Series: Philosophy, Sociology and Psychology Vol. 6, No1, 2007, pp. 23 - 39

TRADITIONAL VALUES AND MODERNIZATION CHALLENGES IN FORMING URBAN AND RURAL CULTURE *

UDC 316.72; 316.334.56

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Abstract. The importance of values of tradition and new possibilities and challenges of modernization are unavoidable in social-anthropological and cultural analysis and understanding of urban and rural reality. Starting from an idea of determining tradition and modernization, in the paper their relation and influence to forming urban and rural culture in our society is considered. In this way, these two models of culture are observed through personal lifestyle of urban and rural society, as well as through the system of values and proper ways and forms of communication which these societies form. Results analyzed show that intertwining of urban and rural culture, the modern and traditional, the global and local, is the main characteristic of our social-cultural reality in which modern and traditional social values have interfered. Approaching urban and rural culture is one of the consequences of modern homogenization, so that, in our society, a strong process of their interinfluence is often expressed, which in the context of global, social and cultural changes, significantly influences the creation of our everyday events.

Key words: tradition, modernization, urban and rural culture, cultural differences, traditional, traditionalistic and modern social values.

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

The complexity and multisignificance of the concept of 'culture', has resulted, in social theory, in various approaches in comprehension and determination of this idea. However, the fact that culture has always presented the base for all human material and religious achievements has never been disputable, which made possible individual and social development, mediating between one's self-understanding and understanding of others.

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Received May 12, 2007

^{*} This paper is based on results of the empirical investigation which was done for my master's thesis entitled Urban and Rural Culture in the Context of Multicultural Society (Examination of Attitudes of Urban and Rural Residents of Palilula Community in Nis in Connection with Phenomenon of Cultural Distinction) which was presented and defended at the Faculty of Philosophy, Nis on June 6, 2006.

Once culture was on the margins of sociological interests, but today it assumes a very significant place in analyzing contemporary social changes. In the new social context, scientific knowledge, high education, information, engineering, technology are becoming strategic social forces which enable cultural changes and creation of a planetary culture. The speed of spreading and developing of cultures in the contemporary world differs in comparison with any other period in the past, so it happens, without regard to it, that their relationship is complementary or marked with tensions and conflicts, where tradition and modernity coexist and influence one another. In the process in which tradition and modernization are being harmonized, in the postindustrial social model, undisputed role is attributed to culture, so it can be said that modernity imposes a new concept of concordance and collaboration of various cultural models in the area of global society.

1. CULTURE, TRADITION, AND MODERNIZATION

Specifying ideas of cultures, traditions and modernization, and then bringing these categories into a certain relationship, retaining the tendency for their semantic differences, shouldn't be realized as *contradictio in adjecto*. On the contrary, complexity and interweaving of their mutual relations indeed lead us to the fact that we cannot talk about continuity and discontinuity, away from interactive relations of the mentioned categories. Analysis of contemporary cultures, various cultural models, individual and collective cultural identities, means a critical respect of the past as well as turn to the future.

The origin of the word tradition (lat. *traditio*) directs to the process of transmission, delivery, and maintenance of values, properties, customs, and principles, forms, which mark the cultural identity of individuals, groups, nations, and mankind. In a word, "tradition is an important and powerful centre of crystallization of social experience" (Đurić 1972:113).

As a constructive element of each culture, as a human spiritual heritage, as a "cultural pedigree" of each nation, tradition is unavoidable in understanding the present and giving vision to the future. So, it is not a question of some stony, static spiritual horizon because "the germ of the new can often be found in the most courageous forebodings and predictions from the past, and the value of the past is presented in the possibility of its projection into the future" (Božilović 2004:451). Tradition has always been repeatedly reconstructed through interpretation and selection process. Members of one nation, in their selfdetermination and self-construction, unquestionably keep, but also modify and repeatedly form their tradition in the process of inter-generation transmission. In this process, preservation of positive cultural heritage, of some generally accepted traditional elements which construct cultural identity of a nation, is not disputed,. However, that does not mean that respect of tradition should be a non-critical, irrational, or mechanical acceptance of future contents, a utopian future creation, which would be denied of everything that is happening to us in everyday life. Future requires from the present moment a critical valuation of the past, as an indispensable condition and method for traditional elements to join and adjust to contemporary development necessities. "Only in that way can that state be overcome in which relation towards tradition does not overstep borders of simple commemorative honors granted to the previous, conditioned with the commonest politeness, and only in that way will the search for the truth not separate us from the search for significance and meaning of human existence." (Tripković 1998:28)

When, on the other hand, we face the nondialectic conception of tradition, when we become witnesses of its abuse, then it takes over traditionalism significances, by getting a predominantly negative connotation. Then the contemporary sense of culture becomes passive and completely captured in disciplines of the past, patriarchal and conservative times. It can usually be recognized in the absolution of past, myths, prejudices, outdated ideologies, and values in firm concepts of understanding and social behavior. Like the form of regression and stagnancy in culture, traditionalism opposes each change or innovation, it withstands to modernization, stigmatizing everything that carries with it the accompanying sound of new, other, and different. In connection with this, R. Božović concludes that "provincial spirit more and more suppresses values of culture when historical pseudo values rise to the surface and regressive tendencies blockade progress, making life impulses for radical change dead" (Božović 2000:39). Relation to tradition can be marked with its skilful ideological and political instrumentation. Quasy-national entrenchment into our own tradition showed in a certain number of cases, and in ours too, to be a very powerful means of defence of the current social and political system. To let absurd be greater, the leaders of such a system usually give an explanation that they are careful tradition guards as well as protectors of their own culture and nation sent by God, so in that way, they only "warm up" the very tendentiously nationalistic aspirations. Unreal, uncritical estimation of own culture and tradition is based on the idea about cultural domination of their own nation, substituting the idea of contemporary cultural nationalism, with which cultures unavoidably end up in utter isolation and egotism. Talking about the abuse of the concept of tradition, A. Gams says: "Today's mistakes and outdated social contents and forms mustn't be excused for and supported with tradition; tradition mustn't, for example, support personal and collective destructive aggression, especially not the nationalistic one. (...) The importance of tradition must be estimated according to today's social truths and cultural achievements."(Gams 1994:25)

It is important to take into consideration the relation of tradition and modernization. Very significant authors in sociology, such as E. Durkheim, M. Weber and G. Simmel, have comprehended tradition importance and have also been occupied with it, before all, with the intention to show a more clear difference between traditional and modern societies. While the classical theory of modernization was opposed to tradition, a very careful examination of the mentioned relation in contemporary sociological literature does not support their exclusiveness. Accordingly, tradition is viewed as incompatible with modernization, since, from the aspect of social development, what is in question here is a very complex relation in which the two intertwine and mix.

Modernity is related to "forms of social life or organizations which appeared in Europe from approximately the seventeenth century and further, more or less throughout the whole world" (Giddens 1998:166). Discussion about modernization always involves,

¹ The latest Serbian tragedy has not moved far away from those evaluations. During NATO aggression against FRY, the Serbian media were packed with nationalistic songs which asked people to sacrifice in order to save the country and nation as well as with partisan films which reminded of Serbian heroism and defiance, but also with advertisments in which military power was glorified, revivals of the "Kosovo Myth" and finally malicious classification of people into patriots and betrayers, glorified in Miloš Obilić's and Vuk Branković's characters. Ideological compromise of tradition *par excellence*, as the strategic offering calling to tradition and history, before all, served as an apology of that political system in Serbia.

as it is assumed, the reflection of social changes. It usually points to the whole range of complex and causatively-consecutively related social changes, in the direction leading from undeveloped, closed, and traditional societies, to modern, developed, open, democratic ones. Certain modernizations spread in a very wide range when various dimensions and indexes of this process stand out.² Beside rationalization, which presents the deepest strength of modernity, as essential decision of modernization, we find industrialization and urbanization, then engineering, technological and democratic revolution, economic growth and capitalistic market growth, as well as demographic explosion, the growth of educational importance, mass media and ecological awareness, the growth of social mobility and human inter-dependence, then the processes of regional, continental and planetary integrations, a tendency for universality of human rights and freedom, and finally the stressing of importance of different cultures which have been quoted. In this way, as one of the fundamental consequences of modernity, the process of globalization is emphasized, which we can understand by paraphrasing A. Giddens's thought, as strengthening of economic, political, social and other links all over the world. We can understand it, in the way that very far areas are linked to that extent that events at one point, hundreds of kilometers away, can be caused by events in some other place, and the other way round. (See: Giddens 2005)

In value sense, it is however inadmissible for the concept of modernization to be equated with the concept of social advancement. Both positive and negative aspects of the process of modernization can be observed, through which various understandings about the character and identity of modern society are seen. Namely, antimodernistic and antiglobal warnings point out (contrary to scientification, rationalization, efficiency, mobility, and adaptation) the deformation and pathology of social development. In that way, crises of identity, very powerful social conflicts caused by the growth of social inequality, as well as refugee dramas, frightening consequences of terrorism, and increase of violence within one nation and among many nations, but also the breakdown of traditional solidarity, under the pressure of fast and dispassionate life in big cities, are being emphasized. If we add various experiences in creating the process of modernization, which can be very painful, especially in undeveloped societies, then the causes and consequences of resistance in this process become more noticeable. ³

In some countries, especially in those hit by transitional changes, such as Serbia, the question of relation between tradition and modernization often gets the form of ideological–polemical discourse, which ultimately boils down to one question. To the falsely stated alternative between keeping indigenous tradition and cultural identity, on the one hand, or drowning into the processes of regional and continental integrations (in the case

² Among authors who theoretically discussed problems of modernization, the most significant ones include J.N. Smelser, S.N. Eisenstadt, R.N. Bellah, K.E. Black, although the number of theoreticians of modernization of various analytic directions is much greater. See: Popović, Mihailo and Ranković, Miodrag (1981) *Theories and Problems of Social Development*. Beograd: BIGZ.

³ In spite of seductive Fukuyama's rhetoric of *liberal democracy* for all and the existence of *social capital* (see: Fukuyama 1997) a lot of critics think that the new era has caused enormous terror in only a few years. In order to write and explain theoretically better, in his opinion the more realistic, newly created situation, S. Huntington used the phrase *the clash of civilizations* (see: Huntington 1996), and B. R. Barber has characterized the new era as the period of choice between two evils which he symbolically called Jihad and McWorld (see: Barber 1995).

of our country it is the immersion into the Balkan and Euro integration) on the other. There is also conclusion that the choice between a nationalist and a cosmopolitan is exclusive, according to the saying that "there can be only one". Presented this way, the dilemma leads to a wrong impression that it is impossible to provide an adequate answer to challenges of contemporary times and modernization without a radical breakup with our own tradition. This kind of opinion can be found with people who do not make a distinction between tradition and traditionalism, and in that way "they became captives of their personal view of the world" (see: Taylor 1992). All suspicious and illusory attempts to distance themselves from modernization, in order to preserve personal identity and tradition, are immediately condemned to failure. They can only lead to value-confusion, to rebuilding of traditionalism and nationalism, with manipulative recollection of past fragments, as well as to conservation of social consciousness and culture. (See: Savić 2003) "There is a foe that lies in us, in our relation and opposition to the change itself. Refusal of change, or incapability to adjust to it, the fear of the new and the unknown, are all very frequent causes which make difficulties, and sometimes they incapacitate social progress." (Koković 2000:56) Therefore the question, which is in the process of coordination of tradition and modernization very important, concerns the way in which traditional elements can incorporate and adjust to demands and needs of modern development. All that could be done if an adequate way is found to overcome and outpower traditional mistakes, which can be a disturbance in the process of modernization and in further social advancement.

2. THEORETICAL DETERMINATION OF URBAN AND RURAL CULTURE

The importance of values of tradition and new possibilities and challenges of modernization are unavoidable in social-anthropological and cultural analysis and understanding of urban and rural reality. When we talk about the distinction of urban and rural culture, we must bear in mind the fact that all classification of culture(s), including the one mentioned, is only justified in theoretical, research and analytical sense, so they need to be accepted as relative and conditional mental constructs. Even more so because in everyday life it is difficult or completely impossible to draw the line which would strictly delineate between the urban and rural culture like two separated or independent empirical entities. The reason for that should be sought, among other things, in more frequent social contacts, novelties and structural changes which the new, modern, global, *network society* (see: Castells 2000) brings with it, thus putting into question the reputation of theoretical assumptions about the strictly realized antagonism between the village and the city.⁴

Emphasizing the practical need for theoretical classification of settlements, whose purpose would be easier research, J. V. Ćirić claims that «difficulties in the determination

⁴ Sociological studies of the 19th century were based on the strict dichotomy between the village and the city, so we can find in the literature differences between the rural as a community (*Gemeinschaft*) and the urban as a society (*Geselschaft*), the difference between a society of mechanical solidarity (archaic and traditional rural societies) and societies of organic solidarity (societies of industrial type), the difference between the traditional and rational, folk society and urban society. See: Šuvar, Stipe (2004) «Selo u tranziciji – nekoliko opaski o globalnom procesu deruralizacije» (Village in transition – some remarks about global deruralization process). Niš: *Teme*, br. 3.

of the contemporary village and the city become greater and more difficult, because the problems of distinguishing between the two become numerous, especially when there are settlements which are in the zone strongly influenced by the cities, i.e. in their margin zone» (Ćirić: 1979:67). That leads us to conclude that 'urban' and 'rural' are more lifestyles, value systems which everyday people's life is turned to, but which in contemporary times do not allow themselves to be clearly separated, as it has been possible in the past. Conceptual and theoretical form of determination of urban (town) and rural (countryside) culture is based, first of all, on the observance of a specific way of life of urban and rural society, as well as typical ways and forms of communication these societies practice. In that sense, Lj. Pušić stresses that "the way of life is mostly that group of characteristics of one region with the help of which, through finely adjusted analytical instruments, we can understand the ways in which a certain community functions" (Pušić: 2003:10). Urban and rural culture present two ways of expressing the culture of a society, and they also present two ways of life manifestation in two different regions. Obviously, it is impossible to interpret the specific way of life in them without certain social, economical, political, ecological, cultural and psychological conditions.

When we talk about urban culture, most authors agree in the estimation that it is inconceivable without there being an urban, civil society, i.e. the citizen as a figure which creates a certain quality of social lifestyle, which can be recognized as urban. The contents of urban culture, conditioned by town lifestyle, but themselves causing it, as well as the openness and versatility of social structure of the town, in the words of B. Milošević (2003:31) represent the cradle of civil society. So it can be concluded that the creation of urban culture is a process which has its evolutionary and historic base, since it has gone hand in hand with the maturation of urban society for nearly 5,000 years.

Starting from external circumstances, which are the condition for creating specific social surroundings in nonrural settlements, Lj. Pušić holds that "urban culture presents just the right sum of contents, which are formed in specific conditions of a huge human congestion and biggest possible heterogeneity" (Pušić 2003:13). A city is the venue of a complex network of human institutions, relations and phenomena (where we should not neglect the phenomena with social-pathological implications), as well as the scene of highly developed social division of labor. This model of settlement is characterized by a heterogeneous educational, social, professional, and economic structure of its inhabitants, but also by various religious, political, sexual, and other orientations of the people. We can also assume that social and environmental mobility offer to their inhabitants greater possibilities to take part in various interest-based social groups, while they also offer better perception of distinctions (as a result of meeting and mingling of individuals from different cultural groups). Still, they can offer more possibilities of choice of social and cultural values. So the town is marked with various changeable and mediated lifestyles.

⁵ Although the historic development of towns has gone hand in hand with the cherishing of elite cultural contents, then with the development of cultural creative activity and institutions such as libraries, theatres, museums, galleries, universities, and so on, it is also necessary to observe and interpret the contemporary development of urban culture in the context of mass culture. However, the penetration of mass culture, and the effect of this process on forms and quality of urban lifestyle, which often resulted in *urbicidal* consequences, is a special theme, which in a very significant way attracts sociological attention.

The openness of urban society/community is based on various life experiences, values, customs, on different convictions and forms of people's behavior. It may be said that urban culture is created and developed within mechanisms which enable communication, i.e. the conditions for establishing communication among social, ethnic, religious, political, sexual, professional, classical, and other differences. "Smaller or greater differentiation of social structure of the town and its corresponding cultural bases have influenced and are still influencing the destruction of constraints and the pressure of patriarchal rural isolation, self-sufficiency and cultural uniformity, so the town appears as the social centre in which differences are respected, but also as the base of multiculturalism. That is the reason for the most significant modernistic processes to be connected with the city." (Milošević 2003:31) This Milošević's attitude largely coincides with S. Vujović's view, with his conclusion that « urban culture appears as an agent for development of multiculturalism, which doesn't suppress but urges particularity and individualism in culture as something which is interesting, attractive and rich» (Vujović 1997:269). So it can be concluded that the process of realization of desired models in urban culture, is based on the assumption about democratic attitudes that exist, and flexible styles in behavior. In that way it is possible to harmonize numerous relations between various individuals in an urban milieu. One should not, of course, be exclusive in the evaluation that the possibility for dialogue and understanding or the acceptance of differences in everyday life of urban culture can be questioned, and thus theoretically problematized.

On the other hand, theoretical thinking of ideal-typical model of rural culture is based on the analysis of the specific way of life of peasantry, which, as Cirić said, was building tough and lasting, but not unchangeable culture. «The history of the village is more than the history of traditional, harder and more slowly changeable states and forms, in comparison with changes, forms and processes which are happening in the city. That is one of the main reasons that the village has through history retained numerous homogenous, traditional, and conservative characteristics, although it has also undergone certain temporal and regional changes.» (Ćirić 1979: 100) These changes are particularly noticeable in the way of production, and in relation to it, they are also noticeable in peasants' way of life, as well as in the culture that maintains that life. Traditional culture, as S. Šuvar said, is in fact the culture of preindustrial civilization, and rural culture is its local "ground" expression. As dominant values of that culture the author mentions: extreme familiarization, group egoism of related groups, distrust of "strangers", tendency for keeping continuity and group heritage. (See: Šuvar 1988) S. Šljukić also claims that "peasant culture is indeed folk culture, an inseparable part of everyday work and life of peasants. It is relatively closed and static, it is handed down orally from generation to generation, so it is, in a way, traditionalistic. (Śliukić 2003:50) Some time ago stronger, and today somehow weaker, but still clearly expressed, the acceptance of tradition and traditional forms in all domains of social organization and also in everyday peasants' behavior, represents one of the most significant aspects of social structure and village culture. Changes in the traditional village appeared very slowly, and each new appearance had to wait for a new generation, to take position in the system and to be accepted by everybody, as an element of tradition group. (See: Vukićević 2004) The acceptance of old visions and understandings, ideological and moral stereotypes, with a clearly expressed traditionalistic connotation, often made development difficult and paralyzed urges for overcoming the present situation in the traditional village. Indeed, each innovation or change, everything that is differ-

ent or strange, is experienced with a certain doubt and distrust, because it disturbs a relatively settled way of life, founded on village customs which have been created by long-lasting tradition.

Homogeneity of rural society is seen before all in significant inclination to nature, and connection with the land as the basic productive resource, in the high degree of standardization of labor rules and habits, and in ideological, religious, political, moral, aesthetic and other attitudes in the behavior of rural inhabitants. In rural culture, according to C. Kostić, «immediate relations and contacts between members prevail; they are pretty similar among themselves, because of the same origin and also exert big sentiment for belonging to the community. (...) People in these communities not only behave in the same way, but also think in the same way. Cultural forms of thinking make this possible, and they stick to such forms.» (Kostić 1975:231) Although it cannot be treated as an absolute – social, educational and professional homogeneity of the traditional village very often causes equality of psycho-social characteristics, understanding and value orientations. From a historical point of view, this was perhaps the most reliable way to unite and fully integrate an individual into a relatively autarchic, and largely closed traditional village community.

Determination of rural and urban culture in the literature is often based on comparative approach. Among others, one can find the position that stability is a typical characteristic of rural community, and mobility is typical of urban community//culture (P. A. Sorokin). Or that the rural culture is usually marked by strong feelings for tradition, while urban culture presupposes that the traditional is only one of the elements on which modern society is based (Lj. Pušić). Also, it has not been seldom pointed out that social relations in the village are more immediate and informal, long-lasting and close because these are relations within primary groups (the family and neighborhood) while city inhabitants are individualized and organized in a formal way (M. Mitrović). It is also suggested that in the dynamics of culture changes, the city has mainly the role of an innovator, and the village is, in a way, a guardian of current national culture; that the soul of the city is that which is modern, the fashion and the latest feelings, while the soul of the village is the tradition and customs of our ancestors (S. Šljukić). These kinds of ideal-typical understandings lead us to the conclusion that the relation between urban and rural culture can be observed, beside other things, as the relation of dominantly marked social values, liberal and modernistic on the one hand, and traditional, conservation values on the other. That idea is based on the supposition that explicitly stated social values, although caused by various facts, are formed under the influence of lifestyle, and thus, in some way, under the influence of the place where people live. Naturally, that does not mean that "tradition and conservatism are only present with the rural population while urban citizens are deprived of these characteristics. (...) However, we have to bear in mind the fact that in regions where productive powers are developing slightly, progressive ideas penetrate hard, so that is the reason for traditional relations and views to be preserved" (Todorović 1981:99). It often happens that in spite of the acceptance of certain technological innovations in the material sphere of rural culture, only insignificant changes happen, but even then there are no changes in spiritual culture, which means that people in the rural area continue keeping up and expressing old, conservative relations and forms of behavior. In that case, we can talk about coexistence of modern technology and old social forms, or about the mixture of new technology and old tradition. There is no doubt that those characteristics cannot be attributed only to rural culture, as its exclusive characteristic.

So, in spite of the fact that urban or city space is the native soil of urban culture, it is de facto impossible to equalize the meaning of the city with the meaning of urbanity. To speak in favor of it, there is the already mentioned fact that in many cities it is possible to notice the saturation of urban conscience with certain rural layers, and observe rural or peasant mentality, which is present in those people whose life contents and cultural level are opposed to urban lifestyle. Whether we talk about migrated rural inhabitants or about a part of non-urbanized city inhabitants, those people beside their urban origin do not belong to urban society and urban culture. This case is defined in the sociological literature as the process of city ruralization, to which negative value connotations have been attributed. Some authors tend to claim that ruralization of urban lifestyle necessarily leads to aggressivization of urban timidity and imposition of negative values. In that way, as they think, the civilizational value system is imperiled and leads to disturbance of urbanity caused by invasion of primitivism. The consequence of this process is the destruction of the tissue of tolerance, multiculturality and multiconfessionality. (See: Musabegović 2002/296). It turns out that lack of acceptance, and even denial of urban cultural codes, due to the lack of readiness of migrated rural inhabitants to accept such codes, results in the strengthening of those ideas and forms which have been brought from their former places of residence (for example rigid attitudes about people of other nationality, religion, sexual preference, attitudes about politics, about women). So, possibilities of efficient tradition are often replaced with irrational traditionalism.⁶

3. RESEARCH RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

In our attempt to point out some key features of our actual social climate, we attempted to stress the relation and influence of tradition and modernization on forming urban and rural culture in our society, as a post-socialistic society in transition. The research aimed to test similarities and differences in the attitudes of urban and rural inhabitants related to various segments of sub-cultural variety, where we considered this phenomenon significant in analyzing contemporary social development and progress. It was a way to point out the relation of certain cultures (urban and rural) to the processes of modernization, multiculturality and interculturality in our society, as well as the possibility of marking the supposed clash between liberal, modernized social values, on the one hand, and traditionalistic conservative values, on the other.

⁶ It can be well noticed with the example of the subculture of "turbofolk" music. Characteristics of Serbian music tradition, represented in old, traditional, authentic, folk music are being replaced with the newly composed "turbofolk" music. With its expressive trash characteristics, this music has turned into an industry of entertainment, sending all other traditional, folk forms in productive-expressive experience, into oblivion. About the "turbofolk" phenomenon see more detail in: Milena Dragićević-Šešić (1994) Neofolk kultura. Publika i njene zvezde (Newfolk culture. Audience and its Stars). Sremski Karlovci/Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića; Ivana Kronja (2001) Smrtonosni sjaj: Masovna psihologija i estetika turbofolka (Mortal Glow: Mass Psychology and Turbofolk Aesthetic). Beograd: Tehnokratia; Nikola Božilović (2006) Kič kultura (Trash Culture). Niš: Zograf.

By analyzing attitudes of respondents to *the cultural difference of national minorities*, mutual similarities and certain differences in their positions have been examined. Independently from the current place of residence, a positive view of respondents dominates about the need of national minorities to keep their cultural values and identity, as long as this does not jeopardize other people. In terms of respect of freedom and cultural rights, the place of respondents' residence did not have any influence on the acceptance of the idea that members of national minorities should be given rights to form and develop cultural institutions and organizations, organize public cultural manifestations, receive education in their native language, organize themselves freely and act in the media.

However, differences in attitudes of respondents in urban, suburban and rural settlements have been noticed with regard to accepting the rights of national minorities to take part in local and national state institutions, as well as the rights to use their mother tongue and alphabet, not only in the private but also in the public sphere. Marking the names of streets and offices in alphabets other than Serbian, but also using the alphabet of national minorities, has been contested as an idea in rural settlements (62,5%) in comparison with urban (46%) and suburban respondents (48,1%), who showed much more tolerance when multilingual communication in the public sphere of society is concerned. Additionally, rural respondents in comparison with urban respondents have been more inclined to believe that developing national minority culture posed a danger to Serbian society and culture. It can be noticed in table no. 1:

Table 1. The current place of residence of respondents/ Do cultures of national minorities pose a danger to Serbian society and culture?

The danger of national minority cultures	Current place of residence						
	Town		Suburb		Village		
national inmority cultures	number	%	number	%	number	%	
Yes, always	31	28.2	36	32.7	38	34.5	
Sometimes, in times of social crises	36	32.7	50	45.5	53	48.2	
No	43	39.1	24	21.8	19	17.3	
Total:	110	100.0	110	100.0	110	100.0	

$$(\chi^2=15.48; p=0.004<0.01)$$

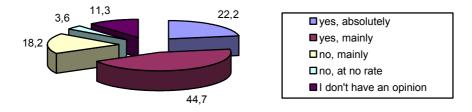
Certain xenophobia in rural respondents is also found in their thinking that the acceptance of cultural autonomy for national minorities would lead to requests for their complete independence, in which way the stability of Serbian society would be jeopardized, as would be the cultural development of Serbian majority population. Table no. 2 shows, those suburban respondents, on this matter, had attitudes similar to those of respondents in rural settlements, but not to those in urban ones.

Table 2. The current place of residence of respondents / Acceptance of cultural autonomy of national minorities would, given time, lead to their request for complete (political, legal, and territorial) independence

	Current place of residence						
Cultural autonomy	Town		Suburb		Village		
	number	%	number	%	number	%	
Yes, I completely agree	32	29.4	38	34.5	53	49.1	
I partly agree	35	32.1	47	42.7	29	26.9	
No, I don't agree at all	28	25.7	19	17.3	17	15.7	
I don't have my attitude	14	12.8	6	5.5	9	8.3	
Total:	109	100.0	110	100.0	108	100.0	

 $(\chi^2=16.84; p=0.01<0.05).$

Research results have shown that the place of current residence of respondents did not have any sufficient influence on attitudes related to *cultural differences in confessional / religious affiliation*. The largest number of respondents, from all three individual subgroups, absolutely or partly agreed with the fact that societies, in which members of different religions live, are unstable societies. This result is considered to be a consequence of the wars in the former-Yugoslavia, which were marked with interethnic and interreligious differences. That obviously influenced similarities in attitudes of urban and rural respondents, concerning the possibility and security of joint life of members of various religious and confessional affiliations in a society. It can be seen in this graph:



Graph 1. Are societies in which members of different religions live together in fact unstable ones? (%)

By determining the attitude to religious minorities (Catholics, Muslims, Protestants, Jews) in our society, the respondents from the three individual sub-samples provided tolerant attitudes. They were pretty even (town – 42,7%; suburb – 42,7%; village – 51,9%) in the estimation that every person should have the right to a free choice of his or her confessional and religious affiliation, as well as of his public promotion and protection of his/her religious rights, no matter if he or she belongs to religious minority or majority in a society. In accordance with such results, there are data which confirm that most of the respondents, usually in urban and suburban settlements, do not justify religious violence, i.e. demolishing the Moslem mosque in the centre of Nis, which happened immediately after the conflict between the Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo, on March 2004.

But it can be clearly noticed that Kosovo crisis had a great influence on a pretty large number of respondents, especially in rural settlements, who justify such kind of behavior, taking it to be an adequate response to the demolishment of Serbian churches and monasteries in Kosovo (table no. 3).

Table 3. The place of current residence / Respondents' attitude towards recent demolishing of Moslem mosque in the centre of Nis

		Current place of residence						
Mosque demolishing	То	Town		Suburb		Village		
	number	%	number	%	number	%		
Don't justify	55	50.0	60	54.5	49	44.5		
Justify	43	39.1	38	34.6	53	48.2		
Something else, what?	4	3.6	2	1.8	0	0.0		
I don't have position	8	7.3	10	9.1	8	7.3		
Total:	110	100.0	110	100.0	110	100.0		

Accorded with this, there are data which show that ethnic identification in our society, still, in a large proportion, is based on religious membership. In the whole sample, we have concluded that there is a division between positive and negative attitudes, in terms of equalizing national and confessional identification. Although the place of residence did not statistically and significantly influence respondents' assessment, it has been shown, that among respondents who insisted that every Serb must be of Orthodox religion, there were more rural respondents (44,5%) than urban ones (34,5%). This confirms traditional countryside attachment to religion this population belongs to, and a greater traditional attachment of this population segment. What is also noticed is that these people are not always ready to accept people of another religion as Serbs. That also suggests the authority of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the significance of belonging to this institution in forming the cultural identity of rural inhabitants.

Relation of respondents towards (sub) cultural variety, with regard to the political orientation of people, generally does not point to statistically significant differences in the positions of respondents in urban, suburban and rural settlements. Research results have shown a certain level of tolerance of respondents with regard to the acceptance of political variety. Nearly every second respondent announced that he or she supported political plurality (the existence of more various political parties and ideas); while only one tenth of the total number of respondents stated that they could not freely and publicly express their political orientation. Also, respondents from all three types of settlements had similar attitudes with regard to evaluation of existence of intolerance on the public political stage in Serbia. Approximately three quarters of respondents agreed completely and partly with the statement that political opponents in Serbia are treated like enemies. Nearly equal percentage of respondents from the cities (29,4%) and suburbs (25,5%) and from the villages (25,7%) has completely agreed with it.

Research results have pointed out that various political convictions do not present a great obstacle to interpersonal communication for most of respondents. Still, certain exceptions in the factor of tolerance can be noticed in respondents from three types of set-

tlements, in terms of influence of political positions on the choice of a friend. Among respondents there were the most people from urban areas who do not choose as friends people of different political conviction, while for the respondents in rural settlements political orientation is the least important factor in choosing friends. It can be understood, if we take into consideration the fact that for people in villages, friendship is one of the greatest values to which they attach: mutual help and giving, honesty, unselfishness and sincerity in interpersonal relationships. Friendship among people in towns, besides these facts, assumes some other traits, too, such as: personal interests, money, power, and self-affirmation.

Table 4. The current place of residence of respondents / How much is different political orientation from yours important in the choice of a friend?

Political orientation in a choice of a friend		Current place of residence						
	То	Town		Suburb		Village		
in a choice of a friend	number	%	number	%	number	%		
Very important	12	10.9	4	3.6	5	4.5		
Important but not decisive	42	38.2	41	37.3	31	28.2		
Not important	56	50.9	65	59.1	74	67.3		
Total:	110	100.0	110	100.0	110	100.0		

$$(\chi^2=9.87; p=0.043<0.05).$$

The results of our research, related to *the assessment of relation between the sexes*, point to a still present patriarchal system of relations in the contemporary Serbian family, although the conception about the need for a legal equality of the sexes has prevailed among respondents. Differences in attitudes in urban, suburban and rural respondents relating to sex/gender affiliation are very pronounced in almost all observed segments of men's and women's positions in certain social situations. This applies to respondents' assessment of: importance of woman's family obligations, man's role in a family, relation between the sexes, concerning the decision about the number of children in the family, as well as to woman's role in political and economical sphere of society (table number 5).

Table 5. The current place of residence of respondents / Women are not capable enough to occupy the positions of political and economic managers in society

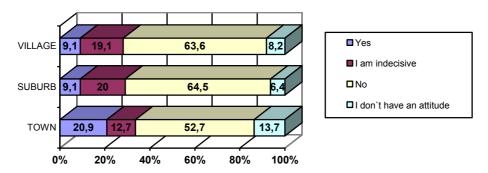
Claim		Current place of residence						
	To	Town		Suburb		Village		
	number	%	number	%	number	%		
I completely don't agree	40	36.4	21	19.3	30	27.8		
I mainly don't agree	18	16.4	35	32.1	28	25.9		
I am indecisive	19	17.3	19	17.4	13	12.0		
I mainly agree	16	14.4	18	16.5	26	24.1		
I completely agree	17	15.5	16	14.7	11	10.2		
Total:	110	100.0	109	100.0	108	100.0		

$$(\chi^2=16.93; p=0.031<0.05).$$

We have noted similarity in the positions of rural and suburban respondents, who mainly stressed the domination of man and traditionally taken role of woman in the Serbian family. Respondents from urban settlements have shown some more tolerance in terms of the equity of the sexes, on basis of which we can conclude that there has been certain positive change in the understanding of the social role of woman within urban culture.

Attitude of respondents towards *cultural differences in relation to sexual affiliation* leads to the conclusion that rules of sexual behavior are still one of the most important components of Serbian culture, i.e. of the value-based and normative order of our society. In spite of results which showed that, independently from the place of current residence, a pretty tolerant attitude prevails with regard to people's choice of sexual affiliation, the respondents have generally taken a very negative stance with regard to homosexual relationships. The current place of residence strongly influenced their choices, since respondents from countryside and suburban settlements more often assessed these phenomena as "deviant", "unnatural" or disaccorded with traditional values of Serbian society.

Our impression is that the pretty tolerant attitude to the free choice of sexual partner primarily relates to the private or intimate sphere of life of every individual. One can conclude this from the lack of readiness of respondents to accept homosexuals and their difference in the public sphere of society. Indeed, 60% respondents would not vote for the political candidate who expresses his or her homosexuality publicly, even if he or she satisfies all other criteria to be elected. Graph 2 shows that the place of residence did influence respondents' decision, since among respondents who would eventually vote for such a candidate there are more people from the city (20.9%) than village (91.%) or suburban areas (9.1%). These data can be accepted as a relative indicator of a stronger openness of the city population which, having lived in urban dynamics and diversity, has been more exposed to daily contacts with members of different communities and (sub)cultures.



Graph 2. The current place of residence/ In the election, would you vote for a political candidate who states publicly that they are a homosexual (given they satisfy all other criteria)?

The highest degree of respondents' agreement was noticed, apart from the place of current residence, sex, age and the level of education, with regard to the legal status of sexual minorities in our country. Data analysis has pointed to an extremely negative attitude of respondents to the pronouncement of the law that would acknowledge same-sexual pairs relations and regulation of their property and other rights (town -65,5%;

suburb -80%; village -80,7%), as well as disagreement with the request of homosexual pairs to make it legal for them to adopt children (town -77,3%; suburb -91,8%; village -88,2%). Taking this into consideration, we may reach conclusions about the importance of the family, high valuation of heterosexual marriages and matrimonial fertility, as well as about problems accepting all those sexual affinities, thinking and behavior which deviate from traditional, habitual and moral standards of our society.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The results of our research have partly confirmed the preliminary assumptions, that rural respondents would in greater percentage state attitudes which are in line with traditional and sometimes with traditionalistic social values, with close, homogeneous national identification and xenophobic relation towards "others" and "different". In some cases, however, it is possible to notice a concord of attitudes of rural and urban respondents, which we explain as a consequence of modernization process of the village and its connection in the contemporary process of globalization. Urban and rural cultures are getting closer to one another, although it does not happen everywhere at the same tempo and in all elements. In a way, this is one of the consequences of modernist homogenization. The process of urbanization and industrialization, as well as the spreading of urban culture in the village, cause not only the changes in the way of production, in the way of realizing income, but also stimulate the transformation of traditional social institutions and introduction of new social values. Besides this, we must bear in mind the fact that rural settlements, which were chosen for this research, are located in the immediate vicinity of Nis, which contributes to frequent contacts of inhabitants from these settlements with the town. We thus hold that this fact additionally influenced certain reduction of differences in the attitudes of urban and rural respondents.

The hypothesis that urban respondents, living in urban dynamics and differences, exposed to everyday contacts of various communities and cultures, will state in greater rate positive relation towards cultural differences, has turned out true. The research has confirmed that this category of respondents had more tolerant attitudes to existence and integration of various communities and cultures in our society.

The most noticeable conflict between traditionalistic and modernistic social values, can be seen in respondents that live in suburban settlements. In their choices, they are sometimes nearer to urban and sometimes closer to rural respondents, as they state both positive and negative attitudes towards some segments of cultural differences. With these data, the role of suburban inhabitants is confirmed in that they transmit and spread cultural elements in two directions (from urban to rural and from rural to urban areas).

Results of this research confirm current theoretical positions, which speak in favor of the fact that social changes on the global level, which have in recent decades been strongly and quickly manifested in everyday life of societies, have sufficiently changed the culture of the traditional village, as well as the urban culture itself. Settlements in a certain way present the reflection of a society (see: Naumović 1996) and can be viewed as a group of social relations which expresses the relations that exist in global society. It can be concluded that the intertwining of urban and rural culture, the modern and traditional, the global and local, is the basic characteristic of our social and cultural reality, in which

modern and traditional social values are being mixed. On the one hand intentions are recognized which lead to democratic progress, tolerance and acceptance of cultural distinctions as values which should be kept and promoted. On the other hand, we state our opinion that there is a certain unreadiness to accept cultural differences and certain hostility towards something that can be recognized as the Different, and that this is a consequence of a very strong traditional position, as well as a result of piled up dissatisfaction and uncertainty, to which people have been exposed in previous war years.

There is no doubt, that in our area, we have at hand a very strong process of interinfluence of two cultures, based on different ways of production and economy, various values, social and psychological characteristics, and therefore on two different lifestyles – rural and urban. That is the process which in the context of global and cultural changes significantly influences the formation of our daily reality.

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VREDNOSTI TRADICIJE I IZAZOVI MODERNIZACIJE U OBLIKOVANJU URBANE I RURALNE KULTURE

Jelena Petković

Značaj vrednosti tradicije i nove mogućnosti i izazovi modernizacije nezaobilazni su u socio— antropološkoj i kulturološkoj analizi i razumevanju urbane i ruralne stvarnosti. Polazeći od pojmovnog određenja tradicije i modernizacije, u radu se razmatra njihov odnos i uticaj na oblikovanje urbane i ruralne kulture u našem društvu. Pri tome se ova dva modela kulture sagledavaju kroz osobeni način života urbanog i ruralnog društva, kao i kroz sistem vrednosti i svojevrsne načine i oblike komunikacije koje ova društva uobličavaju. Analizovani rezultati pokazuju da je prožimanje urbane i ruralne kulture, modernog i tradicionalnog, globalnog i lokalnog osnovno obeležje naše društveno–kulturne realnosti u kojoj se mešaju modernizacijske i tradicionalističke društvene vrednosti. Približavanje urbane i ruralne kulture jedna je od posledica modernističke homogenizacije, pa se u našem društvu neprestano ispoljava snažan proces njihovog međuuticaja koji, u kontekstu globalnih socijalnih i kulturnih promena, značajno utiče na oblikovanje naše svakodnevice.

Ključne reči: tradicija, modernizacija, urbana i ruralna kultura, kulturna različitost, tradicionalne, tradicionalističke i modernizacijske društvene vrednosti