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CONTENTS

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Religious capital and religious rewards: a study in the economics of religious life

Abstract

Religious life is studied by way suggested by the rational choice theory and the religious capital theory. The basic contentions of the theory on the nature of religious life having to do with an exchange upon a religious market, by firms offering compensators and rewards, and consumers, is considered. In the empirical analysis, it was validated that the independent (religious capital) and dependent (religious rewards of two types) were empirically separate constructs. Cross-sectional analysis of survey data indicated a very strong association between religious capital and institutional and ritual experience rewards within religious life, at a cross-cultural analysis, including Bosnian Muslims, Serbian Orthodox, Slovenian Catholics and US Protestants. The association was confirmed as robust at regression inspection with religious socialization. This extends further support for the empirical validity these novel theories of religious life and extensions of economic analysis into religious life.

Keywords: *religious life, the rational choice theory, the religious capital theory.*

Introduction

The social scientific study of religion has been traditionally dominated by the (1) compensation theory, regarding religion as a form of compensation for what one does not attain in empirical social life.[2] (2) Further, religion was regarded as a latent but possibly decisive form of social integration, as well as a mechanism providing conformity in society, subjugation of the individual to societal needs.[3]

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[2]   e.g. K. Marx, In his version the idea of religion's source in compensating for the goods humans do not achieve in an empirical context attains the form of alienation. See: Kunin, S.D., *Theories of Religion*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2006, pp. 68/70.

[3]   See: Kunin, S.D., *Theories of Religion*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2006, pp. 26/39.

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(3) An important strand of throught was the one regarding it as a form of imperfect cognition.[4] Although the last has often been disregarded as lacking in intellectual finesse, it empirically retained validity even in recent times.[5] (4) Finally, a potent stream of social science thought on religion came from the Freudians, who regarded religion as a projection of universal guilt within humans.[6] In all these cases, religious life was not scrutinised from an economic mode of analysis.

However, recently the study of religion in social science has been challenged by a new, 'economic' approach, extending economic analysis to this area of social and psychological life. Rodney Stark and William S. Bainbridge begin their groundbreaking work *A Theory of Religion* by putting forward a simple axiom: *Humans seek what they perceive to be rewards and avoid what they perceive to be costs*.[7] The core of their argument is that the logic of the rationally motivated social actor can and should be applied also in the area of religion. In a similar manner, Stark and Finke argue that "…*religious behavior – to the degree that it occurs – is generally based on cost/benefit calculations and is therefore rational behavior in precisely the same sense that other human behavior is rational*"[8]

One of the pillars of the rational choice explanation of religion goes back to Adam Smith. In the *Wealth of Nations* (1776) Smith put forward the idea that absence of state interference and regulation of religion would stimulate religious competition, religious endeavour on the part of 'the teachers' and religiosity among the populace itself, as a consequence of these endevors and of competition.[9] Further, religion is not regarded as a public good by Smith, but rather as a commodity, as all others which are offered, sold and consumed. 'State salaries' bring about 'indolence' and laziness on the part of priests.[10] Finally, Smith held that church competition with the state for the highest authority brought about instability and should be done away with. There should be only one sovereign monopoly, 'civil government to protect the people'. Implicitly, Smith was also advancing the idea of religious liberty and religious tolerance.

Rational choice explanations of religious behavior often referred to as the 'religious economies' theory, quite in line with Smith. One of the core claims

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[4] See: Kunin, S.D., *Theories of Religion*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2006, pp. 20/22.
[5] Flere, S., Klanjšek, R., *Social status and religiosity in Christian Europe*, European Societies, 11 (4), pp. 583/602.
[6] See: Kunin, S.D., *Theories of Religion*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2006, pp. 53/61.
[7] Stark, R., Bainbridge, W. S., *A Theory of Religion*, New York, Peter Lang Publishing, 1987, pp. 27.
[8] Stark, R., Finke, R., *Acts of Faith*: *Explaining the Human Side of Religion,* Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2000, pp. 56.
[9] See: Peterson, S.C., *Rational Choice, Religion and the Marketplace: Where Does Smith Fit in?* Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 48 (1), 2009, pp. 185.
[10] Peterson, S.C., *Rational Choice, Religion and the Marketplace: Where Does Smith Fit in?* Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 48 (1), 2009, pp. 186.

of this theory is that religious groups can be analyzed as firms that exist in a 're-ligious economy', which consists of a market of current and potential religious consumers and religious firms, enterprises attempting to meet the demand of the market.[11] The underlying theoretical assumptions are that individuals make rational religious choices (i.e., they choose options that maximize their benefits given their preferences, information, and constraints) and their religious prefer-ences remain relatively constant over time, such that any changes in religious behavior must be a result of changes in the benefits or costs associated with the behavior.[12] On the macro-level, the theory assumes that demand (i.e., aggregate preferences) also remains relatively stable and therefore changes in religious con-sumption (i.e., religiosity) are a result of changes in the supply of religion, rather than changes in demand.[13]

According to Heckathorn, an authority in the area, the rational choice of social life 'approach drew directly on neoclassical economic theory. It viewed a wide range of phenomena in market terms. For example, a marriage system can be viewed as a market for mates in which those with highly valued attributes have the greatest value in the marriage market. Similarly, a status system can be viewed as a market for access to individuals with highly valued attributes. High status people gravitate toward one another, thereby defining the upper reaches of the stratification system…The emphasis on market models carried over ny J. Coleman into institutional design. The problem addressed was the diminishing portion of the gross domestic problem going into single parent households. He proposed to create a micromarket in child care services…one form of market failure – a failure of the marriage market to provide adequately for the needs of the children – was to be resolved by creating a secondary market. Thus, rational choice is regarded as a theory applicable to all areas of social life.

The rational choice theory of religion holds that the crux of religion is to be found in *compensators*. The pillars of Stark's original theory, exhibited in a deductive manner were: 'Compensators are postulation of reward according to explanations that are not readily sausceptible to unambiguous evaluation'[14]; 'Compenastors are treated by humans as if they were rewards'[15]; 'Religion refers

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[11] Stark, R., Finke, R., *Acts of Faith*: *Explaining the Human Side of Religion,* Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2000.

[12] Stark, R., Bainbridge, W. S., *A Theory of Religion*, New York, Peter Lang Publishing, 1987; Stark, R., Finke, R., *Acts of Faith*: *Explaining the Human Side of Religion,* Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2000.

[13] Stark, R., Finke, R., *Acts of Faith*: *Explaining the Human Side of Religion,* Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2000.

[14] Stark, R., Bainbridge, W. S., *A Theory of Religion*, New York, Peter Lang Publishing, 1987, pp. 29.

[15] Stark, R., Bainbridge, W. S., *A Theory of Religion*, New York, Peter Lang Publishing, 1987, pp. 33.

to systems of general compensators based on supernatural assumptions',[16] and 'Religious organizations are social enterprises whose primary purpose is to create, maintain and exchange supernaturally based general compensators'[17].

But in his more recent work, Stark goes beyond, somewhat mellowing his original position. He defines religion as dealing with 'the supernatural, which refers to forces and entities outside and beyond nature, that can suspend, alter the laws of physics…In pursuit of rewards, humans will seek to utilize and manipulate the supernatural'[18]. However, this is not a concession to irrationalism, as 'humans will not have recourse to a supernatural when a cheaper or more efficient alternative is known or available'.[19] It always remains within a conceptualization that humans exchange goods, on a market, with a view to maximation utility and rewards, and minimizing costs. But this comes about in direct human interaction, where various tastes for these commodities are articulated, although the demand for the supernatural is relatively constant, whereas the offer variates as to monopoly vs. free competition. Monopoly brings about laziness on the part of the religious firms, whereas competition brings about a vibrant religious life.

This theory was developed in the United States and could be been considered to reflect the American multi-denominational situation and American 'denominationalism', an attitude generally favorable of religion, but with a prevailing view of little importance as to which denomination one belongs to and with a positive attitude towards the existence of multiple (mainly) Christian groups. The research on rational choice also was prevalently American. Stoll and Petersen recently tested one of the basic contentions of the theory, namely that churches in state of higher tension to the general society will grow more, producing more committed members, whereas the more adapted and 'mainline' will decline.[20] This has to do with the inner connection among religious group memebers being gratifying, in contrast to loose organizations, without many demands and strictness, and without much association among members. However, the releationship is not a simple one.[21] The inverse relationship between the market share of a certain religious group should also positively correlate with

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[16] Stark, R., Bainbridge, W. S., *A Theory of Religion*, New York, Peter Lang Publishing, 1987, pp. 39.

[17] Stark, R., Bainbridge, W. S., *A Theory of Religion*, New York, Peter Lang Publishing, 1987, pp. 42.

[18] Stark, R., Finke, R., *Acts of Faith*: *Explaining the Human Side of Religion,* Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2000, pp. 90.

[19] Stark, R., Finke, R., *Acts of Faith*: *Explaining the Human Side of Religion,* Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2000, pp. 120.

[20] Stoll, Petersen, *The same*, 2008.

[21] Hill, J.P., Olson, D., Market Share and Religious Competition: Do Small Market Share Congregations and their Leaders Try Harder?, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 48 (4), 2009, pp. 629/649.

the commitments of its actors, the suppliers of giving financial support to one's religious organization, which should also be conceived as gratifying, bringing about a sense of having done something having intrinsic religious value, being favored by God.[22] Variation in religiosity during the life course is known to be significant and has been interpreted in line with the rational choice perspective.[23] Religious conversions (switching) are also a common phenomenon in the US, although universal, but less common in most environments. This phenomenon has also been illuminated from this perspective.[24] Ritual practice, including its strictness, has also been studied and well integrated into the rational choice paradigm[25]. Strictness is conceived as a giving to one's religion, which is rewarded by other members acting in the same way (forming a tightly knit group within which members find needed social support), as well as with otherworldly rewards. On the same subject, differences between men and women are stressed by Jacobs, who found that 'that in **religious** commitment an **economy** of love is operationalized in which the commodities of exchange are affection, approval, and intimacy. As such, the male **religious** hierarchy plays a significant role in the lives of female converts through control over the emotional rewards of **religious** commitment'.[26]

However, most of the empirical research in this area has focused on testing macro-level propositions regarding how the supply of religion in a religious economy affects rates of religious participation (e.g., church attendance, tithing, praying, reading sacred texts, etc.)[27] Considerably less attention has been given to testing micro-level propositions derived from the theory even though they

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[22] Peifer, J., The Economics and Sociology of Religious Giving: Instrumental Rationality or Communal Bonding, Social Forces, 88 (4), 2010, pp. 1569/1594.
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[24] Loveland, M.T., *Religious Switching: Preference Development, Maintenance and Change*, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 42 (1), 2003, pp. 147/157.
[25] Baker, J.O., Social Soruces of the Spirit: Connecting Rational Choice and Interactive Ritual, Sociology of Religion, 71 (4), 2010, pp. 432/456.
[26] Jacobs, J., The *Economy* of Love in *Religious* Commitment: The Deconversion of Women from Nontraditional *Religious* Movements, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 23 (2), 1984, pp. 155/173.
[27] Box-Steffensmeier, Janet, M., An Empirical Test of Iannaccone's Sophisiticated Model of Regulated Religious Markets, Rationality and Society, 4(2), 1992, pp. 243/246.; Chaves, M., Cann, D.E., Regulation, Pluralism, and Religious Market Structure: Explaining Religion's Vitality, Rationality and Society, 4(3), 1992, pp. 272/290.; Iannaccone, L.R., The Consequences of Religious Market Structure: Adam Smith and the Economics of Religion, Rationality and Society, 3(2), 1991, pp. 156/177.; Finke, R., Guest, A.M., Stark, R., Mobilizing Local Religious Markets: Religious Pluralism in the Empire State, 1855 to 1865., American Sociological Review, 61, 1996, pp. 203/218.; Stark, R., Finke, R., *Acts of Faith*: *Explaining the Human Side of Religion,* Los Angeles,

form the basis for the macro-level predictions.[28] In particular, Iannaccone[29], extending Becker's[30] formulations of human capital, provides the concept of religious capital to explain micro-level variations in religious participation, religious rewards, both of the this wordly and other wrodly nature. Thus, Iannaccone[31] proposes that the more religious capital an individual has, the more satisfaction (*i.e.,* increasing returns/benefits) she will derive from religious activities and as a result, she will increase her participation. Other analyses indicated a direct relationship between costs and religious rewards. E.g., Lavric and Flere operationalized readiness of individuals to undertaking certain activities or refrain from some hedonic ones, in the name of their respective religions, whereas rewards were termed in a posthumous context.[32]

Although most the rational choice theory induced research has been limited to the USA, the major macro-societal phenomenon that was possible to be explained by this theory is the mass change in religious affiliation and change within the remaining dominant religion in Latin America. In recent decades, a major change has come about in Latin America, in the direction of the prevalnce of charismatic, 'pneumacentric' religion putting the subject in direct relationship to the (Holy) Spirit or spirits. This change is associated with a sharp rise in Pentecostalism, as well as with a change within the Catholic Church (Catholic Charismatic Renewal) and with a rebirth of African religion. All this has largely been in response to the 'arrogance' of the Catholic Church concerning the needs and preferences of the Latin American poor, who previously articulated their strivings in the form of the Theology of Liberation, which was suppressed by the Vatican. The result was a turn in line with the tastes and preferences of the Latin American poor, particularly women and the ill, where the believer is put in direct communication with the Spirit.[33] Latin Americans opted for a religiosity

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University of California Press, 2000.; Chaves, M., Gorski, P., Religious Pluralism and Religious Participation, Annual Review of Sociology, 27, 2001, pp. 261/281.

[28] For recent exceptions see: Lavric, M., Flere, S., *Measuring religious costs and rewards in a cross-cultural perspective*, Rationality and Society, 22 (2), 2010, 223/236.

[29] Iannaccone, L.R., Consumption Capital and Habit Formation with an Application to Religious Participation., Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1984.; Iannaccone, L.R., *Religious Practice: A Human Capital Approach*, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 29 (3), 1990, pp. 341/350.

[30] Becker, G.S., *Human* Capital, New York, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1964; Becker, G.S., *Treatise on the Family*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1981.

[31] Iannaccone, L. R., *Religious Practice: A Human Capital Approach*, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 29 (3), 1990.

[32] Lavric, M., Flere, S., *Measuring religious costs and rewards in a cross-cultural perspective*, Rationality and Society, 22 (2), 2010, pp. 223/236.

[33] Chesnut, A. R., Competitive Spirits. Latin America's New Religious Economy, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003.; Gooren, H., The Religious Market in Nicaragua: the Paradoxes of Catho-

in line with their wants, which was at variance with the previous monopolistic 'offer', now in the situation of religious liberty, which previously did not exist. The world wide growth of groups, such as the Mormons, Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses has also been put in the rational choice context, focuring on the this-worldly 'utility' of such religious group membership.[34]

Rational choice analysis has been expanded to the comprehension of the religious situation in other parts of the world, China being designated as a 'shortage economy', in view of state suppression and limitation of religious activity[35], although religious marketing is under way, although caustiously.

At the macro level of analysis, East European Orthodox Europe has not been found as a competitive market place, in view of restrictive legislation in the area of religious organisation, also promoted by the Orthodox Churches themselves[36]. This does not contradict the rational choice theory, as it allows space for monopolies and quasi-monopolies (bringing about a downturn in religious consumption in the long run, in keeping with Smith's classical contentions), as well as religious conflict and tension (bringing about a conjectural rise in religiosity.[37]

Of course, some authors insist on refining the theory. Thus, Bankston insists on the difference between dimenisons of rationality, particularly on the difference between individual and aggregate rationality[38]. Jerolmack and Porpora make a morefar reaching objection, claiming that rational choice, in its classical form rests on the supposition of egoism and further claiming it is inadequate in the explanation of religion, where the notion of epistemic rationality would be more appropriate.[39] However, their objection does not relate to every day religous action and behaviour, but only to feelings.

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licism and Protestantism, Exchange, 32, 2003, pp. 340/360.

[34] Cragun, R.T., Lawson, R., *The Secular Transition: Seventh Day Adventists, Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses*, Sociology of Religion, 71 (3), 2010, pp. 249/373.

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[36] Sarkissian, A., *Political Re-establishment in Post-Communist States,* Journal of Church and State, 51 (3), 2009, pp. 472/501.

[37] Stark, R., Finke, R., *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion,* Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2000.

[38] Bankston, C.L., Rationality, Choice and the Religious Economy: Individual and Collective Rationality Reconsidered, Review of Religious Research, 45 (2), 2003, pp. 155/171.

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The strategy of this study

In this analysis, we conceived religious capital as the predictor, in keeping with Stark and Finke[40], who assert it is 'the mastery of and attachment to one's religious culture'.[41] Religious capital includes knowledge of one's religion, its teachings, rituals and usages, as well as its implementation in social networks and socializing, particularly those of a primary nature. Religious capital contains 'inputs to religious production are measurable and indeed are already routinely measured by researchers'[42]. Religious capital may be associated with, but should remain distinct from religious socialization[43]. It is supposed that this capital is an asset in religious life, which will bring about greater returns in the form of satisfaction with one's religious life, particularly with, both in the this worldly and the otherwordly context. In the former group religious service satisfaction is particularly important[44].

The religious capital variant of the rational choice explanation predicts that just as one's knowledge and skills–human capital–increase the quality of economic (or household) goods, so too does one's religious knowledge, skills and religious networking increase the quality of religious activities and thereby the benefits one receives from participating. Thus, Iannaccone[45] proposes that the more religious capital an individual has, the more satisfaction (*i.e.,* increasing returns/benefits) he/she will derive from religious activities.

However, although predicting religious activity from religious capital has been studied[46], the critical construct of religious rewards has been lacking in study and empirical validation of. It is the latter construct which must be present

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[40] Stark, R., Finke, R., *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion,* Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2000.

[41] Stark, R., Finke, R., *Acts of Faith*: *Explaining the Human Side of Religion,* Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2000, pp. 120.

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[43] Lavric, M., Flere, S., *Measuring religious costs and rewards in a cross-cultural perspective*, Rationality and Society, 22 (2), 2010, pp. 229.

[44] Stark, R., Finke, R., *Acts of Faith*: *Explaining the Human Side of Religion,* Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2000, pp. 120/125.

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to truly test the contention, whereas when testing participation as a dependent variable (dependent on religious capital as predictor) rewards remain implicit.

Methodology

The study is cross-sectional, of a survey nature, but cross-cultural, cointaining samples of higher education student respodents: Bosnian Muslims, Serbian Orthodox, Slovenian Catholics and US Protestants. Only those indicating religious affiliation were considered in this analysis. The data collection was carried out in 2005.

Sample

The study was based on a survey of university students in four different cultural settings. Our respondents were undergraduate university students, primarily in the social sciences and humanities, from environments with predominant and traditional religions in the surrounding population: Maribor, Slovenia (N = 470, Catholics represent 94% of the religiously affiliated), Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina (N = 439, Muslims represent 94% of the religiously affiliated), Niš, Serbia (N= 427, Serbian Orthodox represent 98% of the religiously affiliated) and Auburn, Alabama, USA (N = 450, members of Protestant denominations represent 72% of the religiously affiliated) The mean age was 20.3 (S.D. = 1.5), and in all samples the average age varied between 20 and 21. In all samples females formed the majority and care was taken to include a sufficient number of males. The relative share of males varied from 34% in the Bosnia and Herzegovina sample to 46% in the Alabama sample.

In this analysis only the affiliates of the mentioned religions were studied in the 4 environments, still enabling sound statistical analysis, well above the norm for small samples in each of the cases.

Instrument and procedure

The instrument applied was a questionnaire containing varied items, concentrated on various measures of religiosity and its possible correlates. The filling out of the questionnaire was conducted in groups of 10 to 40 students under the supervision of research team members and took about 40 minutes. It was carried out in Spring, 2005. The questionnaires were translated from English into the other languages and then back to English or (in the case of the two ex-Yugoslav republics with cognate languages) Slovenian, so that possible errors in translation were avoided.

Dependent Variable

In line with Stark and Finke[47], gains were considered as *gainful, rewarding experiences at religious services* were measured by items: 'Religious service is difficult to understand vs. easy to understand', 'Religious service is not well planned vs. is well planned', 'Religious service is useless vs. useful', 'Religious service is not comforting vs. comforting', and 'Religious service is dull vs. interesting'. All items were pro-trait worded. The summation of these items in the form of the Religious Service Rewards Scale indicated a Cronbach reliability of .91.

Independent Variables

The independent variable of *religious capital* was composed of both social and personal religious capital, as conceptulized by Stark and Finke[48]. It contained 4 statements, all pro-trait directed: 'I often talk about religious issues with my friends', 'Religious matters are often discussed in my family', 'My knowledge about the teahings, stories and principles of my religion is very poor' and 'I have strong doubts about the teachings and principles of my religion'. All items were pro-trait directed. At reliability, these 4 items indicated a Cronbach Alpha of .74.

For the sake of checking for the robustness of the association between the independent and the dependent variable, *religious socialization* is taken as a variable within regression analysis. Religious socialization was observed by the item 'During my childhood, religiosity permeated out family life', again a pro-trait variable with a 1-5 format.

Results

Initially, we tested whether religious rewards, the dependent variable and religious capital, the independent variable are not confounded and in fact elements of a uniform construct of religiosity.

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[47] Stark, R., Finke, R., *Acts of Faith*: *Explaining the Human Side of Religion,* Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2000.
[48] Stark, R., Finke, R., *Acts of Faith*: *Explaining the Human Side of Religion,* Los Angeles, University of California Press, 2000.

TABLE ONE APPROXIMATELY HERE

Table 1: Rotated Factor Matrix for Religious Rewards and Religious Capital

	Factor	
	Religious rewards	**Religious capital**
RS Difficult to understand_ Easy to understand	,721	
RS Not well planned_ Well planned	,769	
RS Useless_ Useful	,820	
RS Not comforting_ Comforting	,792	
RS Dull_ Interesting	,701	,445
Religious literature?		,744
My knowledge about the teachings, stories and principles of my religion is very poor.		,491
During my childhood, religiosity permeated in our family.		,468
I often talk about religious issues with my friends.		,613

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
Values below .40 omitted.

The principal factoring analysis with Varimax rotation indicated a 2 component solution. Factor 1 amounted to 56% of the variance, whereas factor 2 amounted to 12%. The analysis demonstrated that the constructs are separate, with one slight spillover, but no outliers. It is validated that it is possible to observe the two constructs as separate, although that is not always done in literature, because the constructs theoretical separateness has been established.

It now remains to demonstrate whether religious capital brings about religious gains in the form of rewards in the two areas of religious life observed. The associations between the independent and dependent variables have been analyzed per each of the confessional environments. See Table 2.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Table 2: Association between religious capital and religious rewards

	Pearson's r
Bosnian Muslims	.512**
Serbian Orthodox	.512**
Slovenian Catholics	.465**
US Protestants	.538**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

Our findings are fully in line with the expectation pursuing from the rational choice and religious capital theory. Truly, those who are more knowledgeable and acquainted with their religion, its teachings, immersed in religious net-

works, experience their collective attendance rituals within these institutions to a greater extent. In fact, there is no cross-cultural variation and the associations are not only fully significant, but unusually high.

We checked the robustness of the association by conducting a regression analysis, introducing religious socialization as the control variable, to see whether the association might not mask another influence, the one stemming from family socialization, generally known to be a potent factor in the formation of personality and of religiosity.[49]

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

Table 3: Regression analysis for satisfaction with religious service

	Religious capital Beta	Religious socialization Beta	R^2
Bosnian Muslims	.476**	.077	26.8%
Serbian Orthodox	.386**	.250**	30.3%
Slovenian Catholics	.379**	.175**	22.9%
US Protestants	.485**	.109**	29.8%

** Beta is significant at the 0.01 level.

In all cases, religious capital retains full significance in predicting religious rewards. Among Bosnian Muslims, where religious socialization was highest and high throughout the sample in magnitude, this variable was of little importance (there was little variation).

Conclusion and limitations

Our study has shown that it is possible and useful to study and measure religious capital and religious rewards by way of thisworldly ones, at a cross-cultural level. The two constructs were operationalized in a meaningful manner, so as to bypass any possible circularity in conceptualization. We did not narrow down the construct of religious capital to personal religious capital (religious knowledge), as suggested by Iannaccone[50], as that did not prove to be so clearly

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[49] D'Onofrio, B.M., Eaves, L.J., Murrelle, L., Maes, H.H., Spilka, B., *Understanding biological and social influences on religious affiliation, attitudes and behavior: A behavior-genetic perspective*, Journal of Personality, 67(6), 1999; Bengtson, V.L., Copen, C., Putney, N.M., Silverstein, M., *A Longitudinal Study of the Intergenerational Transmission of Religion*, International Sociology, 24 (3), 2009*,* pp. 325/345.

[50] Iannaccone, L. R., *Religious Practice: A Human Capital Approach*, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 29 (3), 1990.

separate from religious rewards at factor analysis. Our construct was in keeping with Stark and Finke[51]. Rewards have been conceptualized as gratifications from religious service, and not as mere participation, which has not been recognized in research with one exception[52]. This kind of approach made it possible to test the assumption of maximizing behavior not only at the level of religious organizations, but also at the level of the religious behavior of individual social actors.

Religious socialization remained relevant in all environments in predicting religious rewards, satisfaction at collective ritual, eith one exception.

Specifically, religious capital increases religious gains i.e. rewards, supporting the contention that religious capital may be observed as such, as a meaninful construct in the analysis of religious life and as an extension of economic analysis, in line with Stark and Finke[53]. This lends some further support to the general idea of huamns as rational actors in all spheres of activity.

Our samples were student samples. Flere and Lavrič have found that in cross-cultural analysis student samples are a good, although not always perfect proxy for general population samples[54]. Thus there is a certain possibility of extending these findings to general populations.

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The family in the context of contemporary social changes

Abstract

This paper examines the family as a social group in the context of contemporary social changes and relationships – its transformations along with the changes taking place in society, what changes are taking place in the family, its place and importance in contemporary society. In order to shed light on the problem of the transformation of the family, it is necessary to review various aspects of family change, internal processes and dynamics of these changes, to capture the reality of family. When considering the relationship between society and the family, it is evident that the changes in contemporary society influenced changes in the family, its structure, functions, dynamics, relationships, and that they are result of transformation of value-normative framework in the individualized society, economic and demographic changes.

Keywords: *Contemporary society, transformation of the family, social changes, economic changes, demographic changes.*

Introduction

Studying the processes and trands of changes in family in the context of significant and deep social changes is one complex theme for studying – we have to keep in mind the complex dynamics of global society, changes that are result of that dynamics, as well as the overlap in the family's hystorical changes, changes within the group and all of the changes that occur in the life course of the family

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members.[2] Modern, postmodern, global society is marked by the great speed of changes, fading of many landmarks that formed the lives of people, importance and desirability of individual choice and achievement, increasing of uncertainty, increasing the speed of life courses etc. This is reflected on the life of individuals and families – there are no clear borders between house and workplace, private and public life, for arrangement of living together there are no 'inherited' instructions – the established family norms and values, but it is necessary to invest effort all the time to develop different strategies for successfull functioning and the arrangement of the life space. On one hand, the speed of changes in society does not allow individuals nor families to create long-term strategies, but on the other hand, this society is open for all options and activities. In striving to achieve genunine fulfillment, individuals can more easily choose to end the community that does not fulfill their expectations and to try finding the other solution towards achieving their goal, which was not easy to achieve in the past (stigma that followed the divorce, strong influence of religious beliefs regarding the marriage and family, existence of mutual values in society that stabilized the marriage, mutual economic dependence of partners and similar.)[3] In the context of these changes in society the postmodern (re)shaping of the family is happening – it is characterized by volatility, dynamism, 'laxity of the ties and obligations to revoke'[4], inside it there is not a strong integration or hierarchy of relations, family has opened towards the social world (towards social institutions, accepting the values from different sources), its existence is fully opened towards all systems of the company, it became a totally loosened form. Fluidity of life flows, social instability frames, noticeable of processes of individualization for result have dissaperance of marital relations, trading marriage for instable community – cohabitation, people enter the marriage late, children are being borned in later life age, or partners in legal marital communities disclame parenthood, there

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[2] Tomanović, S., *Changes in the families*, : Milić, A., Tomanović, S., *Families in Serbia today in comparative perspective,* Institute for sociological research of Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Belgrade, 2009, pp 152.

[3] In postmodern society it came to the coming closer of roles of men and women regarding the education, employment, economic independence, career and family, which caused different view on the marriage and accepting different values than those that other generations had, the change in the attitudes of people regarding the marriage, sexual behavior, the sexual division, etc. In young people, especially women, there is a wish for independence and fulfillment, through the job and different arrangements of family and marital forms, but also bigger readiness on changes and experimentations with different life practices regarding the cohabitation rather than previous generations. Freedom for women to work, to achieve control over the birth, freedom to choose their own way of living, are novities that were not available to the previous generations, and that in modern society give young people opportunities for different choices.

[4] Bauman, Z., *Fluid life*, Mediterran Publishing, Novi Sad, 2009, pp. 13.

are same-sex cohabitations, solidarity with ancestor weakens,etc.[5] Weakening of the modern form of the family and more common phenomenon of different partnerships and family forms are global trend. The form of the modern family stops being the only required and dominant form of cohabitation of individuals in developed (and less developed) societes in modern world-changes in family forms and life styles of society have not at the same time started in all societes in the world, but are certainly, to a greater or less extent, present in all societes.[6]

Theoretical frame for consideration of problem of transformation of the family in modern world can be built based on the analysis of the next questions: evolution of the family, transformation of the functions of the modern family, changes in the structure of this family and relations between its members, transition of the marriage and model of the parenting, impact of the social,and demographic factors on the transformation of the family, so it can be shown on changes in marriage and parenting, that by the influence of the mentioned factors affect on changing the function of the family, its structure, etc. Although, we are talking aboout the global trend of changes in basic aspects of family life, our focus of observation and proving is limited on the observation of european-american social and family set, where these changes are the most visible.

Elements of the transformation of the nuclear family

When we are talking about the transformation of the family in modern society, we think about deep and comprehensive change that from the roots and reshapes essential components that defined the family from the start of modern civil society.[7] The term and practice of the family are modern achieve-

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[5] On the round table *"Family in Republic of Srpska today – state and perspecives"* in organization of Ministry for family, youth and sports in Government of Republic of Srpska, held on 20.11.2009. in Banja Luka, professor dr. Anđelka Milić, professor at Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, exhibited the paper 'Family in modern society', where she showed the characteristics of modern society and transformation of modern, nuclear family in modern, post-modern society, as well as the periods in which this family lived through serious earthquake.

[6] Milić, A., *Sociology of the family- Criticism and challenges*, Čigoja press, Belgrade, 2001.

[7] "Family is formed from two elements that vary in hystorically changeble measures: (1) co-habitation adn working under the same roof of the group of people and (2) kinship connection between them. Its fulfillnes this match experiences in modern epoch, since when we can talk about the true meaning of the term family." *Family,* Anđelka Milić, *Sociological dictionary,*done by A. Mimica and M. Bogdanović, Institute for textbooks, Belgrade, 2007, pp. 414. Modern family presents something totally new with regard to all the previous forms of cohabitation of individuals with kinship connection in european societies- in it the interest of the individual become even more important than the interest of the group, it has smaller number of the members and social functions, production activities of members are set otuside of the family. It is primary social group

ments-family is the product of modern, civil society- the symbol, reality and foundation of it existance, the pattern of family life in which the content of the family is reduced on the necessary biological minimum of reproduction- parents and their children (nuclear family).[8] The period from 16th to 18th century is the period in which the consolidation of this family pattern is happening, in the end of 19th century its blooming, and in mid-twentieth century this pattern experienced universalization and spreading to every society and culturs in the world. Modern family as a column of civil society, endured all of the needs of individuals in their lifetime achievement, and in cultural meaning it was carrier of socialization, system of the values, standards. This family experiences serious earthquakes in Europe at the beginning of the World War, and in the USA in the thirties of the last century when the economic collapse in the state destroyed its economic existence. After these first strikes, the process stopped, transformation of the family took place slowly thanks to the development of the state, that alleviated the strikes that family was facing. To the full transformation of this family form came in the eighties of the 20th century.[9]

Strenghtening of the secularism, even more intense expression of individualism, advancing consumer-hedonistic philosopshy of life, the rejection of solidarity, the gradual deconstruction of patriarchal authority in family, accepting the values about gender equality, separation of sexuality from reproduction and achieving the controle over the reproductive processes, abolition of double standards of sexual behavior for men and women, women going out into the public sphere, appearance of the new reproductive technologies, facing the

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that occures based on the recognized marriage relationship and their children (born or adopted), and which is independent nad apart from kin groups in which spouses belong. Independent marital dyad represents the base of the modern family. Here the fusion of the family from the blood-kin group and household as housing and consumer unit is done, and it represents the result of the gradual hystorical reduction and collecting the kin relations on the nucleus necessary for biological reproduction (marital couple and theit children), specific for modern industrial epochs and urban lifestyle. Socialization of the kids and emotional support and trade between the spouses and their progeny become the main function of this family. Bobić, M., *Demography and sociology – connection or syntesis,* Public corporation "Official Gazette", Belgrade, 2007, pp. 215 – 216.

[8] Nuclear family is a term for the family formed by few adults that live in one household with their own or adopted kids. E. Durkheim statrted this term by which this sociologist wanted to point to marital dyad as a support of the modern family that represents the end of mutual 'gathering', respectively the development of family form. Stronger family 'unity' dissapears by the exit of wider and more narrow groups of relatives from the family gropu. With the term nuclear family T.Parsons tryed to point opt importatnt characteristics of modern american family. *Nuclear family*, A. Milić, *Sociological dictionary*, done by A. Mimica and M. Bogdanović, Institute for textbooks ,Belgrade, 2007, pp. 417.

[9] On the round table *"Family in Republic of Srpska today – state and perspecives"* in organization of Ministry for family, youth and sports in Government of Republic of Srpska, held on 20.11.2009. in Banja Luka,

risks, globalization, informatization of the society and similar from 60s of 20th century in developed states had for result falling down of the universality of marriage, which was fisrt registered through the jump of divorces, then the fall of the first nuptiality, the rise of common-law unions – different types and age models, which caused the fall of fertility under the level of necessary for simple reproduction of population. The epicenter of the earthquake is located inside tha matrial dyad, in the center of the family.[10] While the marital couple in the traditional family represented only one part of the family system, in modern society, with the fall of economic role of family and by the foundation of the marriage of love and sexual attraction, the couple came in the center of family life, it represents the essence of the family.[11] The essence of partnership is the affective realtionship of partners (love,satisfaction)- in this relationship is invested to the proportion to the satisfaction that comes – that is why partnerships, including marriage, fall apart easily, but re-establish again. Therefore, the focus of the family shifts from the parenting to the partnership. With this is in the modern society changing the concept of the marriage and family. Marriage is freed of its "instrumental reproductive sexuality".[12] Couple relationship (more or less permanent relationship of partners) becomes the primary, compared to children and relatives, and all other relationshipsit adapt to it (with children, relatives, etc..). Radical changes in sexual and reproductive behavior of individuals have broken the thousand years, religious and social norms established the conditionality of sexual activity and marriage. From this period intimate relationships become something that is not in itself implies, but people in relationships are becoming active entities.[13] So, all these changes (social, economic, demographic) was caused by the so-called. deinstitutionalization of marriage, the weakening of the nuclear family and the emergence of new forms of partnership and family time to get legitimate recognition. As the causes of decomposition of marriage in contemporary society A. Milic distinguishes: the sexual revolution of the 60s of the 20th century, the emancipation of women and the individualization process.[14] De-institutionalization of marriage has caused an increased number of divorces, the spread of cohabitation, a growing number of

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[10] Bobić, M., *Reorganization of marriage, relationships and family in contemporary society*, Population, 1 – 4, 2003, pp. 68.

[11] Gidens, E., *Runaway World - How is globalization reshaping our lives*, Columns of culture, Belgrade, 2005, pp. 83 – 84.

[12] Giddens, A., *In defence of Sociology*, Polity Press, Cambridge, pp. 241.

[13] "Emotional communication has become central not only to refer to sexual love, but also for the relationship of friendship and interaction between parents and children." Giddens, E., *Sociology*, Faculty of Economics, Belgrade, 2005, pp.. 186.

[14] Milić, A., *Sociology of the family - Criticism and challenges,* Čigoja press, Belgrade, 2001.

reconstructed families, single parent households, households with children of homosexual partners, households in which one person lives.[15]

Parsons' ideal representation of the nuclear family - married couple (mother, housewife and working father) and their children, has grown into a myth that has little in common with the methods and forms of modern private life. The modern reality reflects the presence of diverse family forms, whose survival is obvious (the European average of families in relation to its nuclear composition is about 25%).[16] Rooted common sense notions of the family or, rather, about how they should be governed relationships within it, are not in accordance with the "reality" of family life, ie. how people actually organize their partner and family relationships. Since the mid-twentieth century in Western culture is rooted idea of the nuclear family as the social norms of the organization of family life, so that all other forms of family life and the ways defined in relation to it. "The idea of a nuclear family as the dominant form of family life has been widely accepted, because all other forms are seen as 'unusual', 'reflective' or even 'pathological'. Images of the nuclear family are so firmly rooted in the moral, political and media 'family discourse' that easily usurp the power of discernment of what is a normal family, what is acceptable and what totally unacceptable."[17] However, different arrangements of partner and family relationships undermined the dominance of conceptual and empirical models of the nuclear family, but have not led to the disappearance of the family as a social group. Family grows into social space and negotiating a settlement on all issues of common life, without an idea of permanent commitment and solidarity, and the most significant change that occurred in the modern conceptualization of the family is "the subjective attribution of importance of the intimate relationships, rather than the 'objective' formal (family) or blood ties. "[18] However, it should be noted that, regardless of family forms in which it is established, the basic "family relationship" seems dyadic relationship between child and parent - the basic units which remain or are transferred to any other family form are the parent (s) and child. In line with this understanding, caring for a child is the only constituent element of the definition of family, and who, at the same time, differs families from other living together arrangement in which parental relationship is not a necessary or constitutive - partner relationships, marriage relationships, households and kinship.[19]

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[15] Puljiz, V. and others., *Social politics*, MFIZ, Zagreb, 2005, pp. 323 - 328.
[16] Rener, T., *Some difficulties in defining the concept of family*, in: Milić, A., Tomanović, S., *Families in Serbia in Comparative Perspective*, Institute for Sociological Research, University of Belgrade, Belgrade, 2009, pp. 37.
[17] *The same*, pp. 36.
[18] *The same*, pp. 37.
[19] *The same*, pp. 32 – 33.

Emotional relationship that is established between parents and children in the family is very important for individuals. The relationship between parent and child (children) is a complex (bio)-psychological and socio-cultural connections that occurs, which is held and which turnes into various forms of families (and households). This relationship, therefore, is not necessarily based on biological grounds - the transformation of marriage, increasing divorce, with the emergence of different partner and family arrangements, with the development of new reproductive technologies, the adoption of children and the like. comes to the emergence of different forms of expressing the relationship between parent and child (children) - one-parent households, bi-nuclear families (stepmother and stepfather), shared parenting, adoption, foster care, surrogate mothers, homosexual households with children and so on. New dimension to the diversity of family relationships provide new reproductive technologies - which impair the vision of the family that consists of a heterosexual couple and their children, poor cultural understanding of the couple as a natural reproduction whole and introduce individuals in the reproduction process outside the family.[20] The development of modern reproductive technologies in the 80s of the last century has increased the uncertainty in determining the nature of relationship by descent[21] - creates different sets of relations with the respect to the new reproductive technologies that allow a woman to give birth to a baby from another woman's genetic material, and this does not exclude close relatives.[22] These technologies eliminate the biological limits of family formation and expansion of the family and the creation of different family forms (available to heterosexual couples, lesbians and women who are not married).[23] However, some sociologists express fears about turning a mere function of the birth into aof technology, especially its second part - raising the offspring.[24] On the other hand, the quality of parenting is emphasized as essential for the welfare of children and their adaptation in later life, not a biological connection between parent and a child (children), or sexual orientation of parents.[25]

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[20] Calhoun, C., *Family outlaws: rethinking the connections between feminism, lesbianism and the family*, in: Nelson, H. L. (ed.), *Feminism and Families*, Routledge, New York, 1997, p. 142 – 143.
[21] Segalan, M., *Sociology of the family,* Clio, Belgrade, 2009, pp. 51.
[22] Surrogate motherhood means that women carry the fetus emerged from the egg of another woman. Nineties in the U.S., a noted that the woman gave birth to own grandchildren, acting as surrogate mothers, given that her daughter could not be delivered. The question is what are the kinship of women and children?
[23] The adoption of amendments to the law on artificial insemination by the Spanish government the day, 07.11.2006. the non-biological mother is recognized for the mother of a child born to a lesbian marriage.*Lesbians podrán ser madres de los hijos „in vitro" de sus parejas*, Yahoo, 07/11/2006, http://es.news.yahoo.com/07112006/185/lesbians-podran-madres-hijos-in-vitro-parejas.html
[24] Milić, A., *Sociology of the family - Criticism and Challenges*, Čigoja press, Belgrade, 2001, pp. 51.
[25] Mršević, Z., *Same-sex relationships and children*, Population, number 1, 2009, pp. 33, pdf.

The emergence of "transnational families" contributes to globalization, which implies a global "transfer", "distribution" of emotions, the globalization of parenthood, particularly motherhood ("import" of maternal care in developed countries) comes to the fore in the globalization of chains of care (personal connections between people around the world based on paid and / or unpaid care). Parents in developed countries because of business commitments have to engage people outside the family that will care for their children (both the old and sick parents), because less and less can rely on relatives (today a large number of grandmothers and other relatives in developed world is performing paid work). Women in the Third World "temporarily" abandon their families and migrate to developed countries to act as nannies. The money they earn caring for children from families in the developed world, they send to their families, their children are kept by relatives, or are themselves forced to hire, pay nannies to keep their children. In this way are developed a "global" care chains which are usually connected by three sets of persons responsible for the care - the person who cares about mother-migrant's children, another that takes care of children of a woman who takes care of mother-migrant's children, while the third - the mother-migrant, cares of children of employees in the First World. These migrant workers became emotionally attached to the homes and people who they left five or more years ago, even though the only thing that went home were their salaries. Regardless of the physical separation of members, these families have not fallen apart, but have become transnational families, responsibilities for them have not ceased, but have increased. Mother-baby-sitters are at the same time adapting to the culture of motherhood shared with relatives and friends at home, but also believe that being a good mother means to spend time with their children. Of course, here can be asked the question regarding the position of a child whose parents pay the nanny in the Third World to take care of him, but also the position of a mother who hires a nanny to take care of her child. Can the "paid" care and emotions really replace attention and emotions of the child's mother, is it from the chain of emotions a child- a nanny (partially) excluded the mother of a child? Worlds of the participants in this chain of care, globalization has obviously split. It turns out that in the modern world except of unequal distribution of money, care and love unevenly distributed also.[26] The emergence of transnational families can be seen in the example of couples who have their own biological offspring, but adopting children from around the world.

As the number of divorces rises, it creates a complex network of family relationships - marriage break-up, therefore, does not mean the decline of the family, but a different way of realization of parenthood, where connections with

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[26] Hohšild, E. R., *Global care chains and emotional surplus value,*, in: Haton, V., Gidens, E. (*On the edge - living with global capitalism*, Plato, Belgrade, 2003, p.p. 170 – 192.

children do not stop and where it is created a new quality of relations between parents and children. After the divorce children tend to stay to live with one parent while the other parent is living apart from them. In this way, children receive two reference's home, but the relations (emotional, psychological, economic, social, kinship, etc..) of parents and children do not stop because of the partners divorce, or parental responsibilities towards children, they still make one family system (and two households). So, after the divorce, if the partners had a common child (children), family system has not disappeared, he still maintained between parents and children, no matter what the child does not live with both parents. If the parents (one or both) remarry or enter the cohabitation it leads to duplication of parents, family members (stepmother, stepfather half and false brothers and sisters, six grandmothers and six grandfathers, etc.).[27] These re-established families form a marital couple (of which at least one already had a spouse or illegitimate experience), their children from previous marriages (relationships), as well as the children born in the new marriage. These are the multi-parent families as the "social role of newer compounds is associated with the parental status is suddenly divided into few persons. The child has no longer just one but two fathers, biological and the mother's partner, who may (but does not have to) be his social father."[28] Types of kinship relationships that develop these families are completely new to modern societies, such as new difficulties arising from the entry into a new marriage after the divorce, because it requires special ways of adjustment due to the diversity of connections and relationships. In these families there is a new dynamic of relations arising from a range of kinship ties that are established in them. The nature of relationships in these families is different than in the families of the previous decades - they need more negotiation than it was needed before when the relations between relatives "were often taken for granted on the basis of trust, the trust now has to be negotiated and guessed ... "[29]

Increasingly frequent phenomenon in contemporary society is to raise children in non-traditional households - in which both parents are absent or they are the same sex. Children in homosexual households are born from previous heterosexual relationship partner, or adopted (in countries where allowed) or are born with the help of modern reproductive technologies. These households are similar to family households with children living with one biological parent and with other non-biological parent, but assumes the role of the child's parents (step-father, step-mother). Given that the emotional communication is primary

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[27] Segalan, M., *Sociology of the family*, Clio, Belgrade, 2009, pp. 201.

[28] *The same*, pp. 202.

[29] Giddens, A., *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1992, p. 96.

in relationships between parents and children in contemporary society, as well as taking care of the interests and development of children, sexual orientation of people should not be crucial in the implementation of parenting - many studies show, that for child development basic requirement is a close relationship that they establish with their parents, care and support that they receive from them, life without stress.[30]

Given the turbulence that occur in marriage and family, it is not uncommon for the child to remain neglected (children in the family become victims of violence, neglected, etc.). For this reason it is necessary to define categories of responsible parenting - parenting achievement includes not only biological reproduction or co-existence with a child, but the willingness and ability of a person that as a paernt provides the conditions for quality child growing up and that takes into account the promotion of its interests.

In order to be able to observe changes in the family life in modern times, it is necessary to distance ourselves from the ideological and political "imposed" shows about family, and to cautiously approach the setting and reviewing the questions about the "crisis" of the family, its"disappearance", the basis of the family life and so on.

Changes in the family life and modernity

In the independent marital dyad - socially legitimated sexual relation of partners compared with the primary goal of having children - and that was the basis of modern families, in the 60s of the 20th century there have been significant changes taking place - marriage is no longer the sole basis of the partnership. Increase of the number of divorces and common-law communities(legally sanctioned and standardized) calls into a question the model for marriage where it was the only way to start a family. Also, part of the redefinition of marriage is the decline in fertility rates.[31] In the form of civil marriage, there was still some significant changes that are manifested in the reduction of marriages, postponement of entry into first marriage to a later age and acceptance of some alternative forms of partners communities (such as cohabitation and Living Apart

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[30] Of course, this does not rule out problems that the children in these families may face. First of all, at certain stages of their growing up experience difficulties accepting the fact that their biological parent has a same sex partners, and may face the problem of "too much information on one sex and none on the other." Mršević, Z.: *Same-sex relationships and children*, Population, Number 1, year 2009, pp. 33 – 34, pdf.

[31] Segalan, M., *Sociology of the family*, Clio, Belgrade, 2009, pp. 145.

Together forms[32]), as well as increase of celibacy.[33] These are complex processes that change the content of marriage and family - family focus shifts from the parenting to the partnership, the tendency to partnership becomes the basic framework of family life, there is a shift from marriage as an institution to the fragile, constantly questioning *the clear partnership*[34], based on the emotional connection between partners (love, pleasure) and is free of instrumental procreative role (of that period sex is not in an exclusive relationship with procreation, and marriage is no longer the sole, exclusive and socially desirable framework of biological reproduction and sex identification intercourse) - *sexual and natality decomposition of marriage*.[35] Partnerships are easily broken because their essence makes the loose base (affective relationship of partners - the essence of modern marriage, which ultimately leads to its demise).[36] This caused a violent transformation of the family that is expressed in the diversification of life styles - plurality of family forms and partnerships. All these changes occur, then, in the center of the family, ie. the marital dyad. Of the three essential constituent elements of traditional marriage: procreation, cohabitation and legitimation in the partnership unity (legal or common-law marriage) no longer necessarily implies the presence of all these elements. Marriage is released of instrumental sexuality - not entered into solely for children, and procreation is not present in marriages without children, homosexual partnerships, and the like. More and more people in more developed countries opt for a partnership without a formal legal recognition - non-spousal partnership, and as for the children that are born from this relationship, are fully equal in rights with respect to children born in wedlock. In the LAT forms is not present the cohabitation (couples who live together - youthful dating couples who do not work in the same city, country, etc.).

We have seen that in the 60s of the last century, the focus shifts from family parenting to partnership, a plurality of family forms and the related expression of parenthood with it comes into play (single parenthood, social parenthood, homoparenting, etc.). *The transition from traditional to modern and post-modern model of parenting* was due to separation of parenthood from marriage, there-

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[32] Popular lifestyle of (not) living together couples in industrial society, who due to business or other obligations much time spend apart.See more in: Milić, A., *Sociology of the family - Criticism and Challenges*, Čigoja press, Belgrade, 2001, pp. 115.

[33] Avramov, D., *Individuals, families and households on a limb*, Science Book, Belgrade, 1993, pp. 105.

[34] Gidens, E., *Runaway World - How is globalization reshaping our lives*, Columns of culture, Belgrade, 2005, pp. 86 – 87.

[35] Milić, A., *Sociology of the family - Criticism and Challenges*, Čigoja press, Belgrade, 2001, pp. 122 – 128.

[36] *The same*, pp. 124.

by changing the essence of parenting in contemporary society.[37] Increasingly, it is more and more real departure from traditional concepts and procedures by which a marriage is assembled for the children, for whose performance the children were required and for who more often people stayed in the marriage. Amended social reality affects the notion of parenting and its contents need to be restored. Unlike the parenting in the modern family, modern family based on partnership and fellowship, an aspect of self-realization of individuals becomes parenthood. In the early 21st century concept of parenting reached its full development, it is used for postulating symmetrical positions and partnerships of family members - the balance in parental roles becomes noticeable , where the role of fathers is coming more to the fore due to the establishment of spiritual and physical closeness between father and children. Emotional communication in relationships between parents and children plays an important role, as in all other relationships.[38] As family relationships are becoming more and more an expression of choice, the notion of parenting and choice is taking central place (couples decide at what point is the most suitable to become parents, and the number of children they want to have). Changes that occur in marriage and family relations lead to the creation of different, new forms of relationships that are established by descent, in which the choice also has a significant place. The transformation of marriage, increasing divorce rate, family recomposition, medically assisted procreation, adoption and so on had a significant effect on this.[39] In contemporary society are expressed unfavorable conditions for the implementation of parenting (insecure environment, the dominance of secondary agents of socialization, poverty, etc..), which deteriorate the relations between parents and children (an increase of autonomy of children in relation to parents, weakening the authority of parents, etc.).[40] This has resulted in developing a strategy and form of uniform behavior in parents and children (young): parents delay having children and reduce the number of children, young postpone the marriage and the family is leaving the origin.[41] However, a smaller number of children in contemporary family does not mean the reduction of costs related

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[37] Blagojević, M., *Parenting and fertility - Serbia in the nineties*, Institute for Sociological Research, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Belgrade, 1997, pp. 46.

[38] Giddens, E., *Sociology*, Fculty of economics, Belgrade, pp. 186.

[39] Segalan, M., *Sociology of the family*, Clio, Belgrade, 2009, pp. 207.

[40] Tomanović, S., Petrović, M., *Risks and safety in the neighborhood from the perspective of children and their parents*, in: Tomanović, S. (ur.), *A society in turmoil*, Institute for Sociological Research, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Belgrade.

[41] Milić, A., *A review of the results of surveys of families and households in the Institute for Social Research in the last 20 years,* in: Milić, A., Tomanović, S., *Families in Serbia today, in a comparative perspective*, Institute for Sociological Research, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Belgrade,2009, pp. 20.

to their lifting, care, socialization, and so on, because increasing of the standards in relation to this requires from the parents a major investment and use of the resources (time, energy, knowledge, skills, emotions and health).[42]

Changes in the family are reflected in changes in its functions, its structure and relationships between family members. Compared to traditional family forms, modern families are essentially distinguished through the universalisation of the marriage institution, which on the one hand ties the spouses intimately, and on the other hand, sets them up as free, independent but accountable holders of family wellbeing. From the family point of view, the spouses are primarily confirmed through their parental functions that are clearly gender-segregated, and socially through the responsibility for the stability of the family group, which is dominated by the authority of the male breadwinner. These important structural determinants are affecting the definition, or narrowing the once numerous functions of the traditional family. This decline can be analyzed through the four basic functions (biological, economic, safety and socialization functions), where the socialization function that needs to prepare young people to accept and take a role in the social system is the most important.[43] In contemporary society, many changes occur that are affecting the family - to change the living conditions of most families, their quality of life, the contents of family functions and the possibility of their execution (from reproductive bio-psycho-social to the economic and social).[44] But that does not mean that the family still is not primarily a place where they arise and develop biological functions that transform an individual into a social being, it continues to meet basic household tasks through correspondence (socialization of children, housing selection, earning wages, provision of everyday survival of the jobs that are repeated again and again and so on.).[45] In contemporary society, adult sexual behavior has undergone drastic changes - relations between spouses are not reduced to the satisfaction of procreative sex drive and function, as between spouses in the family there is also an affective connection that should make the essence of their relationship. Thanks to the progress in medicine, the development of sofisticated methods of birth control and different techniques of medically assisted

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[42] Blagojević, M., *Parenting and fertility - Serbia in the nineties*, Institute for Sociological Research, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Belgrade, 1997, pp. 64.

[43] With the emergence of modern societies are changing the basis on which the family is set- the character of economic functions (production function relocated from the family household in companies and factories), placing emphasis on family psychosocial function, and reduction of family functions and their transfer (in whole or in individual segments) to specialized social institutions. Matović, N., *Cooperation between secondary schools and families,* Institute of Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, Belgrade,1994, pp. 15.

[44] Vuković, D., *Social security and social rights*, Belgrade, 2005, pp. 336.

[45] Segalan, M., *Sociology of the family*, Clio, Belgrade, 2009, pp. 279.

reproduction, they introduce into reproduction process and individuals outside the family, which assemble the new circuits of relation. The increase in unemployment, stagnation in the mechanisms of social security, low incomes, the economic crisis and other conditions that ensure the quality of life impact on the economic function of the family. However, in modern conditions the role of household survives, only the households are multiplied into countless smaller units.[46] Some forms of care that families provide to their members such as the involvement of parents in connection with the raising, nurturing and keeping the child, family solidarity and support, assistance, economic protection (higher standards in caring for children in their care)[47] - child support, inheritance of property and the like remain no matter what changes occur in the family and in contemporary society. In a global society, as we have seen, are created "paid" care chains. Although the function of education of children in modern society is to a large extent transferred to the particular authorized institution (kindergarten, school, media, etc..), it can not be said that the family still has no significant role in this regard. However, reducing the impact of established traditions and values in terms of globalization ("social codes" to a great extent lost their force), moving to a new individualism, with the entry into a local communities to interact with the new global order[48], in the most societies, especially Western, parents are left to individually find their way on the formation of the form of socialization of the child (there is no clearly defined collective form of socialization of the child). In the modern family, because of the frequent absence of parents, children are exposed to the influence of mass culture interests of profit, and they express various forms of risk behavior (substance abuse, increase in violence among children and youth, etc.) Changes in the structure of modern families are reflected in the reduction of the number of its members - it is a two generation family consisting of parents and their children (nuclear family) in which fewer children are born. It was previously thought that the only legitimate form of family is nuclear family. The variations that existed in family forms were completely ignored. Numerous data indicate that such a picture of the family did

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[46] Binuclear families that arise after a divorce if partners have common children include two households - parent household where the child lives and parent household where the child is not living. Divorce apart from breaking a marriage is reflected in the lives of individuals in the economic way. Households with one parent, on average, are among the poorest groups in contemporary society, faced with economic uncertainty, and the appearance of new poverty often associated with them. Re-entry into partnerships after divorce or death of a partner can be explained by economic reasons in the sense that the partners in the society of risk and crisis of the welfare state provide more security by merging the two incomes.

[47] Gidens, E., *Runaway World - How is globalization reshaping our lives*, Columns of culture, Belgrade, 2005, pp. 85.

[48] Gidens, E., *Sociology,* Faculty of Economics, Belgrade, 2005, pp. 67.

not reflect the actual reality.[49] By the synthetic reviewing of the consequences of observed changes and their individual factors it can be clearly seen that the new forms and structures of living together are n fact the most striking indications of the transformation processes in modern families. New diverse structures of family relationships are a unique consequence of de-institutionalization of marriage in contemporary society, which is, both theoretically and empirically, the core of transformational movement. The crossed path of modern family history, whose beginning was actually the constitution of the family, took place over the legal guaranteed freedoms of individuals that makes a family in its sole discretion and with the consent of the spouse, then the way to the postmodern transformation process was determined precisely by deconstruction of marriage, ie. its institutionalization. The result is the emergence of cohabitation, re-marriages, marriages without children, homosexual partnerships and families and new family structures such as the renewed family, single-parent households, new forms of homosexual households (s) and households are with singles. The weakening of the nuclear family and the increasing of the diversity of family and partnerships forms is a global trend. It is the wider range of family types that become eligible, and their existence is receiving the legitimate award.[50] The emergence of various forms of communal life must be viewed in the context of contemporary gender relations, different generations and a reorganization of the social world. The increasing diversity of family forms reflects a new reality of independent choices and increasing tolerance, even more families do not have to be unnecessary nuclear family.

Changes in relations in the modern family can be seen primarily through the change of the place of individuals in it. Under the influence of social, economic and cultural factors of the sixties of the 20th century began a revolutionary course of family change, which in the center put an individual whose main strategy becomes how to change the family as it could meet his needs and alternative choices.[51] This positioning of the individuals in the family affects the relationships within it. Changes in the roles of men and women, in their mutual relations, liberation from traditional roles assigned to them, especially the release

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[49] Here we give examples of Great Britain: the proportion of households made up of a married couple with children is constantly decreasing. In early sixties the number of these families was 38 percent, and in the late nineties, 23 percent. The share of single households in the same period increased from 11 to 28 percent and the percentage of single parent households increased by more than three times (from 3 to 10 percent).The source: *Social Trends*, HMSO, London, 1999, p. 42. in: Haralambos, M., Holborn, M., *Sociology - Themes and Perspectives*, part I, Golden marketing, Zagreb, 2002,pp. 538.

[50] Gidens, E., *Sociology*, The Faculty of Economics, Belgrade, 2005, pp. 186.

[51] Milić, A., *Sociology of the family - Criticism and Challenges ,*Čigoja press, Belgrade, 2001, pp. 316.

of women reflect on family relationships. We are becoming witnesses to a new movement of individualism in which people need to be active participants in building their lives and define their own identity. Under the influence of global social processes our evry day lives suffered significant changes. The influence of tradition and established values is reduced and it has a significant impact on all aspects of human life, especially those related to family relations. Individuals in modern times, free from the pressures of tradition, have more opportunities to shape their own lives, to live in a more open and reflective way than it was the case in previous generations where the traditions and specific factors (social class, gender, ethnic and / or religious affiliation, etc..) guided their activities and way of life.[52] In modern society there is a breakdown of integrity of the family and the roles of its members are increasingly moving from family to public areas of life. The family has no more the character of relations that are protected from the world in which the mutual solidarity and loyalty to the members is set through the understanding of the specific identity of the family as a group, but also its personal identity that it is created in it and that it is thanks to it won.[53] In modern society there are new values orientations. In the fifties of last century the goals that were stived for by people were connected with a happy family life (a new car, a good education for children, enhancing their living standards, etc.). Today, the goals of people are focused on self-realization, development of personal qualities, the search for personal identity, etc.[54]

Determinants of the family transformation

Social changes in modern times are certainly a major factor, causes of transformation of the family. This relates primarily to the effects of a number of interrelated factors that create a framework for change in family or act as an agents of family changes - the sexual revolution, the struggle for women's rights and the feminist movement (s), technological changes in the field of human reproduction, computerization of society, impact of globalization on private life, the "new" individualism, and the legalization of the same-sex marriages. These factors have a different field of action and a different measure of intervention in family life and its organization, but all are very important challenges in contem-

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[52] Gidens, E., *Sociology*, The Faculty of Economics, Belgrade, 2005, pp. 66 − 67.
[53] Milić, A., *Classes and families - Sociological section of the state and perspectives of development of modern family*, The working press, Belgrade, 1978, p.114.
[54] Bek, U., *Living our own lives in a world that is rapidly changing: individualization, globalization and politics*, in: Haton, V., Gidens, E. (prir.), *On the edge - living with the global capitalism*, Plato, Belgrade, 2003, pp. 217.

porary family life. The process of social change that started in 60s of the 20th century, quickly and in the long run has changed a lot of things - it was broken by a unique life context, social institutions have experienced drastic changes (marriage, family, nation, etc..), leading to a redefinition of the various aspects of our lives - personal and intimate (family, sexuality, personal identity, etc..), the relationships that we establish with each others, the way we think about ourselves, our attitude towards work and the like. The influence of tradition, established rules and values is reduced , as well as the factors that used to have a significant impact on the course of human life (social class, gender, ethnic and religious affiliation, etc..), the local community entered into a interaction with the new global order, and individuals must be active in defining their own identity and build their own lives[55], the human body is free from sexual reproduction, and new relationships that are established get "social legitimacy" and still are not molded by marriage, family, etc.[56] The result of these changes is a structural shift towards new forms of communal life.

Trends of changes in the economy - the labor market transformations, development of service sectors, which are directly related to creating opportunities for the education of women, their employment, gaining economic independence of women, had an impact on the transformation, first of all, the internal relationships within the family, the changes in marriage and family - a change of power, the reduction of marital fertility, increasing the divorce rates, and a change of uniform (nuclear) family systems and households to a variety of forms, but also some of the key trends and indicators of demographic changes in family and society which are manifested in the increasing of the aging of population, lower rates of birhrates, lower nuptiality rates, increasing divorce rates and the like. As for the impact of economic changes on the transformation of the family, except the inclusion of women in paid work through employment, it must be borne in mind a new division of labor and power in the household as a result of previous[57], and the impact of technological changes and the (un) employment of women.[58] An important step towards the transformation of the family is paid

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[55] Gidens, E., *Sociology*, The Faculty of Economics, Belgrade, 2005, pp. 66 – 67.

[56] Giddens, A., *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in modern Societies*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1992, p. 27.

[57] Delphy, C., Leonard, D., *Familial explotitation, A New Analysis of Marriage in Contemporary Western Societies*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992.

[58] In contemporary society, changes in the economic sphere have resulted in job creation, new markets, flexible labor, work part-time,work performed at home, working weekends, holidays, and exploitation of women's resources. "It fits well with female life script, and their double burden (in the family and the household and the labor market), and in terms of the insufficient participation of men in the private domain." Bobić, M., *Demography and Sociology - connection or synthesis*, Public Enterprise "Official Gazette", Belgrade, 2007, pg.195.

work of women in production and services, as evidenced by a strong increase in female employment in the European Union, and more and more educated women.[59] This means a new quality of family and relations in it, because it is a family with two rather than one breadwinner. Further, this change has an impact on gender relations in the household, through the less segregated division of labor within the family and through reducing the husband's dominance in family relations. But the entry of women into the public sphere through employment has its darker side: there is the increasing number of women with qualifications and without them that can not find jobs, and they want it or expect it, an increasing number of women losing their jobs and that because of the already achieved changes in their families (divorced, abandoned by their husbands or partners, or independent and minor children), are losing their livelihood and are becoming a problem that has to be delt by the state and its institutions. Still, the motivation of women for employment in many cases it is not intrinsic, but is the result of pressure from outside.[60] The position of individuals and influence on the decisions they make regarding the marriage and family, are largely determined by economic and social coercion - the decisions that spouses bring in regard to divorce and restoring families depend, for example, and from employment - whether they work in government or private companies or they do not have a steady job.[61] Socio-economic factors - continuing education, late entry into the world of work, unemployment and work insecurity, lack of harmonization of family and work obligations, led to later entering the marriage of the young people, the increase in divorce, as well as lower fertility rates. Also, technology has an increasing role both in the workplace and private life - thanks to the modern information technologies, there was an overlapping spheres of work and private spheres - on the one hand, they allow employees to better combine family and work obligations[62], On the other hand, technological and other innovations that are happening in the world of work requires continual learning and improvement, which is not compatible with the involvement of the family.[63] The development of today's global economy, technological changes in work, new ways of doing business, changes in work organization, job uncer-

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[59] The share of employed women aged from 25 to 54 years in the European Union in the seventies of the last century was 40%, to the share of employed women in this age contingent has increased to 60% in 1999. year. Puljiz, V., *Family politics*, u: Puljiz, V. and others. *Social Policy: History, System, Glossary*, Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb, Zagreb, 2005, p. 325.

[60] Garhammer, M., *Familiale und gesellschaftliche Arbeitsteilung – ein europäisher Vergleich*. Zeitschrift für Familienforschung, 9 (1), 1997.

[61] Segalan, M., *Sociology of the family,* Clio, Belgrade, 2009, pp. 10.

[62] Šijaković, I., *The charm of the middle class* , Prometej, Belgrade, 1999, pp. 125.

[63] Puljiz, V. i dr., Puljiz, V. and others. *Social Policy: History, System, Glossary*, Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb, Zagreb, 2005, p 338.

tainty and job insecurity have negative effects on marriage and family - make it difficult for youth to become independent, the establishment of new families, as well as maintaining existing ones.

In order to understand the impact of demographic changes on the transformation of families, we must bear in mind the complex social-economic and demographic development of certain countries (regions). The effect of demographic factors (birth rate and fertility, mortality, population age, increased incidence of celibacy and divorce) is often overemphasized in the interpretation of the modern transformation of the family. However, their effects can not be ignored, because the occurrence of low birth rate and fertility and their disposal for a later age, has the effect of entering into marriage, the length of the pro creative period and the establishing of emotional stability between spouses. On the other hand, reducing mortality and prolonging the life of the population, influence the patterns of marriage, divorce and subsequent re-marriage and cohabitational relationships during the lifetime of individuals. All of these demographic changes must be considered in light of a two new family phenomenons: the increase in divorce and celibacy. One of the major trends that are reflected in the family patterns in most industrialized societies is the increasing of divorce rate. In the most European countries, with a decrease in the rate of marriages it has been an increasing number of divorces in regards to the number of marriages. Divorce in the individual countries of Europe occurs in varying degrees: in the south, the level is relatively low and includes between 10 and 20% of marriages, while the level in the north is between 40 and 45% of marital communities.[64] Also, in modern society it is visible an increase in the number of those who are permanently opting to live alone (celibacy), and those who do not want to have children. Education, employment, career, contraception, individual life goals, aspirations, and (class-conditioned) system of values, the decline of state support to families, increase the likelihood of not only biological, but also willful sterility (sociological sterility, childlessness).[65] The share of completion of celibacy is a clear indication of falling popularity of marriage as an institution.

When we talk about the future of the family, it must be taken into account society's attitude to violence in the latest developments and the transformation of society and family. The family for an individual and all its members and the community as a whole remains a priority and an important function of the community, but these changes require a radical transformation over the state, society towards violence (systematic, long-term and the immediate family-oriented social policy - family policy) and a different kind of relationship for all family members to maintain a family group and its development.

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[64] Segalan, M., *The sociology of the family*, Clio, Belgrade, 2009, pp. 187.
[65] *Celibacy*, M. Bobić, *Sociological dictionary*, Textbook Institute, Belgrade, 2007, p. 55.

Conclusion

Relying on the latest information on trends and changes in the sphere of family life, we tried to shed more light on the phenomenon of family transformation from different angles, making the procedure in depth and breadth of these changes, while opening up a new questions for research and discussion and contributing to a better understanding of processes and changes in the modern family, which should form the basis for further research.

Transformation does not mean the decline of the family, the disappearance of the family as a social group - regardless of the diversity of partner and family forms in contemporary society, relationships between partners are universal, as well as forms of common life, intimacy, sexuality and emotional ties, more people prefer informal relationships in which is given birth to an increasing number of children, rates of re-marriage are increasing and there remains a desire to live with someone as a couple. Indeed, in modern society the content of the marriage has changed (from the institution to a loose partnership) and the content of the family (shifting focus from parenting to the partnership), and the result is the diversification of the life styles (partner and family). However, the family as a social group and the institution has not lost its sense of its functions and duties. The tendency towards the creation of partnerships (legally sanctioned or common-law) and the pursuit of achieving parenthood (family) are still present in individuals. Although earthquakes and changes in marital dyad influenced the changes in the family, the social group still has an important role for most individuals, more as a resource (kinship solidarity, support and assistance), rather than as a refuge.

The increasing diversity of family forms reflects a new reality of independent choices and increasing tolerance, more and more families do not have to be nuclear families. But this does not mean that the nuclear family form disappears completely, but it certainly becomes less popular. In more developed societies there is an increasingly accepting of the new forms of partnership and family forms, and the legal basis that accompany these changes are create (for example, regulating the rights and obligations of partners living in a common law marriages, legalizing the same-sex marriages, etc.). Marriage is no longer an institution that establishes the relationship between partners, and fewer and fewer people choose to marry, but the partnership is still being established, and it si given the new meaning to the actors (cohabitation, "re-marriage" arrangements, etc.).

Regardless of the weakening of the dominance pattern of the nuclear family in contemporary society and the manifestation of various forms of partnership and family, it arbitrarily to assum, whether some of these forms will be accepted as the dominant and the best.

Given that the family in contemporary society has become part of both private and public spheres, and that this social group has further significance for its members, it is necessary to view social principles and adapt them to the new forms of partnerships and family. With this work we tried to contribute to the modern view of the family (family types), perception of reality in which the forms of partnership and family relations - appear, disappear and are re-created, as well as the directions of possible completions (and change) of the basic theoretical concepts (conceptual discourse)of the family , considering all of the changes that have occurred in the center of the family, its functions, structure, relationships among its members, and the relation of individuals to the family as a social group. Theoretical discourse on the transformation of the family should be taken in the direction of thinking about violence in the plural, which is increasingly repressing the nuclear family as a classical theoretical model and empirical indicator with regards to all of the other forms of family relationships that have been evaluated and determined. Research attention should be drawn to the fact that family relations always include the parent - child relationship (regardless of the form in which these relations are established / manifested), and to see from a different perspective the reality of family in contemporary society, creating an incentive to think about the future course of developmental of family changes or, better said, opening the question of where will these changes continue to unfold.

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Residents' perception of some aspects of quality of life in the cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Abstract

In five focus groups, organized in five major cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina residents gave answers on how they perceive some aspects of quality of life that would have to be improved by their municipal authorities. On this basis, we constructed a scale for measuring the quality of life in those areas which are under the local jurisdiction and in which local authorities can affect the quality of life of residents. Factor analysis extracted 7 factors of quality of life with which we can explain 71% variance, while individual factors explain 5-26% of common variance. The scale for measuring the quality of life was administered to 1503 respondents in 14 cities in B&H. It is found that there are significant differences in quality of life among certain municipalities, while the quality of life in the Republic of Srpska and Federation B&H is uniform.

Key words: *quality of life, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the local authorities.*

Introduction

There are only a few concepts that have from the beginning of 20th century experienced such an intense change in content and meaning as it has the meaning of quality of life. That concept is interpreted differently depending on the area of the social life to which it refers, on the theoretical and methodological advance in scientific disciplines dealing with this problem, but also on the proclaimed goals of social life and progress, which are by the rules, always ideologically colored. For example, in economy the quality of life usually refers to specific material indicators, such as life standard, material position and other

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measures derived from them. In medicine that concept usually refers to the level of preservation of bodily functions of sick people and convalescents, the possibility of conducting the professional and life jobs in those with frail health, the general level of the population of some country or the region and similar. In humanistic intelligence, thic term is usually viewed as a level of achieving more humane and better society through the realization of the basic human values such as justice, happiness, peace, freedom, etc.

In the first half of 20th century, usually the different material indicators were taken as representative of the achieved quality of life in one country. In the 60s, the concept evolved and the different approach in this phenomenon in the 'social indicators movements' was developed, that was taking in consideration the different, nonmaterial indicators of quality of life. In basic, social indicators can be subjective and objective. The subjective indicators are based on subjective impressions of their own lives and possibilities to achieve their own life goals through the level of life satisfaction, job satisfaction which an individual performs, the level of accomplished happiness, the perception of social justice, etc.[2] Among the objective indicators are: unemployment rate, infant mortality rate, number of hours during the week, the proportion of population below the poverty line, proportion of population without health insurance, life expectancy and so on. From these two approaches have been developed two different concepts of quality of life: the U.S., which emphasizes the importance of subjective indicators, and Scandinavian which highlights the priority objective indicators. Basically, the American concept is based on the individual and its skill and ability to achieve in the given social environment, in competition with other individuals, achieve satisfaction of their own bacis needs and/or to affirm in society. Scandinavian concept is based on the different premises, it starts from the 'good society' as an indicator of quality of life. In other word, the quality of life operationalizes as the possibility to access resources (money, property, knowledge, psychological and physical energy, social relations and security) whith what people can control their own 'level of life' and manage it.[3]

In addition to conceptual differences in these two approaches, we will mention some examples of theoretical and methodological difficulties in investigating the quality of life.[4] The quality of life is a very broad and elastic concept, so between the theoretical and operational definition can may appear different mediating variables that complicate the combination of deter-

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[2]   Some of these indicators register the World research of value. Available on the site: www.world-valuessurvey.org

3 See: Drenowski, Erikson i Uisitalo, y: *Rapley Mark Quality of Life – A Critical Introduction, Sage Publications,* London, 2003.

[4]   Similar problems arise with cross-cultural study of values (Pantić, 2005).

ministic, and whose effect is not easily detected and measured. For example, between the subjective quality of life and its operational parameters may appear different psychological and physiological characteristics of individuals that determine how a person will experience the objective conditions in which he lives (personality traits, values systems, perceptions of reality, the level of aspiration, a characteristic 'life philosophy', etc.) In other words people who are modest in nature and have lower expectations of life will easier reach their 'own standards' of quality life and will be relatively more satisfied with their own lives than others who have multiple criteria and (unrealistic) expectations. In addition even some economic indicators of quality of life (such as living standards, financial status, purchasing power, etc.), which are belived to be objective are not always good representatives of the quality of life. Higher standard of living does not always means better quality of life. The example of the United States after World War II was shown, where the improvement of living standards has failed to lead to a better quality of life, but at the same time there was an increase in crime, violence in the streets, suicides, mental disorders and various forms of addictions.[5] On the other hand, it is possible to specify different examples, it is considered that in poor countries increasing the standard of the living is the basic prerequisite for happier and more satisfied life of the great part of the population.[6]

The aim and the problem of the research

The aim of the research was to make a transparent and objective assessment of some aspects of quality of life in fourteen cities of B&H, in those segments which are the responsibility of local (municipial) authorities and which may affect the quality of life. Since the 'mixing the jurisdiction' of the entity and local government, it is difficult to determine which areas are exclusively the responsibility of local authorities, we have tried to include those in which the local authorities are 'recognized' as responsiblem by citizens for the functioning of social life on local level. By monitoring selected indicators of quality of life, it is possible to continuously monitor the quality of life in the municipalities of BiH, and to see whether and to what extent local authorities improved the quality of life of citizens. Also, comparative analysis of the municipalities in BiH can

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[5] Campbell, A., Converse Philip E. *The Human Meaning of Social Change,* Russel Sage Foundation, New York, 1972.
[6] Lima, M. L., Novo, R., "So far so good?" Subjective and social well-being in Portugal and Europe", *Portuguese Journal of Social Science,* Vol. 5, No. 1, 2006. Page 5-33.

show which cities are 'better' and which are 'worse' in terms of living conditions they offer to their residents.

The research 'Resident' perception of quality of life issues'7 has been previously conducted, through a series of focus groups with residents in five major cities in B&H (some of which are included in our study). On that occasion, the citizens have given the answer on what they think of the aspects of quality of life that should be improved by their local authorities. On this basis, as indicators of quality of life, we considered the following areas: 'public health care', 'the arrangement of city', 'water supply', 'public heating', 'road infrastructure', 'public transport' and tourism-sport-culture-administration'. Each of these areas we presented with 2-4 variables (total 23) Respondents gave the answer to what extent they are satisfied with certain aspects of quality of life, and they are presented on a five-Likert scale (from 'completely satisfied' – 5, to 'completely unsatisfied' – 1). The verification of the theoretical model we have made with the help of the factor analysis, whose results we will present below.

First, we checked whether the reliability of the scale in our sample is satisfactory (Cronbach alpha 0.88), and then we realized that the scale is representative with Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin indicators (we got value 0.797) and Bartlett's test of sphericity (sig 0.000). We aplied Varimax and oblimin rotation, but after we realized that some factors are correlated with each other above 0.3 (F1 and F6; F6 and F7), we decided to adopt the results of the oblimin rotation, although both are giving the similar solutions.

Table 1: Factor analysis of quality of life by applying the oblimin rotation

Factors and variables	Communalities	Totally and mostly satisfied(%)
F1: Structure of the city (% of the variance 26,17)		
V4. Transportation of garbage	,619	68,9
V5. Maintaining the purity of streets and public places	,736	50,2
V6. The appearance and maintaince of parks and other green areas	,714	61,5
V7. The presence and functioning of public lighting	,594	54,4
F2: Public heating (% of the variance: 13,11)		
V11. The quality of heating	,767	69,4
V12. Maintaining the heating facilities by certified companies	,891	60,4
V13. The speed of repairing the heating installations	,863	53,9
F3: Public Health Care (% of the variance: 8,22)		
V1. Scheduling the examinations at the family doctor	,766	57,7

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7   See: „Local government for quality of life of citizens, Municipality of Bijeljina-A preliminary report on indicators of quality of life of citizens" Center for Civil Initiative, Bijeljina 2009, page 4

Factors and variables	Commu-nalities	Totally and most-ly satis-fied(%)
V2. Waiting for the review and obtaining evidence	,833	44,9
V3. The courtesy of the Medical Staff	,746	52,7
F4: Water supply (% of the variance: 7,30)		
V8. Regular water supply	,717	88,1
V9. The speed of removing defects	,756	72,5
V10. The quality of drinking water	,648	69,1
F5: Public transportation (% of the variance: 6,37)		
V18. The number of departures from the city to your place of residence	,873	52,9
V19. The coverage of remote and rarely populated areas	,879	39,7
F6: The road infrastructure (% of the varaince: 5,55)		
V14. Road maintenance (potholes, snow clearing, drainage, etc.)	,693	25,2
V15. Building the new roades	,800	21,9
V16. The coverage of remote places by rode	,700	27,7
V17. Representation of public parking	,443	30,0
F7: Tourism-sport-culture-administration (% of the variance: 5,19)		
V20. Tourist attractions	,683	31,6
V21. Representation of sports facilities and halls	,670	36,4
V22. Representation of culture events	,663	40,1
V23. The work of municipal administration (counter, permits, decisions, etc.)	,486	36,8

Seven factors of quality of life were extracted and they can explain 71,2% of the variance. The factors in Table 1 are presented according to the size of participation in the common variance. The largest percentage of the common variance is explained by the factor 'the structure of the city' and the lowest by the factor 'tourism-sport-culture-administration. Both criterian (Kaiser and Katelov) confirmed that it is justified to keep all seven factors. The Table shows that all of the variables have the appropriate saturation (above 0.3)

Table 2: The correlation coefficients of variables and factors of quality of life (factor structure matrix)

Variables	Factors						
	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7
V1	,151	,192	,869	,150	,186	-,217	,097
V2	,097	,266	,907	,118	,148	-,224	,093
V3	,077	,256	,856	,093	,041	-,135	,121
V4	,768	,153	,046	,267	,174	-,229	,120
V5	,851	,130	,155	,211	,214	-,372	,249
V6	,838	,107	,138	,179	,173	-,341	,306
V7	,711	-,061	,166	,161	,209	-,457	,343

Variables	Factors						
	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7
V8	,328	,232	,049	,807	,150	-,197	,101
V9	,446	,328	,175	,777	,139	-,301	,201
V10	,046	-,258	,212	,693	,253	-,239	-,007
V11	,103	,870	,221	,094	-,001	-,136	,107
V12	,176	,916	,376	,179	,083	-,200	,135
V13	,214	,897	,393	,148	,100	-,107	,106
V14	,373	,110	,253	,060	,297	-,804	,263
V15	,397	,194	,216	,113	,243	-,871	,373
V16	,229	,097	,179	,233	,233	-,829	,249
V17	,255	-,107	,072	,291	,135	-,621	,240
V18	,190	,061	,126	,149	,932	-,238	,171
V19	,199	-,043	,120	,148	,935	-,275	,134
V20	,220	,236	,026	-,043	,203	-,311	,778
V21	,301	-,315	,177	,021	,078	-,314	,697
V22	,293	,004	,038	,115	,158	-,282	,802
V23	,070	,288	,404	,299	,144	-,315	,511

From the matrix structure can be clearly seen that the correlation between the variables and factors is quite high and that each variable significantly saturationalize only one factor suggesting that we have a typical example of Terston's 'simple structure'.[8] In other words, it is confirmation that our theoretical model is quite suitable for the analysis of quality of life and that it should not be corrected.

The assumptions

Since we focused on those aspects of quality of life related to the local authorities we expect the greatest differences in the quality of life of citizens to arise between the local communities in which the survey was conducted. It is expected that the quality of life will differ in urban and rural population, but also due to the perceived difference in living conditions in their own town than in most other cities in B&H. Based on the findings from the previous research we expect exhibit the influence of living standards in the perception of quality of life. Given the area of quality of life that we have examined, we do not expect the impact of gender, age, educational differences between the respondents, their work status, or entities in which they live.

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[8] Pallant, J. SPSS: *Handbook for Survival,* Micro Book, Novi Sad, 2009:185
Fulgosi, A, *Factor analysis*, School Book, Zagreb, 1988:189

The sample

The survey was conducted in August and September in 2010. The sample was appropriate, and respondents were interviewed in waiting areas outside municipal counters, health cares, central city streets, squares, parks and the like. The percentage of respondents who refused to participate in the study was very different, in municipality of Doboj, that percentage was negligible, in some municipalities was 10-20% (Travnik, Bihać, Široki Brijeg, Mostar, Zenica, Banja Luka and Bijeljina), in one municipality was about 30% (Foča), and in the two municipalities was 50% (Tuzla, Mostar). We believe that the unexpectedly high percentage of rejection in the three municipalities was a result of widespread dissatisfaction with the quality of life of citizens in their towns and that it is the main reason for such a large percentage of rejection. Confirmation of our hypotheses is the fact that the measured quality of life was below average in all three municipalities where we had the highest percentage of rejection.

The survey was conducted on total of 1503 citizens in 14 cities of B&H (6 in Republic of Srpska, 8 in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We planned to interview 120 respondents in larger municipalities and 100 in smaller. Representation of respondents in the municipalities has slightly deviated from the plan, so the smallest number of respondents we have in Doboj (90), and the largest number in Banja Luka (123). The sample was balanced by gender and age, but somewhat different from reality when it comes when it comes to the residential structure (overrepresented respondents from the cities), employment status (unemployed are under-represented), and in particular educational attainment (more educated respondents are overrepresented and less educated are under-represented). The sample has 51,1% od females and 47,6% of males. More than a third of respondents were young people under 30 years old (35,1%). Somewhat more frequent are the middle-age people from 30 to 50 years old (38,3%), while the smallest percentage are the people over 50 years old (26,2%). According to the type of neighborhood, 64,8% of respondents were from urban settlements, and 35% of respondents from suburban or rural areas. By employment status, nearly half of respondents are employed people (46%), followed by student population (16%), unemployed (15%), pensioners (13%), housewives (7%), and disability (2%). Sample structure by educational attainment is the most problematic it deviates the most from reality. More than ¼ of respondents (26,7%) have completed college or university, completed either three or four-year schools we have almost 2/3 of respondents (62,4%), while only every tenth respondent has finished primary school (10,4%).[9]

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[9] Educational structure of population in Bosnia is even worse. For directions of deviatio see: 'Demography. Thematic Bulletin.' Number 2, Agency for statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, 2009: 19.

THE RESULTS

The predictors of the quality of life

In order to determine to what extent the basis of some socio-demographic and socio-economic variables can predict the quality of life in towns in B&H, in those segments which are the responsibility of local authorities, we conducted a regression analysis procedure. We applied the metod of deleting backward ('backward deletion') that assumes all the variables listed in the model, and then gradually excludes the variables with the smallest significance of independent contributions to the prediction, as long as the model does not remain with only variables whose exclusion would significantly impair the efficiency of the forecast based on regression equations.[10]

Independent variables included in the model are mainly socio-demographic variables: gender (1=male, 0=female) age (6=60 and more years, 5=51-60 years, 4=41-50 years, 3 = 31-40years, 2 = 21-30years, 1 = 20 years and less), place of residence (4= center of the city, 3= wide area of the city, 2= suburban area, 1=rural area), education (6=University degree, 5= completed College, 4= completed Secondary four-year School, 3= completed Secondary three-year School, 2= completed Elementary School, 1= independent Elementary School), living conditions in their own town than in the most towns in B&H (3= better in my city, 2= it is all pretty much the same, 1= better in other cities), municipal (ranked so that the higher ranking municipality corresponds to better quality of life) and entity (1= Republic of Srpska, 0= Federation of B&H). Socio-economic variables are: employment status (3= people with own income: employees and retirees, 2= dependents: housewives, students, schoolchildren and disabled, 1= people without income that is, unemployed) and life standard compared to a year ago (5= much higher, 4= slightly higher, 3= about the same, 2= slightly lower, 1= much lower).

Before using the Model, we checked whether there is a (multi) collinearity between the variables and whether there is a correlation between independent variables and quality of life. It turned out that the rank correlations (Spearman's rho) between the variables is relatively weak, and the most prominent are: between the age and employment status r=0,357 (sig. 0,01), between the living standards and living conditions in other cities r=0,186 (sig. 0,01), between the living standards and municipality in which they live r=0,133 (sig. 0,01), etc. In other words, older people have better employment status, which can be at-

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[10] Pallant, J. SPSS: *Handbook for Survival,* Micro Book, Novi Sad, 2009.

tributed to the fact that the unemployment in B&H is the most widespread among the youth.[11] Respondents who have managed to maintain or improve living standards in the past year assess the conditions for life in their own town favorable then in the most other cities in B&H, and they also assess the overall quality of life in their town better. On the other hand, the overall quality of life correlates the most: with the municipality of residence of respondents r=0,351 (sig. 0,01), with the standard of living r=0,251 (sig. 0,01), with living conditions in their own town compared to other cities r=0,220 (sig. 0,01), with place of residence r=0,122 (sig. 0,01), while other correlations are very low: with the employment status r=0,080 and a degree r=0,069 (at the same level of significance).

Table 3: Standardized β coefficients of variables that are statistically significant predictors of quality of life in the regression analysis (significance level 0,05) and the proportion of variance explained by independent variables

Areas of the quality of life*	Independent variables									R	R² correction
	Gender	Age	Place of residence	Employment status	Education	Conditions of life in other places	Standard of living	Municipality	B&H Entity		
1						,116	,113	,326	,109	,420	,174
2						,213				,213	,041
3		,090		,086			,099			,160	,022
4							,126	,234	-,104	,303	,088
5		-,092							-,132	,159	,021
6							,136	,269		,318	,099
7					-,092	,165	,157	,262		,405	,161
8						,099	,186	,320		,435	,186

* Areas of quality of life: 1 – Arrangement of the city, 2 – Public heating, 3 – Public Health Care, 4 – Water supply, 5 –Public transportation, 6 – The road infrastructure, 7 – Tourism-sport-culture-administration, 8 – All areas (total quality of life).

Very similar conclusions can be obtained from the results of regression analysis (Table 3). In the regression model, we looked whether there is and what intensity is the effect of selected independent variables on the overall quality of life, but also to every single aspect of quality of life. We found out that six variables makes statistically significant impact on certain aspects of quality of life, with a minor or major casual effect. The variables, gender, age and employment status do not have a causal effect on any aspect of quality of life, or the overall quality of life, which is inconsistent with previous research indicating

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[11] Janković, A. 2010. *Entrepreneurial orientation of zoung people in Doboj,* Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade, MA Thesis, 2010. Page 6, 45-46.

that women were more satisfied with ceratin aspects of life than men, younger people than older, employed people than unemployed.[12]

The strongest causal effect have predictors the standard of living of the respondents and municipalities. In previous studies it was also shown that the living standard had the strongest influence on life satisfaction.13 Although, in our case, the variable living standard appears as significant in the six municipalities and the variable municipality in five areas of quality of life, we would say (based on the value of beta coefficient), that the other one has the stronger causal effect. In other words, quality of life is the most differentiated depending on the municipality to which it relates. Which coincides with our initial assumption. Although the absolute majority of respondents consideres that the conditions of life in their own town than in most other cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina are tied ('it is all pretty much the same') it is showe that this variable makes a significant impact on four areas of quality of life (the arrangement of the city, district heating, tourism-sport-culture-administration and overall quality of life) . the better they assess quality of life in their own town, so much the worse is assessed the quality of life in other cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and vice versa. The bariable entity, as represented in the regression model, assumes that the quality of life is higher in Republic of Srpska than in Federation of B&H, which proved to be accurate only when it comes to the arrangements of cities, while the quality of life is higher in Federation of B&H when it comes to the functioning of urban water supply and public transportation (as seen by the negative signs of beta coefficients). However the overall quality of life is equal in Republic of Srpska and Federation of B&H, what we assumed. Variables residence and educational background figure in two areas of quality of life as statistically significant (first in health care and public transportation and other also in health care and tourism-sport-culture-administration), but they do not significantly affect the overall quality of life. Respondents who live closer to the central parts of cities better assess primary health care in their health homes, and worse public transportation services than respondents who live away from central parts of the cities. Also, better educated respondents better assess health services and worse tourism-sport-cuture-administration than the poorly educated. This is probably due to the fact that the better educated people have higher needs, so their grades are relatively lower. Other researchers have also the link between higher levels of

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[12] Lučev, I. Tadinac, M., *Quality of life in Croatia-correlation of subjective and objective indicators, and temperaments and demographic variables with regard to minority status.,* Migration and Ethnic Themes, Zagreb, Vol. 24, number1-2, 2006. page 77-78.

[13] Ibid, page 79.

education and lower levels of life satisfaction explained by higher criteriums and expectations that the better educated people have.[14]

If we look at the last column of Table 3, we will see that with these variables we can explain 18,6% of variability in the overall quality of life, which are very similar to the results from the previous studies, in which researches were able to explain about 15% of the variance of life satisfaction by demographic variables.[15]

Comparative analysis of individual aspects of quality of life in municipalities

Based on the data from the previous chapters is not difficult to conclude that the quality of life, so in some aspects, as well as a whole, is the most differentiated based to the municipality to which it is concerned. Differences in the quality of life between the municipalities are statistically significant (significance level 0.01) in all individual aspects and the overall quality of life. Therefore, further analysis will be directed to the explanation of these differences, using analysis of variance and Tuki's test of homogeneity of variance which reveals us what the differences in quality of life are statistically significant.

First of all, we will look at the evaluation of certain aspects and overall quality of life in the municipalities. The average grade of the overall quality of life in these 14 municipalities in B&H is 3,26, which is expressed by the school success of 'strong three'. Only one area of quality of life was assessed with 'strong four', and two areas were rated with 'poor four', 'strong three' and 'poor three', respectively. Basically, there is a statistically significant difference in the estimation of certain areas of quality of life in the municipalities. Namely, the difference between the best and the worst rated area is 1.07 value points on a scale of four units of value, which is more than ¼ of the scale.

Of all the analysed areas of quality of life, the citizens are the most satisfied by the city's water supply (3,99). However, we should not forget that in this area we have taken the indicators (regular water supply of the citizens, drinking water quality and the speed of the fault repair in the water network) thar represent the basic prerequisites of a modern and civilized life at the present level of social development. Twelve cities in this area are rated with 'four', two with 'three', which means that this area is still not adequately regulated in all municipalities. The best city water, in the opinion of the citizens are: Trebinje (4,47), Siroki

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[14] Ibid, page 71.
[15] Ibid, page 79.

Brijeg (4,46) i Zenica (4,33), while the lowest rated are: Bijeljina (3,81), Tuzla (3,35) i Foča (3,09).

Table 4: Perception of quality of life in municipalities

Municipality	Number of respond- ents	Areas of quality of life *							Overal quality of life	Rank of the municipali- ties by the quality of life
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Siroki Brijeg	100	4,18	/	4,25	4,46	2,00	3,31	3,18	3,79	1
Trebinje	100	4,14	/	3,66	4,47	3,85	3,32	3,06	3,72	2
Novo Sarajevo	101	3,70	4,23	3,45	4,06	3,40	2,68	3,35	3,50	3
Bihac	105	3,72	/	2,87	4,30	3,05	3,01	3,06	3,37	4
Pale	100	3,56	3,25	3,42	4,08	3,26	2,91	3,00	3,35	5
Doboj	90	3,34	4,36	3,87	4,20	2,53	2,36	3,16	3,26	6
Zenica	120	3,37	2,72	3,07	4,33	3,42	2,62	3,32	3,23	7
Mostar	120	3,62	/	3,20	3,97	3,60	2,67	2,81	3,22	8
Banja Luka	123	3,96	3,27	3,07	4,05	3,07	2,42	2,72	3,21	9
Foca	100	3,35	3,03	3,60	3,09	3,15	2,78	3,11	3,16	10
Tuzla	118	3,67	4,09	2,88	3,35	3,14	2,56	3,00	3,15	11
Bijeljina	121	3,38	3,60	3,02	3,81	2,95	2,43	2,70	3,02	12
Livno	100	2,53	/	3,78	4,24	2,65	2,49	2,27	2,89	13
Travnik	102	2,44	3,77	3,55	3,85	3,71	2,09	2,14	2,84	14
Total	1502	3,51	3,63	3,39	3,99	3,24	2,68	2,92	3,26	

* Areas of quality of life: 1 – Arrangement of the city, 2 – Pulic heating, 3 – Public Health Care, 4 – Water supply, 5 – Public transportation, 6 – The road infrastructure, 7 – Tourism-sport-cul-ture-administration, 8 – All areas (overall quality of life).

On the second place, by the assessment of citizens is the area of the district heating (3,63). However, it should be noted that the assessment in this area are referred to only half of the cities, to those in which destrict heating is functioning and where the network covers most of the city. Given that, the quality of life in this area is really 'overrated', because citizens in the towns where district heating is not working are forced to 'manage' in the winter months by themselves. In addition, in some cities that can boast to have a district heating system, the quality of services can be raised to a higher level (Zenica, Foca, Pale and Banja Luka). On the other hand, there are municipalities, where the population has no major objections to the functioning of the district heating, such as municipalities: Doboj (4,36), N. Sarajevo (4,23) and Tuzla (4,09).

The arrangement of the city is the last area that is rated with 'four' (3,51). Ratings for individual cities are the most differentiated precisely in this area. The differene between the best and the worst rated municipality varies by 1,74 validity points, accounting 43% of the scale. Eight cities were rated with 'four',

five cities with 'three', and oe city with 'two'. In this are the best rated cities are: Široki Brijeg (4,18), Trebinje (4,14) and Banja Luka (3,96) and the worse rated are: Livno (2,53) and Travnik (2,44).

Of the areas that are rated with 'three', the best rated was the area of the primary health care (3,39). However, the ratings are divided: six municipalities are rated with 'four' and eight with 'three'. Among the best rated municipalities with Šitoki Brijeg (4,25) and Doboj (3,87), this time there are Travnik (3,55) and Livno (3,78), municipalities that are at the bottom of the scale of overall quality of life. It is indicative that the lowest rated municipalities are bigger municipalities: Banja Luka (3,07), Zenica (3,07), Bijeljina (3,02) and Tuzla (2,88), suggesting that the population covered bz primarz health care is one of the key factors that influences the satisfaction of the citizens with these services.

The area of public transportation comes fifth, according to the assessment of the citizens (3,24). At the level of the sample, 55% of the respondents uses public transportation, of which 10,8% of respondents use it 'daily', 10,7% 'at least once a week', 17,4% 'rarely, if needed', and 16% of respondents 'very rarely, almost never'. The scores are very different by the municipalities, but you can not see any connection between the size of the municipality and the evaluation of the public transport. Among the best rated municipalities with Trebinje (3,85) and Mostar (3,60) is unexpectedly Travnik (3,71), while similar to that, among the worst rated apart from Doboj (2,53) and Livno (2,65), there is also Široki Brijeg (2,00).

On the prelast point, according to the assessment of the citizens is the area tourism-sport-culture-administration which was rated with 'poor three' (2,92). This is very important, as well as heterogeneus area because it includes various indicators of quality of life. Generally, municipalities have failed in this area, twelve municipalities were rated with 'three' and two municipalities with 'two'. In addition, there is no municipality in which the majority of people is partially or totally satisfied with the situation in this area (most people are satisfied in Zenica: 47,5%). The best rated municipalities are: N. Sarajevo (3,35), Zenica (3,32) and Široki Brijeg (3,18), and the worst rated are: Banja Luka (2,72), Bijeljina (2,70), Livno (2,27) and Travnik (2,14).

On the last place, according to the assessment of the citizens is the area road infrastructure (2,68). It is obvious that the poor road maintenance is the problem that affects citizens across the country. Nine municipalities is rated with 'three', and five municipalities with 'two'. Although, this area of the quality of life is the lowest rared, there are municipalities where about half of the citizens are satisfied with the situation in this area such as, Trebinje (52,5%) and Siroki Brijeg (49,5%). These are also the municipalities that have achieved the highest score in this area: Trebinje (3,32), Široki Brijeg (3,32), Bihać (3,01), while

the worst score achieved municipalities of: Bijeljina (2,43), Banja Luka (2,42), Doboj (2,36) and Travnik (2,09).

Comparative analysis of the overall quality of life in the municipalities

In the previous section, we noted that statistically significant differences occur in certain areas of quality of life. In addition, there are significant differences when it comes to overall quality of life in the municipalities. The average score of the overall quality of life in these 14 municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina is 3,26, which is expressed by the school achievement a 'strong three'. In addition, the difference between the best and the worst rated municipality in the overall quality of life is 0,95 validaty points, which is very similar to the difference thas was observed when it comes to the differences between the individual aspects of the quality of life.[16] Unlike in the municipalities, the overall quality of life in the entities is unified (Republic of Srpska 3,28; Federation of B&H 3,24), which is consistent with our initial assumption.

According to the quality of life, the best rated municipality is Široki Brijeg with the average score of 3,79. Municipality Široki Brijeg is assessed better that the rest of eleven municipalities (at the level of significance 0,01), while the differences are statistically insignificant compared to the two municipalities (Trebinje and N. Sarajevo). Based on the particular aspects of quality of life, Široki Brijeg has three 'strong fours', which is not recorded in any other municipality, but also one 'two', which generally spoils the overall impression of this municipality.

In second place is the municipality of Trebinje, with a total score slightly lower than in the previous case (3,72). Also, this municipality is better rated than the rest of eleven municipalities, while the differences are negligible compared to the two municipalities (Široki Brijeg and N. Sarajevo). What characterizes Trebinje is the uniformity of quality of life in all areas, which is encountered only in the municipalities of Pale and Foča. Slighlty worse ('three'), were evaluated two areas.

Third place belongs to the municipality N. Sarajevo, which is far behind in quality of life compared to the previous two municipalities (3,50). It is evident from the fact that this municipality is statistically (level 0,01) better rated than only five municipalities, those at the bottom of the quality of life scale. In this municipality, in addition to three 'fours', we meet three 'strong' and one 'weak three', which is an indication of dis-

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[16] See the previous chapter

turbed balance in certain segments of quality of life in this municipality. In the fourth place is the municipality of Bihać (3,37). This is the first municipality in which in addition to statistically significant higher grades compared to other three municipalities, we have and lower grades compared to the two municipalities. With the exception of one area in which this municipality is not rated, four grade are about 'strong three', while these areas are rated with 'weak' and 'strong four'.

The municipality of Pale comes fifth (3,35), whose quality of life is not particulary high, but it is very balanced in all areas. In fact, all areas of quality of life are rated with 'threes' and 'fours', although the 'threes' are dominated. As in the case of Bihać, Pale were rated better than three, and worse from two municipalities.

From sixth to ninth place are positioned the municipalites that have a verz balanced overall quality of life, but it is uneven structure observed in individual areas. All municipalities in this group are characteristic in that they are better, or worse rated than the two municipalities from the top and the bottom of the quality of life scale. In the sixth place was the municipality of Doboj (3,26), which is considerably behind the municipality of Bihac and Pale. Otherwise, the quality of life in Doboj at the average level in all 14 municipalities, so all the municipalities that will be further discussed have below-average quality of life. However, the quality of life in Doboj is very uneven in its structure. No rating is dominant. In the area of district heating, Doboj achieves very good results, which are only slighlty weaker in the field of urban water supply, while in other areas, this municipality records modest results.

In the seventh place is Zenica (3,23), that is very similar to Doboj in the overall assessment of quality of life. The difference from Doboj is that there is only one area in which this municipality manages to achieve very good results, while in Doboj there were three areas like that.

The eight place belongs to the municipality of Mostar (3,22), which is rated with three 'fours' and three 'threes', but unlike the previous two municipalities, it does not manage to achieve 'strong four' in any area.

In the ninth place is the municipality of Banja Luka (3,21), which is very close to the rate of previous three municipalities, but it differs from them because in one area it was rated with 'two'.

On the tenth and elevent place are municipalities of Foča (3,16) and Tuzla (3,15) that are equal in quality of life, but one step lower than the previous four municipalities. Both municipalities were matched for scores in certain areas of quality of life, Foča was assessed with one 'four' and six 'threes' and Tuzla with two 'fours' and five 'threes'. Also both municipalities are with statistically significant difference better rated than one, and worse than three municipalities.

In the twelfth place is the municipality of Bijeljina, which is rated with 'clean three' (3,02). In Bijeljina, the two areas are rated with 'poor four', four areas with 'three' and one area with 'two'. This municipality is rated worse than the five municipalities from the top of the qulity of life scale, while it is better rated than any municipality (at the level of significance 0,01).

In the end are the municipalities of Livno (2,89) and Travnik (2,84), that are rated with 'poor three' in the overall quality of life. Livno is rated worse than nine, and Travnik than eleven municipalities. In these municipalities occur 2-3 areas in which quality of life is severely compromised.

Concluding remarks

The research confirmed a huge part of our assumptions. The quality of life is primarily determined by the municipality of residence, standard of living of respondents and the evaluation of respondents on the living conditions in other parts of the country, while the variables gender, age, educational level, employment status, place of residence and living entity in which respondents have no impact on the quality of life.

The general impression is that the quality of life in the cities of B&H is neither too high, nor too low. Expressed in academic achievement, the quality of life in these municipalities could be evaluated with 'strong three'. Generally speaking, the best rated are the areas of communality services: city water supply, distict heating and the arrangement of the city. All three areas are rated with 'four'. Somewhat worse ('three') are rated the areas of: primary health care, urban and suburban public transport, tourism-sport-culture-administration and the road infrastructure. Based on the analysis, we believe that the quality of life in all cities can be improved at least in certain segments. Rare are the cities where the quality of life is equal in all areas (Trebinje, Pale and Foča). In appears that in the most of the cities, some of which are located at the very top of the quality of life scale (Široki Brijeg, N. Sarajevo), the basic problem is the unevenness of the quality of life in individual areas. Almost all cities are distinguished by its own peculiarities and certain areas in which they 'failed'. For example, in Široki Brijeg that is the public transport. Citizens of N. Sarajevo complain about the lack of sports fields, the citizens of Bihać on the kindness of medical personnel in primary health care, the citizens of Tuzla on the quality of drinking water, and the citizen of Zenica on the elimination of defects in heating installations. In major cities, problems usually occur due to the lack of public parking, poor maintenance of the roads, as well as the complaints on the work of municipal administration, which is again associated with an increased population in these

cities. An interesting finding is that the most people are generally satisfied with all aspects related to the renovation of the city in these six municipalities: Trebinje, Široki Brijeg, Novo Sarajevo, Bihać, Mostar and Banja Luka.

There are cities, in which the quality of life is on the leve of 'poor three' (Travnik and Livno). These cities are burdened with numerous problems that citizens recognize with which they are not satisfied. In these two cities the citizens are dissatisfied with even those parts of quality of life which citizens of the most of the other cities do not consider problematic (arrangement of the city, touris offers, the promotion of sport and culture).

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Cultural diplomacy as a political tool of european integration

Abstract

Social, political changes, and especially those in communication, have given birth to new dynamics in terms of political actors and their relations in Europe. Culture is thus reinvented, in a new way, as a political content and cultural exchange can be placed at the heart of the politics. Overcoming the national borders, the phenomenon of cultural diplomacy marks the beginning of the 21st century. It consists essentially of communicational exchange, aims at gaining influence or at cooperation, and its actors are more diverse than ever. Can this type of political international relations be used as a model in European integration and, especially, in the European Union enlargement?

Introduction

The questions that we will be dealing with, those concerning the role of the cultural diplomacy in European integrations, rely here on two assumptions. First of them is the one about the complexity of international politics. Although it is not justified to write off the national state as the dominant actor of international relations, the multiplication of the (important) actors in the world political scene is obvious. The second premise is that on such a various scene, a lot of non-state participants have the communication technology and other resources that make it possible to overcome the state borders by acting, even without the mediation or significant intervention of the state.

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Specifically, we wonder if the characteristics of the modern world stress the importance of the diplomacy which is led through the culture aid, and continuing the same logic, do the different social and political actors on the world level have the benefits because of those characteristics. Special case at which this analysis points are the processes of the European integrations and the enlargement of the European Union. Sensitive in terms of culture and identity, the European project could represent the special area for the use of (inter) cultural communication in order to meet diplomatic goals.

The changes in modern age, in different social and political areas, stress the dynamic of international relations and are imposed as an essential element of the world politics. New technologies, that are either followed or are preceded by the novelties in sciences and the reflection of social reality, emphasize the importance of exchanging information, messages of all kinds. The flow of these messages has become the key element of society at the beggining of the 21st century. The age of information is reflecting in the sources, methods and the choices of the procedures of the actors of world politics, the most powerful actors as much as the small and emerging ones.[2]

The dialogue between subjects of international relations has become more direct, as the roads of informations were openning for participants of this big symbolic exchange. In order to keep up in that mechanism, actors decide how to adjust to the new circumstances, while the new participants are appearing.

Even if it is not a big discovery to point at these communicational processes, still the task to understand their consequences, values that they bring, political effects or possible use remains. That attempt represents the main goal of this text, which deals with special activity in communication between social and political subjects at the world level. That special activity is *cultural diplomacy*, as one of the possible paradigms of international communication today. So, we illuminate the cultural diplomacy as a specialization of international politics in the world after the Cold War, even after the american dominance which marked the end of the 20th century.[3] The question asked here is how the culture can be conceptualized as a means of international politics?

Neither the diplomacy has been spared of changes in the politics. Actors and symbolic content of diplomacy have significantly changed from the fall of the Berlin Wall. Adam Watson systematizes those transformations into three categories: a) scheme by which the modern world works (with one superpower and several competitors, appearance of signs of global governance through cooperation of powers); b) diplomatic channels (new technologies which enable more

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[2] Nye, J.S., *Power in the Global Information Age*, Routledge, New York, 2004, pp. 81/90.
[3] F. Zakaria describes the contemporary global situation by the term of "postamerican world"; Zakarija, F., *Postamerički svet*, Heliks, Smederevo, 2009.

direct contact between the ruling, with little mediation of traditional diplomatic representatives); and c) span and the subject of the diplomatic exchange (contacts which are far beyond the communication between the governments and are spread over a wide range of actors with different types of messages).[4]

One basic thought in this classification must be specified here. Watson keeps the formal and traditional understanding of diplomacy – it is according to him different from the diverse symbolic and cultural exchanges between different levels of social and political organization, among other things, for being tha state also. However, reality calls for new conceptualization of *diplomacy*. Because, on one hand, many non-state subjects of international politics gain on importance and, on the other hand, state themselves are prone to change their cross-border effects.

To understand the role of transformation in international politics, the theory of James N. Rosenau come in handy. Somewhat simplified, his big theoretical contribution comes from watching the modern world as a system in constant change, with premanent and conflicting elements. That world is ruled by complex and conflicted processes.[5] That change is not an anomaly, but according to Rosenau it deserves to be considered as essential part of reality. All of the changes that Rosenau talks about are important for this analysis: *bifurcation* of global society i *fragmegration* of the world. The first term means significant cleavage – between state and other subjects, institution, organization, group or even individuals that with their activities cross state borders.[6] Other here listed term means double process which works paradoxically, but which is achieved in its inner dynamics – on one hand, communication and other forms of approaching the teritories and persons cause general integration at the word level; on the other hand, local, national and regional collectivities protect characteristics and they ask for the status of political subjects, more or less institutionalized.[7] These processes give birth to the new structure of actors of international politics. Structure that no longer celebrates the state as the supreme international arbitrators, filters and mediators, but includes a variety of actors who have the

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[4] Watson, A., *Diplomacy. The Dialogue Between States*, London, 2005.

[5] Rosenau, J.N., *Political science and political processes*, in: Rosenau, J.N., *The Study of World Politics*, Vol. 1, Routledge, New York, 2006, pp. 39.

[6] *Ibid*.

[7] Rosenau prefers the term *fragmegration* to expressions like "glocalisation" (R. Robertson) and "regcal" (regional+local, Tai et Wong) which also emphasize the double and contradictory processes; however, *fragmentation* and *integration* imply a larger meaning, sufficiently general to describe the phenomenon in its essence.

power, legitimicy and governance and who are intertwined. Those new centers of subjectivity of global politics by Rosenau are called *spheres of Authority.*[8]

In some different way, but with very similar views, diverse and decomposed structure in international politics stand out also the modern authors from realistic circle of science in international relations. More precisely, from version of that circle which is called *neoclassical realism.*[9] According to that view, the main attention in studying the international politics needs to be focused on processes of deciding inside the state.[10] Although, the greates importance in those processes belongs to the state, orientation to decision making and persons that are involved in that indicates to diversity of actors. Because, in order to reach a decision, especially in conditions of pluralism, tho whole web of actors inside and around institutions to which official authority belongs is started.

In practise, that kind of structure is visible every time when some transnational company, some nongovernment organization, political or paramilitary group exercises power despite dissatisfaction of government. In the last time, influence of big audit firms on international politics and economy, precisely illustrate the idea of *spheres of influence.* Although, those organizations don't have the inherent jurisdiction of the states, they are capable to influence on politics in international frames. That also shows the role of media, marketing agencies, interest groups and many non-state actors.

We will later return on the question how that kind of structure can influence the diplomacy and, also the relations between states, even between cultures. For now it is enough to notice that there is bigger divercity than before in terms of subjects and content, and this does not apply to diplomacy (Watson) equaly as the international politics (Rosenau).

Cultural diplomacy - the specialization of international communication

The term cultural diplomacy is not strictly connected with structural changes that we just saw, either chronologically or implied, but its contribution to international politics is undoubtedly strengthened by the rise of different actors in political scene. It is correct that traditional term of diplomacy, even the one

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[8] Rosenau, J.N., *Building blocks of a new paradigm for studying world politics*, dans Rosenau, J.N., op.cit. pp. 17.

[9] R. Schweller, F. Zakaria, J. Snyder, pour n'en citer que quelques auteurs.

[10] Kegli, Č.V., Vitkof, J.R., *World Politics*, Prometej, CEES, FPN Belgrade, 2006, pp. 95.

that can be called cultural, falls under the authority of the state.[11] However, the question is to what extent the concept of diplomacy may extend to non-state actors.

General changes in diplomacy we have already introduced, and now it is necessary to elaborate that display, and also to explain the terms *cultural diplomacy* and *public diplomacy.*

First of them is, on the one hand, imagined, as a 'diplomacy with the help of culture', state activity which goal is promotion, even the propaganda abroad. As shown by Jessica Gienow-Hecht, this view could be satisfied by the explanation of the term in some cases, as, for example, in representation of USA to world in the Cold War.[12] Understood like that, cultural diplomacy represents 'the projection of soft power', in the terms of J. Nye.[13] On the other hand, there is also a concurrent definition, more refined in a theological, if not an idealistic sense. According to that other understanding, which is articulated by M. Cummings, cultural diplomacy is 'the use of creative expression and the exchange of ideas, information and persons which goal is the improvement of mutual understanding' over the state borders.[14]

As far as the second terminological clarification is cinsidered, we will leave aside the meaning of the term *public diplomacy which* refers to open and visible communication between states, as opposed to hidden, secret contacts (like the negotiations which American president and scientist W. Wilson blamed for deceitfulness in the First World War).[15] On the contrary, we adopt a different meaning of the term, suggested by A. Watson: public diplomacy as an acitivity 'that influences the public opinion in foreign countries, as a means of influence on other governments'.[16] On that influence worked more Nancy Snow- she classifies diplomatic work into three categories, depending on actors, participants in diplomatic communication. Those three types are designated as: a) 'government

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[11] Modern diplomacy is born in the bourgeois and national revolutions in Europe at the end of the 18th century, as it was first defined by Edmund Burke, pioneer of the discipline and the author of the term; diplomacy has since then been an interstate practice; for an elaborate presentation of the creation of diplomacy as a practice and a scientific discipline, see the chapter "The Nature of Diplomacy" in Watson, A., *Diplomacy. The Dialog Between States.* pp. 1-8.

[12] Gienow-Hecht, J.C.E., *What are we searching for? Culture, Diplomacy, Agents and the State*, in Gienow-Hecht, J.C.E., Donfried, M. (eds.), *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy*, Berghahn Books, 2010, pp. 3.

[13] Nye, J.S., op. cit., pp. 90/92.

[14] Cummings, M.C. Jr., *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: a Survey*, Center for Arts And Culture, 2003, p.1, cited in : Schneider, C.P., *Cultural Diplomacy: Why It Matters, What It Can – and Cannot – Do?*, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 2006.

[15] Watson, A., *op. cit.*

[16] *ibid.*

to government' (traditional way); b) 'government to public' (institutionalized flow of information to abroad, in the way that Watson sees public diplomacy); and c) 'public to public' (which corresponds to the meaning of cultural diplomacy as suggested by Cummings).[17]

In practice of the American State Departmant, cultural diplomacy lies in the core of public diplomacy. This is evidenced by the report of the Advisory Committee about cultural diplomacy[18] from 2005: "Cultural diplomacy is the linchpin of public diplomacy; for it is in cultural activities that a nation's idea of itself is best represented. And cultural diplomacy can enhance our national security in subtle, wide-ranging, and sustainable ways. Indeed history may record that America's cultural riches played no less a role than military action in shaping our international leadership, including the war on terror. For the values embedded in our artistic and intellectual traditions form a bulwark against the forces of darkness." [19]

This affective discourse is followed by recommendations that invite us to increase financing of cultural diplomacy, to engage in the diplomatic staff, to replicate programs of cultural exchange. Generally, the goal was to give the new force to cultural presence of USA in the world, two years after the beginning of the war in Iraq. Cultural diplomacy is thus mobilized, at least on a declarative level, as means of protection of national security.

If we understand the key terms like this, what is their content and, especially what are their cultural elements? Considering the fact that diplomacy crosses over national borders, its communicational angle is always more or less inter-cultural. Diplomatic relations are always established with those 'others', with associates or opponents from the other side of borders. It would be unduly to declare the diplomacy of every communication that crosses over the national borders, but that kind of communication is an essential starting element of every diplomatic activity. It is not only about the communication as a means of maintenance international jobs, but it is the way that actors of world politics represent, legitimize themselves and make others accept them as such. This is even more important in cases when state needs to recognize some non-state actor as subject with who it establishes the relation (whatever its nature is, from cooperation to conflict). Without democratic legitimacy, authorization for using the force (within the law) and important status in front of international law, non-state actors of international politics are that much more because they ma-

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[17] Snow, N., *Rethinking Public Diplomacy*, in: Snow, N., Taylor, P. M., *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, New York, Routledge, 2009, pp. 6.
[18] Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy – the very existence of such an institution testifies about the importance attributed by the US to the cultural diplomacy.
[19] *Cultural Diplomacy. The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy*, Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy, U.S. Department of State, September 2005, p. 1.

nage to be *communicators*. That *visibility* of new actors is not limited on public presentation, publicity, media presence, not even the broadcasting or *online*.[20] As explained by J. Gerstlé in case of political communication, limitation of this type leads to a final simplification of the term of politics and communication, because only " [...] represents technical conception of the prior, and manipulative conception of the latter."[21] If we take this as a starter point and expend that logic on the question of international communication of political actors, their media presence becomes far more than international advertising: it is one of the forces that creates relationships, relations and leave consequences on public and politics. Really, one video-message of a terrorist group which takes over a responsibility for attack and threatens, or advertising of some trans-national corporation presented all over the world, are also the political facts, and not just idea of the fact. Because, the terrorist message is *the way that terrorists act*, and not only the promotion, such as the advertising is an integral part of the company.

In an international plan, that role of communicating is transported to intercultural relations. The context of intercultural communication corresponds to the state in modern international relations, in the spirit of two-way processes that are here already introduced. The return to local, traditional, along with globalization of culture and identity, marks the cultural angle of social and political changes at the beginning of 21[st]century. Even before almost two decades Michael Featherstone has noticed these double processes: globalization can lead to even bigger sensitivity for cultural differences.[22] This is not only about sensitivity, but about very practical advantage – possibilities to use new channels in order to show some new cultural characteristic, even to develop. However, total processes are more complicated than that , indicated by Cvetan Todorov: 'Big technological inovations had concequences on the way of life, but have not immediately finished off the earlier world [...] They have actually sequenced contrasts one to the other, so it borders with ultra modern. That at the same time existence feels both within countries and between countries.'[23]

This point of view is consistent with the perception of fragmented world, to use the term of J.Rosenau. It would be utopian to believe that communication can remove differences of power in world politics, despite the apparent increase of possibilities for 'small' to come to terms and even enter into a relationship with other actors on international scene. The difference remains large, according to J. Nye, because of at least four reasons. Fisrt, economical power determine

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[20] Riutort, P., *Sociologie de la communication politique*, La Découverte, Paris, 2007, pp. 96/98.
[21] Gerstlé, J., *La communication politique*, Armand Colin, Paris, 2004, pp. 10
[22] Đordano, K., *Eseji o interkulturnoj komunikaciji*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 2001, p. 205.
[23] Todorov, T., *La Peur des barbares. Au-delà du choc des* civilisations, Robert Laffont, Paris, 2008, p. 14.

the level of patricipation in communicational and cultural exchanges. This is equaly true both for intelligence services and the industry of fun, for militaries and music production houses. Second, competition causes the fight for new information, which are rare and therefore expensive, in every aspect.[24] The third reason is the advantage of some actors in the use of informational technology: circles which are at the source of some inovation mainly stay more skilled to use it. Finally, hard power, military (material), has still significant impact on international relations, at the expance of actors that have it little or none.[25]

Flows in the modern world thus strengthen the role of traditional actors of international relations, and at the same time favor the strengthening of new participants. These last are more important for this analysis, because their contribution to international politics is of crucial importance for cultural diplomacy.

The cultural domain of the European Union and cultural diplomacy as *European political life*

In those tendencies, where is the place of the European Union, a unique political form which nature is still a subject of inexhaustible teoretical and prectical debates?

The European political project from its beginnings creates new forms of managing, institutional and practical inovations. When it comes to communication i cultural exchange of state borders in EU, relations between states and their citizens rely on the nature of European construction. So, if we use realistic, interstate view of European integrations, analysis needs to be focused on diplomacy in traditional meaning of the word. In contrast, the idea that EU represents (or it can become) supranational political colectivity, requires to focus the attention on *European culture*, or *European identity* as frames of analysis.

According to the realistic approach, European project is created based on the interest of national states, as the main subject of EU.[26] Following that logic, the conclusion that relations between the national authorities rule the communicational exchange important for European integration is imposed. On the other hand, the idea to build the special community, transcending the nation-state framework, is based on the assumption that there is enough level of identification among 'European citizens', who share the common history, similar cul-

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[24] Nye, J., *Kako razumevati međunarodne odnose. Uvod u teoriju i istoriju*, Stubovi kulture, Beograd, 2006, p. 303.

[25] *Ibid*, p. 304

[26] Moravcsik, A., *What Can We Learn from the Collapse of the European Constitutional Project?*, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 47, No. 2, 2006, pp. 219/241.

ture, lived experience, knowledge – that, therefore enable rapprochement of the European nations.[27] Markus Jachtenfuchs shows that the constructivist idea encounters the wall of empiric reality which does not support the creation of European community based on the ideas, values, the feeling of belonging.[28]

It would be wrong to assume that the idea of Europe as a unique cultural space, is only inherent to the constructivism. Also, that idea does not imply the existence of an integral European culture, supranational and apart from its components, local, regional and national, ethnical, religious and linguistic. Europe as a community is the thought that circles and occurs all over again, only in new contexts. As for diplomacy, 'cultural Europe' is its cradle, since the diplomacy is one of the political, but not cultural products of Europe.[29] Diplomacy and cultural exchange in Europe come from the same practise of cooperation, even if it only serves only to conceal the real intentions of domination, influence and propaganda. Whatever the real nature of international contact in European history is, they have certainly created the individual political space. The Westphalian system created the network of international communicating countries, that were conected material and symbolical exchange. Edmund Burke, creator of the expression *diplomacy*, calls this network 'federal society, or in other words, diplomatic republic', while Walter considers this system to be a "large republic divided into many countries".[30] The French revolution, Napoleonic wars, civic and national movements despite restoration, have led to constant changes. However, even in the full rise of the nation-state, during the 21st century, ideas in several countries call for economic and political integration of what, according to them, had already been a European society – notably, thinkers such as Viktor Hugo, Giuseppe Mazzini, Richard Cobden, Benjamin Constant, etc.[31] However, this view 'does not stand to the test'[32], having in mind the decisive role of the state and the pragmatism in European affairs, including the integration project itself.

It would be reasonable to observe that the integration in West Europe lies on the national. Furthermore, while the question of culture and identity remains open and among the greatest challenges of today's Europe, the supranational tendecies are starting mutual diplomatic and cultural action of European community. At the same time, states and societes in Europe continue to create relations through communication, but also through diplomacy, formal and traditional, as well as cultural, indirect, public one. Any cultural centralism at the

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[27] Jachtenfuchs, M., *Deepening and widening integration theory*, *Journal of European Public Policy* 9:4, August 2002, pp. 652/653

[28] *Ibid*.

[29] Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 85.

[30] *Ibid*.

[31] Magnette, P., *Le régime politique de l'Union européenne*, Presses de Sciences Po, Paris, 2006, pp. 33.

[32] *Ibid*.

same time could cause reactions to which points Chris Shore: 'The idea of eureopan culture could in that way bring the celebration of central power, before the paradigm of tolerance around the perimeter. Concentration of power brings danger [...] to cause the disturbance and vulnerability on the periphery, which is after that transformed in local chauvinism and xenophobia.'[33]

Cultural integration is in fact one of the main challenges of Europe in the 21st century. Even if it is not rational to strive for a supranational European culture, it is certainly possible to consider Europe as a cultural and political frame that includes different elements. In his eight theses about the future A. Giddens recommends creating the European identity and culture based on regional and national elements, modeled on USA, That culture should, according to Giddens, be based on the feeling of belonging to Europe, that would go beyond the economic, even the political construction of European Union.[34]

Expansion of the EU- the opportunity for cultural diplomacy

Let us return to the issue of cultural diplomacy and its part in European integrations. In politicial Europe, formed from different communities and states, the idea of incitement political relations through the cultural content diserves consideration and theorization. In order to round and direct the analysis of this complex phenomenon, this question can be limited to the case of enlargement of EU to the Western Balkans.

The enlargement clearly shows the meaning of the cultural dimension for EU. Before we mention the best known example for that, the case of Turkey, we can recall that the candidacy of Morocco in 1987 was rejected because the country 'is not European', although not even one contract expressly set the boundaries of the continent as a framework for expansion of the EU.[35] And certainly, the Turkish case: weak progress in the negotiations of the official status of candidate, in 1999, is often explained by political and cultural differences between this country and the rest of the Europe.

How, having in mind all of this, cultural diplomacy affects the expansion to the Western Balkans? First, this region of Europe is not officially excluded from the European cultural circle, as far as the EU policy. That qualifies it for European cultural exchange, in the way that is presented above. Moreover, cultural dimension is completely fit in political consideration of access of this region to

[33] Shore, C., *Inventing the 'People's Europe': Critical Approaches to European Community 'Cultural Policy'*, Man (New Series) 28, no. 4. (Dec., 1993), pp. 779/800.

[34] Gidens, E., *Evropa u globalnom dobu*, Clio, Beograd, 2009, pp. 267/269.

[35] *Ibid*, p. 270.

EU. This is supported by the report of European comity about Western Balkans[36] from 2008. Setting the directions of future access, Commission points out, among the others, the following goal: 'Assistance of the Commission for developing the civil society and for dialogue with it will be expanded. For this purpose, the new financial mechanism is established.'[37] The Commission adds to that the need to enlarge the number of scholarships for students in Western Balkans, for studying in EU. These two plans are good examples of cultural diplomacy. Acting directly towards public, and moreover, motivating cross-border cooperation, belongs indeed to what we set as cultural diplomacy. Education, public activites like civic initiatives, represent the starting of civic elements jumping over traditional logics of hierarchical inter-state communication.

European Commission is far from being the only actor of cultural (and also diplomatic) strategies of the EU states. National cultural centers clearly show the structure of public act in the region. Schools of languages, scholarships, programs of cultural exchange, shows, travels and visits organized for citzens of Western Balkans, are just a few examples of cultural diplomacy that acts in the region. To make it public, closer to the citizens, the participation of young actors should be ensured, the influence of the offiicial authorities should be mitigated and the personal contact should be encouraged. We come again to the model 'public to public' about which talks N. Snow, with the ucertainty regarding the results and open questions whether the integration and coming closer are final outcome. Because, not even the presence of the american (sub)culture in Balkan did not produce the supporters of american politics. That is shown by the example of the Serbs during the bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999: Serbs 'wear jeans, eat at McDonalds', but still support their forces in Kosovo and even 'use the (American) movie Wag The Dog for mocking the USA.'[38] N. Snow refers to the case of Arabs and their attitude in style 'we hate you, but send us more *Baywatch*!'[39] Certainly, final consequences of cultural diplomacy require wider, deeper and longer lasting analysis.

On the other hand, what are the possibilities for lands of Western Balkans to reach the European public by using the cultural diplomacy? This practice could help diversify the international action, including different actors. If joining the EU affects all social aspects, it is logical that different representatives are called

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[36] This document defines the region as a list of countries as follows : "Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo, as determined by the Resolution 1244/99 of the UN Security Council".

[37] Commission des communautés européennes, *Balkans occidentaux : renforcer la perspective européenne*, Communication de la Commission au Parlement européen et au Conseil, Bruxelles, le 5.3.2008, COM(2008) 127 Final, pp. 25.

[38] Nye, J.S., *Ibid.,* pp. 92.

[39] Snow, N., *Ibid.*, pp. 4.

to participate in the exchange of messages concerning the approximation to EU. The role of non-state subjects is especially important. This concerns collectivities, communities and other groups and organizations. Although their actions are limited by capacities, their participation is achievable and it can be part of the tools of cultural diplomacy.

There are numerous possibilities for those actors. First of all, the presence in public involves them in social and political *games* in Europe. To pariticipat in events, represent themselves in media all over Europe, to advertise, to send representatives in European countries […] all of these actions contribute to visibility. This applies equally to, for instance, Republic of Srpska as well as associations and companies. In addition to visibility, these actors create relations that certainly have and political dimension. Cultural contacts can cause political action, at least by the entry of certain topics on the agenda of politics and public in other countries. The example of Turkish television shows in the Western Balkans witnesses it on a daily basis. Despite the political deflection and bad historical connotation of Turkey among the Serbs and Croats, Turkish shows are reaching unprecedented popularity in the Balkans, resulting in a 'normalization' of the Turkish presence in Serbian and Croatian society.[40] However, it is early to conclude whether these series will have the same destiny as the American ones – according to the example that we presented above – leaving the strong cultural influence, but without much promotional effect in the filed of politics.

In any case, it should be noted that daily recognition and possible evaluation of some content is not far from the political effects. In case of expanding of the EU, even if the dominant aspects are the economic, legislative and political processes, considering cultural relations (that become diplomatic) can mean adding the missing parts to the European political mosaic.

Conclusions

Instead of presenting ready-made solutions, it will be more convenient to underline here the stated elements, important for political life in Europe and for expanding the EU. They come from reproduction of actors and from new possibilites that offers the international in intercultural communcation.

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[40] Tomić, Đ., *The 1001 Episodes: A Diplomatic Perspective to Turkish TV Series in the Western Balkans*, paper presented at the international conference "The EU as a global actor", Berlin, July 2011: http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/culturaldiplomacynews/participant-papers/eu/Djordje-Tomic-The-1001 Episodes-A-Diplomatic-Perspective-to-Turkish-TV-Series-in-the-Western-Balkans.pdf

First, there is a tendency of possible politicization of intercultural contacts. Every communication can create political acts, and in the case of international communication, that effect can be placed under the wing of cultural diplomacy.

Furthermore, it is important to differentiate the cultural diplomacy of the state, driven as a means of projecting the soft power, from 'cultural diplomacies', more or less planned, that are undertaken by the non-state political acotrs, including the territorial collectivities inside the states. Considering the large choice of possible 'diplomacies', each of which corresponds to the organization to which it belongs, we can imagine the large range of choices of actions to be made in order to represent, promote or gain consent. This is by no means far from political influence, especially since the state communication is recognized as a propaganda, while the one from non-state actors is seen as a part of communication 'public to public'.

The question of influence of the latter remains open. *Sensibilization* of public across the state borders could, in theory, bring the desired results for communicators, but it is still on the basis of individual cases that we will be able to determine under what conditions such outcomes are possible.

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