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**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONFESSIONAL
BELONGING, RELIGIOUS SELF-IDENTIFICATION
AND INTER-ETHNIC DISTANCE IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA
AT THE END OF THE EIGHTIES**

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Abstract. *The paper examines the existence, intensity and the direction of the relationship between the confessional belonging, the degree of subjective religiosity and inter-ethnic distance two years before the violent breakup of the former Yugoslavia. Empirical foundation of the research is the data base of the Consortium of Yugoslav social sciences' institutes from 1989-1990.*

The main finding of the paper is that the ethnic distance between the members of three most numerous confessions in the Balkans, Orthodox, Catholic and Islamic, that is between the members of respective nationalities, Serbs, Croats and Muslims, was notable two years before the outbreak of the war. Even when the Catholic and Orthodox respondents verbally denied the significance of the spouse's national belonging in two fifths of the cases, and the respondents belonging to all confessions negated the importance of the work colleague's national belonging in somewhat lesser percentage, they themselves were rarely in mixed marriages and have only scarcely preferred the members of some other nationality for the work place colleague.

Respondents Yugoslavs, who in the three fifths of the cases asserted not having an confession, proved to be the most open toward all other nationalities and were the most popular as spouses and work colleagues, immediately after the members of locally majority nation and confession. Albanians, who identified themselves as members of Islamic confession in more than 90% of the cases, were the most closed toward members of other nationalities and confessions and were the least preferred among others.

Two additional facts testify to the significant degree of uncertainty and mistrust among the members of three confessions two years before the war. First, members of all three confessions have in more than two fifths of the cases partially and completely agreed that safety was possible only in the milieu in which live the majority of the members of

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one's own nation. Second, alongside with almost three fifths of the three main confessions' members, more than two fifths of those without confession accepted the statement that cooperation can exist between nations, but never the full trust, as well.

The rule is noticed, along with several significant and indicative deviations, that respondents reporting that they were convinced believers or that they believed but not in everything that their faith taught, belonging mostly to working layers, attached greater significance to national belonging of the spouse and of the work colleague in one fifth of the cases more often than the respondents that reported that they were indifferent toward religion, that they were not religious or that they were against religion, preponderantly members of middle and upper social layers. The difference in the attitudes of respondents that reported opposite degrees of their religiosity, however, proved to be much smaller (only around ten percentages) when it was the question of the safety and trust between members of different nationalities. The social sources of widely diffused lack of confidence, violent breakup of the former Yugoslavia and the formation of mutually unfriendly independent national states, should therefore be searched for not only in religious contents, but also in the real living situation of believers and not believers alike.

In the paper is examined in detail the noticed phenomenon of significant differences existing in the degree of subjective religiosity and the attitudes of the members of the same confession, depending on their status of local majority or minority in respective republic or province.

1. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

The main aim of this research is to find out whether confessional self-identification and the degree of subjective religiosity of the respondents influences the extent to which they are inclined to express the feeling of closeness to or, conversely, the feeling of estrangement from other ethnic groups affiliates, two years before the violent disintegration of former Yugoslavia. It presents a continuation of the research (Vratuša-Žunjić, Vera, 1996a) concerning the capacity of the secondary survey data¹ analysis to answer the question as to whether religion and the disintegration of Yugoslavia are related, and if they are, to what extent and in what manner.

The hypothesis that confessional identification and subjective religiosity influence the state of inter-ethnic distance will be confirmed if the respondents that identified themselves confessionally and religiously accepted more often statements that serve as relevant measuring instruments in comparison to the respondents that did not identify themselves in this manner. Conversely, this hypothesis will be rejected if there is no significant difference in answers between confessionally and religiously identified and unidentified respondents to inter-ethnic distance survey items. In the later case, supplementary hypothesis will be checked, whereby differences in the respondents' tendency to manifest the sentiment of attraction or, conversely, the sentiment of aversion toward other ethnic groups affiliates, are influenced by other respondents' characteristics

¹ It is once more the data basis collected during the research "Social structure and the quality of living" that was organized by the Consortium of Yugoslav social sciences' institutes on the basis of the stratified sample in all former Yugoslav republics and provinces.

such as their socio-professional position and the group status of the local confessional majority or minority as well.

The key concepts in this research are defined and operationalized in the same way as in the previous one, in order to attain the comparability of results and enable the accumulation of knowledge.

Religiosity is determined as the belief of people in the existence of the world's sense, that is, of the all-powerful, mystical and transcendental holy forces and practicing of such a life style that is dictated by the reverence toward such forces and in accordance with the commandments of corresponding holy books. For the determination of the degree of a respondent's religiosity, the subjective estimation of the respondents themselves was used: "If somebody asked you about your relation towards religion, how would you classify yourself: a) a convinced believer and accepts everything that faith teaches; b) a believer, but does not accept everything that faith teaches; c) thinks about it considerably, but is not certain whether he/she believes or not; d) is indifferent toward religion; e) is not religious and is against religion?"

In order to establish the degree of connection between confessional and ethnic or national self-identification the following two questions were included into the analysis: "What is your confession?" and "What is your nationality". Answer modalities for the first question included five possibilities ("Catholic", "Muslim", "Orthodox", "other" and "without a confession") and for the second question twenty possibilities (the list of nineteen nationalities and the category "other").

Inter-ethnic distance, another key variable of this research, is defined as the state of intimate or aversive social relationships between members of different ethnic or national groups that have distinct places in the formal and informal social hierarchy, manifested in their preference to interact with each other or to avoid mutual social contact. The following questions served as measuring instruments: I. "How important is national belonging to you choosing a spouse?". Answer modalities were: "not important", "little", "middle" "very important". II. "With members of which nation among the cited ones would you like to work with the most?". After the list of nineteen nationalities and the category "other", the category "not important" was offered the last. III. "Do you agree and to what extent with the statement that a person can feel completely safe only when he/she lives in a milieu where the majority of his/hers co-nationals exists?" and IV. "Do you agree and to what extent with the statement that among nations good cooperation can be realized, but not also complete trust?". For the last two items five answer modalities were offered: "completely disagrees, partially disagrees, not certain, partially agrees, completely agrees."²

² These statements in their very wording echo the changing content of the dominant legitimization ideology and social power relations through time in former Yugoslavia (Vratuša-Žunjić, Vera, 1966b). In the fifties the most frequently used expression in both official and everyday discourse concerning ethnicity was the term "people" (*narod*). It referred to the members of South Slav ethnic groups having a distinctive history and culture as well as equal self-management rights within both the entire Federal state and within each of the six administrative territorial units called Republics. As constitutive founders of Yugoslavia, the South Slavs had also the right to self-determination. Other ethnic groups in Yugoslavia were labeled by a specially invented word "*narodnost*" that could be translated as "peoplety". It designated in fact ethnic minorities that had their "mother states" in the immediate neighborhood of Yugoslavia and therefore no right to national sovereignty and secession, but

Statements concerning the importance of national belonging in everyday interactions were potentially becoming a controversial theme at the time of research in 1989/90, because the creation of independent national states by the elite of particular ethnic groups having a demographic majority in the realm of a corresponding Federal unit was in full swing. It implied loss of status of the "constitutive nation" for members of minority ethnic groups in the given territorial unit. In an atmosphere of heightened inter-ethnic tensions, even the best trained interviewers³ could not completely dispel distrust among the members of local ethnic minorities while answering such disputable questions. The uncertain reliability and validity of these research instruments must be therefore kept in mind while deciphering the research results.

It should be noted that this research involved non-numerical variables that do not satisfy the mathematical conditions of symmetry and others. Contingency Tables were therefore used as the main tool of statistical description of the state of inter-ethnic relations at the time of research. Several significance and error tests were applied.

2. RESULTS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

Confessional self-identification of respondents and their assessment of the importance of national belonging

The data in Tables 1 and 2 in the Appendix confirms the hypothesis that there exists statistically a significant connection between the respondents' confessional self-identification and their readiness to attribute great or, conversely, no importance to national belonging in primary and secondary social relations.

The greatest importance to national belonging while choosing a *spouse* was the most often attributed and the least often negated by respondents that identified with the Muslim Confession (55.4% and 22.7%). Muslims were the most over-represented in the first type of answer modality (index 226) and among the most under-represented in the second one

only to wide cultural autonomy. In the late sixties and in early seventies, however, the term "people" was almost completely replaced by the term "nation" in public and private discourse. The stress in the term's meaning was transferred to the ethnic group aspiring to political organization within a sovereign national state. The aspiration to transform respective Federal units into independent national states was particularly expressed among affiliates of ethnic groups that joined by their own free will into the so called First Yugoslavia after World War I, without having previously succeeded to restore their state independence lost in the middle ages (Slovenes and Croats), in contrast to the Serbs who have succeeded in doing this through the liberation struggle against Turkish occupation. The aspiration toward a national state became ever stronger among ethnic groups' affiliates that were not even recognized as separate entities in the so called First Yugoslavia (Macedonians, Montenegrins, Muslims). The same wish appeared also among ethnic minorities' affiliates in the regions where they became a local demographic majority, especially among Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija. The 1974 Constitution accommodated these aspirations by institutionalizing a broad political and administrative territorial autonomy not only of the six Republics, but also of the two Provinces within the Republic of Serbia.

³ In this particular survey interviews were done by young sociologists and students of sociology and other social sciences at the end of their studies, who were comparatively well paid for this job. They were thoroughly instructed before on going terrain, accompanied and daily controlled by the research teams' leaders, professors of sociology and high researchers in the social sciences' institutes.

(index 49)⁴. Respondents identifying with the Catholic and Orthodox confession negated the importance of the spouse's nationality two times more often than Muslims (45.2% and 45.4%), but they were slightly underrepresented in this type of answer modality as well (indexes 97 and 98 respectively). Only respondents that identified with other confessions and respondents that did not identify themselves with any confession, negated the importance of the spouse's nationality three times more often than Muslims (66.7% and 69.1%) and have thus been over-represented in this type of answer modality (index 140 and 148 respectively) (see Table 1, columns 2 and 3).

The explanation for this finding whereby the respondents identifying with the Muslim confession attributed the most often great importance to the nationality of the spouse, should be sought in the detailed regulation and a more strict observation of the religious norms concerning matrimonial relations among members of the Muslim confession than among members of the two Christian confessions. For example, there exists the prohibition for Muslim women to marry men of other confessions. Muslim men, however, are allowed to marry Christian and Jewish women (Kur'an, sura 5:6), because it is expected to increase Muslim confession's membership when "infidel" women convert into the only "true" religion of their husbands.

The least ready to explicitly state that the nationality of the *co-worker* was not important were respondents identifying with the Muslim and Catholic confession (34.7% and 34.9% respectively), while respondents identifying with the Orthodox confession have done this just a few percentages more often (40.9%). A great number of respondents of all three main confessions have chosen members of nationalities that are known to identify with the same confession as the respondents themselves for the preferred co-worker. Thus, almost every second Catholic respondent (47.4%) preferred Croats, Slovenes and Hungarians, that identified with the Catholic confession in 83.5%, 80.7% and 82.3% of cases respectively. Less than every fiftieth Catholic (1.9% and 1.5%) on the contrary, preferred Serbs, Montenegrins and Macedonians, that identified with Orthodoxy in 78.1%, 81.9% and 85.2% of cases, or Muslims (in the sense of nationality according to the 1971 Constitutional law) and Albanians, that identified with the Muslim confession in 76.2% and 93.1% of cases respectively. Similarly, respondents identifying with the Orthodox confession opted for Serbs, Montenegrins and Macedonians in two fifths of cases, but for Croats, Slovenes and Hungarians in barely 2% of cases, while less than 1% have chosen Muslims and Albanians. Respondents identifying with the Muslim confession have more often opted for Croats, Slovenes and Hungarians (5.8% jointly) and for Serbs, Montenegrins and Macedonians (4.7% jointly), than it was true vice versa (Table 2, columns 2 to 9; Vratuša-Žunjić, Vera, c:506).

The fact that the respondents identifying with the Christian confessions have somewhat more often preferred members of the Muslim nationality for a co-worker than Albanians, can be partly explained by a mainly Slav ethnic origin of Muslim nationality affiliates. Another element for the explanation can be found in the fact that Muslims, in

⁴ Index of representation of respondents belonging to particular classification category in a specific answer modality is calculated as the result of division of the percentage participation of the given category of respondents in the given answer modality (35.5% and 7.7% in this case) by the percentage participation of the same category of respondents in the entire sample (15.7% in this case) multiplied by a hundred.

the sense of nationality, have less often identified with the Muslim confession than it was the case of not-Slav Albanian nationality affiliates.

Yugoslavs, defined as "nationally not-determined according to 1971 Constitutional law" and declaring themselves to be without a confession in 79.5% of cases, were the second most preferred nationality for the co-worker, immediately after affiliates of nationalities that most often identified with the same confession as the respondent. They were "chosen" by 13.3% of Orthodox, 9.6% of Muslim and 6.9% of Catholic respondents. Yugoslavs were preferred the most by respondents without a confession (13.8%, Table 2. column 10).

The greater popularity of Yugoslavs among Orthodox respondents than among Catholic and Muslim ones, could be accounted for, among other factors, by their ethnic origin: 39.6% of respondents that declared themselves as Yugoslavs in this sample, had Serb paternal grandfathers, 17.4% Muslim, 14.2% Croat and 12.0% Yugoslav.

Respondents identifying with all three the most numerous confessions, have agreed in approximately two fifths of cases (variegating from 40.7% for Catholics and 44.2% for Muslims), with the statement that it was possible to be completely *secure* only in a milieu where the majority of one's co-nationals exists (see Table 1, column 4). A rather low Cramer's V coefficient (.134) confirms that confessional identification does not discriminate well between respondents regarding the importance that they attribute to the national moment in a local community.

The finding that respondents without a confession were under-represented in the agreement with this statement (19.0%, index 50) is congruent with their attribution of little importance to particular forms of self-identification, like the confessional one, and was therefore expected. The reason for a rather low index of representation in this answer modality of the respondents identifying with other confessions (24.0%, index 60). can be explained by the tendency of confessional minority affiliates to rationalize their social position and to adapt to the majority surrounding through the negation of the potential insecurity of the minority group's status.

The statement that among nations good cooperation can exist but not also compete *trust*⁵ was accepted with almost three fifths of respondents, irrespective of the confession that they identified with, variegating from 56.7% for the Orthodox to 59.4% for the Catholics (Table 1. column 5).

The finding that respondents identifying with all three confessions are over-represented in the agreement with the importance of national belonging for the feeling of security and trust (the highest index for the statement on security had Muslims - 117, and for the statement on trust had Catholics - 109), suggests the conclusion that there existed an increased degree of insecurity and the feeling of mistrust among respondents two years before the war, without regard to the confession they identified with.

This conclusion is corroborated by the finding that the statement on (mis)trust is

⁵ Formulation of this statement is inadequate because it consists of two allegations with opposite meanings. Researchers that participated in the data collection, insist on their first hand experience impression that respondents had in great majority well understood that the accent was put on the assumed absence of the possibility to establish relationships devoid of any suspicion between members of different ethnic groups (Ilić, Vladimir, Cvejić, Slobodan, 1993:541).

accepted by the absolute majority of respondents identifying with other confessions (53.3%, index 100), as well as by two fifths of respondents without a confession (index 76). These categories of respondents have expressed the greatest degree of openness toward members of different nationalities in the case of all other social distance items. This exception confirms that feeling of mistrust toward other nations was widespread.

Religious self-identification and the assessment of the importance of national belonging

The data in Table 3 confirms the hypothesis that there exists statistically a significant connection of moderate strength between respondents' religiosity and their attribution of importance to the national belonging of the *spouse* and of the *co-worker*. Respondents declaring themselves as persuaded believers (PB) and believers that do not accept everything that their faith teaches (BN), were under-represented in the answer modality, denying the significance of the national moment while choosing a spouse (23.8%, index 51, 32.9%, index 70, Table 3, column 2) and in the work place (36.6%, index 88, 36.0, index 85, Table 3, column 3). Respondents that declared themselves as not religious (NR) and as being against religion (AR) were, on the contrary, over-represented in this answer modality (58.6%, 59.4%, indexes 126, 128 and 46.7%, 46.4%, indexes 111 and 113 respectively, Table 3, columns 2 and 3).

The finding that among respondents that identified themselves with the Muslim confession there was the highest percentage of PB (25.0%), while among respondents identifying with the Catholic confession there were 19.4% PB and among those identifying with the Orthodox confession 8.5% PB (Vratuša-Žunjić, Vera, 1996c), contributes a new aspect to the culturalist explanation of the discovery that Muslim confession's affiliates have attributed the greatest importance to the nationality of the spouse.

The explanation of the lesser degree of difference between the attitudes of believers and not-believers with respect to the importance of national belonging of the co-worker than of the spouse, could be attributed to the fact that the national moment in the former instance has a lesser direct impact on an individual's everyday content and rhythm of life than in the later event.

In the case of the statements on (*in*)security outside the surrounding of one's co-nationals and on the (*im*)possibility of full *trust* between nations, believers over-proportionately agree with them (52.9%, 47.8%, indexes 140,126 and 59.6%, 62.0%, indexes 109, 114 respectively). Conversely, not-religious respondents under-proportionately agreed with this statements (29.3%, 28.2%, Indexes 75,78 and 49.7%, 44.7%, indexes 91, 84 respectively, Table 3, columns 3 and 4).

A visibly reduced difference in the attitudes of believers and not-believers toward the possibility of the realization of complete trust between nations is confirmed by the lowest Cramer's V (0.090). On the basis of data in this and in the previous section, we are justified therefore to assert that neither religiosity nor confessional identification can by themselves account for the considerable estrangement in inter-ethnic relations expressed in the widespread feelings of insecurity and mistrust among the surveyed respondents. Sources of these feelings in former Yugoslavia just before the war therefore must not be sought only in religious contents, but in the real life situation of both believers and not

believers belonging to all confessions and nationalities.

The work place and the attribution of importance to national belonging

The position in the social division of labor is an important structural dimension, along which the life situations of respondents belonging to the same confession are differentiated.

The data in Tables 4. and 5. confirm the hypothesis that respondents' socio-professional status was connected with the differences in the assessment of the importance of national belonging in social interaction made by respondents identifying with the same confession. The *tendency* is discernible that respondents employed near the bottom of the hierarchy in the work-place, especially peasants, connected closely by their way of life to natural rhythms and tradition, are less open toward members of other nationalities, than those near the top of this hierarchy, especially respondents political functionaries, "responsible" for at least verbal support of the official inter-ethnic policy of "brotherhood and unity".

A closer look at Tables 4 and 5, however, reveals indicative *deviations* from this tendency. Respondents-politicians that identified with the Muslim and Catholic confession, as well as respondents directors that identified with the Orthodox confession, denied the importance of the national belonging of the *spouse* less often (23.5%, 51.2% and 43.7% respectively) than their co-confessionals workers with higher or lower qualifications (32.1%, 52.8% and 48.4% respectively, Table 4, columns 2,3, and 4). Similarly, politicians-Catholics, specialists employed in the economic sphere, Catholics and Muslims, as well as directors identifying with all three confessions, have denied the importance of the *co-worker's* nationality less often than, or at least, as often as their co-confessional workers and peasants (Ibid.).

In the case of the statement suggesting the impossibility to feel *secure* outside the surrounding of co-nationals, politicians, directors and specialists identifying with the Muslim confession agreed with it more often (43.5%, 50.0%, 46.3%, 53.6% and 56.8% respectively) than their co-confessional workers with higher qualifications and peasants (33.1% and 41.7% respectively, Table 5, column 2).

Politicians identifying with the Catholic confession overtook the lead from their colleagues identifying with the Muslim confession in deviation from the noticed regularity, by accepting the statement that complete trust between nations was not possible more often (61.0%) than their co-confessional peasants (53.6%, Table 5, column 6).

On the basis of these aberrations from the observed pattern, it can be asserted that politicians and specialists identifying with the Muslim or Catholic confession, depending on the survey item, contributed in fact to the creation of an atmosphere of inter-ethnic insecurity and mistrust, by choosing answer modalities that are opposite to the official inter-ethnic policy of "brotherhood and unity".

It is clearly not possible to establish whether the degree of sincerity in the replies varies between different confessional and socio-professional categories. Therefore, the findings of this research can not be the basis for far-reaching conclusions. They are sufficient, however, to incite questioning of the very widely used thesis in the publications devoted to the war in former Yugoslavia, that it was precisely the politicians and highly

educated specialists active in science, higher education and the church in Serbia, the part of former Yugoslavia with the greatest concentration of the Orthodox confession's affiliates, who had much more than the politicians and specialists in other regions of the former Yugoslavia, contributed to the dissemination of inter-ethnic mistrust.

This research incites as well the reconsideration of the common preconception of peasants as the most xenophobic social group, for in this survey respondents falling into this category accepted the statement on the impossibility of trust between nations less often or at the most as often as their co-confessionals.

The most indicative finding for the real state of inter-ethnic and inter-confessional mistrust is the fact that the respondents employed in state security, obliged by the highest legal act of the country to defend its internal and external security, all accepted the statement on the impossibility of complete trust between nations more often (60.8% Orthodox, 64.0% Muslim and 71.9% Catholic) than most of their co-confessionals (Table 5, columns 5, 6 and 7).

Here established statistically is the significant connection between the respondents' socio-professional status and their attitudes toward the importance of national belonging, however, it is not very high. The coefficients of correlation vary between .075 for the co-worker's nationality preference, to -.139 for the (in)security statement outside the milieu with the majority of one's co-nationals (Table 7). The difference between the lowest and the highest frequency of a particular answer modality among the respondents occupying different work-places but identifying with the same confession, often does not reach the proportion 1:2 and rarely oversteps it.

The status of confessional majority or minority and the estimation of the importance of national belonging

The significant dimension of life situation connected with the appearance of greater differences in inter-ethnic attitudes among the same confession's affiliates concerns the group status of a local confessional majority or minority within a specific Republic or Province, as well as their very living in Republics and Provinces having different degrees of economic development and specific cultural and civilizational characteristics. Because of limited space, in this paper only results for Kosovo and Metohija (K&M), Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) will be presented (Table 6). Within these Republics and one Province, the greatest part of respondents that have identified with one of the three main confessions in the Balkans within the borders of the former Yugoslavia was concentrated, but also significant number of at least one of the remaining confessions, if not both of them.

A comparison of the data in Table 6 reveals the *regularity* that, irrespective of their confessional identification, respondents have the tendency to express attitudes implying a greater degree of inter-ethnic sympathy and openness when they live in a situation of local confessional minority than when they live in a situation of local confessional majority.

Thus, the Orthodox and Muslim confession's affiliates in Croatia, as well as Catholic confession's affiliates in Serbia, where they presented a confessional minority, have negated the importance of the *spouse's* national belonging almost two fifths, one fourth and one seventh more often than their co-confessionals in the "mother" Republics of Serbia (45.3%), B&H (44.4%) and Croatia (52.2%), where an absolute or relative

demographic majority of their co-confessionals exists (Table 6, column 1).

By choosing this type of answer modality, they have manifested a readiness to adapt to and to assimilate into the living surroundings.

A careful reading of Table 6 reveals, however, the *exceptions* from the "majority/minority" rule as well.

For example, respondents identifying with the Muslim confession in Serbia and with the Catholic confession in B&H, have less often negated the importance of national belonging while choosing a spouse than their co-confessionals in the "mother" Republics (25.0%:44.4% and 35.2%:52.2%), and less often than the local relative or absolute confessional majority (45.3% in Serbia and 44.4% in B&H, Table 6, column 2).

The findings for the Province of K&M should be especially carefully observed. Respondents that identified with the Muslim confession and declared themselves to be Albanians by nationality, who present the majority in a demographic sense in this Province, but a minority in the state-constitutional sense within the Republic of Serbia, have in less than 2% of cases declared that a spouse's nationality was not important. This is more than twenty times less often than in B&H, where Muslim confession's affiliates are mainly of a Serbian or Croatian ethnic origin. Orthodox confession's affiliates in K&M, where they present a demographic minority but a state-constitutional majority, have more than two times more often (4.7%) than Muslim confession's affiliates in K&M disregarded the importance of a spouse's nationality. This was, however, around ten times less often expressed than it was expressed by their co-confessionals in Serbia as the "mother country", and around twelve times less often than it was expressed by Orthodox respondents in B&H (Table 6, column 2). In the Province of K&M the difference in answers to the inter-ethnic distance items between the local Muslim demographic majority and the local Orthodox demographic minority is not greater than an insignificant few percentages.

In the case of the statement concerning the preferred *co-worker's* nationality, respondents identifying with the Muslim confession and living in Croatia with the status of a minority, were again an example to the exception of the "majority/minority rule": they denied the importance of the co-worker's nationality less often than their co-confessionals in B&H where they have a relative confessional majority (41.0%:46.8%), and Catholic confession's affiliates in Croatia having there an absolute confessional majority (44.2%, Table 6, column 3).

Members of local absolute or relative confessional minorities have been more reluctant than local majority confession's affiliates to express their agreement with the statement that a person can feel completely *secure* only if he or she lives in a milieu with the majority of one's co-nationals. The indicative exception to this rule appears in B&H. In this Republic both Catholic and Orthodox respondents, being in the position of a relative minority, have agreed with this statement more often (17.9% and 16.0%) than the Muslim respondents (11.5%), having in B&H a relative majority.

The greatest difference in answers given to the (in)security statement by the affiliates of the same confession, depending on their group majority or minority status, appeared among respondents identifying with the Orthodox confession. Those living in Croatia with the status of a demographic minority have more than four times less often agreed with this statement (12.0%) than their co-confessionals living in Serbia with the status of a demographic majority (51.6%) and almost six times less often than respondents

identifying with the Orthodox confession living in K&M with the status of a state-constitutional majority (66.7%) (Table 6, column 4).

It is interesting to note that respondents identifying with the same confession (Orthodox) and living with a status of a minority in the same territorial unit (Croatia), have agreed almost four times more often with the statement on the impossibility of complete *trust* among nations (43.2%) than to the previous statement on (in)security. This is still less than the agreement on this statement by majority Catholic confession's affiliates in Croatia (56.4%) and their co-confessionals living as a majority in Serbia (62.8%) (Table 6, column 5), but this intra-Orthodox difference is considerably smaller than is the case of the (in)security statement.

This finding instigates certain skepticism with respect to the reliability of survey data. Namely, the expression of a more open attitude toward members of other ethnic and confessional groups by members of local minority groups does not necessarily reflect their real conviction and adequate adaptation to their minority situation. They are sometimes only more careful in the expression of their real attitude on national questions in the surroundings of the members of a local majority group, in which they do not want to "stick out". Such a possible interpretation can partly account for the fact that the average percentage of the agreement with the importance of national belonging in social interaction by respondents of almost all confessional identifications in the entire former Yugoslavia were somewhat lower than such averages in the "mother" Republics and Provinces.

B&H repeats an indicative exception to the "minority/majority rule": both Catholic and Orthodox respondents, being in the position of a relative minority have agreed with the statement on the impossibility of complete trust between nations more often (47.0% and 44.8% respectively) than respondents identifying with the Muslim confession (42.8%), having in B&H a relative majority.

When the item on (mis)trust between nations is concerned, the greatest intra-confessional difference, depending on the majority/minority status, is found among respondents identifying with the Muslim confession. Those living in K&M as a demographic majority but as a state-constitutional minority, have accepted it in 70.4% of cases, while those living in B&H as a relative demographic majority accepted it in 42.8% of cases (Table 6, column 5). This last finding points out to still another regularity that will be treated in the next section.

Republic/province of residence and the estimation of the importance of national belonging

The comparison of data in Table 6 indicates that respondents, irrespective of the confession they identify with, tend to express the highest degree of estrangement from and mistrust toward other ethnic group members when they reside in the Province of K&M, while those residing in the Republic of B&H on the contrary, tend to attribute the lowest degree of importance to national belonging in social interaction. This difference varies from the proportion of almost 1:26 and 1:7 in the cases of items concerning the nationality of the spouse and the (in)security outside the surroundings of one's nationals, to the proportion of 1: 2.4 and 1:1.5 in the case of the items concerning the nationality of the co-worker and (mis)trust between nations (Table 6, columns 2,3,4, and

5 for K&M and B&H). Respondents residing in the Republics of Serbia and Croatia found themselves in the middle of this ethnic distance scale.

One possible explanation for this regularity is the fact that in the sample for K&M there was the smallest number of respondents that declared themselves to be without confession (1.7%), while this category of respondents was the most numerous in the Republic of B&H (35.1%) (Table 6, column 1). Respondents that did not identify with any confession, namely, usually expressed the most open attitude toward members of other nations and confessions, except those residing in K&M. Respondents without a confession in K&M have, on the contrary, expressed an even more aversive attitude toward members of other nationalities than respondents that did identify confessionally. Thus, not one respondent without a confession residing in K&M denied the importance of a spouse's national belonging, they have two times less often (11,1%) denied the importance of a co-workers' nationality, and have between five and ten percentages more often agreed with the statement that a person can be completely secure only in the milieu with the majority of one's co-nationals, than all other respondents in K&M. (Table 6, columns 1,2 and 3 for K&M).

The high percentages of agreement with the (in)security and (mis) trust statements testify to the existence of accentuated inter-ethnic distance in the Province of K&M, irrespective of confessional identification. It should be noted, however, that respondents of no confessional identification in this Province are over-represented in the acceptance of these statements.

Another element for the explanation of the constantly first rank of K&M respondents near the "aversion" end on the scale of inter-ethnic distance, and almost always the last rank of B&H respondents, near the "attraction" end of this scale, irrespective of their confessional identification, should be sought for in the wider social context and the chronology of events in recent history. On the territory of K&M the conflict of the local population over the formation of national states was already manifest and acute at the time of research. This conflict, veiled in ethnic and confessional clothes, lasted almost without a pause after the liberation from Turkish occupation of this region, with only short periods of peace between cycles of violence and counter-violence between the confronted sides. The isomorphic conflict within the territory of B&H was at the time of 1989/90 research still in the latent phase, after several decades of peace that was installed after the bloody conflicts during World War II. Differences in the representation of members of different nationalities in the most attractive ruling professions, that can be an important source of conflict in multi-confessional and multi-ethnic milieus, were the smallest in B&H in former Yugoslavia. The political parties elected on a national basis were formed relatively late in B&H, so that the main protagonists of the renewed nation-state ideology were probably less included in the sample than in some other milieus, having somewhat longer entrenched national parties' infrastructures. Lastly, in B&H, known as "Yugoslavia in small", respondents were probably the most conscious of all that the formation of national states in multi-ethnic surroundings would entail armed conflict for territories (Vratuša-Žunjić, Vera, 1995a).

Actually, the very existence of a relative harmony in inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations in B&H suggested by the 1989/90 survey data when they are expressed in low percentages, is seen in another perspective when they are expressed in high indexes of participation of all confessions' affiliates in agreement with the

(in)security and (mis)trust statements (Table 6, columns 4 and 5 for B&H), We should also take into consideration the historical fact that many former B&H inhabitants identifying with the Serb and Croat nationality, emigrated from this Republic mainly in the direction of their "mother" Republics: 188,000 into Vojvodina, 125,000 into Central Serbia, 275,247 into Croatia. This emigration, visibly intensified after 1971 when the Constitutional Law was adopted that recognized the existence of the Muslim nationality (not only the Muslim confession, like in all other parts of the world). The emigration toward the "mother" Republics, therefore, can not be attributed only to economic reasons of migration toward economically more developed regions.

The fact that so called Central Serbia received a great number of immigrants, together with migrants from Croatia (119,717) and K&M (around 75,000), can contribute to the clarification of the finding that almost every second respondent living in this part of former Yugoslavia agreed with the statement on the possibility to feel completely secure only in the surroundings of one's co-nationals, and that three fifths of them agreed with the statement on the impossibility of complete trust between nations (Table 6, column 4,5 for Central Serbia).

The war in B&H that broke out in less than two years after the survey that in this Republic did not register significantly disturbed inter-ethnic and inter-confessional relations, partly speaks of the unpredictability of results of social interaction, and partly of the limits of surveys, caused by the insufficient representativity of samples and the insufficient sincerity of respondents' answers to the questions concerning the importance of national belonging in social interaction, that became very controversial at the time of research.

CONCLUSION

This research confirmed the hypothesis that confessional identification and the religiosity of respondents was connected with their estimation of the importance of national belonging in primary and secondary social relations. This is especially true of the items concerning the importance of the spouse's and co-worker's nationality. The rule was noticed that differences between different confessions' affiliates and between believers and non-believers tended to disappear in the case of items relating to the (in)security outside the surroundings of one' co-nationals and on the (im)possibility of complete trust between nations.

The supplementary hypothesis was confirmed as well, whereby work-place influences differences in inter-ethnic attitudes of respondents identifying with the same confession. The deviation from the noticed regularity concerning the alleged greater inter-ethnic "openness" of professional politicians and more educated layers of respondents in comparison to the less educated workers and especially peasants must be underlined. It was thus demonstrated that respondents having commending, controlling and mediating intellectual functions in the social division of labor have contributed to the widespread feeling of insecurity and mistrust two years before the war, by accepting statements contrary to the official ideology and policy of "brotherhood and unity".

This research only partially confirmed the hypothesis already treated in the literature that majority groups, interested in retaining their privileged position *vis-à-vis* the minority

groups, were more prejudiced toward minority groups than was the case the other way around (Blumer, Herbart, 1958, p.4). This examination revealed that there are significant exceptions to the rule that respondents belonging to the local absolute or relative demographic majority group attach greater importance to the national moment in social interaction than members of minority groups.

One possible topic for further research in the field of majority/minority relationships is to find out whether there exists a critical turning point in the confessional, ethnic, or other composition of the population, starting from which the local majority ethnic group has a tendency to discriminate against members of a minority group, or minority affiliates cease to abide by the "minority rule" seeking assimilation into the majority group and starting to insist on their separation and political organization within an independent national state.

This research must be situated in the wider national and international socio-economic and historical context (Vratuša-Žunjić, Vera, 1997) especially when the demographic and state-constitutional (legal) majority do not coincide (like in K&M) and in the situation where there is no absolute, but only a relative confessional, ethnic or other majority (as in B&H). Exceptions to the "minority/majority rule" should be regarded as indicators of an already manifest or only latent inter-ethnic estrangement and conflict, that can have a predictive capacity.

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APPENDIX

N.B. In the Tables are presented selected answer modalities to the following items:

- No. I: "How important is national belonging to you while choosing a spouse?" - "not important" (in Table 1 is also presented "very important");

- No. II: "With members of which nation among the cited ones would you like to work with the most?" - "not important" (in Table 2 are presented all answer modalities except "other" and "without answer")
- No. III: "Do you agree and to what extent with the statement that a person can feel completely safe only when he/she lives in a milieu where the majority exists of his/hers conationals?" - partially and completely agrees;
- No. IV: "Do you agree and to what extent with the statement that among nations good cooperation can be realized, but not also complete trust?" - partially and completely agrees.

Table 1. Selected answer modalities to the items No. I, No. III, No.IV*
- by confessional self-identification of all respondents - in %

raw % index column I	I. spouse's nationality		III. (in)security	IV. (mis)trust
	2	3	4	5
confession	not important	very important	partially and completely agrees	partially and completely agrees
Catholic 3490 (100.0)	45.2 97	24.0 97	40.7 108	59.4 109
Orthodox 5594 (100.0)	45.4 98	22.4 91	43.1 114	56.7 104
Muslim 2271 (100.0)	22.7 49	55.4 226	44.2 117	57.9 106
other 75 (100.0)	66.7 140	6.7 20	24.0 60	53.3 100
without con. 2887 (100.0)	69.1 148	5.6 22	19.0 50	41.5 76
Total: 14438 100.0	46.6	24.5	37.8	54.5
χ^2	2136.95		1031.87	682.93
deg. of freed.	20		20	20
exp.fr.<5 significance		6.7%	20%	16.7%
Cramer's V	.192	.0000	.0000	.0000
Conting.Coef.	.359		.258	.213

*See N.B. at the beginning of the Appendix

Table 2. Selected answer modalities to the item No. II*
- by confessional self-identification of all respondents - in %

raw % column %	II. Preferred nationality of the co-worker									
column I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
confession	Croat	Slove- nian	Hun- garian	Serb	Monte- negrin	Mace- donian	Muslim	Alba- nian	Yugos- lave	not impor- tant
Catholic 3490 (100.0) (24.2)	21.7 75.4	25.0 73.2	0.7 36.6	0.9 2.3	0.5 2.3	0.4 3.2	0.9 14.7	0.6 2.7	6.9 15.0	34.9 20.0
Orthodox 5594 (100.0) (38.7)	0.9 5.3	0.8 3.9	0.5 39.4	21.0 82.3	10.0 81.7	5.9 81.8	0.6 14.2	0.2 1.3	13.3 46.1	40.9 37.7
Muslim 2271 (100.0) (15.7)	3.0 6.9	2.7 5.2	0.1 2.8	2.4 3.8	1.5 5.1	0.8 4.4	5.5 59.2	29.1 92.7	9.6 13.4	34.7 13.0

Table 2. continuation

raw % column %	II. Preferred nationality of the co-worker									
column 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
confession	Croat	Slove- nian	Hun- garian	Serb	Monte- negrin	Mace- donian	Muslim	Alba- nian	Yugos- lave	not import- tant
other										
75 (100.0)	2.7	9.3	-	1.3	-	-	-	1.3	13.3	60.0
(0.5)	0.2	0.6	-	0.1	-	-	-	0.1	0.6	0.7
without con.										
2887 (100.0)	4.1	6.9	0.5	5.1	2.4	1.5	0.8	0.3	13.8	58.5
(20.0)	11.7	16.6	18.3	10.3	10.0	10.6	11.4	1.4	24.6	27.8
Total: 14438										
100.0	7.0	8.2	0.5	9.9	4.7	2.8	1.5	4.9	11.2	42.1
(100.0)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
χ^2										
deg. of freed.										
exp.fr.<5										
significance										
Cramer's V										
Conting.Coef.										

*See N.B. at the beginning of the Appendix

Table 3. Selected answer modalities to the items No. I, No. II, No. III, No.IV*
- by religious self-identification of all respondents - in %

column 1	column 2	column 3	column 4	column 5
raw % index	I.spouse's nationality	II. co-worker's nationality	III. (in)security	IV. (mis)trust
relation to religion	not important	not important	agrees	agrees
Persuaded believer	23.8	36.6	52.9	59.6
1750 (100.0)	51	88	17.0	13.2
Believes not everything	32.9	36.0	47.8	62.0
2842 (100.0)	70	85	126	114
Not certain	42.8	36.4	41.1	59.9
1602 (100.0)	92	84	109	110
Indifferent	50.6	46.6	35.5	52.6
1584 (100.0)	108	110	94	96
Not religious	58.6	46.7	29.3	49.7
6141 (100.0)	126	111	75	91
Against religion	59.4	46.4	28.2	44.7
468 (100.0)	128	113	78	91
Total:				
4438 (100)	46.6	42.1	37.8	54.5
χ^2	1960.38	1160.19	991.77	463.59
deg. of freed.	24	84	24	24
exp.fr.<5	5.7%	21.9%	22.9%	17.1%
significance	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000
Cramer's V	.184	.116	.131	.090
Conting.Coef.	.346	.272	.254	.176

*See N.B. at the beginning of the Appendix

Table 4. Selected answer modalities to the items No. I, No. II*
- by confessional self-identification and the work-place of all respondents - in %

column 1	Confession					
	2	3	4	5	6	7
	.Muslim	Catholic	Orthodox	Muslim	Catholic	Orthodox
raw %	2271	3490	5594	2271	3490	5594
adjusted standard residual	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
	Item					
	I.	I.	I.	II.	II.	II.
	spouse	spouse	spouse	colleague	colleague	colleague
Work place	not import.	not import.	not import.	not import.	not import.	not import.
UNEMPLOYED	15.1	46.4	34.9	24.7	30.0	27.2
	-3.8	0.3	-4.9	4.4	-1.2	-6.5
peasant	13.9	41.7	36.2	42.4	49.3	43.2
	-4.0	-1.6	-7.3	3.1	6.9	1.8
un-qualified and semi-q. worker	26.4	52.8	48.6	42.1	31.0	40.3
	1.4	3.1	1.4	2.5	-1.7	-0.3
qualified and highly-q. worker	32.1	43.6	48.4	34.6	32.1	38.1
	6.0	-1.0	2.4	-0.1	-2.0	-2.3
clerk without and with a high school	25.2	47.8	45.8	26.0	30.7	35.8
	0.7	0.9	0.2	-2.1	-1.4	-2.1
technician and head-worker	24.6	44.4	48.5	21.7	23.8	46.2
	0.4	-0.2	0.7	-2.3	-2.7	1.2
private artisan	17.1	45.1	60.0	31.4	19.6	38.2
	-0.8	-0.0	2.2	-0.4	-2.3	-0.4
expert employed in industry	13.6	46.4	54.5	27.3	25.0	40.3
	-1.4	0.2	1.6	-1.0	-1.6	-0.1
expert employed in social services	13.1	37.7	58.0	29.8	44.7	48.0
	-2.1	-1.9	3.4	-1.0	2.6	1.5
expert employed in administration	13.0	45.0	40.8	25.9	45.0	44.8
	-1.7	-0.0	-1.0	-1.4	1.7	0.9
army, police, security	40.0	46.9	54.1	56.0	34.4	50.0
	2.1	0.2	1.5	2.2	-0.1	1.6
director	16.1	43.1	43.7	27.7	37.9	38.4
	-1.7	-0.5	-0.7	-1.6	0.7	-1.1
politician	23.5	51.2	53.9	49.4	34.1	52.5
	0.2	0.8	2.0	2.9	-0.1	3.4
other	29.3	51.8	54.9	45.2	40.4	49.8
	2.2	3.8	5.1	3.2	3.3	4.8
Total agreement:	515	1576	2539	788	1217	2290
% agreement	22.7	45.2	45.4	34.7	34.9	40.9
χ^2	171.27	144.53	232.05	560.17	763.15	528.88
degrees of freedom	56	60	56	168	195	168
expected frequency < 5	32.0	26.3%	22.7	60.5	65.6%	50.3%
significance level	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000
Cramer's V	.137	.102	.102	.143	.130	.089
Conting. Coef.	.265	.199	.199	.448	.424	.294

*See N.B. at the beginning of the Appendix

Table 5. Selected answer modalities to the items No. III, No. IV*
- by confessional self-identification and the work-place of all respondents - in %

column 1	Confession					
	2	3	4	5	6	7
raw %	Muslim	Catholic	Orthodox	Muslim	Catholic	Orthodox
adjusted standard	2271	3490	5594	2271	3490	5594
residual	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
Work place	Item					
	III. security agrees	III. security agrees	III. security agrees	IV. trust agrees	IV. trust agrees	IV. trust agrees
UNEMPLOYED	64.2	41.4	46.6	69.9	61.4	61.7
peasant	8.5	0.2	1.6	5.1	0.5	2.3
un-qualified and semi-q. worker	41.7	32.1	52.4	52.4	53.6	57.0
qualified and highly-q. worker	-0.9	4.1	7.5	-2.1	-2.7	0.3
clerk without and with a high school diploma	44.3	45.6	41.2	52.8	62.0	60.7
technician and head-worker	0.0	2.0	-0.8	-1.7	1.1	1.7
private artisan	33.1	40.5	44.0	56.8	61.6	57.5
expert employed in industry	-5.9	-0.1	0.8	-0.6	1.5	0.6
expert employed in social services	31.7	35.9	41.0	55.3	60.6	57.7
expert employed in administration	-2.9	-1.6	-0.8	-0.6	0.4	0.4
army, police, security	44.9	45.2	37.1	59.4	71.4	59.8
director	0.1	1.1	-1.4	1.8	2.6	0.7
politician	45.7	45.1	38.2	68.6	54.9	60.0
other	0.2	0.6	-0.7	1.3	-0.7	0.5
Total agreement:	56.8	35.7	32.5	63.6	48.2	57.1
% agreement	1.7	-0.8	-1.9	0.8	-1.7	0.1
χ^2	53.6	27.7	30.5	63.1	50.3	48.3
degrees of freedom	1.8	-3.4	-3.4	1.0	-2.4	-2.3
expected frequency < 5	46.3	21.7	34.4	63.0	46.7	57.6
significance level	0.3	-3.0	-2.0	0.8	-2.0	0.2
Cramer's V	44.0	37.5	27.0	64.0	71.9	60.8
Conting. Coef.	-0.0	-0.4	-2.8	0.6	1.4	0.7
	50.0	32.8	36.1	57.1	56.0	56.8
	1.3	-1.8	-2.9	-0.2	-0.8	0.0
	43.5	26.8	29.9	49.4	61.0	45.1
	-0.1	-1.8	-3.9	-1.6	0.2	-3.4
	37.2	46.1	41.2	50.0	58.7	52.1
	-0.2	3.1	-1.0	-2.3	-0.4	-2.5
	1004	1420	2410	1315	2074	3174
	44.2	40.7	43.1	57.9	59.4	56.7
	179.14	194.02	213.26	112.44	121.30	183.75
	42	60	42	42	60	42
	18.7%	32.5%	8.3%	18.3%	30%	6.7%
	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000
	.162	.118	.113	.128	.093	.105
	.270	.229	.192	.217	.183	.178

*See N.B. at the beginning of the Appendix

Table 6. Selected answer modalities to the items No. I, No. II, No. III, No. IV*
by Republic/Province and by confessional self-identification - in %

raw % index	Item			
column 1	2	3	4	5
Republic/ Province	spouse (not important)	colleague (not important)	(in) security (agrees)	(mis) trust (agrees)
K&M				
1032(100.0)	2.2	22.4	71.7	69.6
Catholic 23 (100.0)	13.0	13.0	69.6	60.9
2.2	590	59	100	86
Orthodox: 105 (100)	4.8	21.0	68.6	66.7
10.2	213	94	95	95
Muslim:862(100)	1.7	22.9	71.9	70.3
83.5	78	102	100	101
without c.:18 (100)	0.0	11.1	77.8	50.0
1.7		53	112	76
χ^2	74.76	572.58	10.65	22.38
degrees of freedom	20	30	15	15
expected frequency < 5	66.7	66.7	58.3	58.3
significance level	.0000	.0000	.7771	.098
Cramer's V	.135	.333	.058	.085
Conting. Coef.	.260	.597	.101	.146
Serbia				
3320(100.0)	47.0	44.0	47.4	60.4
Catholic:30(100.0)	66.7	50.0	33.3	43.3
0.9	144	111	67	67
Orthodox:2504(100.75.4)	45.3	40.7	51.6	62.8
	96	92	109	104
Muslim:188(100.0)	25.0	62.8	27.1	43.6
5.7	53	142	56	72
without c.:550(100)	60.4	52.4	36.5	55.5
16.6	128	119	77	92
χ^2	167.54	.327	.114	73.9
degrees of freedom	20	30	15	15
expected frequency < 5	33.3	59.5	33.3	33.3
significance level	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000
Cramer's V	.112	.140	.107	.086
Conting. Coef.	.219	.310	.182	.147
Croatia:				
14438(100.)	62.7	51.4	24.4	49.7
Catholic 1825(100)	52.2	44.2	31.9	56.4
65.9	83	86	130	113
Orthodox:250 (100.	82.8	66.8	12.0	43.2
9.0	132	130	49	87
Muslim: 39 (100.0)	69.2	41.0	17.9	53.8
1.4	114	78	71	107
without c.:625(100 22.6)	84.8	67.2	8.5	32.3
	135	131	35	65
χ^2	297	489	261	244
degrees of freedom	20	35	15	15
expected frequency < 5	46.7%	54.2%	33.3%	29.2%
significance level	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000
Cramer's V	.164	.188	.177	.171
Conting. Coef.	.311	.386	.293	.284

Table 6. continuation

raw % index column 1	Item			
	2	3	4	5
B&H	56.4	54.0	10.7	39.6
Republic/ Province	spouse (not important)	colleague (not important)	(in) security (agrees)	(mis) trust (agrees)
Catholic:330(100.0) 13.8	35.2 62	39.1 72	17.9 167	47.0 119
Orthodox:449(100.0) 18.8)	56.8 100	60.4 112	16.0 149	44.8 113
Muslim:755(100.0) 31.6	44.4 79	46.8 86	11.5 108	42.8 108
without c.:840(100 35.1)	75.2 134	62.7 116	4.2 39	30.8 78
χ^2	344	262	157	84.5
degrees of freedom	20	30	15	15
expected frequency < 5	43.3	42.9	29.2	25.0
significance level	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000
Cramer's V	.189	.148	.148	.109
Conting. Coef.	.354	.330	.248	.184

Table 7. Selected variables' Coefficients of Correlation

	spouse	co-worker	security	trust
confession	-.1520**	.0827**	-.1945**	-.1614**
religiosity	-.3103**	.0868**	-.2361**	-.1455**
wok place	-.1352**	.0749**	-.1389**	-.1089**
spouse	1.0000	-.2330**	.3955**	.2356**
co-worker	-.2330**	1.0000	-.1813**	-.1416**
security	.3955**	-.1813**	1.0000	.4070**
trust	.2356**	-.1416	.4070**	1.0000
gender	.0001	-.0053	.0054	.0201*
age	.0246*	-.1344**	-.0019	.0257*

N of cases: 14438 1-tailed Signif: * - .01 ** - .001

ODNOS VERSKE PRIPADNOSTI, RELIGOZNE SAMOIDENTIFIKACIJE I MEĐUETNIČKE DISTANCE U BIVŠOJ JUGOSLAVIJI KRAJEM OSAMDESETIH

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U prilogu se ispituje postojanje, intenzitet i smer povezanosti između verske pripadnosti, stepena subjektivne religioznosti i međuetničke distance dve godine pred nasilno razbijanje bivše Jugoslavije.

Empirijsku osnovu istraživanja čini baza podataka Konzorcijuma jugoslovenskih instituta društvenih nauka iz 1989-1990.

Glavni nalaz rada je da je socijalna distanca između pripadnika tri najbrojnije veroispovesti na Balkanu, pravoslavne, katoličke i islamske, odnosno pripadnika odgovarajućih nacionalnosti, Srba, Hrvata i Muslimana, bila vrlo izražena dve godine pred izbijanje rata. Čak i kada su

ispitanici katoličke i pravoslavne veroispovesti u dve petine slučajeva verbalno poricali značaj nacionalne pripadnosti supružnika, odnosno ispitanici svih konfesija u nešto nižem procentu negirali važnost nacionalne pripadnosti kolege s posla, oni sami su retko bili u mešovitoj braku i retko su odabirali pripadnika neke druge nacionalnosti kao saradnika na radnom mestu.

Ispitanici Jugosloveni koji su u tri petine slučajeva izjavili da nemaju veroispovest, pokazali su se kao najotvoreniji prema pripadnicima svih nacionalnosti i najpopularniji kao supružnici i kolege, odmah posle pripadnika lokalno većinske nacije i konfesije. Albanci koji su se u više nego devet desetina slučajeva izjašnjavali kao pripadnici muslimanske veroispovesti, bili su najzatvoreniji prema drugim nacionalnostima i konfesijama i najmanje popularni kod njihovih pripadnika.

O visokom stepenu nesigurnosti i nepoverenja među pripadnicima glavne tri konfesije dve godine pred rat govore i sledeće činjenice. Prvo, pripadnici sve tri konfesije su se u preko dve petine slučajeva delimično ili potpuno slagali da je sigurnost moguća samo u sredini u kojoj živi većina pripadnika vlastite nacionalnosti. Drugo, pored skoro tri petine pripadnika tri glavne konfesije, takođe je preko dve petine onih bez konfesije delimično i potpuno usvajalo stav da među nacijama može biti dobre saradnje ali ne i potpunog poverenja.

Uočena je pravilnost da ispitanici koji su izjavili da su uvereni vernici ili da veruju ali ne u sve što vera uči, većinom pripadnici radnih slojeva, pridavali za jednu petinu veći značaj nacionalnoj pripadnosti supružnika i kolege s posla nego ispitanici koji su izjavljivali da su ravnodušni prema religiji, nereligiozni ili protivnici religije, većinom pripadnici srednjih i viših društvenih slojeva. Daleko je manja (samo desetak procenata), međutim, razlika u stavovima ispitanika koji su saopštili suprotne stepene svoje religioznosti, kada se radilo o sigurnosti i poverenju između pripadnika raznih nacija. Stoga društvene izvore rasprostranjenog nepoverenja, nasilnog raspada bivše Jugoslavije i formiranja međusobno neprijateljskih nezavisnih nacionalnih država, treba tražiti ne samo u religioznim sadržajima nego i u realnoj životnoj situaciji kako vernika tako i nevernika.

U radu je detaljno ispitan uočeni fenomen postojanja značajnih razlika u stepenu subjektivne religioznosti i stavovima pripadnika iste konfesije zavisno od toga da li imaju status lokalne većine ili manjine u odgovarajućoj republici ili pokrajini.