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## MEANING OF THE SOCIAL CHANGES IN THE END OF 90'S

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**Abstract.** *Social changes in the end of 90's are connected with: appearance of the scientific technological revolution as an universal social phenomenon that, more or less, permeates all segments of the society and all concrete global societies; expansion of the market model of the economy; explosive increasing of the ecological problems in planetary proportions.*

*Meaning of such social changes is in contradictory structure of the social processes in which crisis and developing tendencies (example of the societies in transition), destructive and constructive processes, destroying of the existing and creating of the new are born. The need for critical observation and evaluation of such processes is necessary even during the social - economic analysis of the transiting societies ad theirs economies in market economies and democratic pluralistic society.*

### 1. MEANING OF THE SOCIAL CHANGES IN THE END OF 90'S

Modern society is, by many characteristics, in the turning-point, in deep contradiction of the social processes and relations, social inequalities and uneven social development, marked conflicts of the different human interests that culminate with antagonistic social conflicts and destruction's, with the phenomenon of anomie and social destruction, but also with everyday human estrangement and looking for its own identity. In the paper named "Conflict of the civilisations" (1994), American sociologist Samuel P. Huntington (Harvard) presents the thesis that population increase, ecological degradation of our planet and ethnic conflicts generate fundamental social conflict between different cultural groups. This thesis is reasoned by the example of Bombay town in India, that is, at the same time, very prosperous and rich area and the scene of the irreconcilable conflicts between Hindus and Moslems. On the other hand, Francis Fukuyama euphorically develops comprehension about global liberal democracy and rational behaviour, that is elimination of the social conflicts and "end of history" (Hegel's term) (in paper "End of

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history and last man", Free Press, New York, 1992). The shine and misery of modern society, society of the plenty and society of poverty, prosperous and reactionary societies, social and ecological crisis, exploitation and domination, modern slavery (dependence) and unemployment, conflicts of the industrialism, modern and post-modern, crisis of the presence and crisis of the future load human spirit like a nightmare, throw it in despair or wake a hope in liberation. If we consider modern society in strict, scientific meaning as a form of abstraction and generalisation of the important characteristics of concrete modern societies that are basically very different, then this phenomenon may be understood just by discovering global (total) problems of that society, whose solving in every concrete example may contribute to the social progress. Of course, some difficulties appear in this research, not just because of logical-methodological problems and the width of analysed problem, but also because of social system complexity, its intertwined social structure and different manifestation of social changes in every single society. From the sociological point of view, the question of consistent analysis of modern social changes with global character is asked, because they make a base of theoretical thought-out for different sciences and a starting point for social action.

Global society analysis is known in history of social thought. Many thinkers, with their scientific observations, abstracted and generalised different social characteristics, forming the phenomenon of total society types. That is how multidimensional characteristics of social structure and dynamic could be synthesised in different society typologies in works of Marx, Conte, Tonnies, Spencer, Durkheim, Morgan or Toynbee. For Marx, global problem is the way of production and appearance and development of some social-economic formations. For Morgan, the development level of means of production and social-cultural characteristics of social development are base for classification of societies on savagery, barbarity and civilisation. At Conte's, the problem is idealistic, that is level of intellectual development of society (theological era, metaphysical era and positivistic era). Tonnies establishes two kinds of society, community and society. Community originates naturally, as a form of homogeneous human life, while the society is a form of consciousness, willing life. Solidarity processes are the criteria for Durkheim's social typology on societies with mechanical solidarity (where division of a labour is simple) and societies with organic solidarity (with complex division of labour). Toynbee separates societies on many civilisations, starting from their cyclic historical course (beginning, prosperity and destruction). For Spencer, the social organisation is important, so he classifies them on militaristic and industrial.

In modern society, view points that prevail are those that connect global social changes with:

- a) appearance of the scientific - technological revolution as an universal social phenomenon that, more or less, permeates all segments of the society and all concrete global societies;
- b) expansion of the market model of the economy;
- c) explosive increasing of the ecological problems in planetary proportions.

Ecological problems, according to Canadian scientist T.F. Homer-Dixon (chief of the peace and conflict studies program at the Toronto University), become potential causes of military, political and ethnic conflicts. In the paper "Ecological changes as modern conflicts causes" (1991), Homer-Dixon points out that politics could never be separated from the nature and physical world (climate, health, ecology), so that there are not just

social causes of social and political changes, but also natural ones. From there, these global social phenomena lead different authors to name modern society as post-industrial or third civilisation (J. Fourastie, C. Clark, J. Dumazdier), post-industrial society (D. Bell), programming society (A. Turen), super-industrial society (A. Toffler), post-bourgeois society (G. Luchteim), post-capitalistic society (R. Dahrendorf). These phenomena are projected together with social changes in "world" of work and ecological problems through different level in all important social processes and relations in modern society: economic, political, cultural, intellectual. That is why important social processes and relations that socially determine different fields of human action - in working process and economic life, in family, way of life, political action, free time using, in cultural models, in form of education, in way of living and human communication, in level of scientific knowledge and human creativity, could be marked like global problems of modern society. In social values system, under the influence of economic, technological, political and cultural changes, ambiguous structural changes (in relation with: valuable life aims, life satisfaction, future expectations, religion, work motivation, attitudes about marriage, family and woman's part in society, attitudes about quality of life, about ecological problems, comprehension's about ethnic relations...) appear. American sociologist Ronald Inghart made a research of materialistic and post-materialistic values in societies on West. Results that he came to undoubtedly confirmed global tendency of human valuable orientation motions from materialistic to post-materialistic values in developed societies. Post-materialistic values like: quality of life, humanisation of society, need for love and belonging to, self-respect, turning to intellectual and aesthetic pleasure are on the top of the valuable scale in these societies. Of course, these are societies where reached level of social-economic development puts on a surface new questions about quality of human existence.

In modern society global problems analysis it should start from the contradictory structure of the social processes. Namely, crisis and developing tendencies (example of societies in transition), destructive and constructive processes, destroying of existing and creating a new appear in global problems and social processes in modern society. Even when we see on the phenomenon surface shine and riches, high technologies and life standard, it is still possible that, behind it, there are many destructive social tendencies of moral and psychological crisis. That let the great French sociologist Edgar Moren to conclude the existence of general crisis of modern society, thus the crisis of West too, not just crisis of the world of socialism. That is a special civilisation crisis that, according to Moren, "can not be perceived. That is not an economic crisis... This is a crisis of person in more and more technocratic civilisation and crisis of more and more atomic people, in more and more anomic, impersonal world. There are a lot of symptoms of that crisis, a lot of unhappy, upset people with psycho-somatic problems. These are the civilisation illness. There are, also, flooding, eruptions of violence in suburbs, horror of drug. The crisis of West becomes deeper, but we can not define when it will erupt" (January 1992). However, beside this picture of global social problems, processes of the social growth and development in economic and social area develop, disregarding different observations of these tendencies: as a social evolution, quantitative and qualitative social development, society modernisation, cultural evolution, industrial and post-industrial society development, growth and development system transition processes ... Both dimensions of the modern society global problems just in their complete allowed critical

sociological examination of social motions and frontiers of the important tendencies of industrial and social life.

On the threshold of the XXI century, under the influence of the scientific - technological and economic development, global demands for radical civilisation changes are put toward modern society. In the human work area, social processes of the human person parcelization exceeding appear, through the changeable and elastic work tasks introducing, for example, that allows even the working activity to be gradually constituted as a human creative capability game. The changes are visible in everyday human life too, in their social-political, cultural and family life. From there, we understand global social changes on the threshold of the XXI century like social tendencies that contain, basically integrative and humanistic potentials in human and society liberation in economic, political and spiritual view. In this context, these changes are explained heuristically because they discover new ways of individual and human emancipation. The changes take place in modern capitalism and in modern socialism (post-socialistic societies). On the other hand, universal character of scientific-technological and economic development of the modern society puts on the question of the global problem social frontiers, that some theoreticians (representatives of the convergence theory of the social-economic systems) bring down on different forms of economic and technological determinism. It is interesting to point out that even the Marxist modern social changes analysis, often, over-dimension the technological aspect, loosing the anthropological - humanistic and class-social dimension of the global social problem.

Social researches of the modern society global problems are very rare, because of the complexity of such project, but also because of the relative unconstruction of the consistent theoretical and methodological base for this kind of research. So, the explanations of the global problems could be found more often in sociological and economic analyses of the factors and forms of the social motions and in social changes explanation. That is understanding because modern society global problems grow through the social development and social changes (every social change is not a form of development in the same time, while the social development is certainly a social change). In sociological meaning, need for determination of the interaction relations between social change and global problem grows, specially because of tempestuous tendencies of the modern epoch, processes of the revolution and social transformations.

Beside that, it is necessary to make difference between social characteristics of the global and social problems and economic and technological explanations (in their one - sided comprehension) of the social motions. Modern social changes as the social processes and global society problems as the important characteristics of these processes are very different (although they are in causal-resultant connection with them) from economicistic comprehension of the social changes as the form of the economic development and economic growth. Namely, J. K. Galbraith and W. W. Rostow take in economic analysis a viewpoint that western society has solved economic growth and economic development problems, while undeveloped societies can exceed their own backwardness by the capital and technology import from the high-developed countries. When it is about transition processes, most of the economic experts on West think that countries in transition, for example, must follow economic recipes from the developed economies. Difference between theirs views looks at the choice of the acceptable change

model. American economists, simply, suggest universal transition model for all, along with great neglecting of the cultural-historical characteristics of the transiting societies. French model is, also, basically liberal model, but somewhat flexible and consists in realisation of the social changes postulates, like: private property transformation, individual initiative and enterprise development, concurrence relation development, economy and society opening to the world, law rule ... Guy Sorman thinks that French model is, through the establishing of the transition principle and considering economic changes and national specifics, more appropriate to the social changes nature in post-socialistic societies. In this way, historic symbiosis and compromise of the open society (Poper) and social development cultural factor (Weber) could be realised. After all, the reality of these societies confirms that those countries that adapted some changes to their concrete opportunities made better results in transition: Hungary through the foreign investments, Poland through the small enterprises development, Czech Republic through the voucher privatisation and workers participation in enterprises management, China through the private country properties development. From the sociologist's point of view, such economic analysis may usefully serve to the more high-quality explanation of the social changes in developed and undeveloped world, but the real sociological explanation can be given only if we bring social changes in connection with one society type exceeding and new society type construction. It is about sociological explanation of the global changes and tendencies in the society that are on the track of new way of manufacture and new social relations.

Modern humanity is characterised by a set of different integrating and disintegrating global social processes. Of course, the most important process is the one of the scientific-technological development that, in integrating meaning, connects economy, politics and culture of many nations in world division of labour, scientific - technological, political and cultural Cupertino. Mass communication media and means of transport reduce distance between people, erase national frontiers, allow people communication and acculturation process. New consciousness about people connection, community, about unity and indivisibility of the world is born. Phenomenon of the ecological problems and ecological crisis, also, in their way point out the unity of life and reference of people and nations on co-operation, if they want to avoid ecological catastrophe. By the articulation of common interests and by the common participation in their realisation, in time, people form (although very slowly) common human consciousness. "Common human consciousness is stronger and stronger, because common human interdependence is stronger. While, once, people could live on some relatively small part of the Earth, not even knowing that other parts existed too (it should not be forgotten that some more than 500 years have past from the America discovery - note P.H.), today everything that happens even in the most isolated spot on the world has significant influence to the whole world and can not be neglected. Mankind becomes the unity, one unique subject" (R. Luki}). The important characteristic of this process is freedom, not force, in the realisation of the international co-operation and human world integration.

The real mankind integration in many elements, from today point of view, remains a wish and ideal, because human and nations dramas, disintegrating processes, social conflicts and separation happen on the world scene. Deep special disproportion's follow the mankind, they are the source and the cause of its disintegration, contradiction in economic political and scientific-technological area, gap between developed and

undeveloped, conflicts of the neo-colonial and national-liberation movements, conflicts inside the world of capitalism - as conflicts of the national capitals on the world markets, conflicts in the world of socialism, problems in transition processes in post-socialistic societies, appearance of the deep social crisis in these societies, appearance of the racial, religious and national intolerance in different forms, including even war conflicts, bigger and bigger arms and atomic war danger, unlevelled scientific-technological development, ecological crisis, hunger and poverty, disproportions in work world, class conflicts ... The dark side of the mankind puts moral demand for human action, for intervention in modern world for its humanisation in front of the human consciousness. At the same time, difficult mankind problems make pessimism and hopelessness at people, and that destimulates efforts and initiative for those problems solving.

However, modern society is not just loaded by mentioned hot mankind problems, but also by the great world forces trying (specially USA) to make global political influence and domination relations. Those tendencies declare also in incapability of deeper understanding of the social impacts that seized national communities on East. That is how UNO's prejudiced solving of the internal and external problems in political and economic processes (specially on the former Yugoslav area) hardly destroyed its reputation, by retarding process of the society transition toward a market economy and pluralistic society. From there, some sociologists' opinion that it is about special civilisation conflict in which the developed countries, coming from the force position (economic, political, military) try to realise world supremacy, is not without a base. The opinion of the well-known philosopher K. Popper, that modern western society is a personification of the justice and peacefulness and, therefore, "the most comfortable for living", in relation with existing alternative societies, is very indicative. K. Wright and J. Galtung proved one-sided property of this comprehension, stating that with the end of the "cold war" era (and bipolar division of the world power) and with new redistribution of the world power in benefit of one super-force (USA), causes of great social conflicts (ideological, political, racial, ethnic, ecological, religious, linguistical, territorial) will not disappear. That is why these sociologists are right when they call attention to need for new approach (scientific and human) of the international and regional institutions for solving of global problems and social conflicts in modern society.

Need for critical perceiving and evaluation of global processes is also necessary during the social-economic analysis of the transition of socialistic societies and their economies into the market economy and democratic pluralistic societies. Non-existing of the unique and consistent theoretic solution for this global social phenomenon and empirical knowledge about stoppages and different ways of transiting changes, as well as problem complexity, refer to the need for combining empirical and theoretical interpretations and interdisciplinary approach in analysis. That is why global social changes and transiting processes in this paper are explained from the sociological and economic aspects, because we think that this form of scientific analysis is competent enough to grab a real nature of the put theme.

Modern society global problems in politics and economy are under the strong influence of the neo-liberal model of social changes. Neo-liberal concept of the social - economic development (specially American variant) minimises social functions of the state (in the social protection and employment policy areas) because of maximal private initiative affirmation and economic efficiency. In international relations, it appears with

aggressive strategy of putting smaller and weaker economies in economic and other kind of dependence forms. Polish economist Jozef Pajeska, explaining neo-liberalistic development strategy as a product of the new capitalism liberal-democratic tradition, points out that it appears in 80's in USA and England, through so called "reaganomic" and "tacherism", as a reaction on socialisation processes in modern capitalism. "Neo-liberalism bases its theory and practice on next dogmas: about minimal state and maximal "invisible hand" of market part; priority of monetaristic doctrine and anti-inflation policy in relation on development and employment urging policy; market glorification as a sufficient condition for efficiency realisation and social-economic development; complex transition process reduction, that is system transformation, exclusively on property system change by the privatisation, by which the process of deeper structural modernisation and more effective social transformation is paralysed; about liberal representative democracy as a simple field for elite competition and about disideologisation" (Jozef Pajeska). Post-socialistic countries, who long for market economy, could use much better the experiences of the European neo-liberal concept (critically evaluated characteristics of so called "eurocapitalism"), partly based on the accomplishments of the "state of welfare" and social-democracy. In that development concept, important level of the citizens social security and aspiration for establishing the relations of the social stability and tolerance between capital interests and demands (economic efficiency and profit) and certain level of social givings (social fairness principle) is present. Although that relation is not static and permanently co-ordinated, necessary social consensus in stabilisation of the global social system is constituted by it and it confirms social-market identity of those societies.

Empirical and theoretic interpretation of the transition processes shows the deep interconnection between economic, political and social-cultural factors in every global society. Non-considering these facts and clear social-economic development strategy initiated big stoppage and regressive tendencies in transition societies. Application of the so called "shock therapy" and "revolutive concept" (followers are Jeffrey Sachs, David Lipton, K. Blanchard ...) is based on neo-classical model (neo-liberal model) of the fast transition into the market economy. Basic entries of this approach are: free price forming, abolition of the subvencies, currency convertibility, reduction of the state part in economic life, legal state. In most of the transition countries that model caused price increasing, unemployment, over-inflation, foreign obligations ... Countries who have accepted it paid a lot its application. Knowledge about specific social-economic development in some countries and parts of the world and non-existing of the universal transition model was confirmed. Application of the "neo-liberal" ("Anglo-Saxon") model was specially difficult to use in Yugoslav example. Reason for this are divergent value scales, unexemplary property structure, different state part. Anglo-Saxon model is "individualistic capitalism", that is based on great earnings differences, easy job dismissal, easy resignation acceptance, share capital domination, enterprise is goods like any other. That is why comparison of those countries and transition models that allows drawing, even distant, social-cultural and economic analogies, based on special "evolution model", is more excused for-finding the acceptable way in transiting changes. Traditional values and knowledge and unique "social consensus" are synthesised in this model. That "German-Japanese" model eliminated "wild capitalism", realised agreement between workers and employers with the help of the state, increase of the work

productivity and product quality, continued the tradition of social solidarity and workers as well as managers firm loyalty, made stronger team work, affirmed "industrial investors"-banks, insurance companies, funds, trade unions ... "It is not too late for us to learn a lesson. Embargo protected us from too big "transition". We still have chances for reform. If there is willingness for it, we should look with one eye to the German-Japanese model and with the other one to our own value scale and our own conditions" (B. Babi}). In methodological meaning, evolutive approach to the social changes (in agreement with the perceiving of the social-economic system transition) could be considered as "normal and organised", while the discontinuation could be considered as "problematic". In judging about social-economic effects of the transiting changes it is not enough to observe just economic parameters, but wider and more global estimate about influence of these changes to realisation of civilisational and humanistic ideals of fair and dignified life, is also important.

Global social changes contain dynamic potentials of new civilisation walk (possibilities of economic, political, cultural, scientific-technological, moral progress). More and more present affirmation of the human freedom is the biggest value in this processes, in spite of worry social conflicts. Development of the freedom idea and practice and ways of its realisation, specially through the processes of global social system democratisation and human individuality affirmation (for example: creativity freedom, practical work freedom, self-realisation freedom - Isaija Berlin), is the central value of our epoch. Generally, freedom and social justice (together with the idea of peace and sameness) remain universal ethical values that are present in modern society flows, disregarding existence of the big uncertainty in level and character of their more complete realisation. That is why, in our valuable determination for more free and effective society, we must not neglect that social justice is not economic principle. Justice principle should be understood in meaning that, for mankind, moral must be more important than ideology and social Darwinism must not be accepted (L. Kolakowski, Oxford, 1993). In transition process, that problem appears as a basic relation between economic efficiency and social fairness. In it, simultaneous realisation of economic dynamic and social justice may mean new life quality.

Modern society global problems include also sociological human observation and his influence on processes of the unique human "socialisation". Viewpoints that this "socialisation" lead to the depersonalisation, lost of the human freedom and appearance of the conflict society, are not so rare. "Solving its own problems, sociology necessarily takes social parts as its own analytic elements; its subject is social parts structure." On that base, for example, Ralf Dahrendorf constructs social conflict theory that industrial society global problems, in some extent (not completely) release just in future democratic society. Thus, general criterion of solving evaluation of the modern society global problems (scientific-technological revolution, changes in work "world" and way of people life, social justice realisation, ecological crisis solving) is based on the sociological-philosophical and economic base, as a possibility for human self-realisation and realisation of the real human society, real man's world.

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## SMISAO DRUŠTVENIH PROMENA KRAJEM DEVEDESETIH

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*Društvene promene krajem devedesetih povezane su sa: nastupom naučno-tehnološke revolucije kao univerzalne društvene pojave koja u manjoj ili većoj meri prožima sve segmente društva i sva konkretna globalna društva; širenjem tržišnog modela privređivanja; eksplozivnim narastanjem ekoloških problema u planetarnim razmerama. Smisao takvih društvenih promena je u protivurečnoj strukturi socijalnih procesa u kojima se rađaju i krizne i razvojne tendencije (primer društava u tranziciji), procesi destrukcije i konstruktivni procesi, razaranja postojećeg i stvaranja novog. Potreba kritičkog sagledavanja i vrednovanja takvih procesa nužna je i prilikom socio-ekonomske analize tranzitornih društava i njihovih ekonomija u tržišnu privredu i demokratsko pluralističko društvo.*