CONFERENCE PROGRAM

"LOST IN TRANSITION – CITIZENS' ENGAGEMENT WITH TRANSITIONAL CHANGES IN WESTERN BALKAN SOCIETIES"

JULY 6TH AND 7TH

"IUSTINIANUS PRIMUS" FACULTY OF LAW,
SS "CYRIL AND METHODIUS" UNIVERSITY IN SKOPJE

SATURDAY, JULY 6th, 2013.

9.30

Registration

9.45

Opening of the conference

10.00 – 12.00

Session I: What's Going On

Predrag Cvetičanin, CECS & TIMS, Educons University Novi Sad
and Misha Popovikj, Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis" Skopje
Who Likes the Change – Evaluation of Socio-Economic Changes in Western Balkan Societies

Nenad Marković, "Iustinianus Primus" Faculty of Law,
SS Cyril and Methodius University – Skopje
The inability to Change: Dogmatic Aspects of Political Ideology in the Macedonian Context

Ilina Mangova and Misha Popovikj, Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis" - Skopje
Civic and Political Activism in the Western Balkan Societies

Mirko Petrić and Željka Zdravković, Department of Sociology, University of Zadar
Three Ages in One: Content Analysis of Pre-Electoral Campaigns in Transitional Croatia (1999-2011)

12.00 – 12.30

Coffee break

12.30 – 14.30

Session II: Dawning of a New Era?

Murat Aktas, Political Science and Public Administration Department
at Mus Alparslan University
Globalization, Glocalization and Political Participation

Gordana Siljanovska – Davkova, "Iustinianus Primus" Faculty of Law,
SS Cyril and Methodius University – Skopje
The New States in the Western Balkans: (Un)successful democratic stories?

Irena Rajčinovska Pandeva, "Iustinianus Primus" Faculty of Law,
SS Cyril and Methodius University – Skopje
Transition in the Balkans – Struggles of Homo Balkanicus and Homo Politicus

Borče Davitkovski, Elena Davitkovska, Dragan Gocevski, "Iustinianus Primus"
Faculty of Law, SS Cyril and Methodius University – Skopje
Reform Fatigue - How Public Administration Reforms Hinder Social Changes

14.30 – 16.30

Lunch

16.30 – 18.00

Session III: Transition to Memory

Mateja Sinčić, PhD candidate at the IMT Institute for Advanced Studies, Lucca
**Virtual Yugonostalgia: a syndrome of post-traumatic transition
or emotional tourism?**

Enikő Farkas, MA candidate of Nationalism Studies at
Central European University, Budapest
**Cultural Politics of Exclusion and Inclusion: The Concept of Domestic Music on
Serbian and Croatian Radio Stations**

Ana Aceska, Department of Urban and Regional Sociology,
Humboldt University, Berlin
Lost in Transition: Senses of Solidarity in Post-War Bosnia-Herzegovina

18.00 – 19.00

**Promotion of the monograph "Us and Them – Symbolic Divisions in
Western Balkan Societies" of the Centre for the Empirical Cultural Studies
of South-East Europe**

19.30

Dinner

SUNDAY, JULY 7th, 2013

10.00 – 12.00

Session IV: Everyday life in Transition

Danijela Gavrilović, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš
Religion in Transitional Western Balkan Societies

Inga Tomić-Koludrović and Mirko Petrić, Department of Sociology,
University of Zadar
**Explaining Apparent Contradictions in Socio-demographic Pattern of Fertility
in Mature Transitional Croatia**

Vjollca Krasniqui, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Prishtina
Construction of Gender Roles and Attitudes in South-Eastern Europe

12.00– 12.30

Coffee break

12.30 – 14.00

Session V: Networks, norms, trust (and bribes)

Klavs Sedlenieks, Riga Stradins University
**Always 'almost disappeared' Montenegrin kin-based structures as forms of
adaptation to regular rapid change**

Ivan Puzek, Department of Sociology, University of Zadar
**The role of strong and weak ties in finding a job: findings from the national
survey of work and educational careers of young people in Croatia**

Borjan Gjuzelov, Macedonian Center for International Cooperation
The Role of Connections in Macedonian Society: Social Capital or Corruption?

14.00

Conference closing

14.30

Lunch

I

SESSION I

Predrag Cvetičanin
CECS & TIMS, Educons University Novi Sad (Serbia)

Misha Popovikj
Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis" Skopje (Macedonia)

Who Likes the Change – Evaluation of Socio-Economic Changes in Western Balkan Societies

In our paper we present the preliminary results of the survey "Resistance to Socio-Economic Changes in Western Balkan Societies" which was realized by the Centre for Empirical Studies of South-East Europe (Serbia), Centre for Social Research "Analitika" (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Institute for Democracy "Societas Civilis" (Macedonia) and Social Research Kosova (Kosovo). The survey was carried out on a national proportional sample of 1259 respondents in Serbia, 1256 respondents in Bosnia-Herzegovina and of 800 respondents in Macedonia and Kosovo, respectively (a total of 4115 respondents).

The aim of our research project is to identify, describe and - from the standpoints of two theories of social development (recent theories of reflexive modernization and theories of practice) - to try to explain socio-economic changes (and resistance towards these changes) in the transitional period in Western Balkan societies.

The aim of this presentation, based on a preliminary analysis of suvey data, is more modest. In it, using Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA), we explore the relationship between three groups of data: resources which people rely on (economic, political, social, and cultural capital), values that they hold, and their evaluation of transition processes in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Kosovo, and try to identify social groups which support and oppose socio-economic changes in these four societies, as well as possible reasons for their behavior.

Nenad Marković
"Iustinianus Primus" Faculty of Law, Ss Cyril and Methodius University –
Skopje (Macedonia)

I

The inability to change: dogmatic aspects of political ideology in the Macedonian context

Despite the numerous definitions of ideology found in academic literature (Adorno, Geertz, Sartori, McClosky, Seliger etc.), there seems to be a consensus with regard to one of the basic features of ideology – its resilience towards rapid change, sometimes even in situations of major political turmoil, under various regimes in history. Given that the moral values stand at the very core of ideology (Lane, Hamilton), it is clear that the concept of political ideology stands very closely to one of its societal materializations – political culture. Both concepts, although not identical, are based on ethical and normative ideas which shape society over longer periods of time and which are heavily (sometimes even exclusively) shaped by the type of regime (political forces) in power.

Bearing this in mind, one would expect that a radical change of the political regime in power almost by default brings changes in political ideology (political culture included) at least of a gradual nature. This would also be a fair presupposition for the regimes that started traversing from communism/socialism to democracy in the late 80s and early 90s. The Republic of Macedonia, being a part of the group of transitional societies, has also undergone a thorough change of the political narrative and the collective (un)conscious (Jung vs. Geertz). Under the influence of tangible political forces, Macedonia has, during the two decades after its independence, thoroughly redefined its political ideology by redefining one of its constitutive elements – its national myth.

Nevertheless, qualitative and quantitative analyses (IDSCS & FES, MCIC), as well as purely philosophical contemplative analyses (Drtkovski), reveal that the very core of ideological beliefs among the population in the country has not evolved much from the times of late communist ideology. On the contrary, it seems that the

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influx of democratic ideas has confused the population even more, resulting in a politically "unorthodox" mix of traditional values, Western liberal-democratic ideas and the legacy of the communist past (roughly coinciding with the three types of political culture of Almond and Verba). This gives way to the fundamental research question of this paper – has the change of regime and the acceptance of liberal-democratic ideas in Macedonia changed the ideological features of society or has the matrix of the ideology remained the same. Furthermore, is what has really changed the narrative (but not the meta-narrative), the symbols and the meanings? The argumentation of the paper shall try to provide evidence for the latter claim.

Ilina Mangova and Misha Popovikj
Institute for Democracy 'Societas Civilis' - Skopje (Macedonia)

I

Civic and Political Activism in the Western Balkan Societies

The transformation of the political systems in the Western Balkans brought out a change in the political behavior and attitudes of the citizens in these countries. The democratic system opened up space and opportunities for greater citizens' activism, but also presupposed a democratic political culture of citizens who would act as users and beneficiaries of the newly acquired democratic tools. The citizens of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia share the same political past, but have undergone varying paths of democratization. Their transitional paths shaped by differing conditions open up questions regarding the ways in which the political behavior and attitudes of the people have varied among the various Balkan states. Which of the peoples in the Western Balkans have turned most to civic activities and which have been most engaged politically? Twenty-two years after the start of transition, has democracy fulfilled the expectations of the people?

The paper is based on data from the public opinion field surveys conducted on representative samples in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia within the project "Resistance to Socio-Economic Changes in Western Balkan Societies early in 2013. The paper provides an account of changes in civic and political activism between the 1990s and the 2000s and tries to explain whether and to what extent democratic political values have translated into political and civic practice. The paper describes in which of these societies satisfaction with democracy is highest and how people evaluate changes brought about by a multiparty system.

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Mirko Petrić and Željka Zdravković
Department of Sociology, University of Zadar (Croatia)

Three Ages in One: Content Analysis of Pre-Electoral Campaigns in Transitional Croatia (1999-2011)

The empirical research this presentation is based on departs from Blumler and Kavanaugh's conception of "three ages of political communication" and Pippa Norris's distinction between pre-modern, modern and post-modern traits of pre-electoral campaigns. The conceptualizations and distinctions these authors make are seen not only as cornerstones of the historical evolution of political campaigns, but also as indicators of social change connected with a general level of modernization of a given social context.

In order to track the evolvement of pre-electoral campaigns in transitional Croatia, a content analysis of campaign coverage in the years 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 was performed on a sample of national and regional daily newspapers. The code book was operationalized on the basis of Vaccari's (2007) classification of the characteristics of pre-modern, modern and post-modern campaigns derived from the analyses of Farrel (1996), Blumler and Kavanaugh (1999), Norris (2000), Farell and Webb (2000), and Plasser (2002).

The research results indicate that pre-electoral campaigning in transitional Croatian society has been marked by a simultaneous existence of the elements of all "three ages of political communication", but with a gradual move towards postmodern campaigning. More precisely speaking, in 1999 the elements of pre-modern and modern campaigning prevailed, while in the years 2003 and 2005 there was a prevalence of modern campaigning with some post-modern elements, and in 2011 there was a clear-cut domination of post-modern campaigning, with some modern elements.

These findings are consistent with Tomić-Koludrović's theory of the simultaneous evolution of two modernizations ("simple" and "reflexive") in transitional Croatian society (Tomić-Koludrović, 2000; 2007), with a gradual "move towards modernity" (Tomić-Koludrović, Zdravković, 2013).

SESSION II

Murat Aktas,
Political Science and Public Administration Department
at Mus Alparslan University (Turkey)

II

Globalization, Glocalization and Political Participation

The development of communication tools, new media and the globalization process brought improvement of localization and mobilization of citizens and affected their participation in political life. On the one hand, multinational companies and capital movements have forced the transformation of nation-states, on the other hand. this process has resulted in the emergence of some resistance movements against the economic and cultural hegemony of developed countries. A reflection of the desire to protect local culture and values is also the emergence of worldwide cultural and social transformations. As a result, some of the unitary states had to adopt more transparent governance by transferring more power to local administration, but those which have resisted this global change had to face some mass protest movements (Arab Uprisings or Turkish protest movements).

In terms of many components of the globalization process, the local and global are not opposite trends; instead, they have a dialectical relationship with each other. But how do globalization and glocalization affect the mobilization of people and democracy? As more than half of Turkish protesters in Taksim (Istanbul) declare that they have never participated in any political movements, some phenomena such as governance, democracy, ideology and the relationships between them need to be redefined. How do new media affect the involvement of citizens in political issues and making decisions about their own future? How do we can describe this new process? Can we term these new protest movements as dis-ideological or anti-ideological movements? This paper aims to answer all these questions and study the mobilization of people for democracy during the globalization processes through the Turkish example.

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Gordana Siljanovska – Davkova
"Iustinianus Primus" Faculty of Law,
SS Cyril and Methodius University – Skopje (Macedonia)

The New States in the Western Balkans: (Un)successful democratic stories?

For almost fifty years, the peoples of the Former Yugoslavia lived in an "original" and "incomparable" society - a "transitional" society towards Communism! This mission impossible ended in 1989. We entered into a new transition. Now, towards capitalism, towards liberal democracy, market economy, political pluralism, rule of law, civil society, towards Europe, post-socialism, pre-capitalism, pre-modernism - a hybrid, contradictory period. Did it end when an authoritarian power left in a formally legal sense or when the new system grew stronger and consolidated itself, or is it going to last until EU membership?

The multiparty system conquered the political area in 1990. The former-Yugoslav taboo topic – party pluralism – became a central political category. Dozens of political parties, groups, unions and movements emerged on the political scene. The first multiparty elections were held. There was consensus for change and political will for reforms. Nevertheless… Norms and institutions are not sufficient for democracy. Democracy grows "from below" and civil society develops "from within". Down there and inside, the picture was as follows: a devastated economy, an authoritarian heritage, a pauperized middle class, subjugated political culture, an oligarchic "elite", underdeveloped public opinion…

A political environment, of course, does not change overnight – it changes step by step, patiently, carefully, thoughtfully, over a long time. Macedonia collided with democracy, evolutionarily unprepared. Its ethnic, cultural, and linguistically heterogeneous traits complicated the transformation further.

Twenty-three years after independence and 12 years after the Framework Agreement, we are faced with the following questions: How can we unite universal democratic values with our complicated

and multiply contradictory habitus? How can we adjust the demo-cratic model to the conflicting Macedonian social reality?

Deep party divisions, parallel ethnic worlds, politics serving per-sonal profit and not the public good, helplessness of the individual in front of the state – that is the shortest summary of Macedonian democracy.

Irena Rajčinovska Pandeva
"Iustinianus Primus" Faculty of Law,
SS Cyril and Methodius University – Skopje (Macedonia)

Transition in the Balkans – Struggles of Homo Balkanicus and Homo Politicus

Transition is commonly described as the interval between one politi-cal regime and another. The aftermath of transition is the consolida-tion of the new regime and the new ideology. As liberal democracy has been promoted as the last, greatest idea of human history, most of the development and change is measured by its standards. The examples of some former Yugoslav nations and, most notably, Turkey show that liberalism is unavoidable when it comes to the progress, modernization, democratization and Europeanization of the country.

Lipset has asserted that "the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances it will sustain democracy". Namely, he argues that high levels of industrialization, urbanization, wealth and education cor-relate with democracy. These conditions are most certainly present in many countries of the Western hemisphere. However, there are also variants with a good democratic record but poor liberal substance which Zakaria names as illiberal democracies.

There was a saying in the former Yugoslavia – *što južnije, to tužnije* – the further to the South, the greater the sorrow. With clear links to the Lipset point, this seems to be one the great truths, at least in the context of post-communist Balkan. The former Yugoslav countries which were closer to Western Europe had experienced higher levels

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of development and they were quicker in the pursuit of consolidated liberal democracies. In addition to various conditions that led this process forward, Europeanization seems to be the leading one. The more peripherally the country was located, the more fertile were the conditions for the construal of an irrational economic structure, poorly developed industry and one-dimensional political culture.

The hallmark of the Balkans' transition has been nationalism or the return to diversities. When the "really existing socialism", as Dimitrijevic and other scholars had termed communism in South-East Europe, collapsed, nationalism did not only re-emerged, it did so virulently. This return to diversity spiraled a rise of ethnicity and conflicts and the fragmentation popularly known as balkanization.

Borče Davitkovski, Elena Davitkovska, Dragan Gocevski
"Iustinianus Primus" Faculty of Law,
SS Cyril and Methodius University – Skopje (Macedonia)

Reform Fatigue - How Public Administration Reforms Hinder Social Changes

According to Hegel, bureaucracy is a bridge between civil corporations and the state. This is the foundation of our belief that it is only through a democratic public administration founded on principles of good governance that the state can adapt to a changing world keeping pace with society. Everything changes, thus society, as well as institutions of the state, must change. The question is how much change can public administration absorb before the bridge turns into a barrier between the state and society?

These are but a few undisputed variables that cannot be improvised regarding PA reform dynamics (if one seeks a proper solution). Hence, we raise the question: what dynamic would be the most appropriate for implementing administrative reforms (in Macedonia) for the purposes of ensuring the most successful implementation of those administrative reforms.

The examination of this issue, in this paper, is conducted through a legal analysis of the administrative system in Macedonia since its independence: 1991 to 2011, divided into three periods: 1991- 1999, 2000-2010, and future perspectives 2011-2015. Taking into account the limited resources, a representative sample was selected for the research: Law on the Organization and Operation of the Administration, Law on Civil Servants, Law on General Administrative Procedure, Law on Administrative Disputes, Law on Institutions of Public Interest. The controlling variables used in the research are reports on the adoption of various legal amendments to the aforementioned acts.

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SESSION III

Mateja Sinčić, PhD candidate
IMT Institute for Advanced Studies, Lucca (Croatia)

Virtual *Yugonostalgia*: a syndrome of post-traumatic transition or emotional tourism?

The Balkans region, with its diverse ethnic and cultural groups coexisting on a rather restricted territory, often appeared as a micro-paradigm of the notion of culture as bridge between societies. Nevertheless, the function of culture as unifying factor seemed weak in view of the fact that in the region culture had served as a "traditional" manipulation device in self-determination and nationalistic discourse. Consequently, the *passage* from a supranational idea, embodied in Yugoslavia's "brotherhood and unity", to a super nationalistic one, depicted in the aggressive purity of the *ethnos* and nationhood in the 1990s, characterized the re-emergence of ethnic nationalism amid the political elites, effortlessly shifting culture from unifying force to dividing factor among the Yugoslav society.

However, the ongoing globalizing forces, characterized by enhanced interconnection and interdependence, not only favored the so-called hybridization of cultures (Scholte, 2000) or liquid society (Bauman, 2002), but also started to challenge the traditional role of national governments and their rhetoric. Increase in rapidity and ease of access to information and the progressive penetration of social media in everyday life influenced the creation of new and innovative forms of (re)thinking the Yugoslav past. "Titoist" retro iconography, music, film and photographic materials are increasingly appearing in *Facebook* fan pages, blogs and other types of virtual cultural expressions. The present paper investigates how and to what extent the forms of post-Yugoslav identity expressions are spread in the virtual communities and social media networks.

Enikő Farkas
MA candidate of Nationalism Studies at Central European University,
Budapest (Hungary).

Cultural Politics of Exclusion and Inclusion: The Concept of Domestic Music on Serbian and Croatian Radio Stations

Transition in Yugoslavia brought several changes that affected both its institutions and everyday life for its people. Among other markets, the music market has also broken up into national ones. But have perceptions of music followed suit? It is interesting to look at how the media frame local musicians and artists from other successor states of Yugoslavia. For instance, a Slovenian radio station defines the music played by Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Montenegrin, and Macedonian artists as 'bivša domaća' (former domestic). This has inspired my research on radio stations' perceptions of 'domestic music'.

In my presentation, after giving an overview of the links between politics, nationalism, and music in the former Yugoslavia, and then two of its successor states, Serbia and Croatia, I will examine what the concept of domestic music means in the repertoires of two radios in the latter countries nowadays. I will look at those top 5 radios that claim to play domestic songs and regularly take notes of the songs they play. This analysis points out that there is a very strong difference between the concepts of domestic music in these two countries. In Croatia, domestic music is music only performed by ethnic Croatian singers both from Croatia and Bosnia, and Croatian or 'Bosnian' bands which have at least one ethnic Croatian member or performed in Croatian by a singer from an ex-Yugoslav country. In Serbia, the concept is much broader: anything performed by musicians from the ex-Yugoslavia fits the category.

Ana Aceska
Department of Urban and Regional Sociology,
Humboldt University, Berlin (Germany)

III

"Lost in transition: senses of solidarity in Post-War Bosnia-Herzegovina"

The divided city of Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina relied almost exclusively on foreign donations and expertise in the post-war recovery processes. And while these mostly focused on top-down strategies of urban planning and policy work, a group of city dwellers from the two sides suggested their own version of a "common place" in the city: in 2005 in the middle of the largest park in the city they placed a bust of Bruce Lee, a Hollywood Kung-Fu star whose films were popular among the youth of all ethnicities in Yugoslav Mostar. The initiators and the supporters explained in the media that Lee is there to show that there are many things that the city dwellers from both sides have in common, such as the movie heroes from their pre-war childhoods.

This paper is about the Bruce Lee project and the way it is reflected in the idea of solidarity and togetherness among the city dwellers in post-war Mostar. The Bruce Lee project can be seen as a reaction to a situation in which political and religious actors from the two sides were using architecture and monumentality to achieve ethnic segregations in the city in post-war times. This notwithstanding, I will further argue in this paper that a closer look at the statements of the supporters of the projects and the reactions of the city dwellers points to an understanding that Bruce Lee – as a good-hearted fighter against the evil in the city – is in fact a symbol of the inability of the city dwellers in Mostar to detach from the socialist idea of solidarity and sense of togetherness in the divided city that was constructed as an ideology in the Yugoslav Mostar.

SESSION IV

Danijela Gavrilović
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš (Serbia)

Religion in Transitional Western Balkan Societies

Global trends of the revitalization of the social role of religion and levels of religiosity have not passed the Balkans by. These processes were more marked in this region due to past wars and the use of religion in the function of "cultural defense". Under conditions of uncertain national identities, religion was one of the main sources of differentiation among the clashing peoples of the Balkans. Today, in the post-war era, this region is marked not only by the global economic crisis, but also by the consequences of the recent past. What is common to the entire region is its transitional present.

Religion is still an important social actor and creator of social reality. The degree of transition depends, among other factors, on the influence of religion on the values system of Balkan societies. We cannot treat the role of religion uniformly in the creation of the transitional reality of individual states. Firstly, different religions dominate; then, they combine in various ways in different states in terms of presence and importance; finally, in interaction with other social factors, the importance and roles of religion differ.

It is the aim of this paper to present the religious fields (shape and degree of presence of religion in social life) of Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina. This image will be the basis for further analyses of the interrelatedness of religion and the entire value system, as well as religion and the social and cultural space of the societies analyzed, with the goal of establishing its influence on resistance to social change.

The analyses will rely on the results of the study "Resistance to Socio-Economic Changes in Western Balkan Societies" realized within the Regional Research Promotion Programme Western Balkans by the Centre for Empirical Studies of South-East Europe. The study encompasses both a quantitative part undertaken on national proportional samples in Macedonia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo (4115 respondents) and a qualitative part (140 in-depth interviews).

Inga Tomić-Koludrović, Mirko Petrić
Department of Sociology, University of Zadar (Croatia)

Explaining Apparent Contradictions in Socio-demographic Pattern of Fertility in Mature Transitional Croatia

A recent Eurostat report on fertility trends in Europe (Lanzieri, 2013), discussing the present-day situation in 31 European countries against selected indicators of economic recession, has brought to light some unexpected and apparently contradictory results referring to the accession country of Croatia. While Croatia has on the whole consistently followed the patterns of average total fertility rates in the surrounding European Union countries in the periods 2000-2002, 2003-2005, 2006-2008, and 2009-2011, the most recent data show that – in contrast with the situation in some economically advanced EU countries – employed women with higher educational attainment tend to give more births than unemployed women with lower educational attainment. In this respect, Croatia is a polar opposite of Germany. Likewise, the fertility of educated and employed women in Croatia is among the highest in Europe, while in some Eastern European EU member countries fertility rates on the whole have returned to "lowest-low" levels.

This presentation aims to explain the apparent contradictions in socio-demographic patterns of fertility in late transitional Croatia, i.e. in the context in which the country – measured by the yardstick of readiness for EU accession – reached the stage of "mature transition". The explanation is based on empirical data from a survey carried out in 2005 on a nationally representative sample, as well as on theoretical contextualizations of the social position, values and attitudes of women in Croatia in the periods of early (Tomić-Koludrović, Kunac, 2000) and mature transition (Tomić-Koludrović, Lončarić, 2007; Tomić-Koludrović, Zdravković, 2013). The conclusion is that – in spite of the consistently high appreciation of family values among women in Croatia - the current sociodemographic fertility patterns are not attributable to the alleged post-socialist retraditionalization, but rather to a mixture of the socialist heritage, postmodern values and trends related to the current economic crisis.

Vjollca Krasniqui,
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Prishtina (Kosovo)

Construction of Gender Roles and Attitudes in South-Eastern Europe

This paper is based on the comparative analysis of data collected in the "Resistance to Socio-Economic Changes in Western Balkan Societies" survey, carried out in January-February 2013 in Kosovo, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia on a national proportional multi-stage probability sample of 4115 respondents. The analysis of responses to a survey question - which virtues should male and female children acquire through their upbringing - is used as an entrance key to understanding the construction of gender roles and attitudes in Western Balkan Societies.

Analyzing the differences in the responses of male and female respondents, as well as differences in studied societies, this paper explores cultural understandings of gender, femininity and masculinity and shows how gender regimes in the societies of South Eastern Europe have been re-worked, how they shape value systems, and how they are sustained in cultural practices.

SESSION V

Klavs Sedlenieks
Riga Stradins University (Latvia)

Always 'almost disappeared' Montenegrin kin-based structures as forms of adaptation to regular rapid change

Based on my fieldwork in Montenegro, I will argue that certain features of Montenegrin society (like *bratsva*, *kumstvo* and certain forms of unofficial kin-based self-government) that keep surviving despite being labelled as 'almost disappeared' should not be treated as a case of backward conservatism but should be treated from the perspective of everyday life and interpreted as a particular adaptation to a situation of frequent rapid transformations of the state system.

Mary Edith Durham, who travelled through the Western Balkans in the early 20th century, described Montenegro as the last example of a 'wholly tribal' nation in Europe, noting that the tribal features are disappearing quickly. About 40 years later, in the1960s, Christopher Boehm still wrote about *plemena* and *bratstva* as being important in the life of Montenegrins. I came to exactly the same conclusions on the basis of my fieldwork in Montenegro in the mid 2000s. Despite (or perhaps – due to) various attempts at modernisation, democratisation and other forms of "developmental work", kin and fictive kin-based forms of social organisation occupy an important position in Montenegrin society.

On the one hand, the concealed kin-based structures are a perfect example of Michael Herzfeld's concept of 'cultural intimacy', but, on the other hand, I argue that faced with the frequent rapid changes at the level of the state and its ideology that happened since the early 19th century, people in Montenegro have adapted to the frequent 'transitions' by investing effort in kin-based structures as ones not affected by changes to the state. The result is a specific 'light' approach to state laws, reliance on kin-based forms of self-governance and distrust in 'official politics' or the state apparatus in general.

Ivan Puzek,
Department of Sociology, University of Zadar (Croatia)

The role of strong and weak ties in finding a job: findings from the national survey of work and educational careers of young people in Croatia

Profound changes in the labor market during the period of post-socialist transition in Croatia have brought a multitude of new strategies and practices. This study aims to describe the main determinants of young people's usage of social capital in the Croatian labor market. Data analysis was conducted on a population sample of Croatian youth (N = 2693) who completed their education by the year 2009. At the time the survey was conducted they had been entering and participating in the labor market with varying degrees of success. This paper describes the patterns of use of social capital with a strong analytical focus on the proximity and strength of the ties used to find the participants' first and current jobs. Linear regression models were used to describe the influence of the socio-demographic correlates on the use of kinship ties, friends and acquaintances to gather information regarding the first job and subsequent jobs. The analysis shows that personal contacts are the most important information source when looking for a job, followed by formal channels, such as advertisements, the Croatian Employment Agency or specialized facilitating companies. Socio-demographic characteristics only slightly influence these patterns, suggesting that this practice is equally important in all socio-economic groups or classes. Our analysis suggests that the informant is at the same time an information provider and facilitator when entering vacant new workplace. We suggest that the role of social capital in the labor market still poses unresolved questions which are especially important in the context of the long-term high youth unemployment in Croatia and neighboring countries.

Borjan Gjuzelov,
Macedonian Center for International Cooperation (Macedonia)

The Role of Connections in Macedonian Society: Social Capital or Corruption?

The politico-society-economic transition of the Macedonian state has produced a society in which today "it is more important whom you know, than what you know"– 84.9 % of the surveyed in a recent study agreed with the statement. This shows that in Macedonian society, informal connections are still considered to be the key precondition for success. It can be claimed that this significant importance of informal connections shows that people are very able at networking and that the society is rich in social capital. However, informal connections often have a corruptive impact on the rule of law and the overall democratic settings in the society. Therefore, the dilemma is whether these informal connections which are an inevitable part of everyday life should be considered a form of social capital or a form of corruption and clientelism?

I will argue that they are a combination of both. Connections form a unique type of corrupted social capital, different from the desired civic one, celebrated in the works of Putnam and the other mainstream social capital theorists. Although connections have most of the necessary elements to be considered *relational social capital*, they do not enhance people's trust in one another, the way civic social capital does. Moreover, since connections usually serve as a means for privileged individuals to gain some advantage and better service from state institutions, they strongly conflict with the principle of equality of opportunities and universalism. This leads to the notion that Macedonian society is an over-networked society where informal connections have both a strong influence on the life of the people and a harmful impact on the independent functioning of democratic institutions.