, especially at the contradictions inherent in transitions. For each transition a mental freeze regarding values and aspirations as well as an institutional freeze regarding opportunity structures are presented. The change in transition patterns, both before and after the critical year of 1990, is considerable, even dramatic in some indicators; and so is between-country variation. But rather than a replacement of standardised by de-standardised models of life course, empirical research shows a more complex panorama: "cold" (mechanical) and "hot" (dynamic) transitions are not static poles but moments in a continuum. Empirically, the presentation is based on the statistical indicators from international datasets (e.g. COE, Eurostat, OECD, Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, UNICEF) and public opinion surveys (Slovenian Public Opinion Survey 1980, the European Values Survey (EVS) 1999 and EVS 2008).

Keywords: youth, transition, biography, ex-Yugoslav countries, cross-national study.

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7.2 Youth Revisited: Post-Transitional Social Development Potential of Youth in Croatia

The paper is based on the results of a representative survey of Croatian population carried out in 2010. The findings discussed relate to the attitudes and values of youth population, and the interpretation approaches the obtained data as an indicator of social development potential. The discussion of research results is carried out in a comparative perspective, i.e. in relation to the findings and interpretations of the large-scale surveys of youth carried out in the second half of the 1980s in the former Yugoslavia. The results of these surveys relating to the westernmost republic of the former Yugoslavia were interpreted by Ule (1989) as a potential for the modernization of Slovenian society. The survey carried out in 2010 approached Croatian youth from a perspective that represents an adaptation of the elements of Florida's indices of creative development, based on Inglehart-style survey of values. The aspects primarily in focus were those connected to tolerance, mobility and work practices. The results obtained indicate that the segment of the Croatian population between 19 and 30 years of age is more tolerant, mobile and open to difference from the older age groups, with the significant exception of generalized trust. Strictly speaking, the findings are not comparable to those of the youth surveys carried out in the second half of the 1980s, but nevertheless indicate a certain parallelism in the potential to perceive post-transitional Croatian youth as actors of social development in a new socio-economic framework.

Keywords: youth, Croatian society, development potential, openness, tolerance, mobility.

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7.3 Youth Lifestyles and Leisure in a Post-Transitional Context

The paper is based on the results of a survey of undergraduate students of the University of Zadar (Croatia), carried out in 2011. The questionnaire was an updated version of the questionnaire used in the 1999 survey researching youth lifestyles in the Croatian region of Dalmatia (Tomić-Koludrović, Leburić, 2001). This 1999 survey resulted in a book describing the surveyed youths as "The Skeptical Generation". In the interpretation, parallels were drawn with Schelsky's description of the general outlook of the post-WWII West-German youths. A more specific analysis, combining patterns of leisure activities with the characteristics of identity, yielded six types of youth lifestyles, which were at odds with various descriptions of contemporary European lifestyle types.

In the 2011 survey, leisure activities patterns of the six types resulting from the 1999 survey were checked on the sample of students in one of the Dalmatian university locations (Zadar). The results show no significant difference in the leisure activities patterns of a "transitional" (surveyed in 1999) and a "posttransitional" (surveyed in 2011) generations. There is a pronounced gender difference in patterns of leisure activities, and certain differences with regard to the field of university studies chosen. No statistically significant differences were found with regard to the patterns of media use, educational and economic background of the parents, as well as rural or urban socialization.

Keywords: Croatian society, youth, lifestyles, leisure activities patterns.

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7.4 Student Motivation for Entering Higher Education in Croatia

The research purpose of this paper is to define the most frequent reasons and motivations for university enrolment of Croatia's students as well as aspects of social context that are correlated with certain types of motivation. The paper is based on research data collected in the context of a broader study of Croatian students' characteristics. The quantitative research was conducted in 2010 by the Institute for Social Research in Zagreb and the data is consisted of 2000 students of all Croatian universities and scientific fields. The first hypothesis is that students are mostly intrinsically motivated to study and the second is that the types of study motivations are influenced by students' social background such as socio-demographic variables, scientific field of study, average final grades from high school and type of graduated high school. The reasons for continuation of study largely depend on young persons' complex constellation of social conditions, biography construction and "reflexive process of reasoning" (Gryntes, 2011: 347), so this paper is limited to defining the correlation of certain aspects of students' social background and their motivations to continue studies on higher educational level. Policy implications are recognized in actions that can enable access to higher education for young people in Croatia irrespective of social context they are embedded in.

Keywords: university students, study motivation, higher education, social background.

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7.5 Non-Indigenization of Modernity – The Problem of Post-Socialist Slovenia

After the collapse of socialism a huge transformation began in Slovene society. The general aim of this transformation has been to change ex-socialist society into modern, successful capitalist society. The general approach to achieving this transformation has been to introduce economic, political and social solutions from Western countries. These solutions are presented as replacements for previous socialist solutions and institutions, and the substitution is promoted as the way to successfully change ex-socialist society into modern, Western capitalist society. However, today it is clear that the copying of Western solutions has failed and that Slovene society has not transformed itself into successful Western society.

In my presentation I will discuss this failure in greater detail. First, I will discuss anthropological understanding of the process of modernization and about modernity, especially the fact that, according to anthropological evidence, there exists neither one model of modernization nor one type of modernity. I consider issues related to the indigenization of modernization and of modernity to demonstrate that problems in post-socialist Slovenia are associated with the failure to implement an indigenization of modernization in the process of transforming of post-socialist Slovene society into fully-functioning capitalist one. This forms the key explanation why solutions that work in the context of Western capitalist societies are ineffectual in post-socialist Slovene society and may result in social problems or even crises.

Keywords: indigenization, modernity, post-socialist Slovenia, social transformation

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