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Family Value System in Transformation: Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina¹

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Abstract

Using the data of empirical research of gender roles in family carried out in 2018, the authors of this paper point out the transformation of family value system in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Postsocialist transformation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has influenced changes of value family patterns and orientations, so traditional value orientations are dominant, marked by immense value gap, instead of modernist value orientations. The results indicate that the data subjects' answers are still traditional and patriarchal and that young men and women show tendency towards modern value orientations. The acceptance of modern attitudes is moderate and not resolute, and regarding various issues there is a large percent of irresolute answers. It can be concluded that there is certain division of values. On one side there are generations of young and women and on the other side there are generations of older and men who are very close to traditional values.

Keywords: family values, gender roles, attitudes, traditionalism, modernism.

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1. Introduction

In modern societies, family is considered the most important and supreme value. Public opinion of different professions is that a family is the foundation of society and an individual and that it is irreplaceable in the formation of a healthy individual; so, family is usually approached with positive value sign. In the research of family value system, there are certain difficulties caused by the following characteristics of the very family: 'primarity and directness of the contact of a researcher with family though his/her own experience which leads to so called too much knowledge, of common sense origin; omnipresence of family in different situations and the term family is frequently used to denote a pattern, model, standard or archetype' (Milić, 2001: 30). This perspective in science is typical for countries which are characterized by traditional values and where transformation of value system is only at the beginning, especially in the societies of post-socialist transformation in the region of Western Balkans.

With the formation of modern civil society and its ideology, family gets a place of terminal value which is out of question (Milić, 2001). In modern society, such understanding of family was developed under the influence of theoretical concept of Talcott Parsons. According to him, a family is relatively closed subsystem of modern society with segregated but complementary gender roles (Parsons, Bales, 1955). Thus organized, isolated from the wider family surrounding, nuclear family is functional both from the perspective of a social system and family subsystem. This distinction of the role does not contain, according to Parsons, elements of inequality or hierarchy because the roles of both men and women are of equal importance for family functioning and stabilization of the whole social system in general. This concept of family was subject to many critics. Parsons 'has incorporated conventional judgments on family in his own analytical framework, instead to subdue it to a strict objective critical empirical research' (Beechy, 1985:100). In this way everything that was not in accordance with the standards set by Parsons was considered pathological, deviant and unacceptable for society and its functioning. During 1980s majority consisted of theoreticians who put stress on bend from ideologization, especially from conventional attitudes how family should look like, and they were closer and closer to empirical researches of family in concrete social and cultural contexts. Very strong social and demographic changes are differently reflected upon family changes in different European societies. The number of divorces, cohabitation, mixed marriages, and births outside of marriage in Italy has been increased and this indicates the fact that there are changes within the Italian family regarding its modernity. But, there are still present some traditional values within Italian families: immense

solidarity among its members, long stay in the family of origin and the choice of cohabitation as an introduction to marriage. 'The propensity towards a higher degree of modernity or tradition for time to time (and from place to place) seems to depend on the opportunities offered to individual, in the light of an individualistic idea of family as private matter' (Blangiardo, Rimoldi, 2014: 217). Social and cultural context shapes two main types of family changes typical for contemporary Europe: in northern and western Europe the dominant process is one of individualisation, gender equality and different forms of organising family and marital life. On the other hand, eastern and southern parts of Europe are characterised by very strong differentiation of gender roles and high appreciation of family and marriage and lower portion of cohabitation and LAT (living apart together) forms (Saraceno, Keck, 2010).

In sociological tradition there are so many different definitions of value which are based on different criteria: objectivist or subjectivist. Objectivist approaches point out that the values are immanent to objects, while subjectivist emphasize that objects do not have any value apart from subject who is evaluating (Pantić, 1977). The same author points out that there is even the third approach which in the research connects two previous aspects and emphasizes that values have relational character and they occur on the relation subject-object and in these terms offers his definition (Pantić, 1977). 'The values are relatively stable, general, hierarchically organized characteristics of an individual (elements related to dispositions) and groups (elements of social consciousness) formed by mutual effects of historical, currently social and individual factors which due to determined desirability, direct behaviour of their bearers towards certain aims' (Pantić, 1977: 277). This way of defining includes two most important aspects of value: individual participants with their characteristics expressed towards certain values and ideological notions of desirability within a social system. Formation of values is a process influenced by various factors: from macro level it is historical and cultural long-lasting factors, from mezzo level it is structural factors which determinate the basic features of a social system, as well as patterns of social group structuring, and from micro level it is factor related to social and psychological characteristics of an individual. Research of structural changes which caused transformation of family structure and family value patterns is of vital importance for research of family values in our society. After the Second World War, in the framework of socialistic social system, transformation of traditional family structure started, which means slightly transformation of traditional families and acquiring forms and structures of modern family. The second half of XX century has been marked by the process of family modernisation in terms of depatriarchalisation and detraditionalisation of family structures, relations and functions. This implies

the formation of modern, urban structure of nuclear family, creation of private autonomous space and establishing more equal and egalitarian relations between genders and generations within family. But, the implosion of socialism during late 80s and breakup of Yugoslavia, followed by civil wars during 1990s, caused a very difficult social period. Economic crisis, hyperinflation, international sanctions and war destructions led to blocked transformation and transition of Serbian society. Significant changes and processes on social plan in general have had influence on families which have been faces with the lack of development because they were forced to return on previous form and practices of social life (traditional way of earning) in order to survive. It can be concluded that family and marriage have been subject to various transformations – from started modernisation during socialist period, through stagnation of in the period of blocked transition, to revival of already superannuated forms and relations, i.e. to retraditionalization of family (Milić, 2010).

For the purpose of this research, we will interpret value as ‘relatively stable and general characteristics of social groups which are attributed with desirability of certain way of thinking, feeling and believing and they form elements of social consciousness with directing effects on social activities of collective and individual actors’ (Pešić, 2017: 22).

2. Theoretical framework

Family value system consists of numerous aspects and this fact can make operationalization and empirical research more difficult. Family regulates many aspects of an individual behaviour: marital and partner relations, sexual behaviour, parent-child relation, relation of blood relatives, relations between brothers and sisters, relation towards social surrounding, near and distant, education styles and strategies, and even political orientations and attitudes. Therefore, the researches of family values are never comprehensive but related to certain aspects of family life.

The processes of globalization have caused changes in numerous family values and related marital and family behaviour. In majority of the western families, marriage is postponed from 20s to 30s (Johnson, Dye, 2005; Bobić, 2007), and total rate of nuptiality are constantly decreasing (Lee, Payne, 2010; Bobić, 2007). The ways to marriage are also changing and they become more diverse (Amato et al., 2008; Schoen, Landale, Daniels, 2007; Bobić, 2007) in a way that majority of persons live with her/his partner at least once before marriage (Kennedy, Bumpass, 2008). These changes led to the phenomenon called ‘deinstitutionalization’ of marriage because social norms related to

marriage are becoming weaker and life paths of an individual become more differentiated (Cherlin, 2004; Lauer, Yodanis, 2010; Bobić, 2007; Milić, 2001).

Although the marriage for present-day generations of young people in the most developed societies has less importance in comparison to the generation of their parents, majority of individuals in empirical researches still show positive attitude towards marriage and family and they expect they will eventually have their own family (Thornton, Young-DeMarco, 2001; Whitehead, Popenoe, 2001; Wilcox, Marquardt, 2011). Regardless the general decline of nuptiality, around 80% of adult population will have their own family at least once before their 40s (Settersten, Ray, 2010). This points out one more very important fact, that both family and marriage are regulated by the same cultural and institutional rules as in the previous generations (Lauer, Yodanis, 2010; Wilcox, Dew, 2010), and this research has proved it.

Despite great interest of scientists for researches of the family values and related marital and family behaviour, there are immense variations regarding theoretical models and application of certain methods and measurements. All current researches have been focused on specific population and socio-cultural contexts they originate from. 'Until now, none of the scientists did not try to construct a comprehensive model which can explain family and marital values, applicable for any individual regardless age and gender' (Willoughby, Hall, Luczak, 2013: 3).

Generally speaking, individuals have positive attitude towards family and marriage, but it is very important that those attitudes and values do not have to correlate their positive or negative personal experiences in a family of marriage. Having this on mind, some scientists are constructing a conception of 'marital paradigm' in order to describe the whole system of beliefs related to family and marriage (Willoughby, Hall, Luczak, 2013). Marital paradigm contains collective convictions about marriage institution and personal beliefs of an individual about marital relations in an abstract sense. Current specific attitudes of an individual on marriage partner or marriage relation, especially if that relation is endangered do not come directly to marriage paradigm but constitute only one of these aspects. Marital paradigm is changing as individuals are passing through different life cycles, but despite numerous specific values of marriage and family it is possible for marital paradigms to be divided into several categories which further regulate specific family and marital behaviour. Typology of those paradigms is as follows: 'marital expression, marital context, marital process, marital time, marital continuity and marital centrality' (Willoughby, Hall, Luczak, 2013: 209). This theoretical conception provides researchers to follow the development and changes of marital and family values as well as concrete marital and family patterns of behaviour. Also, on this basis family therapists can develop a series of new

clinical practices for the promotion and advancement of 'healthy' family patterns.

Family in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been developing and functioning under the influence of patriarchal value system. Patriarchy has come in the focus of western sociologists only with the appearance of feminist authors, while family researchers in this part of the world clearly pointed out patriarchal structure of the family even before WW II. This line can be spread starting from our first sociologist of the family, Valtazar Bogišić, who researched patriarchal institutions of South Slaves (Bogišić, 1999), then Vera Erlich and her research of the family transformation after the Second World War (Erlich, 1971), and to the research of Olivera Burić and Ruža First Dilić (Burić, 1972; First-Dilić, 1972) in which there is an explanation of immense changes in value system within socialistic family, weakening of patriarchal system and strengthening ideology of egalitarianism, as well as the researches of Anđelka Milić (Milić, 2001; 2010) about the processes of retraditionalization and repatriarchalisation of family life at the end of XX century.

3. Methodology

We have put this research of family values in the framework of concept of patriarchal system which determines gender roles in the family and organization of marriage and family. Empirical survey research of family changes has been carried out in the period from 2018 on the territory of seven municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. in the Republic of Srpska (one of two entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina): Banja Luka, Doboј, East Sarajevo, Trebinje, Šekovići, Rogatica and Pale. For the purpose of family and family changes research, we have created a questionnaire of 35 questions (open and closed type) which helped us to get the basic socio-demographic data and the data regarding particular aspects of data subjects' family lives. The total number of data subjects is 220, and it was quota sample in the municipalities. Quota was determined on the basis of estimation of number and structure of population in the municipalities.

In the sample, there were 106 men (48,2%) and 114 women (51,8%) from the following municipalities: Trebinje 20 (9,1%), Pale 30 (13,6%), Šekovići 20 (9,1%), Doboј 20 (9,1%), Rogatica 20 (9,1%), Istočno Novo Sarajevo 40 (18,2%) and Banja Luka 70 (31,8%). The number of examinees has been determined on the basis of the total number of inhabitants in these municipalities. Education structure of the data subjects is: primary school 5 (2,3%), secondary school 148 (67,3%), higher school 25 (11,4%),

faculty/academy 36 (16,4%) and MA/PhD 6 (2,7%) and it is in accordance with educational structure according to the Census of Population from 2013. Age structure of the sample is as follows: from 18 to 24 years – 63 data subjects (28,6%), from 25 to 31 years – 37 (16,8%), from 32 to 38 years 39 (17,7%), from 39 to 45 years 25 (11,4%), from 46 to 52 years 25 (11,4%), from 53 to 59 years 16 (7,3%), from 60 to 66 years 4 (1,8%) and more than 66 years old – 11 data subjects (5,0%). Marital structure of the sample is: there are 97 married (44,1%), 100 unmarried (45,5%), 7 divorced (3,2%), 12 widowers/widows (5,5%) and 4 persons living in cohabitation (1,8%). We are well aware of the fact that the sample should have been larger for better generalisation and conclusions, but this is due to our limited financial sources for the research. Nevertheless, the given results can still provide us certain insights into major characteristics of family value system.

The research of value system has been carried out by examining the level of acceptance of certain traditional attitudes on distribution of gender roles within families (Likert scale). Disagreement with the statements, strictly speaking, means only rejection of traditional values, not acceptance of modern value orientation. But still unacceptance can be understood as certain movement towards modernism and individualism.

4. Research results and discussion

For the purpose of this research we associated analyses of value orientation with the data subjects' gender. The main reason for this is in the fact that family value orientations are related to gender and family roles and examining gender differences can offer some new findings if there were value transformation. Attitudes scale consists of four statements and results of distribution based on gender (Table 1, Table 2, Table 3, Table 4).

When we have a general look, the first offered statement *If only one spouse is employed in a marriage, it is more natural to be a man* 45.4% of data subjects agree, 22.3% is neutral and 32.3% disagree. But disagreement with this statement is shown more by women (41.2%) than men (22,6%). Men more agree with the statement (55.7%) than women (36%) (Table 1).

From the data from the table we could conclude that data subjects show traditional values when it comes to female employment, i.e. majority is of opinion that a husband should have an instrumental role, i.e. a traditional role of a breadwinner, which is in accordance with the Parsons theory of segmented but complementary roles in a family (Parsons, Bales, 1955). In the analysis of examinees' age and their agreement with the statement, we have discovered the following results: in category of examinees aged 18-24, 44,4%

agree (slightly or completely), and 30,1% disagree (slightly or completely), while 22,2% have neutral attitude. In the group of examinees aged 25-31, the results show that 43,2% of them disagree and 40,5% agree, while 35,1% have neutral attitude. In case of older examines, the percentage of accepting this attitude is even higher, more than 50%. The results show that there are slight differences between examines of different age, that younger examinees are still inclined to modern values, but with the large number of neutral among them.

TABLE 1. *If only one spouse is employed in a marriage, it is more natural to be a man.*

	Male	Female
Completely disagree	6.6	9.6
I do not agree	16.0	31.6
I am neutral	21.7	22.8
I agree	45.3	27.2
I totally agree	10.4	8.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Rate of participation of married women in labour force was dramatically increased in the second half of 20th century. Maximal rates of married women employment reached its peak in the most developed part of the world during 1990s, in time when societies in our region were passing through the most severe economic and social crisis. Attitudes on family roles and women employment have been changed during several previous decades in the direction of greater egalitarianism in family and marriage and acceptance of women work engagement (Brewster, Padavic, 2000; Peltola, Milkie, Presser, 2004). In this part of the world scientific studies point out the changes of spouses relation and changes regarding the attitude towards women employment (Burić, 1970; First-Dilić, 1972) up to the period when society is entering into transition and bloody wars, when a modernized family is affected by processes of retraditionalization and repatriarchalisation (Milić, 2001; 2010). Some western researches note in their researches a potential shift in attitudes during the end of 1990s (Thornton, Young-DeMarco, 2001) in terms of strengthening ‘intensive maternity’ as cultural trend (Hays, 1996), i.e. increased number of women who decide to leave their jobs in order to be fully devoted to maternity (Blair-Loy, 2003; Stone, 2007). One of the researches in USA showed that half of data subjects, grown individuals, think that it is better for children to be raised by an unemployed mother who stays in the house all the time (Wang, Parker, Taylor, 2013). A significant research about values and husband’s attitudes on wife’s employment were provided by Gayle Kaufman and Damian White. The authors developed typology of men value system: traditional (implies that it is desirable for women to stay at home),

egalitarian (implies that it is desirable for women to be employed), expected traditional (implies that it is desirable for a women to stay at home but in reality a women is employed) and expected egalitarian (it is desirable that woman works, but she stays at home) (Kaufman, White, 2014). Men who advocate the first two types of value systems are in a better position than men who advocate the remaining two value systems, because in case of the last ones there can be a value discord between their own value system and (gender ideology) and empirical work-family behaviour (Kaufman, White, 2014). Men with traditional value system usually emphasize that wife's stay at home is very prominent for care for children and their growing up, while men with egalitarian value pattern support employment of their wives and their contribution to family budget. Also, the last ones recognize the other benefits from their wives' employment in terms of the better development of social of their children and improvement of interaction between father and children. In the case of men with expected traditional and expected egalitarian value pattern there is misbalance between their ideals and reality. The first ones have traditional attitudes regarding women employment, but in most cases they cannot financially afford a woman to stay at home. The other group of men with expected egalitarian pattern has liberal attitudes on women employment consider that it is unnecessary for women to stay at home and they put stress on both financial and emotional advantage of women employment. In these cases, the reason reality does not fit into value system is a puzzle for them and they explain differently the decision of their wives to stay at home (Kaufman, White, 2014). In the research of attitudes towards women employment one should pay attention to intersectionality of the class. Namely, in relation between work and family, class has a prominent role because researches indicate that men from lower social classes have more traditional attitudes towards women employment (Shows, Gerstel, 2009) in contrast to men from higher social classes (Cunningham et al., 2005).

The other researched statement is *Majority of household chores, by its nature, suits women*. Household chores, as a specific way of informal work, in the very long tradition of family development was carried out predominantly by women (Milić, 2001). Debate on domestic work was opened by feminist authors during the middle of the previous century. From then till today there is a constant interest for research of this kind of work and the cause which influence gender-based distribution of it. This kind of work, apart from being marginalized, non-profit, underrated is a key for the production of whole social system. Study on labour distribution within a household were primarily focused on married couples, because heterosexual marriage was until recently the only normal form of partnership, but with the spreading of alternative life and marriage arrangements in the analysis there are cohabitations, LAT forms

(Living apart together), homosexual cohabitations and so on. It should be mentioned that the researches indicate that more egalitarian household chores distribution is more represented in cohabitations than in the traditional marriage (Batalova, Cohen, 2002), which leads to a conclusion that individuals in marriage, in contrast to those in cohabitation, show more traditional attitudes towards organizing and doing household chores. In the sample of this research there were married and unmarried individuals, but not individuals who live in a kind of cohabitation. The data indicates that 48,7% data subjects agree with the statement while 30,4% disagree. Even in this case gender difference is obvious but not immense. The percentage of women who agree with the statement is 46,5, and men 50,9 (Table 2). This slight difference between genders can be explained by the fact that women are subjectively deeply rooted into patriarchal value system in which household chores are considered to be women natural obligation. Small number of data subjects completely disagree with this statement (6,8%) and this fact indicates a very widespread traditional attitudes that family and households are natural surrounding for women and it also indicates that there is not clearly expressed determination of women to fight for equal division of household obligations. Also, women do not consider traditional attitudes on household labour division to be unfair (Baxter, 2000; Milić, 2010) and they do not have necessarily to decrease marital pleasure in case of the women who are traditional by their value orientation. Several studies proved that marriage satisfaction is endangered in case of those women advocating modernist value orientation, and their distribution of household labour is deeply gender determined (Lavee, Katz, 2002; Oláh, Gähler, 2014). Also, in the analysis of value family system one has to bear on mind wider socio-cultural context. Namely, in the societies which are traditional regarding value sense and where gender roles are emphasized, just like in the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina, traditional attitudes towards the distribution of household labour do not cause too much dissatisfaction or action directed to change such state. Also, there are not any statistical differences in attitudes between data subjects of different school qualifications. All of them equally represent traditional values regarding the distribution of household labour regardless their level of education. Also, there are slight differences in various age groups: smaller percentage of young people accept this statement (examinees aged 18-24 years- 38,1%, aged 25-31 years 51,3%), but still it cannot be said that they have modernist orientation.

The third attitude was *It is good that man and women are equal in marriage*, but by rule it is better that man should have the last word. This is a statement which checks attitudes towards traditionally understood authority in family. According to the data, we can state that majority of men agree with this

statement (50.9%), in comparison with women (24.5%). Women show disagreement with this attitude in 54.4% cases, and men in 21.7% cases (Table 3). When it is about this attitude, women show determination in nonacceptance of marriage inequality, while only one fifth of men managed to abandon this attitude. If we take into consideration the answers of irresolute data subjects, it can be considered that men hardly abandon traditional authority in family. With the analysis of this statement we are entering in the field of distribution of marital power and its perception. The distribution of marital power is certainly deeply gender determined even in the societies with egalitarian relations in families and marriages. Our presumption that traditional values orientation would be expressed by older data subjects was relatively correct. Data subjects from 18 to 24 years old did not agree with this statement in 39.7% cases, and those between 25 and 31 years did not agree in 48.6% cases. Another characteristic is that in all age groups there are many neutral, around 30%. So, women and youth in the sample do not accept this kind of inequality in marriage, and this inequality is gender determined and an embodiment of traditionally perceived family authority. The ways in which women are coping with this traditional attitude is not subject to this analysis, but they have different kinds of strategies available, which can help them to impose their opinions to their partners in the process of negotiating and agreement.

TABLE 2. *Majority of household chores, by its nature, suits women.*

	Male	Female
Completely disagree	5.7	7.9
I do not agree	18.9	28.1
I am neutral	24.5	17.5
I agree	38.7	37.7
I totally agree	12.2	8.8
Total	100.0	100.0

TABLE 3. *It is good that man and women are equal in marriage, but by rule it is better that man should have the last word.*

	Male	Female
Completely disagree	2.8	14.9
I do not agree	18.9	39.5
I am neutral	27.4	21.1
I agree	42.5	19.3
I totally agree	8.4	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0

The last statement we have tested in the research was *Men are closer to public and women are closer to private activities*. The acquired data indicates that 32.3% data subjects agree with the statement. Men are closer to public and women are closer to private activities, and that almost the same number of them disagree (32.7%). Also, there are many neutral data subjects (35%). This is the only statement in the scale where data subjects expressed modernist orientation regardless their gender (Table 4). Also, the examinees of all age groups express their disagreement in significant degree with this statement. Namely, this fact can be explained by phenomenon of women emancipation. Mass exposure of women towards public sphere can be followed through the whole of XX century, so the process is still in progress and today it is considered as normal. Value attitude, the subject to this research, is relied on long historical practice in which women were excluded from all public functions (politics, labour, education). Almost all their lives, women were obliged exclusively to private sphere, for family and activities within it. Such position is described through the paradigm ‘female to male as nature to culture’ by Sherry Ortner (Ortner, 1983: 152). This is the source for universal female subordination in all societies, which can be explained by the statement that a woman ‘is being identified with – or, if you will, seems to be a symbol of – something that every culture devalues, something that every culture defines as being of lower order of existence than itself. Now it seems there is only one thing that would fit that description, and that is nature in the most generalized sense’ (Ortner, 1983: 161). But, this strict distinction between nature and culture is exactly a product of culture, and female strict bound ties to nature is the direct of culture. Female position has always been dependent on the distinction private/public, whereat woman is always in private while man in public sphere (Ortner, 1983). Only with development of modern society, women slowly started to enter all spheres of public space, regardless numerous obstacles.

TABLE 4. Men are closer to public and women are closer to private activities.

	Male	Female
Completely disagree	5.7	12.3
I do not agree	13.2	33.3
I am neutral	42.5	28.1
I agree	33.0	23.7
I totally agree	5.6	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0

At the end we have analysed if there are any significant statistical differences between genders on the scale of value orientation, which includes all single statements (Table 5).

Based on t-test we can conclude that there is a significant statistical difference between arithmetical mean on the scale of attitudes on traditionalism between men and women in the sample. Average value on the scale of attitudes is higher in men than in case of women, i.e. men, rather than women, are more traditional in their attitudes towards family.

Also, we have analysed few more variables. The test ANOVA has indicated that there is no statistically significant relation between different age groups and the average value on the attitude scale ($p = 0,58$), but the frequency of answers can indicate that larger percentage of young people show inclination towards the modernist orientation. Among the youngest group of examinees (from 18 to 24 years) there is no statistically significant difference between sexes and their average values on the scale ($p = 0,16$). Two-way between groups analysis of variance indicates statistically significant influence of gender on average result on the scale ($p = 0,01$), but not the influence of examinees' age ($p = 0,44$).

Statistically significant relation does not exist even between average value on the attitude scale and cities/towns examinees come from ($p = 0,16$).

TABLE 5. T-test, statistical differences between genders on the scale of value orientation, which includes all single statements.

		N	Mean	Std.	Std. Error
		data		Deviation	Mean
Total value in the scale of attitudes	Male	106	2.65	0.69	0.068
	Female	114	2.27	0.73	0.069

P = 0,000; t = -3,901; df = 218

On the basis of theoretical framework at the beginning, we have assumed that gender is related to value system (Shows, Gerstel, 2009). Certain status in this case has been measured by a monthly income of an examinee's household, which reduces the term of class. This has been our choice because of the fact that societies of post-socialistic transformation do not have clearly defined social positions and classes, as well as clearly defined means for reaching them (Košarac, 2019). ANOVA does not show statistically significant relation between total monthly income and value system ($p = 0,6$), although examinees with higher monthly income (more than 900 €, average salary in Bosnia and Herzegovina is 400 €) express slightly more modern value orientation. Mean on the attitudes scale of examinees with the lowest income is 4.2, while the ones with the highest income is 2.6.

The number of data subjects who stands for modern value orientation is significantly smaller than those with traditional orientation. Taking into consideration that there are many neutral data subjects, it can be concluded that individuals in our society are extremely ambivalent regarding value system towards family, i.e. 'they are moving on the verge of an abyss which divides traditional from modern perceptions and values in family life. It is exactly this border situation which is dangerous because it can bring many difficulties and dysfunctions in family lives' (Milić, 2010: 239).

Based on the previous analysis of the given data, we can conclude that family value system is still traditional and that data subjects are slowly starting to acquire some modern value orientations. This is, of course, the result of patriarchal value system of our society and it shows a great resistance under the influence of modern, global changes. It is predominantly women and youth who acquire modern value commitments, but in all categories of data subjects there is a great dose of indecision which is a consequence of division of value system, individuals and families. It is very difficult to renounce old traditional values and accept new modern ones, especially when a family is exposed to inflow of rapid social changes without any support from wider institutionalized surrounding. Holding traditional values has its own pragmatic aim in everyday struggle of individuals for family survival and own identity.

5. Conclusions

All social sciences, especially sociology and its researches of real changes in society can have very potent ideological function. It is particularly expressed when defining and researching terms directly related to people's everyday life, such as family. 'Modernization and industrialization, individualization and secularization, global society and postmodernization, verily influenced family and its relations. It is an empirical question whether and to what extent these changes are evident and in which aspects of family life, and what are the main differences between society and culture' (Bešić, 2014: 361).

For decades sociology of the family favoured the model of nuclear, isolated family in which gender roles are segregated but complement (Parsons, Bales, 1955). Such perception of the family has its source in clear distinction between private and public spheres: private suits women while public suits men. Around family organized in such a way, there has been formed a special value family system which theoreticians call ideology of familism (Milić, 2001; Milić, 2010) in whose essence there are patriarchal value orientations (nuclear family, monogamous marriage, gender inequality etc.).

Under the ever-growing influence of global changes from 1980s, family and family related value orientations start to change radically, so in public we can often hear expressions such as 'family crisis', 'family collapse' and so on. But all researches still point out that family is highly appreciated by individuals in all European countries, with only slight differences (Pavlović, 2007) regardless the fact that positions of traditional family have been weakened.

In sociology publications from this part of Europe, the most important question is how changes of global character reflect on family in transitional conditions (Milić, 2001, 2010; Pavlović, 2007; Bešić, 2014). All the authors do agree that socialistic development of former Yugoslavia has had positive influence on modernist processes within family. This trend has been stopped during 1990s when in extremely uncertain economic and social conditions family has been affected by the processes of retraditionalization and repatriarchalisation, as well as development of specific survival strategies (Milić, 2004, 2010). The then tectonic disturbances influenced changes in family value patterns and orientations, so instead of modernist value orientation within postmodern society, traditional orientations are dominant with immense value discordance. The same results are offered by Miloš Bešić in the comparative study of values in Western Europe and ex-Yugoslavian post socialist countries (Bešić, 2014). 'Support to traditional family, traditional gender roles and traditional (authoritarian) forms of socialization is more evident in post-communist Europe than in western' (Bešić, 2014: 364). Also, the author revealed findings that family traditionalism is a dominant orientation in all ex-Yugoslavian countries, with the exception of Slovenia. In Slovenia, the level of family traditionalism is lower than in the rest of Europe. The author's finding is that the highest level of traditionalism is evident in Montenegro, The Republic of North Macedonia and Kosovo and Metohija (Bešić, 2014).

Our research also proves the earlier results. Namely, the research results show that data subjects from Bosnia and Herzegovina, according to their value orientation, are traditional. Women and youth from this sample are still approaching the field of modern value attitudes. But, the acceptance of modern attitudes is moderate, not determined, and there are many irresolute data subjects regarding many issues. It can be concluded that there is certain value split or value division. Having on mind the high level of traditionality, marriage and family of contemporary generations are regulated by rules, customs and values of previous generations. On one side there are generations of youth and women (predominantly younger) and on the other side there are generations of older and male who firmly stick to traditional values. It has been proved that matrix of family values includes high valuation of family. Namely, family is respected regardless everything, and it is exactly family

which offers intensive relations, love, solidarity and feeling of secure in the society marked by risk and general distrust.

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