SOCIAL CHANGES AND CHANGES OF VALUES

Bora Kuzmanović
Dragan Popadić
Nenad Havelka
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

The aim of our investigation was to find out to what extent the dramatic social changes which happened in the period between 1988 and 1994 (disintegration of the state, the war, international sanctions, isolation, rapid impoverishment, etc.) reflected upon value system of youth in Serbia.

The values were investigated through the following groups of variables: ranking social goals by priority, acceptance of value orientations, life-style preferences, expectations from future career, and choice of model figures.

At the end of 1988, a sample of 14-year-old pupils (N=595) were questioned throughout Serbia. At the beginning of 1994 a sample of 14-year-old pupils (N=341) from the same regions of Serbia were questioned in the same way.

The overall results show that the most marked changes happened within those values which were ideologically relevant. Also, a decrease of prosocial orientation and an increase of utilitarian-hedonistic values were noticed.

Although there were numerous statistically significant differences (30 out of 42 comparisons were significant at 0.05) the intensity of changes and their hierarchy indicate that social changes were much more profound than the trace they left on the values of youth of this age.

Key words: Values, value orientations, models, adolescents, social changes.
The investigation reported here is the reproduction of a part of the study conducted on the sample of final grade elementary school pupils in Serbia at the end of 1988 and beginning of 1989. (Havelka et al., 1990). The subject of this part of study were various aspects of values and their interrelations: choice of social goals and value orientations (Kuzmanović, 1990a; Kuzmanović, 1990b), preferred life styles and models (Popadić, 1990a; Popadić, 1990b) and expectations from the future career (Havelka, 1990).

Since the first investigation dramatic changes affecting all areas of individual and social life have occurred: (a) Changes in political and economical system (switch from single-party to multiparty system, abandoning self-management model and starting the process of privatization); (b) Disintegration of Yugoslavia; (c) The wars on the ex-Yugoslav territory; (d) Radical change of treatment of Yugoslavia by international community (UN sanctions in all areas of international exchange and cooperation: economy, sport, culture and science); (e) Hyperinflation and rapid impoverishment of vast population layers. Such great social changes have created substantially different, difficult and complicated life circumstances for the new generations of young, already in troublesome period of growing-up and resolving some life important questions ( further education, choice of occupation, existential security, marriage, interpersonal relationships, social engagement). On one hand, traditional socialization mediators, e.g. family and school, which have always played an outstanding role in acquiring and developing the value systems by young, either lost the orientation, got confused and entered a kind of value and moral crises, or started to turn to the different value systems, or (in the case of schools) stopped to insist on official, unquestionable social, i.e. ideological, values. On the other hand, the influence of mass media and the whole new set of informal elements constituting so called social climate or "the spirit of age" has become much stronger. Finally, it is logical to assume that the very circumstances in which the young in Serbia grow and learn (with the war in the close neighbourhood, in unfavourable financial situation, with the knowledge about their country's international isolation, with uncertainty about the future) will also influence the senses and life philosophy of the young. However, we should remember the existence of defence and adaptation mechanisms and avoid hazardous and unreliable assessment of degree and direction of value system changes only on the basis of social changes without right empirical researches.

Our hypothesis was that the bigger changes would occur in the values and value orientations having ideological connotation and being under the direct influence of social factors (mainly, school and mass media) while the smaller changes would affect the orientations concerning some kind of outlining and articulation of basic needs and long-term individual's interests.
Social Changes and Changes of Values

Subject and procedure of investigation

In this investigation, the values and value orientation have been conceived extensively – as ideas about desirable (Kluckhohn, 1951; Rokeach, 1973), but also as consciously chosen, wanted (i.e. preferable) goals and activities. Out of wide range of various components of value system we have selected the relevant ones and divided them into few groups:

Choice of important social goals

One of the ways of establishing values is by investigating the social goals rated as important or the most important by an individual. From the previous studies of the same subject in Serbia (Tomanović, 1977; Vasović, 1988) and Inglehart’s distinction between materialistic and postmaterialistic values (Inglehart, 1977), we have concisely phrased 13 goals:

1. To develop strong economy and improve the material conditions of citizens’ life (shortly: Standard of living)
2. Resolutely fight against all kinds of crimes, against everything endangering citizens’ safety, social and private property. (Safety and security)
3. Allow and enable all people to participate in making important decisions at the companies where they work (Participation)
4. To strengthen and improve country’s defence forces. (Defence)
5. To develop more humane and closer relationships between people. (Humane relationships)
6. To prevent pollution, enrich the environment and preserve natural splendours of our country (Ecological goals)
7. To provide a job for everybody and to give everybody an opportunity to demonstrate his/her capabilities and knowledge. (Employment)
8. To develop democracy, enable all people – if they wish so – to observe all public affairs and activities and express their opinions. (Democracy)
9. To achieve social equality within society, to reduce economic and other inequalities. (Social equality)
10. To establish good relationships between nationalities, harmony between all nationalities and ethnic groups in our country. (Harmony between nationalities)
11. To build stable and firm state with progressive and just laws to be obeyed by everybody. (Stable state)
12. To enable one political party to take over leadership of the country (Single-party system)
13. To secure conditions for versatile development of science, education and culture (Science and education)

This list of goals was given to the respondents whose tasks were: (1) To choose six goals which they rate as more important than the others, and (2) To choose one as the most important.

Value orientations

Another method of investigating values is through investigation value orientations regarding evaluation and the degree of acceptance of socially relevant institutions, characteristic social relationships and behaviours. These orientations were taken as dimensions. Some of these dimensions were bipolar and some unipolar. The investigation included the following nine orientations (dimensions):

1. Orientation toward public vs. private property, operationalized through statements about the importance, effects and necessity of developing and protecting public or private property;

2. Closeness – openness toward the world, encompassing, according to Pantić (1981), the classical dimension nationalism – internationalism (i.e. cosmopolitanism);

3. Religiousness – atheism, comprising not only beliefs and feelings connected with God, ideas about postmortal life and immortality of the soul but also the belief systems about the importance and necessity of preserving and developing (or limiting and preventing) the church and religion;

4. Egalitarianism – nonegalitarianism, taken as attitude towards material differences between people, i.e. standing for greater or smaller differences or even complete equality;

5. Conformistic – non-conformistic orientation, determined as deliberate accepting of strategy to uncritically agree (or disagree) with the opinion of majority, and to conform to the group and the requirements of others.

6. Authoritarian orientation, understood as an uncritical attitude toward authority and power and advocating the principle of hierarchy, i.e. belief that the crucial problems within groups and society can be efficiently solved only by authority and a small number of leaders.

7. Fighting for sexual equality – inequality in manifold areas (decision making in family, upbringing of children, employment, leading functions in society), or for the favouritism of males;

8. General passive – active orientation, meaning positive evaluation and adopting active (i.e. passive) attitude toward one’s own life and environment, inclination toward (or against) ambitiousness and motivation to achieve, strive for and persistently fight for goals;
9. Social activism that, as value orientation shows the tendency to participate in social activities, in making important public decisions, interest in politics and participation in political life.

Obviously, some of these orientation have mainly ideological character (orientation to the type of property, openness – closeness toward the world, religiousness, equality) while the others depend on more factors and are more connected to the individual needs. However, this division is arbitrary.

Each dimension was operationalized by six items (normally taken from the more comprehensive, verified scales) for which five degree scale for expressing agreement or disagreement was used (Likert’s type of scale).

Life style preferences

The method of investigating preferred life styles conforms to Morris’s investigation of the ways of life (Morris, 1956) but the descriptions which we have selected and used were more concise (2 - 3 sentences), simpler in context, of medium generality level – adapted to the children’s age. Respondent had to rate each description of life-style on a five-grade scale (from "I would like it very much" to "I would not like it at all" to live in this way). Then, they were asked to pick the life style they like most and the one they like least.

Preferred life-style classification was based on classification used for Allport-Vernon-Lindzey’s scale of values (Allport et al., 1960). The values shown as the most relevant for school age in the number of previous researches were added. Ten life-styles were chosen (their order here is by the degree of preference established in the first investigation – from the most to the least preferred):

1. Family – life style: Meet somebody to love and to be loved from, get married to him/her, raise family and devote life to it. To find purpose of life in family.
2. Altruistic orientation: To engage in something beneficial to other people. To give help to unhappy and imperilled people at all costs, involving ones own deprivation.
3. Scientific style: To do scientific researches, to work at inventing and discovering new things. To acquire as much knowledge as possible. Constantly seek for new discoveries and information about world, nature, and people.
4. Utilitarian style: To do some very well paid job providing a lot of money and financial security. To ensure rich and comfortable life for oneself.
5. Orientation toward popularity: Become popular and well known in sport, music or show-business. To be in newspapers and on TV frequently. To have a lot of admirers.
6. Egoistic orientation: To live not depending on others and not having to take care about others, the foremost concern being me and my welfare.

7. Promethean activity: Persistently fighting for making better and more righteous conditions in ones surrounding and in society. To fight for long-term goals and ideas regardless and in spite of the resistance of others.

8. Hedonistic orientation: To live as carelessly and joyfully as possible. To have a lot of fun and indulge into the pleasures which the life is offering. Earnings are not to be excessively saved but spent on pleasures and entertainment.

9. Power orientation: To have some leading position in society. To have great power and have others obey me while I do not have to obey anybody.

10. Religious – traditional style: Believe in God and live according to the doctrines of one’s religion. To find peace and truth in religion. To be good Christian, respect religious holidays and discipline.

Investigation of models

Pupils were asked to write down the names of the persons, contemporary or from the past, who are their ideals and who they would like to resemble to. For the first person on the list they had to state this person’s characteristic they admire.

Expectations from future career

The end of elementary education is the first serious turning-point in the life of the young. This is the time when they by themselves or with parents have to decide whether to continue or stop the further education and to choose the high or vocational school. Our assumption was that pupils, no matter whether the choice of future occupation is firm and clear, have some expectations from their career and that these expectations can be conceived as values.

The investigation covered two groups of values – individual and pro-social. Individually oriented values can be divided to: (a) The values of utilitarian and hedonistic character which include: security ("That I am sure I shall get the job which will give me normal and decent life..."), earnings ("That I can make a lot of money and buy even the most expensive things if I want to..."), comfort ("That I do pleasant jobs, without too much strain, responsibilities and dangers...") and (b) The values oriented toward one’s individuality and self-development: independence (That I am independent in my work, that I make decisions alone and that I do not depend on the others’ decisions and the way of work..."), professional improvement ("That the jobs I do constantly aid my professional improvement, that my skills and knowl-
There are two reasons for classifying the above values as "individual." First, these are the values concerning personal welfare. Second, although achieved through various forms of social interactions these interactions are not the core of the orientation but rather the means and/or necessary context for their achievement.

Socially or pro-socially oriented values can be also divided into two subgroups: (a) Values considered as social because they are realized exclusively in the interactions with others and are provoking or causing the changes of behaviour and social status of other people. Social interaction is as much as an instrument for their achievement as for their manifestation. These values are psychologically very similar to individually oriented utilitarian-hedonistic values and are shown in the high desirability of personal influence or power ("That I make very important decisions, that I am influential and important person) and personal popularity or status ("That I appear in public, in newspapers, on TV. That I give interviews and am famous and popular...").

(b) Values of markedly pro-social character primarily manifested in the activities bringing immediate benefit not only to the doer but to the others as well. These are: cooperation ("That I work with people who respect each other, that we do everything together and in harmony, that we cooperate..."), helping ("That I help people in trouble, that I do good things for them even at the price of great efforts and self-sacrifice...") and righteousness ("That I contribute to the creation of better society, uprooting of backwardness, poverty and evil, that I fight for righteous goals even than when their achievement is not easy...").

For each description was given five-grades scale on which the pupils have rated the importance they ascribe to the described expectation.

Sample

For the purpose of this investigation, we have analysed the answers of 595 pupils from eighth grade (age 14-15 years) and three different urban areas (Belgrade, Valjevo and Leškovac) tested in 1988/1989. research.

1994. Investigation included 341 eighth grade pupils (age 14 - 15 years) from the same Serbian towns.

Results

Since the main goal of our investigation was to examine whether the various aspects and elements of value system have changed at the pupils of the same age but different generations the results will be shown in a manner enabling the comparison of these two group by some statistical parameters.
Choice of social goals

Table 1: Choice of the Most Important Social Goals (in %) in 1988 & 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goals:</th>
<th>When choosing 6 of 13 goals</th>
<th>Most important goal (1 of 13)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard of living</td>
<td>71.6 1 69.7 2 -1.9 n.s.</td>
<td>11.6 3 20.6 1 9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>57.3 5 66.2 4 9.9 .01</td>
<td>3.5 9 10.6 4 7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>40.2 9 30.0 10 -10.2 .01</td>
<td>2.9 10 1.2 12-13 -1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence</td>
<td>27.9 11 33.2 9 5.3 n.s.</td>
<td>1.7 12 4.4 8 2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humane relationships</td>
<td>48.1 7 49.4 6-7 1.3 n.s.</td>
<td>5.5 6 7.1 6 1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological goals</td>
<td>57.8 4 68.8 3 11.0 .01</td>
<td>5.9 5 5.9 7 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>67.1 2 72.4 1 5.3 n.s.</td>
<td>7.9 4 10.3 5 2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy</td>
<td>20.7 12 26.5 11 5.8 .05</td>
<td>1.2 13 4.1 9 1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Equality</td>
<td>29.6 10 17.4 12 -12.2 .01</td>
<td>4.2 8 2.99 10-11 -1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harmony amg Nations</td>
<td>66.7 3 49.4 6-7 -17.3 .01</td>
<td>25.5 1 14.4 2 -11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stable state</td>
<td>49.4 6 48.5 8 0.99 n.s.</td>
<td>12.4 2 12.4 3 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-party system</td>
<td>15.0 13 10.0 13 -5.0 .05</td>
<td>2.2 11 1.2 12-13 -1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science and Education</td>
<td>46.6 8 55.0 5 8.4 .01</td>
<td>4.5 7 2.9 10-11 -1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that in 1988 the majority of pupils (almost 72%) chose "strong economy and material standard," but this goal was chosen by approximately the same number of pupils in 1994 also. Generation 1994 considers providing the job for everybody as the most important goal, but this goal was ranked as second by 1988. Generation since than, as now, the employment was the great social problem. Both goals belong to the same category.
Significant differences are noted in acceptance of some other goals. The number of respondents choosing ecological goals increased (by 11%). This is surprising if we take into account the decline in economy and impoverishment of population. The percentage of young considering safety, i.e. fight against criminal as an important, even the most important social goal also increased (by 10%). Statistically larger is the number of pupils who opt for development of science, education and culture. However, statistically smaller is the number of pupils (10%) attributing the importance to the participation (previous self-management) in company control. Even less is the number of today's young choosing social equality (by 12%) thus putting this goal on the 12th place. This might seem unusual, since the rise of egalitarian goals might be expected in a situation of general impoverishment. Nevertheless, even in 1988, the number of equality goals followers among the young was getting smaller (Pantić, 1990). Perhaps the young view these ideas from their position of possible future experts (so called anticipatory socialization).

The largest decrease is in the number of respondents selecting the establishing good relations and harmony between nations as one of the six most important goals (by 17%). In 1988, this goal was frequently chosen as the most important, but today its place occupies the demand for improving citizens' living conditions. The verbal conflicts between nations have started in 1989 (especially between political elite) and the young felt the importance of preventing possible tragic consequences. Today, when bloody civil war has already happened, many are discouraged and are giving up the idea of improving the relations between nations. Nevertheless, quite a number of pupils still hold this goal as an important, even the most important social task.

In all, the changes in selecting social goals are great, but not so dramatic as expected by some researchers.

Degree of accepting value orientations

Since all scales for measuring value orientations contained six items evaluated by five-degree scale (points 1 to 5) each, the total possible range for the scale was from 6 to 30. For bipolar dimension, score 18 is the middle point which theoretically separates two poles of the dimension. Average results of two tested generations of pupils and differences in averages are given in Table 2.
Table 2: Average Results (M) and Standard Deviations (SD) for the Scales of Value Orientations in the 1988. and 1994. Investigations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M1</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M2</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private vs. Public Property</td>
<td>19.09</td>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>16.32</td>
<td>4.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egalitarianism</td>
<td>17.70</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>15.33</td>
<td>4.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religiousness</td>
<td>16.61</td>
<td>5.32</td>
<td>21.61</td>
<td>5.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openness toward World</td>
<td>18.62</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>18.64</td>
<td>3.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Activism</td>
<td>19.56</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>16.06</td>
<td>4.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authoritarianism</td>
<td>20.95</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>19.73</td>
<td>4.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformistic Orientation</td>
<td>19.55</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>18.01</td>
<td>5.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Equality</td>
<td>22.59</td>
<td>5.80</td>
<td>20.59</td>
<td>5.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Activism</td>
<td>21.75</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>21.15</td>
<td>4.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average results reveal that in 1988, the pupils have mainly opted for public (non-private) property. In the meantime, significant changes have occurred so that in 1994, the accepting of private property dominates. Significant fall is noted in the accepting of egalitarian orientation (in the second investigation, the majority clearly shows non-egalitarian attitudes). Although the strengthening of egalitarian orientation is usually expected in social crisis, the opposite tendency was noted, at least, in this population. This is in accordance with the finding that the social equality, as the social goal, is in 1994. chosen by less pupils than in 1988.

The greatest changes have occurred at the dimension religiousness. While in 1988, an atheistic orientation was prevalent (the score on religiousness scale was the lowest compared to the other scales), in 1994, the positive attitudes toward the church and religion are clearly dominant (the highest score compared to the other scales). With civil war in ex-Yugoslavia and international isolation of Serbia and Montenegro, it is surprising that no changes have been registered on the scale openness – closeness toward the world. Admittedly, the degree of openness found in 1988. was the lowest registered ever before within the young in Serbia, but than, as today, the openness is slightly higher than closeness. However, it should be noted that the degree of ethnocentrism within the general Serbian population has become higher. (Kuzmanović, 1995a; Golubović, Kuzmanović, Vasović, 1995). Probably, the part of the young from the tested sample has felt the
senselessness of the civil war and realized the impairment of ethno-
centric closing and isolation from the world.\textsuperscript{1} But, let us remember
that the social goal of harmony between nations was conceived as
important by the smaller number of pupils in 1994 than in 1998.
Perhaps, many young have ambivalent attitudes and feel helpless con-
fronted with chaotic social changes.\textsuperscript{2}

Feelings of helplessness, disappointment along with some other
moments are probably the reason why the social involvement has lost
a great deal of its attractiveness for the young. After the first turbulence
of public opinion, emerging of new political parties, when the people’s
aspirations became higher, a certain decline and loss of interest in
social engagement occurred. Such social climate has also affected the
young.

New generation of pupils shows slightly smaller result on the
scale of general activistic orientation although this value orientation
is still well accepted.

Significantly lower scores are noted on the scale of gender equality
(although the majority is still for this equality). This can be explained
as an element of re-traditionalization that appeared in the twilight of
the socialist system and Yugoslav Federation as one of the reactions
to social crisis and crises of values.\textsuperscript{3} However, authoritarianism, usu-
ally associated with other components of traditionalism, was not in-
creased. On the contrary, authoritarian and conformist orientations are
significantly less accepted.\textsuperscript{4} It seems that criticism of young toward
authorities and social groups’ pressures is rising while the interest in
participation in social and public activities is falling.

Significant changes were discovered in the value system structure
created by the investigated orientations. Three factors were isolated
in the first research. The first factor includes the components of
authoritarian – traditionalistic (i.e. non-authoritarian – and anticollec-
tivistic orientation on the second pole) orientation; (un)authoritarian-
ism, (non)conformity, gender equality, openness toward the world. By
its content, the second factor represents a variant of socialist ideology

\textsuperscript{1} Among others, the scale contains these statements: "For every nation it is necessary
to be opened to the world and to influences of other cultures." (in 1994, 64\% of
pupils agreed with it); "It is better to be the citizen of the world than to belong
to a specific nation." (41.4\% agreed); and "The mankind should set the goal of
abolishing the separation into nations." (56\% agreed).

\textsuperscript{2} Pantic has already in the previous decade established the growing sense of anomy
with the young (Pantic, 1990.)

\textsuperscript{3} Some researches show that re-traditionalization for the vast part of population
does not consist of returning to the traditional sex roles but of returning to
traditional religious customs and ethnocentrism (Golubovic et al., 1995.)

\textsuperscript{4} Authoritarianism is not reduced within the wider population. According to some
researches it is even increased. (Kuzmanovic, 1995.)
for it comprises public property, egalitarianism and atheism. The third contains two kinds of activistic orientation.

Different factorial structure was obtained in the second investigation. Four factors were extracted. The first, as before, consists of the attitudes towards the sexes' equality, authoritarianism, conformism plus public property and general activism, while the correlation with the openness to the world is notably smaller. The second factor includes only religiousness and the fourth only social activism. The third one includes egalitarianism, but this time with the openness toward the world, making somehow unusual combination. So, the old factorial structure is broken (for example, the complex variant of socialistic ideology has disappeared) and unexpected combination and distinctive isolated dimensions have appeared. We feel that this re-structuration process is not finished yet and that established structures are probably not stable. In sum, the greatest changes have been registered in the orientations having ideological character (or an important ideological aspect at least) and these changes have affected the structure of the values.

Preferred life-styles

Preferred life styles and the choice of the most and the least desirable style obtained in 1988. and 1994. investigations are shown in Table 3:

The greatest changes have been registered in the preference of traditional-religious life style. Religious orientation was earlier the least popular one, being the only one, beside the orientation toward power, rejected by the majority of pupils. Numerous earlier researches have assessed the major unpopularity of religious traditionalism (for example, Rot and Havelka, 1973; Radin, 1988). This time, its popularity has notably grown, the number of pupils liking it has doubled, but, as earlier, it is not the most desirable life style for almost anybody. In both researches, the preference of religious style is equally significantly connected with the higher conformism, higher authoritarianism, lower school achievements and the lower educational level of parents. All these correlations are about +0.20).
### Table 3: Preference of Life Styles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altruistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilitarian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popularity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promethean</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedonistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egoistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power oriented</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Life styles emphasising helping and social engagement (altruistic orientation, Promethean activism) have significantly lost popularity. In spite of that, altruistic orientation was and is highly rated. Promethean activism is also generally accepted but, compared to the other similarly rated styles, far less frequently noted as the first choice and even 10% of pupils in 1994 consider it as the least attractive of all offered life styles. The weakening of the pro-social orientation...
among the young is also seen in the greater popularity of egoistic and power orientation and, in a sense, in a less accepted orientation toward popularity. Yet, as in a number of earlier researches, the orientation toward power is at the very bottom of the list and is repulsive to the majority of pupils. The drop in readiness to help and in social involvement is followed with the significant growth of popularity of hedonistic life style.

Utilitarian style is the only orientation for which there were no differences in the degree of acceptance in 1989, and in 1994. In 1994, its average acceptance placed it on the second place. Although the recent researches show that this orientation is ranked highly by the young (e.g. Vasović, 1988; Joksimović, 1992), in an older research conducted by Rot and Havelka (1973), it was the least accepted from the six offered orientations.

In both researches, the most popular among the pupils was the family life style. This is the only style for which more than half pupils said that "they would like very much" to live like this. One third has chosen it as the most desirable and only few per cents would not like to live in this way. Judging by the average, the scientific orientation is also among the popular ones. However, its popularity dropped in the recent period, especially if judged by the number of pupils choosing it as the most attractive.

In sum, it is obvious that many changes have occurred in the preferences of life-styles. However, the intensity of these changes, although statistically significant, is not great. Preferred life styles (except the religious orientation) have retained the same valence and approximately the same hierarchy order. Pro-social life styles are still accepted by the majority of pupils and, in total, more accepted than the utilitarian — hedonistic models.

Choice of models

Here, the new results could be compared only with the results previously obtained for the entire sample (N=2653; Popadić, 1990b). In 1988/1989 12.0% pupils did not give any name and in 1990. 13.5%. The responses are classified in 6 categories (Table 4)
A few changes in selection of model stand out. First, nowadays the persons from the show business – actors, singers, fashion models are picked as models far more often than before. The participation of foreign celebrities is not smaller, but larger, which is in accordance with somewhat surprising, already mentioned, finding about the unchanged openness toward the world. The popularity of domestic sportsmen has dropped. It is understandable because, due to the sanctions, they could not participate, and thus gain reputation, in the important international competitions.

Category "politics" that includes politicians, statesmen and national heroes is much less represented than before. Particularly notable is the smaller popularity of domestic politicians who were, in the earlier research almost as a rule, in the top of popularity list, even above the show business stars. (For example, while in 1988 Slobodan Milošević was the model for every tenth pupil and as much as 69% included him among the three most esteemed domestic alive persons, in 1994 he got only four votes.)

The diminishing of interest in the world of adults and values offered by culture is shown in the drop of popularity of the representatives of the elite culture. The scientists and artists are almost entirely unattractive for the pupils. The attempts of the school and the social environment to promote these figures proved vain: although their appearance in the curriculum is not reduced, and the great publicity is given to them in the times of promoting and turning to domestic cultural values, they are nevertheless surpassed by persons representing models of carefree and easy life. Contrary to the educational intentions of society, the presence of "negative stars" among the models is alarming. These are the persons whose behaviour is in a sharp collision with official moral and law rules: 3% names from the model list represent figures as Hitler, Al Capone and similar. Obviously, at the times of general anonymity, deterioration of the middle class and the
increase of crime, the basic criterion of desirability for the young is the model's prosperity.

**Expectations from the future career**

Two generations of pupils tested within the five years' span, generated their expectations from the future career under the remarkably different social circumstances. The earlier circumstances show the domination of orientations toward values of primarily social and secondly of individual character. The new circumstances have changed the priorities since they have placed much more emphasis on individual, utilitarian and pragmatic values.

The survey of main findings (Table 5) confirms these expectations, but rather showing that the changes are going on than that they have already occurred.

**Table 5: The Evaluation of the Importance of the Certain Expectations from the Future Career**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expectation from the Future Career</th>
<th>Rating of Some Expectations' Importance</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Dif</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not important</td>
<td>Slightly imp.</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Very imp.</td>
<td>Very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperation</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>61.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>44.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Righteousnes</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comfort</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earnings</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popularity</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                                   | 29.9         | 24.9          | 28.9   | 8.5       | 7.8       | 2.39| 1.21| .27 | .001
The first thing we see is that the rank-order of individual expectations based on ratings of their importance is not changed. In both researches, the first and the second position are occupied by one pro-social (cooperation) and one pro-individual (personal improvement) value orientation.

Second, in six (out of 10) tested value orientations small, but statistically significant, changes were noted. Fairly high valuation of helping and righteousness became lower while the valuing of importance of security, comfort, earnings and popularity became significantly higher.

So, the rising tendency is noted with the utilitarian expectations, either individually (e.g. good earnings and safe job) or socially oriented (e.g. popularity). The declining tendency is mostly noted with the pro-social expectations like the fight for righteousness, helping to the others and acquiring status giving social influence.

Conclusions and comments

The overall survey of the results obtained by this investigation shows that during past five-six dramatic years the greatest changes have occurred, as expected, in the values and value orientations having clear ideological character or in a certain way connected with prominent, socially observable occurrences, i.e. actual topics of the social life. The discriminant analysis made (although not giving new insights, it gives good summary of the most important results) shows that the two investigated groups are best discriminated by: religious orientation (correlation with discriminatory function -0.56), preference of the religious life style (-0.52), social activism (0.46), orientation toward public property (0.38), egalitarianism (0.33), Promethean activism (0.25), harmony between nations (0.22), gender equality (0.20), etc.

The social changes influence the mind and behaviour of the new generations either by clearly proposing of new behaviour patterns, goals and value models and even forcing the young to conform to them or changing the milieu in which the young live and grow thus changing their experiences (as discussed in the introduction) and, in this way, indirectly inducing the changes in attitudes and value orientations. Prevailing social climate (or just the impression that a certain thinking or behavioural pattern is dominant) is exerting a kind of pressure on the citizens to fit in this "spirit of times." This might serve as an explanation for the great switch in attitudes toward private property, church and religion. Namely, the critique of the old (communist) system for its atheism and public property which was deemed as the main reason of economical inefficiency was particularly strong and frequent. Although the political attitude and the law on equality
of all forms of property (in practice, the public property is still dominant) is still in force in Serbia, it seems that expressed public opinion is different and that it has affected the new generations' orientations. Furthermore, the activity of the church and religious figures has been particularly strong during the past five-six years while the government has been extremely tolerant toward them. The fact that in spite of existing nationalistic and xenophobic social climate we did not – at least on this population and by the instrument used – find the decrease in openness toward the world shows that the young do not always conform to the dominant social climate. (The lesser acceptance of conformistic strategy was noted). The tragic consequences of the confronted nationalistic passions, with the awareness that the young are often the victims in these confrontations, have seemingly awaken the new discernment and the ambivalent attitude toward ethnocentrism and militant nationalism with the part of the young generation.

The basic value orientations (orientations which refer to defining and articulation of the basic needs and interests) not explicitly connected with the obvious social changes have been undergoing slower and lesser changes. Some of them – at least, psychologically – retain the approximately same functions as in the previous social circumstances. Yet, we have found, as observed earlier (e.g. Radin, 1988), that the reactions of adolescents read to the oncoming social crisis by withdrawal from the adults' world to the security of the primary groups – family and peers. This tendency, observed even by the end of 80's, has continued in 90's: unlike their peers in 1988, the elementary school pupils in 1994 displayed much less interest in a wider community, a weaker attachment to it (this is the explanation for the higher preference of the egoistic style, smaller altruistic orientation and lower scores in authoritarianism and conformism) and the smaller desire for the personal involvement (reduced general, public and Promethean activism). With the further withdrawal from the wider community, this time we have registered a certain withdrawal from the primary groups and focusing on egoistic concerns (lower attractiveness of the family, altruistic and popularity orientations, greater attractiveness of egoistic and power orientations).

Paradoxically, the growth of hedonistic orientation and the cult of entertainment are not the consequence of the consumers' carelessness arising from the general prosperity. On the contrary, they emerge in the middle of economic problems and political conflicts and reflect the young's wish to close the eyes to the surrounding world. However, it would be wrong to attribute this creating of the world or entertainment to the children's inventiveness. It is well known that, encountered with the catastrophic consequences of the war events, all cultural models – particularly newly created war culture, in this way responds to the all social groups' demand for oblivion and the escape from reality. (Dragičević-Šešić, 1994.)
Social Changes and Changes of Values

In sum, the changes of pupils’ value system are smaller than the degree of social changes occurring in ex-Yugoslavia and Serbia. It is partly due to the nature of some value orientations and partly due to the protection of elementary school pupils from the harmful influences exercised by parents and the community. Children’s perceptions of social reality are mediated by the selection of information and through the explanations given by the elders, and, besides, the curricula and the educational rhetoric are not radically changed.

References


B. Kuzmanović, D. Popadić, N. Havelka


Rot, N. i N. Havelka (1973): Nacionalna vezanost i vrednosti kod srednjoškolske omladine, Institut za psihologiju i Institut društvenih nauka, Centar za sociološka istraživanja, Beograd.
