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UNIVERSITY OF BANJA LUKA
ФАКУЛТЕТ ПОЛИТИЧКИХ НАУКА
FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCES

НАУЧНИ СКУП СА МЕЂУНАРОДНИМ УЧЕШЋЕМ

ДРУШТВО И ПОЛИТИКА

Зборник апстраката

SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE WITH INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPATION

SOCIETY AND POLITICS

Book of abstracts

Моћ, политика и друштвене науке
(100 година након Макса Вебера)

Power, politics, and social sciences
(100 years after Max Weber)

18. и 19. септембар 2020.
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MAX WEBER: VALUES, REALITY, AND THE DECLINE OF CLASSICAL POSITIVISM

The paper analyses Max Weber's modifications of classical positivism postulates concerning researching values. The historical context from which the paper starts is related to the sart in the aftermath of the 'method war', which was related to the clash between the neo-Kantian and classical positivists views over the nature of values and facts in a scientific research. Max Weber attempted to overarch these divergent currents by denoting values as a complementary part of human behaviour which people use to evaluate reality (facts). The paper will show that such conception of the values permanently changed positivism, releasing the crude approach of rigid dissection of reality as a collection of facts and further developing epistemological and methodological apparatus that enables the values to be a necessary part of empirical research.

Key words: Weber, war of methods, values, behavior, positivism.

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THE THEORY OF MAX WEBER ON SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH

In this paper, we will discuss the theory of Max Weber on social stratification, its nature and content, as well as neo-Weberian theory, especially developed by John Goldthorpe. Furthermore, we will analyse some new tendencies in empirical research of social stratification and possibilities for operationalisation of Weber's theory by neo-Weberians. The very Weber's concept wascreated in a polemic with Marx's analysis, in which he indicates that Marx's model is one-dimensional, and in which social classes are created only on the basis of economic determinism. On the other hand, Weber offers a multidimensional model of social stratification, putting stress on dimensions of status and power and replacing Marx's structural analysis with the analysis of social action. John Goldthorpe further developed Weber's theory, operationalised it and used it in empirical research, emphasising the importance of class analysis researching into relations between class structure and social mobility, social inequality, and social action. In addition, the paper pays attention to contemporary tendencies and some new, revised approaches in the research of social stratification, which upgrade Weber's approach, taking into consideration some new criteria: gender, social capital, cultural consumption, and identity.

Key words: social stratification, class, power, status, Max Weber, John Goldthorpe

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FEAR AND DESIRE
(Max Weber about deconstruction)

In the article that follows, we deal with the deconstruction of the key place of Max Weber's sociology. The social role of rationalization, which is primarily situated in a repressive symbolic order built on the authoritarian figure of the Father, consists of preventing contact with the emancipatory space of the Real and preventing the acquisition of non-repressive, pre-linguistic, and pre-subjective experience (Lacan). The contact with the Real necessarily leads to deconstruction - thinking in paradoxes that thought as such opens for the Other, preceding and threatening, foreign and impossible, and prevents the thought from asserting itself by appropriating its own boundaries (Bojanić, 2005),thus leading to breaking the logical consistency of privileged and of the most prevalent notions of reality that are grounded in themselves and that seductively impose themselves as the only possible world picture. Hence, in the Derridian manner, thinking oppositely, incidentally, and excessively, we show that Fear and Desire (as presuppositions of culture and the basis of social organization) arise as a result of the separation anxiety, produced by the symbolic order (culture) which creaties a split in the state of pre-subjectivity. In the first part of the article, we analyze the mechanism of the emergence of consciousness, separation anxiety, and Fear and Desire. In the second part of the article, we analyze the phenomenon of pre-subjectivity and symbolic order. Finally, in the third part of the article, we analyze the phenomenon of Fantasy. In the concluding part of the article, we summarize the results of our research.

Key words: fear, desire, real, consciousness, culture

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A PHENOMENOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF M. WEBER'S POSTULATE OF SUBJECTIVE INTERPRETATION IN A. SCHÜTZ'S WORK

Max Weber, as the founder of interpretative sociology, left a significant influence on phenomenological, that is, reflective sociology. His concept of understanding (Verstehen) gained a modified role in the sociological theoretical-methodological directions that emerged during the twentieth century. Understanding is not only a methodological procedure of interpreting social reality but also a condition of its intersubjectivity as a special experiential form. Therefore, in this paper, the theoretical schemes and methodological strategies of Max Weber and Alfred Schütz are problematized with the central attention to the use of the postulate of subjective interpretation. This postulate is presented within the phenomenological sociological model, primarily in the sense of the general principle of constructing types of flow-actions, that is, the typification necessary for social harmonization of actors in the common-sense world. Since the model of scientific constructs is based on the model of common sense constructs as first-order constructs, this postulate also gained its central place in the methodological sense, as one of the remaining two methodological postulates, namely the postulate of logical consistency and the postulate of adequacy. With regard to the aforementioned, the specificity of the phenomenological understanding of the concept of action is pointed out as well.

Key words: understanding, subjective interpretation, action, Max Weber, Alfred Schütz

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MAX WEBER'S CONTRIBUTION TO CONTENT ANALYSIS

The subject of this paper is Max Weber's contribution to content analysis, a research procedure used in contemporary sociology. Content analysis became a legitimate sociological research method in the middle of the 20th century, and Weber occupies a significant place in its history. He used the basic idea of content analysis in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1904-1905). Weber drew conclusions about the institutionalized form of social communication in the past by studying its recorded content. He analyzed the content of religious and other publications to establish whether, in working with believers, pastors encouraged ethical attitudes conducive to the development of the capitalist spirit. Later, at the first meeting of the German Sociological Society (1910), Weber proposed undertaking a comprehensive analysis of the content of the press, which was not welcomedsociologists. His proposal represents the first methodologically designed attempt to give content analysis a place among sociological research procedures, which is relatively unknown in contemporary sociology. Weber's contribution to content analysis was considered through an analysis of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* and speech at the first meeting of the German Sociological Society.

Key words: Weber, content analysis, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, speech at the first meeting of the German Sociological Society

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STRUCTURAL BONDING AMONG THE RELIGIOUS AND ETHNICS AS COMMONWEALTH GOODS WITHIN SOCIAL FIELD OF PROTESTANTISM

In this paper, the focus is not on religiousness and ethnicity, which are used to describe individuals (identification) and their perceptions (using the methodological reductionism-statistical conclusions). In that respect, the state of mind of an individual on the power and the level of involvement into collectives that we recognise as objective fact of social life, in this case a religious, that is, ethnic community, is not the topic of this discussion.
The topic of research is the structural and institutional bonding among religious and ethnics as commonwealth goods within the Protestant perception of humanity. With regard to the theoretical-sociological context, this research is about observing the institutionalization of this bonding, effectively achieved and built through history, as well as about future continual impact of this institution within the Protestant ecumenism across numerous social spheres. Some of these social spheres and the process itself shall be emphasized in this paper.

Key words: Christianity and Ethnification, Lateral and Vernacular kinds of Ethnic Community, Protestantism, Reservation and Settlement (not Imigration) Policies, Secularism and National State

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POWER, PEASANTRY AND EVERYDAY FORMS OF RESISTANCE

Weber's definition of power includes the existence of a social relationship, but also a possibility of resistance and a conflict with it. The resistance to the enforcement of the will of the side with power takes various forms: violent and non-violent, individual and collective. In sociology, peasantry has been seen as a social class without power, i.e. the one that always stands opposite powerful social forces, which exert their will over peasantry. In this paper, the authors pay attention to everyday forms of resistance used by peasantry and analysed by the American researcher J. Scott. Historically speaking, Serbian peasantry also used everyday forms of resistance, especially during the foreign domination. Everyday forms of resistance can also be detected in some other powerless social entities.

Key words: conflict, everyday forms of resistance, peasantry, power, social relationship.

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URBAN AND RURAL CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR DICHOTOMY IN THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

This paper analyzes dichotomous forms/instances of urban / rural criminogenic behavior and their relations. In addition to the previous researches dealing with urban / rural dichotomies, in the sociological context, the intention is to determine the applicability of the Chicago school in the Republic of Srpska, because the research results showed a large difference in the rate of criminogenic forms/instances of behavior in urban areas compared to rural ones. The paper will present some results of the research on social change that was conducted during 2016 and 2017, and will try to answer the question of what circumstances lead to the process of transformation from the condition of normal into that of anomic.

Key words: urban, rural, criminogenic behavior, Republic of Srpska.

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ALTERNATIVE LOCALLY ORIENTED APPROACHES TO THE TRANSFORMATION OF RURAL AREAS. CASE STUDY - ATLANTIS PROJECT, KULEN VAKUF

Although 61% of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina live in rural areas, they face numerous problems, such as development inequality, depopulation, dysfunctionality, underdeveloped rural economy, and unemployment. All of them point to the extinction of villages, emptying and neglecting of the urban hinterland, as well as to inadequacy and unsustainability of existing (development) policies.
On the other hand, there is the question of alternative approaches to development, which, thanks to various initiatives, appear as sporadic cases. They are focused on local values, cultural and other specifics observed on a small scale. One of them is the 'Atlantis' project in the town of Kulen Vakuf. After the privatisation of the failed textile factory in the middle of the Una National Park, the new owner tried to revitalise the area by organising an artist in residence program, but it soon turned out that this program was not sustainable and that other opportunities to sustainable development are needed.
The project is analysed as an experimental approach to the transformation of a specific rural area. The study was conducted during the fall and winter of 2019, with participation of a group of students from the Faculty of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Geodesy, University of Banja Luka, using various techniques, such as observation, mapping, and simulation of transformation models.
The result is the offer of model options showing programme and

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design proposals for the transformation, which can be a potential incentive for further development. Based on models analysed and the methodology used, the study proposes a number of elements to form an alternative locally oriented approach for rural areas transformation. Although focused on specific context, the study offers prototype conditions that could form part of an open discussion on possible approaches to the problem across Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Key words: rural transformation, alternative approaches, Kulen Vakuf, Bosnia and Herzegovina

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THE FOUNDING OF THE NEW CITY OF ISTOČNO SARAJEVO AS AN EXCEPTIONAL CASE OF POST-SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION

Contemporary urbanization of the world is accompanied by disappearance of traditional values of urban space and principles of urban development, as well as by the emergence of a new urban form. Regardless of the pressure of mass urbanization and global trends, urban development almost always follows the logic of a specific context. The construction of new neighborhoods and cities takes place in different conditions and thanks to the dominance of various impact factors. One of them is official politics, which can be a highly variable category depending on the context. The post-socialist political landscape and, especially, the process of transition are characterised by political, economic, and cultural instability, and the lack of a harmonized vision of development. In the long-term process of constructing new cities, these instabilities have a significant negative impact and are not easy to overcome.

One such example is the process of constructing of the city of Istočno Sarajevo, which, after the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), was established as a city region eastern of Sarajevo. Despite the initial idea of creating a new big capital city, with a predetermined urban culture and urban identity, the change of political course and many other factors conditioned the emergence of a small city on the outskirts of a large one. Given that the process of development of the new city took place in an organized manner, it is viewed through a perspective of the state system as the main agent of construction The emphasis of the analysis is on the role of the main agents of construction - political decisions, spatial planning documentation, and urban cul-

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ture as an important element of identity. By describing specific context of founding this city, the paper defines the matrix of the process of building a new city as an alternative to the post-socialist transformation of an old city.

Key words: politics, new city, Istočno Sarajevo, urban culture

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REHABILITATION OF URBAN HERITAGE IN THE SERVICE OF ETHNO-NATIONAL DIVISIONS ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE CITIES OF BANJA LUKA AND SARAJEVO

The paper discusses the impact of the process of rehabilitation and revitalization of the cultural and historical heritage of the cities of Banja Luka and Sarajevo on the strengthening of ethno-national policies / patterns of divided society. Special attention will be paid to the processes of preserving the urban centres / historical cores of the aforementioned cities, which are recognizable as places of separation and distancing for 'non-belonging' ethnic groups. In that sense, the rehabilitation of the urban heritage of the cities of Banja Luka and Sarajevo will not be exclusively problematized as preservation and aestheticization of cultural and historical heritage per se, but as a kind of instrumentalization of urban space for the purpose of overemphasizing ethno-national identities in the post-war period. The survey will be primarily based on a comparative-historical analysis of available data on the development of urban centres so far. The results of the survey indicate that the aforementioned instrumentalization of urban heritage is manifested through the planning and construction / renovation of specific facilities that (un)justifiably fit into the existing cultural and historical context characteristic of these cities. From that perspective, it is noticeable that the cultural and historical cores of the cities of Banja Luka and Sarajevo today have a far more significant role in promoting ethno-national identities and divisions than it was the case in the past. The character of these processes does not have exclusively intentional features, but is conditioned by other current policies of urban development that do not have an ethno-national background.

Key words: cultural-historical heritage, ethno-national identity, rehabilitation, revitalization, space

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MODERN HOLIDAY IN MARKET COORDINATES

Subject. The article is devoted to obtaining ideas about the directions and intensity of changes with regard to the forms, content, and place of holiday in modern Russian society.
Hypothesis. 1. Holiday is susceptible to market laws which dictate the need for return on costs and profits invested in holiday events. 2. There is a product that combines the festive form and market incentives as various kinds of events. 3. Society reacts in a double way to the emergence of new market-oriented holidays: part of it easily perceives and masters these practices, and the other part cultivates mainly traditional holidays.
Methods. The methods of comparative sociology, interdisciplinary synthesis, analysis of secondary data, classification, and typological analysis are used.
Analysis. Holiday in modern society is exploited by the market - its elements (actions, spectacles) and attributes (things, products, symbols) not only remain spiritual, but also become the economic needs of people. The elements, processes, and functions of the holiday can be highlighted and they are actively used by business to solve its problems by providing holidays with goods and services, designing, and implementing a holiday event. Events possess all the characteristics of the holiday, including organizational form, fixed norms, rules, statuses, roles, a system of values, the presence of ritual, and ceremonial actions and symbols. A festive element is built into any form of the event. A modern specially organized holiday event is a technology which uses the form of a holiday and involves the achievement of not only social but also necessarily commercial goals. For the purpose of

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sociological analysis, it is advisable to distinguish between holidays according to their susceptibility to market goals. So, there are holidays that are more easily influenced by the market (New Year, City Day, etc.), and holidays which are specially created for these purposes (Valentine's Day, Halloween, etc.). Other holidays are less susceptible to market exploitation (holidays of patriotic and religious content). A modern person is able to recognize a festive simulation and does not perceive it as a cultural phenomenon. The reproduction of the cultural code allows for preserving feelings of happiness, freedom, and belonging to a traditional community as holiday criteria.

Kay words: modern society, holiday events, market-oriented holidays

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TRANSFORMATION OF ZAGREB IN THE POST-SOCIALIST PERIOD: AN UNFULFILLED VISION

Since the collapse of the socialist system in the 1990s, the post-socialist countries have been trying hard to join European and global political and economic processes in the decades of a long and still unfinished transition process New concepts (market economy, privatization of state property, home ownership rights etc.) have enabled private interest to override public interest. In all areas of life it is clearly visible that the role of the state has diminished, especially in terms of its responsibility for the social rights of citizens; instead, a relatively small number of private actors (investors, developers) have increasingly gained in importance. During the transition period most countries, including Croatia, have followed similar spatial planning patterns: domination of private interest, random and incomplete construction projects. Spatial planning has been quite intense so that 'East European privatism is like Western privatism on steroids' (Hirt, 2012: 27), especially since 2000. Urban space is modelled by short-term private interests. Consequently, attractive locations suffer from residential and commercial overbuilding which brings immediate economic profit to those involved in the process. Public interest is conveniently forgotten. Local infrastructure facilities and services become inadequate for pleasant housing or common needs of daily life (lack of public spaces, playgrounds, green areas, schools, kindergartens). This is especially visible in Zagreb, which has experienced population growth during the aforementioned period, and which has expanded intensely following specific urbanization and suburbanization trends. We look at some

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of these changes (gentrification, overbuilding, touristification, automobilization etc.) in the centre of Zagreb but also on its periphery.

Keywords: post-socialism, transformation of urban space, private and economic actors, processes in the city centre and on the periphery, Zagreb

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FEMALE BODY BEING MUTILATED AS AN INDICATOR OF POWER DISTRIBUTION IN SOCIETY

Every single human being has instincts of self-preservation and consequently strives to preserve its bodily integrity. However, some cultures have known various forms of body mutilation throughout history. Some of them are practiced even today. Tattooing, circumcising, and piercing some parts of the body can be taken in order to show social status, as a mark of group affiliation, as an aesthetic intervention, as a message wished to be sent by someone... However, certain types of such actions leave durable consequences on physical abilities and the psyche of the people. It is hard to believe that one would voluntarily consent to neck stretching, castration, or forms of inhibiting the natural growth of the body, such as feet 'bending'. By theoretical analysis of examples in the context of feminist theory, the author wants to show that this is a consequence of the manifestation of the men power in patriarchal societies. Power signifies the possibility of one obeying another's will, despite her/his own. Cutting the external parts of the female genital organs and breaking the feet that grow are certainly not body interventions that anyone would voluntarily consent to, or allow it to be done to their child. Still, people used to do that, and they still do. In both cases, it is exclusively the female body that is being mutilated. Therefore, these forms of body mutilation can be criticized as a severe violation of the physical integrity of women in order to demonstrate and maintain male dominance in society.

Keywords: power, female mutilation, patriarchy.

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BIOPOLITICS AS A SOCIETY OF CONTROL - NEGRI'S AND HART'S UNDERSTANDING OF POSTMODERNIZATION OF POLICY

We start from the premise that the character of change taking place in the postmodern era is irreversible. The postmodern empire and its power are not random, they are conditioned by logic of development of Western civilization. They are culmination of progress in the modern epoch. The West was moving in that direction so it had to come to enlightenment, capitalism, imperialism, and, ultimately, to postmodern power and the society of control.

In this paper, we will define the meaning of biopolitics as the negation of politics. After that, we analyze Negri's and Hardt's understanding of transition of the modern epoch into postmodernism - postmodernization, through which a society of control is formed.

For Negri and Hardt, the emergence of today's society of control is reflected through three dimensions. First, the society is characterized by a lack of distinction between inside and outside. That is well noted in a society of spectacle (reality show) in which it is not possible to distinguish between the inside and theoutside, betweenprivate and public, and betweennatural social. With regard to the second moment of postmodernism, the author sees it in changes of focus of racist theory from biology to culture, withthe third area of change referring toconstituting of subjectivity (singularisation). These three areas, inNegri's and Hardt's terms, are also areas of articulation of society of control.

Key words: society, control, biopolitics, modern, postmodern, racism, private sphere, public sphere, sovereignty.

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MAX WEBER: UNDERSTANDING POLITICS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Max Weber was not only one of the fathers of sociology but also the founder of political sociology as a distinct sub-discipline of sociology. Weber was particularly interested in politics, power, authority, and the state. Hence his nickname 'the Machiavelli of Heidelberg'. He is one of the most influential sociologists of the 20th century and our 'contemporary' in the 21st century, when politics has in many ways become improvisation. Understanding of politics and the roles of political parties was essential to Weber. More importantly, the impact of Weber's answers is not a short-term one. They are a well of thoughts coming from a sharp thinker aware of what politics can and must achieve, who can teach generations to remain self-possessed and to preserve their national passion as an undisputed value. Weber can be their guide and a role model, the most important response to Marx's thought. Accordingly, this paper is a contribution to understanding Weber's frame of politics and political parties.

Key words: Weber; politics; political party; passion; vocation; nation.

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GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA-PARITY AND DEMOCRACY

It is historically known that no government, as a state organization that makes political decisions, has ever had (nor by the nature of the government itself has) 'internal legitimacy' of all. Political legitimacy survives on the constant justification and challenges of the government, regardless of the means used by the holders or challengers of the government. In his rich scientific work, Max Weber critically questioned the limitations and achievements of democratic governance, which, in times of crisis of democracy and political participation, ensures its relevance. Every government is undemocratic, but not every government is equally undemocratic. The defense of the values of democracy should be built on that small, but significant and sensitive difference. The principle of partisan decision-making does not satisfy some elementary requirements and achievements of democracy of private property (civil democracy), and especially of modern types of democracy. There is no general interest in the internal logic of the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina There is only agreement and determination of common interests in the DaytonBosnia and Herzegovina. The aforementioned country is not meant as a political community, as a general one, but only as an opportunity to agree on special interests around a measure of common interest. And even in that agreement, a special interest is systematically preferred (and in practice absolute). That is why there is so much trouble and energy consumption around determining and realizing common interests in the Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. The parity principle of decision-making in the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina (which practically comes

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down to the right of veto) starts from the assumption of a single, homogeneous, and non-contradictory national (entity) interest. National sovereignty in Bosnia and Herzegovina is increasingly taking precedence over people's sovereignty. This absolutization of the national, parity principle is needed by national political bureaucracies, which thereby strengthen their power and foundations of their reproduction.

Keywords: government, politics, Bosnia and Herzegovina, parity, democracy, decision making, sovereignty.

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HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY

Until the eighteenth century, there was no clear distinction in social theory between the terms of community society. Medieval thinkers used both terms, but in the spirit of their orientation and theological views. Only at the end of the eighteenth century did the first theories of community appear in Germany, opposed to the agreed theories of society, rationalist enlightenment, and individualism. These theories definitely provide the contours of a qualitative distinction between the natural community (formed on tradition, feelings of belonging, solidarity, and common will) and society as an artificial creation, a society of individuals.

Modern society heralds a breakthrough in the historical evolution of all forms of human collectivity. In their tissue, the elements of community disappear, and the elements of society are strengthened. Capitalism destroyed feudalism and monarchism. It created an independent class of business people who owe little to the state and who are now the dominant force in every developed society in the world. It made social change and dynamism the ruling philosophy of the modern age, instead of order and tradition. After all, we ourselves have experienced how, after the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall, capitalism created a new world, completely different from the one that had existed in the previous millennium.

Much of what characterizes the modern world is the result of a series of successive technical-technological revolutions, the rise of middle-class wealth, and the collapse of those systems and ideologies with which the early capitalist era began. These factors demolish all previous hierarchies, give power to individuals and

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transform societies much more than their politics.

Key words: community, society, modern world, civil society, middle class, capitalism, feudalism, monarchism

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FEATURES AND PROBLEMS OF THE MODERN DIALOGUE 'POWER AND SOCIETY'

The article deals with issues related to the problem of building a dialogue between the government and society, citizens and the state. The task is to identify its modern transformations and limits of possibilities. It is noted that modern socio-political processes dictate the need to find alternative ways and forms of dialogue. The stalemate of interpersonal, socio-political, and international situations indicates the need to modernize the dialogue, a fundamentally important form of the 'power – society' dialogue in the first place The main research methods are methods of cultural, historical and political comparative in the analysis of specific practices of dialogue, an informational and communicative method of studying dialogue in social and political sphere.

Key words: power and dialogue, civil society and power, civil society policy of social partnership

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UNACCOMPANIED YOUNG REFUGEES WITH WAR EXPERIENCES IN INSTITUTIONAL CARE IN SWEDEN. A WEBERIAN-INSPIRED ANALYSIS OF POWER RELATIONS IN THE NARRATIVES OF YOUNG PERSONS

The fact that people are being forced to flee from war and disasters is a very current issue. This study concerns young people who have experienced war, taken shelter in Sweden, and have been placed in institutions. The purpose of the study is to identify and analyse power relations that contribute to the shaping of young people's identities and repertoires of action via stigmatisations and social comparisons with different reference groups. Max Weber (1922/1968) analyses power as a direct action by an actor X that forces an actor Y to act according to X's will, even if the action is contrary to Y's interests or will. Weber draws attention to two dimensions of power relations. The first dimension is maintained through the practical implementation of pressure(s) or the threat thereof. The second dimension is maintained when those who are vulnerable give up or yield and accept the power of the executor of the said pressure. The power of the executor of pressure often includes an order with content that is expected to be followed by particular individuals or groups (Weber 1922/1968). Randall Collins' (2004, 2008) analysis of power, conflict, solidarity, resistance, and status is inspired by Weber's perspective. Collins believes that in all social arenas, the exercise of power is always met with resistance from other people, thus generating new conflicts. For Collins, 'conflict and solidarity are two sides of the same coin'. Mobilisation against an enemy often leads to solidarity among individuals and groups, and vice versa. The study's empirical material includes qualitatively oriented inter-

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views with six young people in institutional care from Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria who have experienced war followed by a placement in institutional care in Sweden. During the interviews with the young people, the following themes are discussed: 1) life before the war began; 2) the atmosphere in the home town when the war began; 3) experiences during the war; 4) an ordinary day during the war; 5) fleeing to Sweden; 6) the efforts made by institutional care workers, social services, the Swedish Migration Agency, legal representatives, school; 7) life at the institution; 8) help after arriving to Sweden and after; 9) processing trauma; 10) differences among the young people; 11) explicit and implicit identifications (refugee, immigrant, war victim, etc.); 12) future prospects; 13) future help from various public authority staff. The preliminary analysis of power relations in young people's stories reveals the following themes: a) power relations in war as a permanent state of society; b) power relations in schooling as an arena for war stories; c) power relations and the learning of an existence characterised by war; d) power relations, normalisation, and neutralisation of states of war; e) power relations when fleeing war as part of the war; f) power relations in Sweden (including the fight for the recognition of numerous identities, such as a student, worker, husband, breadwinner, and homosexual).

Key word: power relation, refugees, young person, pressure, conlict, solidarity

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REMEMBERING WORK: WORKERS AFTER PRIVATIZATION

The working class was, at least formally, a formative basis of the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). The transformation of the system from socialist to capitalist one drove them to alienation, poverty, and exclusion. Transformation, as part of the neoliberal globalisation, occurred through introduction of the socalled 'shock therapy' measures: liberalisation, privatisation, and stabilisation. Large industrial complexes and leading state-owned companies in SFRY were subject of, often dubious, privatisation processes. Through such processes, workers, who were once owners and motors of companies they worked for, are now stripped of the ownership and the opportunity to work at the same companies. The majority of research on post-socialist economic transformation focus on changes of the system, economic aspects of privatisation processes, and introduction of market economy. However, rare are research focusing on the privatisation and transformation from workers' perspective. This paper is an attempt to fill in this gap by providing a different angle to the current studies of transformation of SFRY and its successor states. Through focus group interviews with former workers of privatised and/or closed factories and industrial complexes, the research presented in this paper analyses workers' attitudes and sentiments towards work in socialist Yugoslavia and work today, as well as towards privatisation and processes inherent to it. The research gives voice to workers, and, by looking into the past, gives a worker-centred approach to imagining work in the future.

Key words: work, workers, privatisation, SFRY, transformation

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POST-SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION AND CHANGES IN VALUE ORIENTATIONS: ECONOMIC LIBERALISM AND MARKET FUNDAMENTALISM

This paper aims to examine the intensity and prevalence of value orientations of economic liberalism and market fundamentalism among young people in Bosnia and Herzegovina at two points in time – in the period immediately before the fall of the socialist social order (1989) and in the period of post-socialist transformation, more precisely, after the effects of the global financial and economic crisis (2012). The analysis of empirical data will show the degree to which social consciousness, in the form of value orientations, follows the structural social changes that occur due to the establishment of the neoliberal model of capitalist regulation. The theoretical framework of the analysis relies on the theory of value-normative dissonance. The analysis of empirical data is planned to be executed by the method of comparing the results of summation scales of value orientations, where the data allows performing such a form of analysis, while in other cases we will perform simpler forms of descriptive analysis and comparison of individual items. The data we use was collected in the survey called 'Social Structure and Quality of Life', which was conducted in 1989 in all republics of the former Yugoslavia, and 'Value Orientations and Attitude Towards Social Changes', which was conducted in 2012 in the Doboj region in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Keywords: Post-socialist transformation, value orientations, economic liberalism, market fundamentalism.

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„QUO VADIS BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA – THE STATE OF THE STATE IN THE ASSESSMENT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION“

The main research goal of the article 'Quo vadis Bosnia and Herzegovina - the state of the state in the assessment of the European Union' was the answer to the question - what is the condition of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the assessment of the European Union. Therefore the European Parliament Resolution of 13 February 2019 on the Commission report for 2018 on Bosnia and Herzegovina, currently the most up-to-date document on this issue. It should be emphasized that every year, a country aspiring to membership in the European Union is subject to an assessment by the European Commission. Stematically, every year, a country which aspires to EU membership is subjected to such an assessment. From here, we learn what problems stand in the way of EU membership. Any country that aspires to join the EU, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, must meet certain conditions in accordance with the Copenhagen Criteria, which were adopted by the EU in 1993 in Copenhagen. Particular attention is paid to the state of democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights and freedoms (discrimination), corruption, ethnic relations etc. In the assessment of the analyzed European Parliament Resolution, numerous reservations are expressed regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina. In general, it can be said that the country is still struggling with many problems that prevent entry into the EU and is seen as still not fully prepared because it faces many challenges. The article was created using the research method ofanalysis of primary sources.

Key words: European Union, democrasy, rule of the low, human rights, corruption, ethic relations

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STUDY OF IMMIGRATION NARRATIVES OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN CHINESE DOCUMENTARY

As a medium to understand the imagined communities of immigrants, image is an important aspect of understanding the ethnic groups in Southeast Asia. However, academic circles have not paid enough attention to the research of Chinese in Southeast Asia. There is a gap in the study of Asian Chinese image narratives. The author focuses on the Chinese documentary in Southeast Asia, using anthropology, literary studies, history, and other related knowledge to sort out and analyze the current situation of the Southeast Asian Chinese documentary, and proposes the extension of research. The serial studies of Southeast Asian Chinese image narratives are expected to play a positive role in the academic research and practice, as well as the policy formulation.

Keywords: Southeast Asian Chinese immigration narrative ethnic identity

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'YOU SHOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATHS!' A FRAMING ANALYSIS OF THE BLAME-GAME BETWEEN CHINESE AND AMERICAN MEDIA IN THE BREAKOUT OF COVID-19

The coronavirus, also known as COVID-19, is causing an international pandemic crisis. So far, by the end of April 2020, it was reported that there were over 3.1 million cases world wide, and the virus had killed over 200 thousand people in total. The virus not only struck on the medical system by countries, but also unveiled the intensive blame-game between Chinese and American media, as both sides accused each other that they should be held accountable for the breakout. Using framing analysis, this paper aims to verify the intensity of this blame-game by looking at six influential media from China and the US (three each). By doing so, this paper will analyse all the opponent-related negative news pieces that were produced from 23 January 2020, the Wuhan lockdown, to current date, and explore how media from both sides attacked each other from the perspectives of humanitarian aid, transparency of information, medical capacity, origin of virus, dispute of quarantine, and public reaction. It will draw a landscape of this media confrontation in time of world pandemic, and forecast? how it would affect China-US relation.

Keywords: COVID-19, China-US relation, framing analysis, media confrontation

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'THE SECOND REPUBLIC' - DOES THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA NEED A NEW CONSTITUTION?

In this paper, we will try to suggest the possibility of the a constitution of the Republic of Srpska. By that political act, the 'Second Republic' might be created Our approach has two steps. The first one is negative: it should explain that in the Constitution of the Republic of Srpska there are some deficiencies, both formal and substantial. The second step is positive : it will suggest a direction that has to be taken in the process of creation of our new Constitution. Our basic assumption is that the current Constitution of the Republic of Srpska cannot provide effective framework for our political community. In fact, our current constitution is one of the main sources of problems and conflicts in our political community. This diagnosis is quite opposite to the main line of understanding of the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpskarespectively: the standard perception of the former and the latter is that there is some kind of deficiency and deficiencies in the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Yet it is the constitutions of the entities of the Republic of Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina that are almost never discussed.

Keywords: The Constitution of the Republic of Srpska, Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dayton Peace Agreement.

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DEMORALIZATION OF POLITICAL AND CIVIC ACTIVISM IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

In this paper, the author looks at the prevailing characteristics of political culture over the 25 years of efforts to establish and affirm parliamentary democracy in the post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. The basic thesis in the paper is that political competence and political participation of citizens of the Republic of Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina are not at the level necessary for substantive and creative democracy, and the processes of their political self-determination, articulation of interests and active participation in the control of public policies, promotion, and protection of the public good are hindered by certain internal and external influences.

The consequences are demoralization of political and civic activism, democratic recession, declining number of citizens participating in the political life of Bosnia and Herzegovina, compromising protest movements, and growing distrust of political parties and institutions, as indicated by the results of the study of the student population in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The imbalanced political wills and national interests of the three constituent peoples, the authoritarian political tradition, the troubled state of the judiciary, of the media and of the education system, the crisis of public morals, and the lack of public awareness are some of the key features of the present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina and serious challenges to its future stability and progress.

Keywords: Politics, elections, civil society, civic activism, change

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CONTRADICTION OF THE CIVIC AND THE ETHNIC COMPONENT IN THE DAYTON PEACE AGREEMENT

The subject of our analysis is the civic and ethnic component in the Dayton Agreement, which we will consider, first as separate categories and then as their interplay and contradictory outcomes of their permeation. In this analysis, we start from the assumption that the foundation and the essence of the Dayton Peace Agreement are based on the balance and intertwining of the ethnic and the civic. The methodical approach to the topic of our analysis implies several aspects such as historical, formal-legal, legal-dogmatic, as well as the content analysis and comparative approach. The complexity and dynamism of the topic dictate an interdisciplinary approach to analysis. The results of our analysis should show us whether the coexistence of the ethnic and the civic is possible, what processes occur during their relationship and what the ultimate outcome is in terms of influence on the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The analysis of this topic should lead us to the realization of whether the ethnic and the civic are natural categories characteristic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which derive from its historical heritage, or the categories imposed by the international factors.

Keywords: civic, ethnic, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dayton Peace Agreement.

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THE DAYTON PEACE AGREEMENT – CHALLENGES, PERSPECTIVES AND CHANCES

Political and legal theory show that war conflicts on international and local scale are resolved by peace treaties or agreaments, by rule of international factors, most commonly by great forces of winners or by international or regional organizations.In the aftermath offrequent local or world conflicts (uprisings, wars, revolutions), Balkan countries signed peace agreements with far-reaching legal consequences, such as The Treaty of Berlin, The Treaty of San Stefano, The Treaty of Rapallo, The Treaty of Versailles, The Paris Peace Agreement etc In terms of our research, we are especially interested in General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, more frequently referred to as the Dayton Peace Agreement, which ended violence and a terrible conflict in the country. After the Dayton Peace Agreement, we expected a quick recovery of the country in ruinsand it being rebuilt on new foundations. International forces in Dayton promised a quick economic rebuild of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its integration in Euro-Atlantic and international associations. On that promise, citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina built hope that they would quickly get out from the havoc they were living in. Unfortunately, after the Dayton Agreement we found ourselves in a dead end from which few knew how to get out. Rebuilding of the economy and theeducational system remained merely a wish. The citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina should have been given a choice, starting from day one, to address two issues: do they want to live together, and in what capacity, since it was the reason why the conflict broke out in the first place Yet, these issues have never been raised, possibly due to the expected answers

Key words: Dayton Peace Agreement, war, international law, constitutent people.

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A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OF DAYTON - BALANCE SHEET AND PERSPECTIVES

One Dayton Agreement, signed 25 years ago by domestic political actors in Bosnia and Herzegovina and international guarantors of the highest world format, gave birth to several new ones during the quarter of a century. In addition to the only original document, which today bears the prefix 'original', there is the Dayton spirit of fluid meaning separated from the facts in the agreement, then there is an authorized version of the Dayton understanding and reading, Dayton 2 and, finally, Dayton plus as the projection of the state's protector.
So, when we say the Dayton Agreements today, it may mean anything, which is the same as nothing. Thus, it is possible for the representatives of the Republic of Srpska to refer to the original Dayton, and for the creators of that document to tell them that this is exactly the violation of the Dayton Agreement. The culmination of that political theater of absurdity is that there is constant controversy about the meaningless topic which can, in fact, have several different meanings..
Nevertheless, Dayton is still the most frequent word in the political speech of Bosnia and Herzegovina, because it has become a metaphor for the chronic political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which could be popularly called 'plowing the sand', 'dropping the bucket into the empty well, 'aimless spinning', 'chasing one's tail etc. We pose a question on the potential future of such Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina and whether the same exists at all, both as a future and as BiH? These are some of the issues the author discusses in this paper.

Key words: Dayton Agreements, original Dayton, Dayton 2, Dayton plus

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DAYTON AND POST-DAYTON CONCEPT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE POWER IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA – TWENTY FIVE YEARS AFTER DAYTON PEACE AGREEMENT

The Dayton Peace Agreement of 1995 established today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a multiple, complex, specific, and unique state with international legal subjectivity with regard to state law, constitutional law, and administrative law . A form of political-social order such as it exists in Bosnia and Herzegovina is unknown in modern political systems. From the initial minimum competencies of joint institutions regulated by the Dayton Constitution, after twenty five years, there have been significant transformations in all competencies of the state. With the intervention of the Office of the High Representative (OHR) into the constitutional and legal framework, and, to a lesser extent, by consensual transfer of jurisdiction from the entity level to the state level, administrative capacities of Bosnia and Herzegovina have been strengthened in organizational and functional terms, thus significantly derogating respective administrative authority of the entities of the Republic of Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was accompanied by strong hyperinflation of the administrative bodies and organizations at the state level, mostly of unstable legitimacy, and this, with the existence of administrative structures at the remaining thirteen levels of government, classified post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina as a complex, segmented and dysfunctional state. The subject of this paper is analysis of the Dayton and post-Dayton conceptions of the administrative power of Bosnia and Herzegovina twenty five years since its establishment. The paper, using methods of qualitative analysis of legal acts, legal exegesis, comparative and axiological methods, and relying on the

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theories and conceptions of the distribution of competencies in complex state, seeks to present Dayton and post-Dayton conception of the administrative power in Bosnia and Herzegovina from atwenty-five year distance. The basic research hypothesis is that states with complex organizational structure, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, require decentralized organizational and material structures in the executive branch from the aspect of functionality, economy, and from the aspect of their sustainability.

Key words: Administrative power, Public administration, Dayton Peace Agreement, Transfer of jurisdiction, OHR and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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THE DAYTON PEACE AGREEMENT AS RESULT OF THE UNIPOLAR MOMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

The radical change in the structure of the international system, after the end of the Cold War, formed a unipolar world order reflected in the complete domination in world affairs of the only remaining superpower - the United States. The hegemonic structure had a decisive influence on all crises and wars that took place from 1990 to 2008. The role of the United States in the former Yugoslavia wars was decisive in imposing peace solutions and establishing a regional balance of power, as well as in the manifestation of American power. The Dayton Peace Agreement was a triumph of the 'Unipolar Moment' materialized through the interventionism policy of the United States and its allies. The constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina established by the Dayton Peace Agreement emerged as a direct consequence of the international system structure of 1995. Its internal political processes take place under the direct influence of international actors, pointing that there is no full state sovereignty in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The political system created by the Dayton Peace Agreement is a fragile structure whose future is directly reliant on global geopolitical processes.

Key words: unipolar world order, hegemonic structure, American power, Dayton Peace Agreement.

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EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL AGENCY OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA FROM DAYTON TO THE PRESENT

Federated units, regions, provinces and other sub-state actors have become active in the international arena to promote their cultural, economic, and political interests and pursue their own agenda. They internationalise under the umbrella goal of 'self-help' (Duchacek, 1984: 9) trying to respond to the opportunities presented on the global scene. Proliferation of the new actors in the world politics and development of their international agency was a result of myriad factors, including globalisation, nationalism, regionalisation, decentralisation and federalisation, internationalisation of domestic issues, regional trade initiatives such as NAFTA, EU integration etc. The General Framework Agreement for Peace (also known as the Dayton Peace Agreement), not only ended the war, but it also recognised the Republic of Srpskaa as a legitimate actor of the complex federal consociational architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This article analyses the evolution and development of the external relations of the Republic of Srpska from Dayton to the present times. It examines how international agency of the Republic of Srpska was created, how its external relations institutions developed, and how its international strategies and priorities changed from the Dayton Peace Agreement to the present. It also investigates the rationales of external engagement of the Republic of Srpska (such as cultural and historical legacy, geopolitical, functional, and economic rationales etc.) and how they have influenced establishment of relations between the Republic of Srpska and its international partners. Internal and external factors that have constrained the

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development of the international agency of the Republic of Srpska are also examined here.

Key words: international relations, Dayton Peace Agreement, the Republic of Srpska, federalism, sub-state diplomacy

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CODIFIED AND UNCODIFIED CHARACTER OF THE DAYTON CONSTITUTION

The subject of our analysis is the contents of the Dayton Peace Agreement in the section called the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Annex IV) and other contents of the Agreement which are in other annexes, and which have constitutional legal force. In a narrower sense, the subject of analysis is whether Bosnia and Herzegovina has a codified or uncodified constitution.
In this paper, we start from the assumption that in Bosnia and Herzegovina there are elements of both codified and uncodified constitution, where the basis is uncodified, which, through the development of the constitution, should be united in one codified document.
The approach to this topic implies several methods: content analysis, comparative method, formal-legal method.
The analysis should provide results on whose basis can classify the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina as either codified or uncodified.

Key words: codification, constitution, Dayton Peace Agreement

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POSSIBILITIES OF CONSTITUTIONAL REDESIGN OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - CONSOCIATIONAL APPROACH

Over the past twenty-five years, the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been amended several times. These amendments were most often 'forced' through an intervention of international actors, and they were less often the product of an agreement between domestic national-political elites. The pressure to change the Constitution, exerted by Bosniak and Croat parties, as well as by some international actors, is continuing in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This denies the position of the Serbian bloc of parties committed to preserving the Dayton constitutionality. There are two theoretical and political approaches to changing the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. One is consociational and the other is anti-consociational. In this paper, we decided on a consociational approach to the constitutional redesign of Bosnia and Herzegovina, considering it the most appropriate one in terms of a divided and post-conflict society. In this context, we elaborate on several possibilities for the constitutional redesign of Bosnia and Herzegovina, applying the experiences of Belgium, Switzerland, and other successful consociational democracies in Europe.

Keywords: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dayton Peace Agreement, Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, consociational democracy

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CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER AND BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA - 25 YEARS SINCE THE DAYTON AGREEMENT

This paper deals with the impact of changes in the international order on the position of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period from the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995 to 2020. Firstly, the author analyzes all models of international order in that period. Furthermore, the paper analyzes unipolar international order until 2008 and its impact on internal relations and the political system in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as on the position of the country in Europe and the region. In particular, the authoranalyzes NATO's activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina in that period and the position of the Republic of Srpska.
The second period begins after 2008 and represents the growth of a multipolar international order. The impact of that order on Bosnia and Herzegovina and its internal situation is considered. A special analysis is given of Russia's return to the Balkans and the consequences of that process. In addition, an analysis of the Chinese economic and geopolitical project Belt and Road and its impact in the region and on Bosnia and Herzegovina is given. The paper focuses on the position of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska, in the context of NATO enlargement, and the position of the European Union in the international order.

Key words: Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republic of Srpska, geopolitics, international order, NATO, EU, Russia, China, USA.

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MEDIA CONTROL AS A CONDITION FOR COMPETITION OF POLITICAL IDEAS: THE CASE OF SERBIA

The author deals with the activities of professional organizations of journalists and regulatory bodies in Serbia in an effort to determine whether they fulfill the function of media control instruments – that is, act in terms of protection and development of freedom of opinion and expression, and whether their activities contribute to competition of political ideas. The findings presented in the paper are the result of research on the activities of relevant journalists' associations and regulatory bodies in terms of public relations in the period of August 1, 2019 - July 31, 2020. The basic research method used in the research is qualitative-quantitative content analysis.

Key words: media control, public sphere, journalist associations, Serbia

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COMMERCIAL INSTRUMENTALISATION OF MEDIA AND AUTONOMY OF PROFESSIONAL COMMUNICATORS IN THE MEDIA SYSTEM OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

Commercial instrumentalisation of the media presents one of inevitable dimensions with regard to studying contemporary media systems. Researching into the level of commercial instrumentalisation of the media within a certain media system implies researching into the nature of relationship, that is, interaction of the media, professional communicators, and certain external information agents, such as advertisers and owners of capital. Instrumentalisation of the media for commercial purposes determines, to a great extent, the professional stance of communicators and their autonomy while performing the task of satisfying public interests in relation to the exclusively material orientation of media production, which is reflected on the quality of media contents and media pluralism.

The paper examines the intensity and nature of interaction between the media and advertisers in the media system in the Republic of Srpska and implications of this interaction with regard to the journalist profession and media practice, from the point of view of journalists, editors, and media managers. As for the working hypothesis of the paper, the author claims that there are various forms of commercial instrumentalisation of the media in the aforementioned system that jeopardise, either directly or indirectly, the autonomy of professional communicators and meeting the necessary professional standards. For these purposes, the gathering of empirical material is realised by means of a survey poll engaging 150 journalists and 65 editors employed with 27 respective media companies in the Republic of Srpska, as well as by means

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of interviewing 10 media managers. The paper aims at identifying the forms and intensity of commercial instrumentalisation of the media in the media system of the Republic of Srpska which, apart from being of significance for the autonomy and professionalism of the media and communicators, are major indicators of the nature of the media system on the whole and which primarily determine the course of its transformation.

Key words: commercial instrumentalisation of the media, professional communicators, advertisers, professional standards in journalism, editorial autonomy of the media.

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DONALD TRUMP'S EXTREME POPULIST RHETORIC ON TWITTER

The President of the United States of America (USA), Donald Trump, is a politician who uses the social media, such as Twitter, in everyday political communication. His statements on this social media are treated as news because he often uses comments in which he quotes words that evoke emotions. The subject of the paper are Trump's statements on Twitter in the past two months, with the aim of obtaining data on a discourse that can be described as extremely populist. Ruth Wodak (2015) defines the distinction between right-wing and left-wing populism, which we will make use of in this paper. The hypothesis we investigate in this paper is the degree of extremity of Donald Trump's populist rhetoric, that is, we find that the more sentimental the word is, the more often it occurs. We will use the method of automated data collection, because Twitter has an API available and can be used for scientific purposes. In the first step, we will define the tropes and divide them into groups according to the degree of sentimentality, after which we will analyze their repetition and context.

Key words: Donald Trump, discourse analysis, Twitter, populism

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UNETHICAL PRACTICES IN REPORTING AND INTOLERANCE CREATED BY THE MEDIA IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The media is integral part of our lives, regardless of our ethnicity, race, education, and social status. According to McLuhan, there is a unity between media and man: the media is only more developed societal man versus the natural man who has a limited number of communication channels. Mass media brings into society, family, and work environment the ideas which we perhaps do not wish to accept, but do not want to discard either.

Media consumers in Bosnia and Herzegovina are manipulated in different ways by those who create media. Consequently, the product of such media creations is degradation of traditional value system, its relativization, and the final product is the situation in which we can see anincrease in the number of aggressive receivers of such information.

The main focus of this paper is the analysis of the printed media in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the ways in which its content is created, especially with regard to how it is chosen, to the source of information selected, and to the way the message is shaped. This research covered three printed media in BiH in a two-week period, between May 14 and May 28, 2020: The Glas Srpske, The Dnevni avaz, The Vecernji list. These three media companies were chosen because in BiH there is no single media that covers the interests of the entire public. The Constitution structure and the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina into two entities and three constituent peoples are reflected on the media following the same principles and the profiling of the public is based on their ethnicity.

For qualitative analysis of certain aspects of the topic of this research, the scientific descriptive method was used in order to pres-

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ent existing relationship between media and the politics in BiH, and the critical method for its expert analysis and critical evaluation properties. In order to gather empirical data, the method of qualitative and quantitative analysis of the contents was used for typical samples and articles published in The Glas Srpske, The Dnevni avaz, and The Vecernji list.

Key words: Media, Bosnia and Herzegovina, ethics, information, intolerance, manipulation

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POSSIBILITIES OF HARMONIZATION OF LEGAL FRAMEWORKS FOR THE FUNCTIONING OF PUBLIC SERVICES IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE WESTERN BALKANS

Reform of the legal framework for the functioning of public services in the Western Balkans (Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo and Northern Macedonia) is one of the main conditions in the process of accession to the European Union. However, current national regulations and media practices point not only to their diversity, but often to their exclusivity, as well as to the inconsistency in the scope and forms of reforms that should bring the countries of the Western Balkanscloser to European standards. In some countries, the law has defined a centralized form of public service management with transparency in the financing and production of media content, while in other countries we note the inability of national governments to establish a single public service broadcasting system with stable funding and transparent management. This paper examines whether the possibilities of harmonizing national legal frameworks for the organization and management of public services are in line with the communication requirements and directives of the European Union. The research hypothesis is that a joint reform and mutual harmonization of national laws in the field of public broadcasting service management in the Western Balkans could be an adequate basis for further international communication networking, which presupposes the entry of the aforementioned countries into the European Union. The methods that are going to be used in the research are: content analysis, comparative method and critical discourse analysis.

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Key words: harmonization, law, reform, public service, management, networking

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MEDIATIZATION OF POLITICS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The theory of mediatization explains that in modern society, the media has become a 'cultural environment' in which almost all social actors function. Due to the increasingly important role of the media, social subsystems, including politics, adapt to a kind of media logic or fully adopting it. The institutionalization of media logic is actually the essence of the mediatization process. In this paper, we will focus on the challenges of mediatization of politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina. One of the theoretical assumptions suggests that there are four phases of mediatization of politics, and we will analyze each of them to determine the extent to which the process of mediatization of politics is present in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Politicians and other political actors are largely aware of the fact that the media is an important form of social institutions, without which political engagement would be virtually unthinkable. On the other hand, it can be said that politicians have not yet started thinking in the 'language of the media', that is, they have not fully adopted the media logic.

Key words: mediatization, media logic, Bosnia and Herzegovina, mediatization of politics

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"IN MEMORIAM FOR JOURNALISM, REQUIEM FOR THE MEDIA"

Media subsystems are not autonomous segments of social systems. The field of journalism and the media have changed and continue to change, demanding deep reflections, new explications, and new theories. Under the strong and organized influences of the centers of power, the media sphere integrated the social role of the fourth power with political and economic subsystems, allowing its own instrumentalization by these subsystems. With this thesis assumption, the paper investigates and discusses the development of major world processes in the media and journalism in the 20th cenutry. The main four elements of the analysis are: media and journalistic rights and regulations, journalistic and editorial practice, media culture and journalism culture, and the activities of multinational media corporations. The goal of the analysis is to present the development of transformational processes, essential values, attitudes and opinions, which have systematically relativized media and journalistic ethics at the global level, leading to the so-called essential transformational changes in the media sphere. In other words, to the so-called 'death of journalism' and the 'death of the media' in the fundamental sense of those words. The paper belongs to the category of predominantly theoretical research (Milosavljević and Radosavljević, 2016) of interdisciplinary character- and, with regard to the period covered, it belongs to longitudinal research. Through a theoretical research approach, the paper relies on interpretation, which is based on opinion as a procedure for considering scientific knowledge. The method of content analysis, the historical method, and the method of theoretical analysis and synthesis are the basic scientific methods applied in this research.

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Some conclusions of this paper call into question the ability of journalism and the media to survive divergent fundamental revisions, created as a historical process of small change. Modern journalistic and media culture may have to be reborn in the Phoenix way.

Key words: media, journalism, relativization of media ethics, transformation of journalistic practice, new media culture and new journalism.

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RESPECTING PRIVACY IN JOURNALISTIC PRACTICE OF ONLINE MEDIA IN SERBIA

Through the observation of theoretical aspects and examples from journalistic practice, this paper analyzes the issues of privacy in content in online media in Serbia. This is a sensitive topic in the journalistic profession and it represents an important area in the process of self-regulation. The spread of new media technologies has further complicated such a complex area because there are significantly more opportunities for storing content and presenting it to the public. One of the key processes is the development of digital technologies, since former consumers of content are also becoming producers, and the feedback is much faster, as well as the dissemination of information. As a result, the damage related to privacy violations is even more difficult to control. In the world of online media in Serbia, tabloid portals play a significant role in violating privacy, which is especially important because they have very high traffic and influence. The Press Council tends to regulate this area by pointing out bad examples and educating journalists. However, it is clear that the influence of this self-regulatory body is limited, that it does not prevent certain media from continuing to violate journalistic standards, which should be the basis for recognizing and respecting this profession in society.

Keywords: public opinion, privacy, online media, journalism, journalistic self-regulation

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CONTACTS OF CHILDREN WITH INCARCERATED PARENTS

Serving a prison sentence is a challenging period, both for the person serving the sentence and for their family members, especially children. Many research show that these children are exposed to multiple risks, and one of the risks is the severance of contacts, thus compromising the child's relationship with their incarcerated parent. Some of the reasons for this may be of a financial or organizational nature, an unresolved relationship, or the child's anger towards the parent. Also, prison visitation policies are not adapted to this type of contact and do not reflect the needs of children.
The results of the research show that there is often a lack of support for the parent to continue to play the parental role, but also for adults who have taken care of the child to help them in this new situation. The needs of these children often remain invisible and unrecognized not only outside the criminal justice system, but also the child care system as well. However, the various models of support developed in international practice show significant results in (re)establishing, keeping, and improving the quality of these contacts and relationships.
The subject of the paper will be the presentation of the importance and challenges in maintaining contacts and relationships between children and their incarcerated parents, as well as some models of support. The paper aims to point out the importance of preserving, improving, and strengthening family relations that have been broken, with an emphasis on the needs and rights of children.

Key words: contacts, parents deprived of liberty, children, support.

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SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION: REFLECTIONS ON TWO DECADES OF DEVELOPMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BANJA LUKA

Two decades of social work education at the University of Banja Luka impose the need for critical reflection on the development so far, about which there are almost no scientific papers. Taking an interpretive perspective, the author firstcritically reflects on the research on the current curriculum and the training of social work students for their future profession. Secondly, we give an overview of the narratives of some of the actors on the establishment of the Department of Social Work in 2000. Using a critical reflection on the results of previous research, the paper indicates that the main challenge for the social work profession is to mitigate social problems and encourage social change, which is why the curriculum of the Study Programme of Social Work at the University of Banja Luka should correspond to modern social challenges. A critical review of the current curriculum indicates the need to take a step towards new and/or neglected areas of knowledge, but also the need to deepen the existing ones. This is confirmed by the results of research on the qualification of social work students for their future profession. During a self-assessment process, students find the overall knowledge in the field of social work at the mediocre level. Students self-assess the mediocre level of overall knowledge in the field of social work. At the same time, they believe that they have a very good knowledge of theories and methods of social work, which qualifies them to perform science-based practice. A qualitative analysis of the content of narratives of some of the actors on the establishment of the Department of Social Work at the University of Banja Luka shows that 20 years of education for social

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work forms a valid basis for social work practice, which contributes to overall social prosperity. In our opinion,, the curriculum which respects the reflections of students and the requirements of practice in the current social context is a path to self-sustainable development of the Study Programme in accordance with the vision of its founders.

Key words: social work, education, curriculum, social problems

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SUPPORT FOR CHILDREN WITH DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES IN DAY CENTERS DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

Children with disabilities are beneficiaries of social protection who require permanent support in daily satisfaction of their existential needs, socialization, upbringing and education, as well as integration. Parents and other family members provide the largest part of support for children. However, their strengths are not inexhaustible and omnipotent, so they need help from the environment and professional care.

Day care centres (in accordance with the Law on Social Protection of the Republic of Srpska) are institutions of social protection that provide daily care for children, as well as wide range of services: food, health care, education, psychosocial rehabilitation, work occupation, and integration in local communities. After the COVID-19 virus pandemic was declared, day care centres had to change the way they operate and provide support for children in their homes. How day centres operated and what activities they undertook in the new conditions is the main question of research conducted in 20 day centres in the Republic of Srpska. Data were collected using a questionnaire survey method.

The results of the research show that the day care centres in question do not have a crisis action plan, that they have never received professional help in the form of instructions, guidelines, or work plans, that they did not have sufficient means to communicate with users, that they held production activities in workshops, and that they organized consulting activities with users. No new project activities were developed during the pandemic.

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Key words: children with developmental disabilities, day centre, action during coronavirus pandemic.

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SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF WOMEN – VICTIMS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

This is a research study on characteristics, causes, and consequences of social exclusion of women – victims of domestic violence. Social exclusion of women – victims of domestic violence, is a subject that has not been researched and that, until now, has not been covered by academic sources. Therefore, this is a mezzo-level pioneering research study (it includes nine towns of the Doboj region). The goal of this empirical research study is to deepen and widen the findings on social exclusion of women – victims of domestic violence, in other words, on exclusion of this category of women from different areas of social life, and on their ability to approach the institutions. The result of this research indicates that the long exposure to domestic violence increases the risk of social distancing of women (victims) from a labour market system, a social protection system, a local community system, and a democratic legal system.

Key words: family, domestic violence, violence against women, social exclusion, poverty.

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BURNOUT AMONG SOCIAL WORKERS DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Burnout is a process of progressive professional exhaustion of an individual, in the direction of a complete runout of the ability to do the job. It occurs due to long-term excessive demands at work and insufficient resources to meet all of the necessary requirements. This gap between needs, requirements, and available resources has been at the core of the social work profession from its beginning to the present day, making it one of the most risky professions for burnout, even in regular circumstances. COVID-19 pandemic is a social and medical global crisis, which makes vulnerable groups of population even more vulnerable, and puts the risky professions in an even greater risk for burnout. The goal of this study is to identify new dimensions of burnout risks for social workers during the pandemic, through the research of specific challenges and problems that they are faced with during their work. The survey included a total of 30 social workers who are employed in the centers for social work in the Republic of Srpska. Data were collected using focus group discussions (two groups of N = 5) and semi-structured interviews (N = 20), and were analyzed using thematic analysis procedure. The results of the research confirm that this pandemic enlarges the risks that social workers face in their work, which is not accompanied by the enlargement of the necessary resources. The awareness of these new risk dimensions brings social and professional responsibility for planned and systematic prevention of burnout and professional support for social workers during pandemic.

Key words: burnout, social work, pandemic, risk factors.

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