

DEFENDOLOGY

**SCHOLARLY JOURNAL FOR PROTECTION, SECURITY, DEFENSE,
EDUCATION AND TRAINING ISSUES
YEAR XVIII, NO: 36, 2015**

**BANJA LUKA
2015**

Publisher

EUROPEAN DEFENODOLOGY CENTER

for Scientific, Political, Economic, Social, Security, Sociological and Criminological Research, Banja Luka

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Circulation

500 copies

Annual subscription

Legal entities 200 KM

Physical entities 100 KM

By the decision of the Ministry of Information of the Republic of Srpska, No. 01-439/97 from 25th December, the public organ scholarly journal «Defendology» was registered in the Public Media Register under the number 249.

UDK 355/359
ISSN 2233-0895

EDITORIAL

JUBILEE 18 YEARS OF DEFENDOLOGY – scientific, publishing and educational creation...

Dear readers, esteemed academic workers and experts, lovers of the written word, we present you the new issue of Defendology no 36, scientific journal for protection, security, defense, education and training. This year the European Defendology Center celebrates 18 years of successful work and development. It has been full eighteen years since the first issue of our journal. **Consistency, continuity, academic standards, multidiscipline and current topics, both English and Serbian issue**, international editing – have made Defendology recognizable in international circles, region and wider. In the years behind us, **authors discussed different topics** in the field of science, profession, education, military, police, security services, terrorism, civil society, democracy, war, peace, NGOs, ethnic conflicts, reconciliation, political culture, dialogue, tolerance, social crisis, international relations, transition, poverty, unemployment, conflicts, sports and violence in sports, hate speech, globalization, geopolitics, human rights and freedoms, freedom of the press, parliamentary control of the military, police and security agencies, human trafficking, corruption, crime, juvenile delinquency, drug addiction and a series of other topics in the fields such as defendology, sociology, criminology, conflictology, law, economy, psychology, politology, etc. This issue provides **a variety of topic for readers** such as modern security challenges, public governance, social resilience and sustainability and methodology of social sciences. Social crises, conflicts, wars, natural disasters, social upheaval impose the need to approach the role of the military forces in crises. The cooperation between military and civil institutions generates numerous questions regarding efficient model of crisis management. The following topic covers the issue of private security agencies in modern world. Global social changes have reflected themselves onto the security sector in the form of rising trends of private security services and expansion of private security agencies. In addition to social justification it is necessary to critically approach their role, legal framework, control and specifically address abuse of force and violation of human rights, which is the negative epiphenomenon in the expansion of the private security sector. In the subsequent papers readers will learn about public governance. They address the issue of local self-government which is the key segment to the survival and development of social community. Absence of good and efficient local self-government leads to unsuccessful legal and democratic society. Special attention is given to the conformity of regulation and functioning of the units of local self-gov-

ernment in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the European Charter on Local Self-Government and the documents of the Council of Europe. The next paper in the public governance rubric gives an overview of the models of governing for the improvement of local economic development. The following paper deals with social resilience and sustainability. Climate changes and dramatic rise of urban environment in the world impose the question of how social communities address these problems. The paper puts emphasis on the concept of social sustainability and theories of social resilience for the purpose of defining the traits of resilient communities and their will to face great social changes and natural disasters. The last paper in this issue copes with the methodology of social sciences with special focus on current methodological concepts of Max Weber. The paper provides a critical overview of frequent unfounded interpretations which regard the legacy of classical sociology obsolete. There is a commonly held view that Defendology is the result of our necessity, protection, security and defense, survival, freedom, development... It has given birth to many **critical intellectuals**, those who have contributed to the scientific thought and are **ready to pay the price and bear great sacrifices in the name of life of truth and freedom**. This is the only way of becoming part of the **movement of critical intellectuals, creative intellectuals, and not cheaters**. In the last 18 years authors of the publishing activity Defendology, among others, have given contribution to the foundation, scientific and educational form of **Defendology as the science of security studies, protection, security and defense**. What they wrote, everything they had to say and promote, **the acts they did and the goals they fought for** are invaluable, universal, and they always make Defendology attractive, as can be seen, not only to the Serbian people but to other nations as well, minority groups, states, regions and the world. Many authors, academic workers grew alongside with Defendology, they progressed from assistants to university professors, they passed on knowledge down to our spiritual heritage and the public in general. They became as strong as steel, offered good and best social and state solutions..., with argumentative confirmation and commitment let them thus in the spirit of Dante boldly continue in the future... **We should support people who think differently, who speak the truth for the greater good, for when everybody thinks the same thing, or just one does the thinking or no one does it...**

Editor-in-Chief

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL.....	3
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CONTEMPORARY SECURITY CHALLENGES

<i>Goran Maksimovic, Ph.D.</i> ASPECTS OF CRISIS MANAGEMENT MILITARIZATION	9
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<i>Miroslav Baljak, Ph.D.</i> THE ROLE OF PRIVATE SECURITY AGENCY IN THE 21ST CENTURY	22
--	----

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

<i>Dragan Bašić, M.A.</i> <i>Slavica Bašić, M.A.</i> LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA WITH AN OVERVIEW OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA.....	33
---	----

SOCIAL RESILIENCE

<i>Tanja Trkulja, Ph.D.</i> SOCIAL RESILIENCE AS A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY	47
--	----

METHODOLOGY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

<i>Dalibor Savić, M.A.</i> WEBER'S METHODOLOGICAL CONCEPTION TODAY	63
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INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS.....	74
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**CONTEMPORARY SECURITY
CHALLENGES**

ASPECTS OF CRISIS MANAGEMENT MILITARIZATION

Review paper

DOI: 10.7251/DEFEN1501001M

UDK 355.015+355.4

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Abstract:

The purpose of this paper is to consider the role of military during crisis. The armed forces play an important role in crisis management, especially those of large scale because of their special expertise, ability and resources. Controversy over the use of military exists; however, it is necessary to consider their best integration into the crisis management cycle and to what extent the military model is appropriate. The effective integration of military into the crisis management matrix will depend on finding the right balance between community involvement and philosophy of crisis management and military culture. This paper discusses issues such as military pattern of command and control, constraints on the use of military in crisis management process and a critical assessment of military approaches in crisis management and potential weaknesses. The conclusion is that the armed forces can be important in crisis management.

Keywords: *management, crisis, military, militarization, model*

INTRODUCTION

Crises are a constant in human history and in the modern and globalized technological world, they are becoming more numerous and diverse in nature. Crises are situations that require an emergent response, but the risks that critical decision-makers are faced with, are much more difficult to define because there is a lack of clarity and/or complexity of the situation itself. Crisis management is defined as a set of functions or processes which aim to identify, analyze and predict potential crises and establish specific procedures that will enable the organization of crises prevention, effective response and its successful resolution while minimizing the consequence of a quick return to its origi-

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nal state. This paper examines the role of military over a range of crises, from small scale emergencies to disasters, primarily from a military perspective. The concept of crises spectrum does not have a universal definition. The United Nations International Strategy for Disasters Reduction (United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction, 2009) defines a crisis as “a serious disruption of the community or society that involves extensive human, material, economic or environmental losses and influence that goes beyond the ability of the affected community or society to confront its own means but for a detailed discussion the analyses of Perry and Quarantelli (Perry and Quarantelli, 2005) may be considered. Crises are seen as disruptive events that still cannot be stronger than the ability of the community to achieve continuity of action, while disasters are observed to be so serious that people and institutions involved in the response and recovery are the victims themselves in a highly significant way.

This calls for a differentiation of the concepts of emergency management and disaster management. These two terms are not identical and there are different definitions in the literature that denote crisis management in outbreaking situations (Drabek, 1991) and preparation for disaster management and disaster management itself (Lindel, Prater and Perry, 2007). The definitions emphasizing bureaucracy, technology and plans, are not the most applicable ones. The terms could be best understood in a bigger social context, appreciating the scope of the definitions for the terms emergency and disaster, including a series of processes and actions under the broader concept of society. The armed forces usually have a prominent role when used in an emergency of a larger scale. Their role is distinct and it is conditioned on its strategic culture. Fast, efficient and decentralized response by the armed forces, demonstrates their ability to operate in many urgent situations and unstable environments. The paper addresses the following two issues: the role of the armed forces in the cycle of crisis management and the implications of militarization in a crisis management process. For the purposes of this paper, the term militarization (which is quite different from the use of the military) relates to the allocation of increased responsibilities and powers of the armed forces and/or adoption of the military culture in crisis management by civilian agencies. Military involvement in disasters comprises a number of activities when the local and civilian capacities are exceeded.

1. DEFINING CRISIS AND CRISIS MANAGEMENT

Crisis is a too complex phenomenon to be easily defined and it is often misconfused with the emergency situation, disaster or conflict, so it is necessary to make a distinction between these terms and concepts they stand for. Crisis is most often seen as a serious threat to the fundamental structure or the fundamental values and norms of the social system which, in terms of time pressure and very precarious circumstances, requires critical decision-making. A crisis is any irreversible process endangering and violating the basic structure, values and norms of an organization which, in highly unstable environment, lack of information, time pressure and urgent action, requires from the central organization actors to make critical decisions. It is an irreversible process because the changes that occur during a crisis, create a new situation that doesn't have any longer the characteristics of the situation before the crisis. Crises are a process and not just the

appearance of threats and disturbance that affect and influence the basic structure, values and norms of the organization and hinder the functioning and achievement of the organization's objectives. They are characterized by highly unstable surroundings conditions, lack of credible information, time pressure and urgent action (Maksimovic, 2013: 25). Crises occur in both internal and external environment and they are influenced by the effect of these factors. The external environment is particularly important and it is defined as a political, legal, economic, social and technological environment (Crandall et al, 2001: 43-52) since the internal environment is determined through internal cohesion, enthusiasm, response plans, readiness and training organizations and complementary team. Crises require by central organisation actors, the organization's management and crisis managers to make critical decisions. As seen from the above, it is often very difficult to distinguish an emergency from accident or disaster in practice. The meaning of the word "crisis" is interpreted in a different ways (Perry and Quarantelli, 2005). The UN definition implies an extremely wide range and type of events that can be physical, social and cultural in nature and occur during short or long periods. Like the hazards that cause them (Burton et al, 1999; Perrow, 1984), typology of disasters includes different categories, slow or rapid, concentrated or diffused, known and unknown, social/physical/ cultural/natural/ technological/human, linear and complex, local/national/international crises - in short, the variety of typologies of emergencies is wide. A successful strategy for managing the crisis must necessarily take the type of crisis into account.

It does not mean that planning of all types of hazards should be abolished (an integrated planning approach that emphasizes the existence of common points with regard to planning of different hazards), but it is simply a recognition of some events which have special characteristics that require special attention. In some types of crisis, the role of the military is clear and unambiguous, because of the intensity and events scale that go beyond the capabilities of civil authorities in responding to the crisis and their available resources. Military capacities are significantly used in response to an international disaster (earthquake in Sichuan, China 2009, and the Haiti and Chile in 2010), while for other situations, such as droughts or mild epidemic, the role of the armed forces may be marginalized. The ranking crises issue is fundamentally crucial, as it is largely determined upon the need for military action, and it is made by decision-making of the highest level in any democratic society. Crisis management is defined as a set of functions or processes which aim to identify, study and predict potential crises and establish specific ways that will enable the organization for effective crisis prevention or response and its successful resolution while minimizing its consequences and a quick return to its original state. The UN International Strategy for Disaster Reduction uses two concepts that include crisis management:

- disaster risk management – a systematic process of using administrative decisions, organization, skills and capacities to implement policies, strategies and coping capacities of the society and communities to lessen the impacts of natural hazards and related environmental and technological disasters. This comprises all forms of activities, including structural and non-structural measures to avoid (prevention) or to limit (mitigation and preparedness) adverse effects of hazards.
- disaster risk reduction – a conceptual framework of elements considered with the possibilities to minimize vulnerabilities and disaster risks through-

out a society, to avoid (prevention) or to limit (mitigation and preparedness) the adverse impacts of hazards, within the broad context of sustainable development.

Crisis management is typically understood as a process of several interdependent phases. The first relates to a long-term actions to reduce the risk of crises and continues with a phase which includes emergency planning and the resource establishment necessary for the response. The answer is associated with actions taken after a crisis situation had occurred and it sublimates urgent service activities during and immediately after the crisis occurrence. The recovery includes long-term reconstruction activities and a return to the situation before the community crises. This phase is also the moment of activities commencement that reduce vulnerability to future crises. The term "comprehensive emergency management" is often used to refer to these stages, which are usually presented in a cyclic, continuous format (Coppola, 2006). This cycle is useful in terms of understanding the idea of militarization and it will form the basis for analysis. The cycle takes place in the context of a number of components: formal systems containing planning, such as action plans in crisis; laws and agreements on mutual assistance; informal networks and community involvement and the system capacity of civil society; the private sector and non-governmental organizations, which determine the efficiency of the crisis management. In order to achieve a successful planning in crisis, the military capacities form a critical component for each of these processes, and the armed forces all over the world are very involved in crisis management, especially in the response phase, many years from now already (Anderson, 1994; Kohn, 2003).

The circumstances of the military use during emergencies differs in many countries, depending on the number of political, legal and judicial circumstances, which sometimes lead to significant problems scheduled and coordinated between different state levels. Although the reaction to the crisis in democratic societies is concentrated on the local level, regardless of the political form, and local governments do not have control over the military capacities and thereby don't have the possibility to increase their own capabilities during crisis. As a result, although the forces normally are deployed throughout the country, their assignment has no influence on the ability to provide support to local authorities in a crisis because their engagement is usually clearly defined by the law. The concept of civilian democratic control and oversight over the armed forces implies that the armed forces can be engaged in support to civilian authorities only upon request and as a last resource (last resort), and it is regulated by legislation in democratic societies.

2. THE POTENTIAL ROLE OF THE ARMED FORCES IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT

The armed forces are only used in cases of large scale crisis and their role is reserved to a limited use as reinforcements and support to existing civil capacities. Seen in the light of partnership between the public and private sector in enhancing the resilience of societies in crisis, the armed forces have never been a central player of the public sector. Crisis response is principally under the direction of civilian agencies that may be

supported by the armed forces. The armed forces are used as a "last resort" in crisis of non-military character, and should be based on three basic principles: contribution to the general welfare of the citizens, emergency use and the lack of an adequate civilian alternative. Although the armed forces have the capacity to be the first on the incident spot, they must be used as a last resort. Military capacities are observed through: trained personnel, an adequate machinery and abilities that civilian agencies do not have as an effective mechanism for decision-making and ensuring stability in the affected areas, as well as the effect of the uniformed personnel that has on the population and their character as public service. The argument that the armed forces engage effectively in the framework of crisis management is based on a very few facts. In contrast to the strict application of the military command and control model, the armed forces tend to delegate responsibility to the lowest levels in the chain of command and control. The policy context within which military resources act, encourage the cooperation between the other agencies, particularly among the civilian organizations. The armed forces have specific and unique capabilities and resources that are needed in some aspects of crisis management and they successfully work with other agencies, in both, national and international context. In general, the civil - military cooperation and the general framework in which the armed forces fit into the management of the crisis could be summarized in a few paragraphs:

- The armed forces always act to support or to be a supplement to the resources of civil authorities,
- The armed forces, upon request, produce rapid, positive and relevant impact on the crisis due to the ongoing nature of training and operations,
- The armed forces provide and offer a unique set of relevant skills and abilities, and
- The armed forces act in the function of strengthening civil authorities and they are never in direct contact or conflict with the public.

An application of the concept of military command and control style is extremely well linked to an effective crisis management because it allows the delegation and allocation of tasks to the lowest level where it actually achieves effect. Chaotic and continuously rapid change in performing operations in a challenging environment, characterized by modern military operational context, is actually a replica of the chaos and confusion that occurs during emergencies. This is precisely the reason why decentralized approach in crisis management accelerates decision-making for persons who are closest to the problem, local experts and officials, who know the situation the best and who can take measures in accordance with the situation. This approach works on the basis that senior managers and officials perform an analysis and decide what needs to be done at the strategic level, while ensuring that it does not deal with tactical detail and decisions and how exactly the people who are closest to the problem can achieve the goals. As long as the intention on a higher level is achievable and the main course of action is in line with intention, the situation is not micro-manageable, but it is more coordinated and simultaneously "loosely coupled" at the operational and strategic level. Priority of operational (tactical) decision making is being left to person directly involved in solving the problem, not to the people in the command centre far away from the scene. In fact, the concept of incident command system, which is used as a model of crisis management, is taken out and makes

a variation of the standard military system of command and control, with managers at lower levels of responsibility, who have priority in decision-making, while they are supported by functions of planning, logistics and so on. Advantages of the military management style and the concept of incident command is intended to explicitly take into account the operational and cultural differences between the various agencies involved in responding to a crisis, regardless of whether they are military or civilian. This has the potential to greatly facilitate civil-military cooperation. Some of the most common tasks performed by the armed forces in crisis include: air transportation, logistical support and airspace management, medical services and support, the provision of general services, supply of food and drinking water, infrastructure support and provision of shelters, search and rescue, communications, engineering support, providing professional staff, etc.

3. CRISIS MILITARIZATION IMPLICATIONS

The core for discussion is the understanding of the term "military culture". Certainly there are differences between civilian and military culture but nevertheless some authors believe that it is important to emphasize that the military culture is heterogeneous, varying not only from country to country but, as noted by Capstick, but also varying within the national military structure to a significant extent (Capstick, 2003:48) who also notes that the definition of specific military culture is no easy task. Culture is both complex and contextual and there cannot exist gaps between the explicit values and those which do really exist. Also, it must be recognized that culture is dynamic. Although the current definition of culture is dominated by the notion that a culture refers to a human activity and behavior, most definitions are of complex character and introduce to the definition of culture the concepts of norms and patterns, values and symbols. Thus, for example, the definition that Kroeber and Parsons give sees culture as transmitted and created content and patterns of values and other symbolic systems which form human behavior and products (artefacts), as well as the results of behavior (Kloskovska, 2001:10). The essential components of culture are transferring already created values (tradition) and development of entirely new values (progress). Tradition is an important component of culture which is characterized by acceptance and transfer of already formed and adopted cultural achievements and preservation of the existing results of the social and cultural life, and thus could be positive or negative. Culture is a complex multidimensional category and could be seen from a different standpoints. From the security point of view the culture could be seen as adopted and widely accepted way of protecting all those processes, changes and creations resulting from social and material human creativity, with the aim of social progress, development and survival (Maksimovic, 2010: 30). Military culture is seen as a perceived and actual role of the armed forces in society and one of the key variables that influence the policy of use the military capacity. To define military culture is particularly difficult within military organizations that exist in countries characterized by heterogeneity in ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious and historical sense. There is no doubt that each of the ethnic groups in such society has developed a distinct culture, so the military structure in such societies is based on their unique and very specific operational requirements, history and tradition. In other words, the military culture and orga-

nizational climate of the basic unit is different from that of higher level of command and control. The result is that there is no a unique military culture that can be applied throughout the organization.

Taking into account the specificity of military culture, there are basically two divergent views of the role of military capacities in a crisis, one supportive of increased militarization and the other supportive in reducing the existing role of the armed forces. Increasing the role and participation of the armed forces is not as simple as it might seem at first sight. First, the primary mandate of the armed forces is to achieve and maintain combat capability in order to protect the national interests and not to respond to domestic or international crises or disasters. There are concerns regarding civil liberties, as noted by Mitchell (Mitchell, 2003) who noted that increased military involvement of the military in disasters might signal an erosion of citizen rights and responsibilities to those who are advocates of civil authority. The use of military force could create specific problems, especially if there are competing agencies within the country, and the support is seen as biased or if the military force is used by the undemocratic regime, as a control mechanism to oppress and exploit citizens. This may be particularly sensitive during the engagement of the armed forces in the international environment, as they are unlikely to provide the armed forces intervention during a crisis that will have a positive context and in line with the concept of supporting the UN, ie. "the humanitarian principles of neutrality, impartiality and humanity" (Oslo Guidelines, 2006). Typically, the armed forces are constrained by legislation and policy in order to maintain a strategic national defensive capability, and to avoid undue risks to civil liberties. In most democratic countries this is achieved by the use of military capacities in crisis situations only after received an official request from the civilian authorities, which have command over the military capacity. Therefore, the change of the armed forces role in crisis is not as easy as it may seem, there are political and legislative difficulties, including the reality of civil jurisdiction. Likewise, military officials have serious doubts about the misuse of usually scarce military resources, which is contrary to their primary role and to be engaged as "cleaning crew" in the post-crisis period. The second alternative approach, which is critical for the military approach to crisis management, is mainly rooted in the academic literature and practitioners in crisis management. While crisis management has its roots in the model of civil defense, which was developed during and after the Second World War, the trend of further development is moving towards a broader and more comprehensive approach (Canton, 2007), an increase of sharing decision-making with the victims of crises and coordination between various agencies requiring cooperation and negotiation. Hierarchical model of command and control, based on the pyramidal structure of government, has been criticized as the most efficient model of handling complex emergencies. In particular, this approach is not sufficient enough to include local government, culture and expertise. Hightower and Cotou noted that the vertical structure is not compatible with the required horizontal coordination, which is necessary for efficient reaction during complex emergencies (Hightower and Coutu, 1996: 69). Horizontal coordination is the one that helps replace inappropriate and ineffective management structure. Hierarchical management structure, the confidentiality of plans and information about the situation as well as the system of self-isolation, is not the best way to manage and include civil and voluntary organizations and agencies in crisis, although it is completely appropriate for some organizations, such

as emergency services (police, fire department). Using a similar analogy, Drabek notes that the model of resource coordination in crisis is more effective for crisis management than the one based on command and control (Drabek, 2003). Waugh notes that the sensitivity is necessary for intergovernmental and multiorganisational efforts to perform tasks smoothly and efficiently (Waugh, 1996:347). This is one of the reasons why the military style of the command and control system and structure are often inadequate in military operations during crises, and that the conflict between civil and military organizational culture, with some forms of non-compliance with local capabilities, result in less efficient management of crisis than it is preferred. Clarke emphasizes the importance of informal action (Clarke, 2006: 168), while other authors point to the weakness of the military model of command and control in relation to the aspects of crisis management (which tend to establish the myth of panic and create confusion between control and coordination) (Dynes, 1994; Quarantelli, 1989). The concept of the use of the armed forces is usually equated with the concept of command and control management model.

The aforementioned generates concerns regarding the use of military resources as part of a strategy in crisis management. In this case, the aspects of military culture may be counterproductive and must take into account the existence of risk to civil liberties. At the same time, the armed forces are an important part of society and should be included in crisis management due to their expertise and resources as well as because of the important role they play in a society. The discussion about the usefulness of military style of command and control and its application in crisis management may be a too simplified approach. Professional crisis managers certainly have different opinions on this topic. Their name has a background in classical and bureaucratic management theory (Fayol, 1949), which is primarily concerned about control, rules, regulations and procedures. Taking into account that first responders are centralized during emergencies, it is reasonably to conclude that there is a certain degree of added value from the structure, rules and principles, regardless of whether they have a basis in bureaucratic agencies such as police, fire department or military organizations. In some situations, the military model of command and control is very effective and the best way to involve complex civil and voluntary organizations which could be sometimes of use for command structure.

4. THE MILITARY IN A CRISIS – A CONCEPTUAL MODEL

To properly propose and consider the context and scope of the military use in all phases of crisis management, a conceptual model is developed where a type of crisis is an important criterion. For the purposes of discussion, a type of crisis is limited to quick, well-defined natural, technological and man-induced events that cause damage to critical infrastructure. Overall, crisis management involves several phases of crisis management within they must work together to protect the community in a particular area or a particular organization. For the purposes of this paper we will study a model that consists of three phases, prevention, response and recovery. Prevention phase anticipates a series of actions, activities and measures to be undertaken for the prevention and reduction of crisis probability and to offset their impact on the community. It consists of two parts, the prevention which involves threat and risk assessment, continuous process re-

peated as needed, and preparation that includes proper planning, allocation of resources, training, organization and execution of exercises and simulations that provide the necessary skills and equipment and the other resources required for efficient use in real-life situations. Exercise and testing plans are particularly important from the point of revealing shortcomings and mistakes, thus providing sufficient time to correct the same prior to the crisis. The response phase includes several steps and the first is observation of the crisis and taking planned steps in decision-making process, the activation of the crisis plans or completely new response planning. Resource coordination during the engagement and involvement of the community in this phase is accompanied by effective crisis communication. Aspects of response includes the first responders activation, activation of additional capacity and specialized forces and resources (the armed forces), providing medical assistance, evacuation of people and property, evacuation of animals, provision of shelters, provision of basic living conditions, search and rescue, surveillance and monitoring, assessment damage etc. Very important at this stage is the media attention that could be attracted by a smaller crises and particularly by the crisis of larger scale or intensity. Because of this, the crisis occurrence takes up more space, attract attention of the media and implicitly the public during the response phase of the crisis than those detected in a precrisis stage. Recovery phase begins during the response phase and continues after its completion. Anticipated return to pre-crisis situation, the establishment of the basic functions of society, rehabilitation of public infrastructure and re-establishment of the conditions for a normal life. This phase includes providing assistance to the affected population. Phase should be planned as an integral part of crisis planning. An integral part of this phase is learning from the crisis, as a precondition for the experience gathering and pursuing changes in accordance with the lessons learned. Each phase from the preceding, claims the next one. Activities at one stage may overlap with the activities in the previous. These phases of crisis essentially do not have beginning or end because recognition of the threats can motivate alleviation as well as the actual event. Coordination of a series of these, sometimes very complex activities and their interconnection, as well as connecting a series of operational segments of the defense system protection and rescue, is an essential task of program segment in crisis management system. The usual role of this segment of public administration is direction of other departments of administration and the other organizations to act in order to minimize the consequences of crisis that could happen. The focus of modern crisis management system is no longer just reacting but also adequate planning and preparation involving the community and residents, private and non-profit sector and crisis management will certainly evolve in the future. The area of crisis management is an important pillar of the security system.

In this conceptual model, the application of the armed forces in a crisis (Figure 1), the vertical axis represents the scale of the crisis. Emergency situations are relatively localized events that require the presence of first responders. Accidents have already been defined above, while in disasters the people and institutions involved in responding to a crisis become victims themselves in a significant way. Despite some ambiguity in the delimitation of these terms, they represent a continuum of vocabulary and discussion events increased the scale and size. The horizontal axis represents the phase of the cycle of crisis management.

Figure 1: *Potential application of military capacities during crisis*

		Prevention	Response	Recovery
Emergencies	Bureaucratic model C2	Undesirable	Desirable	Undesirable
	Limited military engagement	Undesirable	Desirable in special circumstances	Desirable in special circumstances
	Full military engagement	Undesirable	Undesirable	Undesirable
Accidents	Bureaucratic model C2	Neutral	Desirable in special circumstances	Undesirable
	Limited military engagement	Neutral/ Desirable	Highly desirable	Desirable
	Full military engagement	Neutral/ Desirable	Highly desirable	Neutral
Disasters	Bureaucratic model C2	Desirable in special circumstances	Desirable in special circumstances	Undesirable
	Limited military engagement	Neutral/ Highly desirable	Highly desirable	Desirable
	Full military engagement	Neutral/ Highly desirable	Highly desirable	Neutral

The panels within the axis showed a number of scenarios for crisis management, and the first on the scale of desirability of the use of military is a bureaucratic model of command and control to make strategic and tactical decisions in various crisis situations. Next on the pyramid of desirability is a limited use of military resources and it refers to the area of planning and coordination with civil authorities establishing liaison officers in the relevant emergency management staffs of civilian agencies. Last on this scale is an option of complete military engagement in terms of use the required number of military personnel and adequate resources, on a larger scale in order to complement the capacity of civil society in crisis management. The use of the armed forces is the most visible at the level of the limited use of military resources and the comprehensive deployment of military capabilities. The level of bureaucratic military model of command and control means more fundamental philosophy of command and control model, which currently exists, both in the civilian emergency services as well as in other civil organizations. Levels of limited use of military resources and more comprehensive deployment of military capabilities suggests increased use of military personnel and resources, that is not considered as “militarization” in the context of this paper. Use of military assets is particularly observed in the prevention stage, because while in one part of this phase of crisis desirability of engagement could be presented in a single volume, in the second part of this phase could be a completely different scope of desirability.

Perrow states that the implementation of a centralized strategy and approach in crisis management is more convenient for linear systems, while more complex systems require a more decentralized approach (Perrow, 1984). For this reason, the command and control model is considered to be better suited to respond to small scale crisis situations

and explains the traditional emphasis of emergency services on it. Although it could be concluded that the command and control concept is in the most inappropriate, one might also imagine a crisis situation in which civil organizations are dysfunctional and where the concept of command and control may be required, at least on a temporary basis (ie. floods in the Republic of Srpska 2014). Limited military engagement has been historically used mainly for search and rescue activities, in which civilian capabilities are too limited. The armed forces often are not willing to engage in the response to a crisis situation because it is not their primary mission, although in today's circumstances, this task is more often on the list of the armed forces basic tasks. This is particularly true in the case of involvement in international operations. One of the basic mottos of the military engagement in crisis situations is the "last in, first out" and it reflects the entire concept, philosophy, engagement and most of all the view that the primary responsibility for responding to crisis situations lies with the civilian agencies. Generally speaking, the armed forces will not be used in the recovery phase, especially for less urgent cases in which civilian resources are sufficient. The use of military force in most localized crisis situations is not advisable (except in the field of communications and planning), because, by definition, community expects from their civilian agencies to respond to a crisis, through the use of its own available resources.

Desire and necessity for the use of military resources is increasing as the scale and seriousness of the crisis increases and as demands for action overwhelm the capabilities of locally available resources. Citizens often forget that they are a true backbone of civil response to emergencies and that there are no available special resources for this purpose. This forms the basis for the realization of the security functions from the inside, which is a bit forgotten in the past 20 years. The involvement of military resources usually occurs during the response phase. However, an adequate response requires preparedness and planning, so it is absolutely necessary to establish a connection, coordination, necessity assessment and planning that involves the armed forces in all phases, including this stage of the prevention phase. In all emergencies, although military personnel still receives orders from their own chain of command, the tradition of the armed forces involvement in the manner expressly sought by legitimate civil authorities, will continue to ensure that in crisis, the use of the armed forces will be carried out strictly in accordance with the requirements and restrictions of civil authorities. Because of this, the role of the armed forces in the phase of prevention of crisis situations involves the organization of links with civilian agencies, planning and providing expert advice on the deployment of its resources. This does not include the formulation of policies and procedures for crisis reaction.

The results of the analysis indicate that the armed forces have an important and continuing role in the planning, organization of communication links with civilian agencies, coordination and engagement of strategy and tactics consultants in all phases of the cycle of crisis management. In fact, the involvement of the armed forces is the best in the prevention stage (in particular part of the preparation) and response, with a proportionate increase of engagement as the levels of danger and crisis increases, and when it becomes clear that the resources of local agencies for crisis situations are not able to cope with the demands of the situation. In addition to the current planning and organization of communications, because of the competence, responsibility and the other reasons, military capacities should be the first to be removed, reassigned and returned to the primary role of the defense system, which consequently results in the least likely involvement of the armed forces in a recovery phase of a crisis situation.

CONCLUSION

The fact is that the armed forces in democratic societies have so much to offer to their citizens during crisis situations, although it is clear that military capacities must be selective and properly used in terms of amendments but not replacing local and national authorities and civilian agencies in crisis situations. In addition, military officials have been actively involved in organizing communication links, coordination and planning with civilian agencies for crisis situations in order to ensure that, if and when you need their support, integration could be implemented easily, quickly and efficiently as possible, and under the direction of civilian authorities.

The effective integration of the armed forces in the matrix of crisis management will depend on finding the right balance between the community engagement and management philosophy top down. A fast, efficient and decentralized response of the armed forces to many crisis situations points to their ability to effectively function in crisis and unstable environments. The conclusion is that the armed forces can be important in crisis management. Through the examination of relevant legislation and policies, cultural background, historical relations between civilian and military organizations and the military as well as current civilian and military cultures and doctrines of action, it is clear that for democratically accountable governments and their subordinate the armed forces, participation in crisis as “additional resources” could be very useful for both, the community and the citizens.

Various academic critics have identified potential problems and obstacles related to a good cooperation between the military and civilian cultures. No doubt they exist, but these obstacles are probably specific to each country and culture. The key to effective collaboration is to ensure continual planning, coordination and communication, information sharing on needs assessment between civilian and military organizations, as well as sensitivity to different cultures, in order to determine the most appropriate and most efficient mode of use of the armed forces as an additional resource in crisis situations.

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THE ROLE OF PRIVATE SECURITY AGENCY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Review paper

DOI: 10.7251/DEFEN1501002B	UDK 334.728:351.759.4/.5"20"
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Abstract:

The global private security industry has rapidly increased over the past ten years. The dynamics of its development varies from state to state, i.e. it is different in developing countries, countries in transition, countries that are in post-conflict period and developing countries. For all of them there is one common denominator. The privatization of security happens in cases where the state, as traditional security provider, is unable or unwilling to fulfil this role. Moreover, taking into consideration cost effectiveness, there is an increase in trend of hiring companies and personnel from external sources and privatization of state security functions. Public-private partnerships in the field of security are one of the most common examples of this phenomenon.

Private security is an important area for the realization of human needs and corporate interests within ranges of and the rights guaranteed and conditions of national security.

Geopolitical status and diplomatic competing caution us, in addition to clashes of values, low and high intensity conflicts, accompanying demographic disasters and so on, in ever more visible and rugged practice. In all that, private security and a large number of companies that provide security services infringe upon the human rights, go beyond the use of force and technical means. Unlicensed activities enable them to act accordingly in society with no control at the expense of corporate interests in omnipresent corruption as a sort of power between capital, politics and money in the region and a good part of Europe.

Keywords: *security, private security companies, private company for physical and technical protection*

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INTRODUCTION

Today's world is characterized by increasing porosity of borders, privatization of public goods, weakening of the central functions of government and decline of its power to enforce the law, as well as fragmentation of the security sector, which has traditionally belonged to the state. Pressed by many different threats, processes and actors, the state lost the monopoly over the implementation of organized violence. The consequence of this process is that the states submitted their role as the sole legitimate provider and guarantor of security to private military and security companies. The emergence of the private security sector, within which private non-state providers of security operate, being independent of the state, represent a very significant moment in the development of both contemporary international relations, as well as the functioning of the states.

Private security industry, private security companies and private military companies have created an industrial chain that operates freely in the global market, having being organized along the durable and solid corporate bonds and constantly grows stronger (Litavski, 2012: 1).

While the scientific circles of the developed world deal with issues of interaction between the Westernization of the world revolution and the rise of the rest of the world, before our eyes the questions raise regarding the future of freedom and personal security as well as human needs. Lack of doctrine of national security, laws and related mechanisms marginalize the real needs and interests, leaving open space for the rise of the process of the complex nature of the grey areas from economy to security.

Particular attention should be given to private companies for physical and technical security, which emerged as a result of a growing need for security services that local communities require, alongside with ordinary citizens, private companies, international organizations and agencies, as well as states themselves. Some of these services, such as security of objects and static guarding, both developed and developing countries, usually is being provided by unarmed local private companies for physical and technical security. Other services to enable the smooth functioning of the country's armed forces in realm of military engagements in different areas.

The role of private companies for physical and technical protection and private military companies in a reform of the security system, reconstruction in post-conflict and in other related activities, such as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants, is increasingly growing. This does not come solely due to the increasing demand for private security (Šulc, Jong, 2008: 6). Private companies for physical and technical protection and private military companies have stepped up their own efforts to present a professional and successful providers of solutions for the reform of the security system as well.

1. CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION

In the literature, legitimate private actors can be divided according to the type of security services provided and the type of internal organization of the private military (private military) and private security (private security) companies (Stojanović, 2008: 18). These divisions are not used to describe the state of the private security sector in

Bosnia and Herzegovina. The term “security” has a broader meaning than the term army, and includes the concept of *military* and *security*. Since current definitions cannot be applied to Bosnia and Herzegovina, we can create a new partition. Private security companies can be divided into:

1. *private military companies,*
2. *private companies for physical and technical security,*
3. *private detective agencies.*

Although the term “private security companies” has been in use in many countries, the exact meaning of the term has led to many discussions. Godard defines private security companies as “registered civilian company that specializes in providing contract services of a commercial nature to domestic and foreign clients for the protection of people, aid workers and industrial complexes within the laws of the state where such activity takes place.” (Goddard, 2001: 34). Broader definition of private security companies is: “Private security companies is clearly structured and hierarchical corporate registered association that provides security nature, competing with other such companies to obtain business from other such companies in the market” (Litavski, 2012: 5).

Two main features of private security companies are striving to profit and trading services by providing internal security and protection. Most of these companies are small, focused on preventing crime and ensuring public order and peace, as well as private security services in the internal market. In many countries, such as USA, UK, Israel, Germany, Russia, South Africa and the Philippines, the size of the budget of law enforcement private company exceeds the budget of the police. Few of them are organized according to the system of large companies and share the same corporate principles and command structure as a private military companies. Private security companies that fall into this category generally look for foreign clients and engagement in more countries, particularly in crisis areas.

Private military companies are “private companies that specialize in military skills, including combat operations, strategic planning, intelligence gathering, operational support, logistics, training, supply and maintenance of weapons and equipment” (Šulc, Jong, 2008: 7). This means that their clients are usually governments, although in most cases they were the rebels, the territorial units and other armed factions.

On the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina there are no private military companies. By this term we mean those companies that are engaged in military missions and have the equipment, training, personnel, and a hierarchy similar to the military. These companies are often referred to when the privatization of security is mentioned. They have recently been frequent in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as in other LICs.

In terms of post-Cold War reduction of military sales of arms and military equipment, along with the neo-liberal privatization, corporations have quickly become aware of the opportunity in the possibilities that the government, by privatization of certain public sector offered. New states’ initiatives for privatization sought to reduce military spending and to outsource certain parts to private industry. The result was that the world powers have largely reduced their involvement in conflict resolution. Private military companies quickly became aware of the great opportunity and filled the vacuum. Private military companies automatically absorbed excess military personnel and equipment.

Quickly, they began to offer a wide range of military and security services to various interested customers.

After the end of the Cold War, the second big wave of growth of private military and security companies began after the intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq. Most companies were in Iraq for the first time, but were able to deploy staff and execute tasks in a much shorter period of time than would be necessary for regular national armies.

Because of the wide range of activities private military companies do not have the same field and purpose of action. Their organization largely depends on the scope of services and the level of the armed forces which company can offer. Singer offers a typology in which private military companies are divided into the: 1) private military companies that are providers of military services, 2) private military companies involved in consulting and 3) private military companies involved in logistics support (Litavski, 2012: 4).

Private companies for physical and technical protection defined as “companies that specialize in providing security and protection of persons and property, including humanitarian and industrial assets” (Šulc, Jong, 2008: 7). This means that their services are not required to be armed in nature. Their action is by its nature more defensive than offensive, and to serve the large number of users, including governments, international agencies, NGOs and commercial organizations.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, most common are private companies for physical and technical protection. These companies provide services for physical and technical security of people, facilities and assets primarily in non-conflict areas. Their equipment and training vary from equipment and the training of private military companies.

Services provided by private military companies:

- Military training / consultancy services for national and foreign troops,
- The military intelligence services,
- Procurement of arms,
- Combat and operational support,
- Humanitarian Demining,
- Maintenance,
- Services of military and non-military support,
- All other types of services for which military had been engaged.

Services provided by private companies for physical and technical security:

- Physical protection (static / mobile),
- Physical protection (e.g. bodyguards),
- Rapid response,
- Technical Security,
- Monitoring services,
- Investigative Services,
- A comprehensive risk assessment and elimination of risk for private companies,
- Business intelligence services, conscientious work, the analysis of political risk.

Private detective agencies are small businesses consisting of several employees. Most often they are registered as a company engaged in the search for missing persons and providing physical security. However, the activities of these companies include the “rescue of the activity of sects” and “test of spouse’s loyalty “ and similar. They are mostly run by former police officers or intelligence officers.

2. THE EMERGENCE OF PRIVATE SECURITY AGENCIES

The second half of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century were marked by relatively rapid changes that have irrevocably changed the world. This period is marked by several events and processes that are important for the emergence of private security agencies. The causes of their occurrence can be divided into direct incentives to their origins and the incentives that come as a result of a broader spectrum of social change.

Joint efforts of three crucial factors - the end of the Cold War and the vacuum that it caused in demand and provision of security, the transformation in the nature of warfare and the normative growth of privatization in all sectors - has created a new space and requirements for the formation of the private security industry. End of the Cold War led to a significant reduction in the size of national armies and simultaneously led to increased global insecurity. This development has created favourable conditions for the supply of the private security industry with new people and equipment, as well as increasing demands and requirements of its engagement. End of the Cold War led to demobilization of more than six million soldiers, many of whom have found a new job in the private security sector. End of the Cold War resulted in the fact that more weapons and military equipment ended in private hands than in state-owned enterprises, and number of unstable and conflict areas has doubled (Litavski, 2012: 2).

Transformation in the nature of warfare and revolutionary changes at all levels of warfare have also had a major impact on the growth of the private security sector. Military operations have become highly sophisticated, thanks to the use of high technology. For handling highly sophisticated equipment often are needed civilian specialists in certain fields who govern the highly developed military system. Requirements for high-tech warfare have dramatically increased the need for civilian experts, who often have to be hired from the private sector. Also, the last few decades are characterized by a normative shift towards privatization of many areas that fall within the scope of activities of the state.

In the broadest sense, the actors who belong to the private security sector are diverse in terms of people, organizations and activities. Some of them are very important and legitimate, while some are illegitimate and belong to the so-called grey zone of security. In the private security sector we could classify mercenaries, volunteers, foreign officials recognised in the national armies, various types of private armies and militias, the lords of war, companies engaged in the defence industry, private security agency, private military companies, as well as many other actors.

The transition of senior officers in the ranks of private security agencies or having officers establish private military organization is an example where we can connect private military organizations and political elite (MPRI was founded by eight retired senior military officers of the United States Army, Blackwater was founded by former Navy commando Eric Prince in 1996).

3. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LAW AND PRIVATE SECURITY

If perceptions of private security are based on the state of the legal system, then the consideration of this issue should say something more about the basic issues of private and public law. It is well known that the primary division of classical bourgeois law, in the legal system, there are two main branches of law: *private and public*. This division has been known since Roman law and is given in the famous Ulpian definition: *The public law is the one that concerns the state and the private one that affects the interests of individual citizens*. Later this division is not observed in all systems. It occurs where private property occurs, and the need exists to protect it from damage and other forms of threats. It can be said that the institution of private property in the legal order of the state imposed the need for its protection, chose a system of private law and conditioned existence of public law.

This division is more consistently manifested in the capitalist economic system in which, by means of private property, expressing that element of society that Marx and Engels called civic or civil society. It is a society that is characterized by private interests, regardless of whether they appear through the material and the right to personal resources or private appropriation. In contrast to the private sphere the other side of social life is being polarized, which the classics of Marxism, modelled on the German philosophers, called political society, that is, the sphere of public, common, joint interests, whose protection is expressed in public safety, and the legal superstructure in public and civic and real right.

The entire private security is based on the need to protect individual rights or the right to personal goods, or private interest, and the need to protect the common needs arising from the interests of association based on voluntarism (religious, trade union, political, labour, and other organizations and other corporate associations), that is their public interest. Although it is often very difficult to distinguish private from public interests, we can say that these differences are, on the one hand, organizational and functional in nature, and on the other hand methodological and regulatory:

The private security agents are coordinated and subordinated to the origin of private interest (ownership, personal and property security);

In the private law legal subjects are coordinated in a legal relationship, and the public are subordinated;

In the private security the main source of security needs is an interest in personal or property safety;

In the private law the main source of legal rights is the will of the parties or the contract. The private security sanctions are regulated by the will of the parties and the civil law and the rights that derive from it.

In the civil law's individual rights or personal rights are individual rights to personal goods, such as the rights to life, health, personal data, image, voice, reputation, honour, and so on. As it can be seen, the personal rights are related to those goods which are most directly associated with the individual or organization and any legal right which protects the legal system is not so closely related to a person as his life, body, health, character, voice, reputation, or other good connected with the individual and with his basic needs.

The international law does not explicitly regulate the activities of private security agencies and individual companies under contract. Certain norms of international law apply only to mercenaries, which is largely obsolete term which cannot fully describe the modern phenomenon of private security agencies (Šulc, Jong, 2008: 17).

4. CHALLENGES OF PRIVATE SECURITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Unlike other countries that found themselves at the end of the Cold War in hopeless socio-political and economic processes and in a general security nightmare, forecasting at the global level have indicated that the global security policy is to be diverted from the military to human security as well as development and the fight against poverty, diseases, environmental protection, etc. (for more details see: Hagelin, Skoens, 2003: 281-300).

In the security sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina, privatization manifests itself as a specific term for legislation. On the one hand, this is in violation of the monopoly that the state had over the use of force, and on the other hand, the market requires carrying out the liberalization of the existing legislation. Second, the fact that someone else, in addition to state actors, may use force in an organized manner, requires the existence of some kind of control, if not ban of its use. For citizens, as individuals, there is a problem in the realization of their basic needs, where the state equally guarantees security. Now, on the market an actor appears, offering security services for those who can afford security, and those who therefore feel less safe; all of it requires that such a disturbed state be regulated.

Consequently, security companies, as business entities for security services in a free market are forced to compete with other firms to get a job. As their founder and owner is not the state, their work cannot be subjected to a system of control and surveillance that is applied over the operation of state actors. In this competition, the same business standards should be provided as they are given to other related actors in the market.

For Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as many other countries in transition, characteristic and distinctive is the trend to adapt to new security circumstances. Significantly reducing the earlier large formations in the security system contributes to the growth of the private sector and staffing with excess trained military, police and intelligence personnel. But the accelerated trend of privatization of security in this sector in recent decades, worked as a theoretically marginalized, undefined and unregulated legal problem. The specificity of the problem of security in Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose privatization started in the late eighties of the last century, with the establishment of the first detective agencies, and continued during the general social crisis, manifested in the (lack of) control of its operation. The parliamentary oversight of the sector, which should be carried out by the Committee on Safety, does not exist.

The trend of private security today suggests that states, corporations, international organizations and NGOs, as well as individuals and their community needs and security interests are increasingly left to the sector to take care of them. According to data from the Conference of European security companies in 23 member states, more than 27,318 members of the private security companies operate and they employ over 1.2 million people (on the site: <http://www.coess.org/stats.htm>. Readings 10.04.2014.)

It is therefore necessary expertise in the work and full cooperation between the private sector and state security actors.

The privatization of security provides great opportunities, but there are also big risks, especially from the standpoint of safety. Private security agencies have the potential to improve the security situation if their services are delivered professionally and responsibly, and especially if the democratic state institutions are involved in the control and supervision.

However, private security may reinforce existing social tensions if safety becomes a commodity that only the rich can afford, while for much of the population it is impossible to enjoy the benefits that this sector offers. Moreover, private security agencies that have strong ties to state institutions can lead to deterioration and strengthen oppressive practices and structures of the security sector in the given state.

Further challenges associated with achieving accountability and transparency of the private security industry, especially in cases where the services are exported abroad. It is extremely difficult to hold accountable companies or individuals through existing laws and regulations. Such a legal environment carries the risk of undermining the process of long-term security sector reform and efforts to achieve development, as well as the basic principles of human security and gender mainstreaming.

The precise dynamics of privatization, the risks that arise from it, and the benefits, of course, vary depending on the local and regional context. It should be made a clear distinction between private security services in developed countries, countries in transition and developing countries, and in countries in the post-conflict period.

Another measure to be taken is that the local private companies for physical and technical security explicitly be included in the process of reform of the security system. In developing countries, countries in transition and in the countries that are in the post-conflict period, these companies often represent a major source of insecurity and violence. The main reasons for this include the company's close ties with influential political movements; complete collapse of law and order and the reliance of ex-combatants for employment in the private security sector in order to secure a source of income after the war. At the same time, in all the processes of reform of the security system should take into account their potential to improve the security situation in the country, particularly the vulnerable members of society.

CONCLUSION

There are many problems plaguing the operation and activity of business enterprises. The main problem so far is an inadequate response and failure of the state and law that would regulate the service area which provides living and working to thousands of its workers and their families. For people who are looking for the best possible conditions, working on important matters of importance to society, a minimum of fairness that society should offer at least the basic rules of behaviour of consumers of services. It seems a bit unreasonable that state readily waives certain attributes in benefit of foreign persons or companies on matters of importance to the security of its citizens, about what an expert opinions is provided by some other services.

I certainly have to point out the lack of a strong argument for government indifference to the above very important matter, taking into account the priorities in solving accumulated problems. I believe that the reform of the security sector must have found a proper place for the service sector as an important link in the overall security problem.

Professional bodies of the service sector in the future are required to speed up decision on bringing up legislation, method of work and organization in the service sector, change control mechanisms and established standards and licensing private security agencies mechanisms.

Based on the abovementioned issues we can easily conclude that the private security industry is an important element of any residual security state and the international community. Due to the growing need for international intervention that encompasses an ever-expanding range of actions - from war through humanitarian aid, peace support operations, post-conflict reconstructions, and a reform of the security sector - does the need grow for ever greater involvement of private security industry. These developments resulted in an increased need for control, transparency and accountability of actors in the private security industry. Wide range of services offered, and the fact that the government, international organizations and private corporations increasingly rely on them, indicating that the long-term trend of privatization of security that leaves a deep impact on the nature of the state and its monopoly on the use of force. However, the real risk of irresponsible behaviour of all security industry are not those activities in their home countries (which are mostly rich Western countries), but are those actions in the execution of tasks in weak and failed states. Local authorities in these countries often have no power and no ability to control these companies. With the dramatic growth in the size and influence of the private security industry the need for analysis, discussion and innovative legal solutions is growing as well. Each response to the phenomenon of the private security industry must take into account the changing nature of international conflict, which means that the economic resources changes into the military much faster than before, and non-state actors are able to finance the war, sometimes even more successfully than the states.

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PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA WITH AN OVERVIEW OF THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

Review paper

DOI: 10.7251/DEFEN1501003B

UDK 352.07:342.25(497.6)

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Abstract:

Local self-government units are key cells of every country's development, pervading deeply needs and interests of local community members, the citizens of a state, who are considered to be the key factor in survival and development of a community. No successful democratic society can be achieved without a good and efficient local self-government. For that reason, a special attention needs to be brought to the issue of local self-government units.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is a fragmented system of local self-government units at entity level, with a very low degree of mutual cooperation, which greatly complicates and hinders the functioning of local self-government units at the state level. There is no unity in regulation and compliance of local self-government units functioning, at the state level, with the European Charter of Local Self-Government, or the documents of the Council of Europe, which is at odds with the aspirations of our country in the process of Euro-Atlantic integration with the rest of Europe.

Keywords: *local self-government, monotype and non-monotype system, the European Charter of Local Self-Government, financing of local self-government units, municipal bonds, Association of Municipalities and Cities*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Bosnia and Herzegovina has a fragmented system of local self-government units, monotype in the Republic of Srpska and non-monotype in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a different structure of competences and different regulation of territorial organization and functioning. There is a diversity, in terms of bodies of local self-government units in the entities, as well. This study is focused on the problem whether the existing structure, competences and functioning of the local self-government system in Bosnia and Herzegovina correspond to the actual social, economic and political environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska. The subject of the research is a detailed analysis of the structure, competences and functioning of the local self-government system in Bosnia and Herzegovina and at the entity level, in order to identify weaknesses and the degree of the system compliance.

The research has been conducted with the main scientific aim to establish whether the current structure, competences and functioning of local self-government system in Bosnia and Herzegovina correspond to actual social, economic and political environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and based on the research results, to come up with specific possible solutions i.e. benefits, with respect to the most efficient functioning of local self-government units achieved in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to completely meet the interests of all local communities members, the citizens of our country, and to contribute to development and prosperity of the Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole.

The main social objective of the research in the paper is how to adjust, in the process of conforming to EU standards, in the most rational manner, the structure, competences and functioning of the system of local self-government in our country and to eliminate the problems that have been occurring in the previous functioning, slowing down the progress and further development of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The basic hypothesis upon the research in the paper is based is that the existing structure, competences and functioning of the local self-government system in Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the entity level, do not correspond to the actual social, economic and political environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina and represent an obstacle to its further development. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is a high degree of diversity in terms of economic development and cultural differences, which leads to inevitable acceptance of non-monotype system of municipalities.

2. LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT - CONCEPT AND CHARACTERISTICS

“Local self-government implies right and capacity of local self-government units to, within the limits of the Law, regulate and govern certain public affairs under their own responsibility and in the interest of local population (Gavrić, Banović, Krause, 2009)”.

According to the European Charter of Local Self-Government adopted by the Council of Europe in 1985, local self-government can be defined as the right of citizens and local self-government bodies, to regulate and manage, within the Law, specific public affairs, under their own responsibility, in the interest of local population (Kunić, 2010).

Its essential purpose is sorting out existential problems and providing qualitative service to local population.

The key characteristics of the local self-government are:

- autonomy and independence,
- decentralization and democratization,
- voluntarism based action.

These characteristics make local self-government significantly distinctive from the public administration, characterized by a hierarchical relationship, subordination of lower to higher bodies, centralization and coercion prevailed operations.

The European Charter of Local Self-Government contains provisions by which the relationship principles of the central and local bodies are determined, such as *the principle of legality, the principle of efficiency and expediteness, the principle of proportionality, the principle of so called residual competence, and the principle of subsidiarity, i.e. the righteous autonomy.*

Staff of local self-government bodies is composed of persons performing work duties at the bodies, on a permanent and professional basis, consisted of officials, officers and employees.

3. CHARACTERISTICS AND LEGAL BASIS OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Characteristics and complexity of local self-government in Bosnia and Herzegovina come out of its complex organizational and functional structure, composed of two entities and Brčko District, empowered with high degree of autonomy and competences in state administration functioning.

Local self-government *is not regulated or determined* by any provision of *the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, unlike other actual constitutions of developed countries, except in terms of territorial organization of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In other countries, local self-government is treated as *a right of citizens*. According to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, local self-government falls within the competence of the entities. However, Bosnia and Herzegovina is a signatory of the 1954 European Charter of Local Self-Government, which is legally binding, although constitutional and legal compliance with the same have not been accomplished.

The basic form of local self-government units in Bosnia and Herzegovina is municipalities or cities, and there are no *second instance forms of local self-government units*, present in comparative legal systems such as districts, departments, etc.

Nowadays, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are 80 municipalities in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and 63 municipalities in the Republic of Srpska, i.e. there are two different and contradictory systems of local self-government, when location, jurisdiction and functioning of municipalities, cities and other forms of local self-government are concerned.

4. LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

Local self-government in the Republic of Srpska is entrusted to municipalities and cities, and is executed by citizens and authorities of local self-government units.

A *Municipality* in the Republic of Srpska acts as a decentralized body of entity government, under the Constitution, the Law and the Statute, and as a basic territorial unit of local self-government, it is formed on a part of a populated area, one populated area or more than one populated areas. In the Republic of Srpska, a *monotype model of municipality is accepted*, i.e. all municipalities have the same competences and powers, i.e. legal status of municipalities is the same regardless of size, population, level of development, etc. Accordingly, there are three essential characteristics of the local self-government concept in the Republic of Srpska (Kunić, 2010):

- one-level local self-government,
- monotype organization with a municipality as the basic unit of local self-government,
- "Omnibus" system of jurisdiction accepted, where units of local self-government, regardless of different territorial, demographic, economic and other differences, execute almost the same tasks.

Units of local self-government have their own legal personality and other unique features (their own name, territory, population, autonomous regulations, bodies, property, budget, symbols, holidays, seal, etc.).

Pursuant to the Constitution of the Republic of Srpska, Article 102, authentic competences of municipalities are defined, according to which, *a municipality* (Simović, Dmičić, 2005):

- enacts development program, urban planning, budget and final accounts,
- regulates and provides utility services,
- regulates and provides use of city construction plots and business premises,
- ensures construction, maintenance and use of local roads, streets and other public facilities of municipal significance,
- ensures meeting the needs of citizens in culture, education, health and social welfare, physical culture, provision of information, craft, tourism and catering industry, environment protection and other areas,
- executes laws and other regulations and general acts of the Republic entrusted to the municipality for execution,
- ensures enforcement of regulations and general acts of the municipality,
- establishes organs, organizations and services for needs of the municipality and determines their organization and business operations,
- carries out other operations stipulated by the Constitution, the Law and the Statute of Municipality.

Independent municipal competencies are (Gavrić, Banović, Krause, 2009):

- In terms of regulatory actions and municipal management:
 - Adoption of municipal development programs,
 - Adoption of development, spatial, urban and implementation plans,
 - Adoption of budget and final budget account,

- Development and provision of construction land and business premises,
- Organization of Communal Police,
- Inspection activities in accordance with the Law,
- Management and disposal of municipal assets,
- Education and arrangement of municipal authorities, organizations and services,
- Carrying out cadastral, geodetic, property and legal affairs in accordance with the Law,
- Collection, control of collection and enforced collection of original municipal income,
- Legal representation of the municipality,
- Law and other regulations enforcement.
- In terms of providing services:
 - Execution of specific functions in the field of culture, education, sports, health and social welfare, civil protection, information, craft, tourism, catering industry and environment protection,
 - Installation and provision of utility services such as production and supply of water, gas, heating, public transport, sanitation, water purification and wastewater discharge, maintenance of cemeteries and providing funeral services, maintenance of streets, roads, green, recreational and other public areas, storm water and other precipitation drainage and cleaning of public areas,
 - Establishment of enterprises, institutions and other organizations to provide services within their jurisdiction, their management and organization arrangement,
 - Arrangement of construction, maintenance and use of public facilities and infrastructure necessary for execution of municipal functions.

Pursuant to the Constitution the Republic of Srpska, local self-government system is regulated by the Law, according to which, local self-government affairs can be entrusted to *a city*. A city is constituted by the Law, in an urban area, making a coherent geographic, social, economic, historical and territorial entity with an appropriate level of development. If it does not have two or more municipalities in its composition, it is empowered with competences assigned to municipalities, and municipalities, within the city composition, have the right to execute all municipal competences, which have not been assigned to the city, under the Law or the Statute.

The bodies of local self-government units in the Republic of Srpska are *the Municipal Assembly and the Mayor of Municipality*. The Municipal Assembly, consisted of municipal assembly members, is a decision-making and policy-making authority of the municipality, with powers emerging from original and independent municipal jurisdiction, stipulated by the Constitution, the Law and the Statute of the Municipality. The same applies to the powers of the Mayor of Municipality, who is responsible to the Municipal Assembly for his work and legality of all acts proposed by the Municipal Assembly.

Citizens are directly involved in local self-government in terms of making decisions on construction of utility facilities, taking initiative for enacting and amending regulations and acts under jurisdiction of the municipality, recommending and complaining

about the work of local self-government, excluding and integrating populated places, from /in the composition of the municipality, through referendum, assembly of residents, civic initiatives, local communities, citizens' panels, proposals, citizens' hours in the Municipal Assembly and other activities stipulated by the Law.

5. LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT UNITS FINANCING AND PROPERTY IN THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA

In the Republic of Srpska, all movable and immovable property, essential for execution of competences of local self-government units, is owned by local self-government units and includes communal infrastructure facilities, business facilities and other facilities of public utility companies, founded by local self-government units, facilities financed from the municipal budget or through citizens' contributions, then property acquired in the procedure of legal succession after the companies and institutions existing no more.

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Srpska, the Article 103, a city and a municipality are entitled to revenues determined by the Law and allocated funds for execution of entrusted activities. Revenues of local self-government include (Gavrić, Banović, Krause, 2009):

- local taxes (taxation of real estates, agriculture and forestry revenues, games of chance revenues, etc.),
- local stamp duties (municipal, administrative, utility, etc.),
- local fees (construction land development, use of natural and other resources of common interest, spatial and urban planning, etc.),
- real estate revenues (rent, interest, sale),
- contribution revenues,
- revenues from offence procedure fines determined by the municipal acts,
- other revenues stipulated by the Law.

Local self-government units can be financed both from credit funds and municipal bond issue for construction and implementation of utility and infrastructure projects.

According to the data formerly published ("Euroblic", 5 December, 2011. *Loans obtained exceed the budget*), municipalities and cities in the Republic of Srpska are charged with more than 290 million BAM of loan debt. It was the debt in the end of 2010 disclosed by the Ministry of Finance. The highest debt had Banja Luka, followed by Bijeljina, Prijedor and Dobož. Presently, the most indebted municipalities are Knežev, Šamac, Srbac, Gradiška, Laktaši, Novo Goražde, Istočni Stari Grad, Kozarska Dubica and Kostajnica. Municipalities are usually indebted due to financing important infrastructure projects, like investment in water supply network and road construction, but it is not rare for municipalities to become indebted in order to settle debts or pay salary to employees.

6. ASSOCIATION OF MUNICIPALITIES AND CITIES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The Association of Municipalities and Cities of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was originally founded in 1973, for the purpose of improvement and development of local self-government system and protection of interests of local communities; due to actual state-political organization and territorial concept of Bosnia and Herzegovina, two entity associations have been constituted, the Association of Municipalities and Cities of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Association of Municipalities and Cities of the Republic of Srpska.

The Association of Municipalities and Cities of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was founded in 2002 with the aim of further development, work improvement and protection of interests of local self-government units, through exchange of experiences and opinions, promotion and protection of common interests, participation in regulation adoption consultations and cooperation with national and international associations.

The Association of Municipalities and Cities of the Republic of Srpska was founded in 1998 in Brčko, and represents the national association of affiliated municipalities, with the aim of mutual cooperation, providing services to its members, sharing experiences, representing their interests before the central authorities, joint performance and action. The strategy of the Association is creating and ensuring high standards of all crucial elements of the organization, i.e. objectives, resources, structure, personnel, information and vital elements of management and planning, decision-making, coordination and control of all the Association members.

7. RELATIONSHIP WITH CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT REFORM

In the Republic of Srpska, local self-government is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Administration and Local Self-Government of the Republic of Srpska, exercising main activities related to (Ministry of Public Administration and Local Self-Government, 2011):

- system and organization of public administration,
- system of public services,
- drafting laws and by-laws within the Ministry jurisdiction,
- providing opinions on compliance of internal organization acts and systematization of working positions in administrative bodies with the Law and other regulations,
- study-analytical and analytical-personnel affairs,
- salaries of the employees in the Republic administration,
- citizenship,
- personal status of citizens,
- administration inspections,
- administrative cases in the second-degree proceedings,

- drafting submissions in court and other proceedings,
- coordination of public administration reform,
- administrative fees,
- Central Registry activities and correspondence for the needs of the Republic administrative bodies,
- political and territorial organization of the Republic,
- organization and improvement of the political-territorial and electoral system of the Republic,
- parliamentary system,
- political organizations and citizens' associations,
- foundations,
- *study-analytical and statistical-registry activities related to local self-government,*
- *drafting reports on implementation of local self-governance units policies for the previous year;*
- *execution suspension of the decisions made by local self-government units bodies,*
- *administrative supervision of local self-government units bodies and legality of acts,*
- administrative and professional activities, including information and documentation activities enabling planning, monitoring and execution of the Ministry programs,
- *duties related to European integration strategy and policy in the realm of Public Administration and Local Self-Government,*
- *harmonization of regulations with the EU legislation in the field of Public Administration and Local Self-Government and other activities in accordance with the Law,*
- administrative and other professional activities of the Republic administration, not delegated, according to this Law, to jurisdiction of other Republic administration bodies.

According to the insight into the Annual Progress Report on implementation of the First Action Plan of the Public Administration Reform Strategy in Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the period from 1 January to 31 December, 2010, we can notice that the progress rate of the First Action Plan planned measures implementation, as compared to the previous reporting period, mounted up by 10.16%, while the overall implementation of the AP I is 49.23%.

The highest implementation progress has been achieved in the domain of Institutional Communication at the level of 64.57% and the lowest in the domain of Information Technology at the level of only 37.70%. The degree of AP I implementation until 31 December, 2010 is shown in the Table 1 at the levels of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Table 1. Overview of AP 1 implementation until 31 December, 2010 at the levels of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnia and Herzegovina	46,75 %
Republic of Srpska	53,71 %
Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina	43,44 %
Brčko District	53,54 %

Source: Ministry of Public Administration and Local Self-Government, 2011.

According to the mentioned report, the overall implementation of the First Action Plan of the Public Administration Reform Strategy in Bosnia and Herzegovina is presented in the reform areas as follows:

Policy-making and coordination capacity development	47,51 %
Public Finances	54,23 %
Human Resources Management	51,61 %
Administrative Procedure	39,74 %
Institutional Communication	64,57 %
Information Technology	37,70 %

With respect to the Republic of Srpska, the overall implementation of the First Action Plan of the Public Administration Reform Strategy in the Republic of Srpska is presented in the reform areas as follows:

Strategy of Public Administration Reform in the Republic of Srpska, by reform areas is presented as follows:

Policy-making and coordination capacity development	49,07 %
Public Finances	57,17 %
Human Resources Management	53,10 %
Administrative Procedure	50,20 %
Institutional Communication	67,44 %
Information Technology	45,25 %

The overall local self-government system in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in respect of all its aspects, needs to be harmonized with the ratified European Charter of Local Self-Government and the European Union accession criteria, in accordance with the Council of Europe regulations, by harmonizing local self-government laws at the entity level in Bosnia and Herzegovina or enacting a Local Self-Government Framework Law at the state level, integrating its regulation into the Constitution.

8. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The system of local self-government in Bosnia and Herzegovina is fragmented at the level of entities and is characterized by a high degree of diversity in terms of competences and accepted system of its organization and functioning, as well as insufficient cooperation between local self-government units in the entities, and particularly within

the limits of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Constituted as such, the local self-government system, is an obstacle for the total development of our country.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is a high degree of diversity, in terms of economic development and cultural differences, which makes non-monotype system of municipalities acceptable.

Local self-government is not regulated by the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and there is no local self-government law at the state level although the European Charter of Local Self-Government was ratified and is legally binding for our country. It means that *normative decisions*, in terms of local self-government in our country, *have not been adequately harmonized*.

Limits to the competences of local self-government both in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Srpska have been set up quite broadly and can meet all needs of local community members.

Applying various local self-government systems, monotype system in the Republic of Srpska and non-monotype system in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the aspect of the European Charter of Local Self-Government ratification and interests of our country, in terms of the European Union accession, is inadmissible, because Bosnia and Herzegovina is obliged, from that point of view, to regulate local self-government at the state level, by the Constitution or laws at the state level. However, in the aspect of appropriate meeting the needs of local community members and rationality and efficiency of local self-government units financing, for Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a multiethnic community, characterized by varying levels of development in different regions, *non-monotype system of municipalities is acceptable*.

When the Association of Municipalities and Cities is concerned, at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina, *there is no unified BIH Association of Municipalities and Cities*, which suggests to insufficient cooperation between particular municipalities and cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, on individual as well as general basis.

The overall local self-government system in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in respect of all its aspects, needs to be harmonized with the ratified European Charter of Local Self-Government and the European Union accession criteria, in accordance with the Council of Europe regulations, integrated in the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It means that it is necessary to implement harmonization of entity local self-government laws in Bosnia and Herzegovina or to enact a Local Self-Government Framework Law at the state level.

Regarding the Association of Municipalities and Towns, in order to raise to higher level cooperation among local self-government units, it is necessary, at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to attain unity of entity Associations, acting as *the United Association of Municipalities and Cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, with or without the existence of present entity associations.

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SOCIAL RESILIENCE

SOCIAL RESILIENCE AS A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY¹

Review paper

DOI: 10.7251/DEFEN1501004T

UDK 504.4:551.538

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Abstract:

We are witnesses of problems caused by climate change and dramatic growth of urban systems, which are increasingly being discussed and analyzed in political and academic circles. This rises the question of how social communities should deal with these problems, how they should overcome them and continue growing without suffering from psychophysical consequences. Social sustainability is an important concept that offers answers to this question. Besides that, the social resilience theory offers models for creation of socially sustainable and healthy communities.

In this paper the concept of social sustainability and the social resilience theory will be explored for the purpose of defining characteristics of resilient communities, for resilient communities are the only ones capable of responding and overcoming great social changes and natural disasters when faced with them.

Keywords: *climate change, urban systems growth, social sustainability, social resilience theory, characteristics of resilient communities*

1. INTRODUCTION

Sustainability concept was created in the early 1970s as a reaction to a dramatic growth of urban systems and modern development practices leading toward a global en-

¹ This paper was based on the research from the author's doctoral thesis "Defining methodological principles for regeneration of abandoned railway corridors in the Republic of Srpska".

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vironmental and social crisis (Wheeler, 2004: 19). This concept is important for society, economy and environment, especially nowadays when we are witnesses to many natural disasters caused by climate changes and global warming of the Earth.

Climate changes are increasingly being recognized as an issue of key strategic importance, especially by political and academic communities. Many countries have undertaken steps to address climate change issues, both at local and international levels. It is necessary to reduce the level of emissions, increase the quality of life, preserve natural ecosystems, manage natural resources in a sustainable manner, and provide a high level of resilience to climate changes (C, 2013: 10). In order to achieve all of the above, it is necessary to create a sustainable community capable of handling changes and adapting to them. The social sustainability concept established within the social resilience theory will be further explored in continuation of this paper.

2. SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

The term 'sustainability' can lexically be defined as "the ability to maintain something undiminished over some time period" (Lélé, Norgaard, 1996: 355) or „a state that can be maintained at a certain level“ (Kajikawa, 2008: 218). Social sustainability revolves around a man or a group of people, i.e. a specific society. Sustainable society is the one that lasts for several generations, which is far-sighted and flexible and wise enough to prevent destruction or undermining of physical and social systems on which it stands (Janić, 1997: 32). Therefore, social sustainability implies avoiding possible tensions or serious social conflicts (Slijepčević Marković, Ilić, Ristić, 2013: 209). It also implies a fair distribution of products and narrowing the gaps in levels of development between different social and territorial groups (Vujošević, Spasić, 1996: 4).³

Social sustainability includes, among other things, involvement of local population, and investment, technology and cultural diversity of the environment, and it requires a certain level of quality of life and safety (Zeković, 1996: 234). Basic social indicators of sustainable development are following: the impact on general and specific (regional) models of social development, records of certain characteristics of a particular area (cultural, spiritual, natural) that need to be carefully preserved and developed; the impact on demographic phenomena and the impact on social contents whose structure and distribution should be incorporated into urban plans (Stojkov, 1998: 204).

Social sustainability can be based on social sustainability of individuals and their well-being (health, housing, maintenance, education, mobility and equality) or on social sustainability of a collective/community. Therefore, the study of social sustainability is further examined within the theory of social resilience, which defines the characteristics of socially sustainable individuals and groups.

³ This can be associated with the principle of sustainability of social equality, which seeks to ensure for all races and social classes to have equal distribution of resources, access to available facilities, as well as to social welfare: safety, health and equal conditions for all members of the community in terms of housing related issues, and use of urban and community services and recreational activities (Bătăgan, 2011: 81).

3. SOCIAL RESILIENCE

The resilience concept, which was originally created to explain ecological processes, was further developed and applied to social problems. That resulted in its association with social sciences, which brought it closer to becoming a theory (Röhring, Gailing, 2010: 79). Etymologically, the term *rezilijentnost* in Serbian language is a translation of the English word *resilience*, which originated from the Latin word *resilire* meaning *to rebound* or *to recoil*, and it was initially used in physics and material sciences to describe the ability of material properties to withstand large forces, shocks or pressures (USAID, 2006: 10; The Young Foundation, 2012: 11). The literal translation into Serbian would be *elastičnost* or *fleksibilnost*, but in most of the local literature the term *rezilijentnost* is used instead.

In the 1940s, the application and meaning of the term was expanded when resilience became relevant for social psychology and psychiatry⁴ (The Young Foundation, 2012: 11), and it gained further popularity in 1973 when a Canadian ecologist, Crawford Stanley (Buzz) Holling, introduced the concept of resilience in ecology (Holling, 1973: 15). From that moment on the significance of the term started growing, and its use has been expanded to a variety of academic and political areas: ecology, social science, economics and engineering⁵ (The Young Foundation, 2012: 11).

Despite the wide range of disciplines in which the term is used, the most popular interpretations of resilience were found in psychology and ecology, according to which it is the ability of an entity (person, ecological systems, companies etc.) to cope with adverse events, and then bounced back and returned to its functional state (The Young Foundation, 2012: 11-12).

Sociologists use the term ‘resilience’ to explain the human ability to return to its normal state after absorbing some stress or after surviving some negative changes (Surjan, Sharma, Shaw, 2011: 17-18). Its unique signature is its ability to transform adversity into personal, relational and collective growth, by strengthening the existing social engagements and by developing new relationships, with creative collective actions (Cacioppo, Reis, Zautra, 2011: 44).

There are many ways to detect resilience in lives of people and their communities. There is an abundance of resilience examples, this subject pervades everyday conversations and serves as a source of inspiration for persistence in challenging times. The term *resilience* refers to the *ability to recover*. However, the scientific use of the term often includes additional conceptualization of resilience, which extends beyond this initial definition.

Kate Murray and Alex Zautra have used this wider conceptualization of resilience in order to define the term as an adaptive response to adversity expressed through following processes: 1. recovery, 2. sustainability and 3. growth. All these processes cap-

⁴ Most of these early works were centred on child coping strategies, and the ability of children to bounce back after difficult or traumatic events, such as death of a family member or separation from their parents. This has led many researchers to wonder why certain children were psychologically more adept at dealing with adverse periods in their lives than other children, and what were the ‘protective factors’ that enabled them to do this (The Young Foundation, 2012: 11).

⁵ Including development studies, disaster studies, climate change and environmental studies, business management, genetics, and social and economic policy (The Young Foundation, 2012: 11).

ture specific aspects of resilience reflected in experiences of people and in resilience-related literature. The most important of the three process in the recovery and it has the biggest coverage in the literature on resilience. The reason why this process is of such importance is the fact that people who undergo some trauma mostly experience consequences which affect their existence, so, in order to re-establish the equilibrium after such adverse event, they need to make some psycho-physiological and social adjustments, i.e. they need to recover. It has been established that majority of people are able to continue with their lives despite stressors impact, and that serves as a testament of the common experience of sustainability. People are able to continue with their personal agendas seemingly unaffected by impacts, or with only slight variations in functioning. This could imply the sustainability of the innate human positivity regardless of the circumstances and stressors humans are subjected to. Resilience also includes growth reflected in progress and changes in perspective which came as a result of some adversity. It may even give some new meaning to life (this aspect of resilience is also related to the concepts of posttraumatic growth). People can come out of a stressful situation equipped with new skills, wiser, with improved self-esteem and with changed perspective on life in general (Figure 1) (Murray, Zautra, 2012: 337-338).

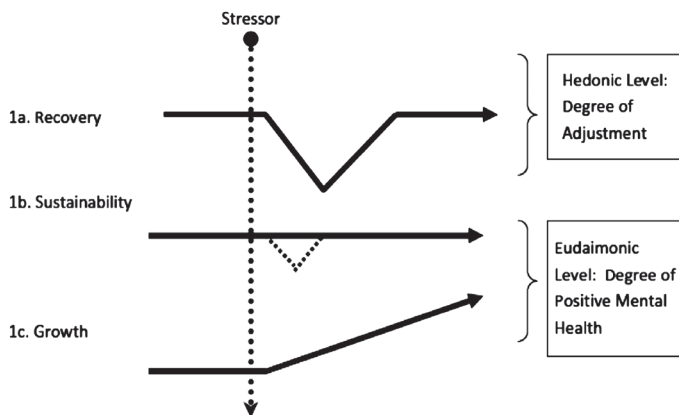


Figure 1. Resilience trajectories of recovery, sustainability and growth (Murray, Zautra, 2012: 338).

When examining the features of resilient reactions it often happens that people and communities which are successful in one aspect of the resilience are unsuccessful in another. It is possible for them to recover from adverse circumstances without learning from the experience, as well as to grow during traumatic events, but still to struggle with recovery.⁶ Three resilience trajectories (recovery, sustainability and growth) are equally applied to communities as well as to individuals (Murray, Zautra, 2012: 339).

Many authors have given their definitions of the term social resilience. So, for example, P.H. Longstaff believes that social resilience is “the ability of individuals, groups or organizations to continue their existence, or remain more or less stable” when faced with some kind of disorder (Longstaff, 2005: 27). Hans-Joachim Bürkner marks

⁶ This is evident among soldiers returning from combat with a greater sense of purpose in their lives, but still suffering from posttraumatic stress disorders (King, L. et al., 1998).

social resilience as the ability of individuals, social groups or items to compensate for the damage incurred or to restore the functionality that they had lost, i.e. the ability to be flexible when responding to danger (Bürkner, 2009: 14). T. Lang believes that social resilience represents “the motivation of people that allows them to cope with critical events” (Lang, 2010: 16), and J.T. Cacioppo and his associates believe that social resilience is an inherent multilevel construct and it is „revealed by capacities of individuals, but also groups, to foster, engage in, and sustain positive social relationships and to endure and recover from stressors and social isolation“ (Cacioppo, Reis, Zautra, 2011: 43). Fran H. Norris and his associates define social resilience as “a process linking a set of adaptive capacities to a positive trajectory of functioning and adaptation after a disturbance“ (Norris, F. et al., 2008: 131).

Social resilience represents a paradigmatic change in the mindset of people when perceiving other people and their problems, and therefore it requires a fresh perspective on determining interventions which are to increase the likelihood of a resilient outcome. Social resilience is „a multilevel construct because it represents features of a group as well as features of individuals in the group“ (Cacioppo, Reis, Zautra, 2011: 46). Therefore, it is studied as an individual resilience and collective/community resilience.

Individual resilience. Individual resilience represents “the processes of, capacity for, or patterns of positive adaptation during or following exposure to adverse experiences that have the potential to disrupt or destroy the successful functioning or development of the person“ (Castleden, McKee, Murray, Leonardi, 2011: 372). Resilience is an ongoing process. It is not limited to an adverse experience, because it runs regardless of it. Resilience represents certain individual qualities which make it possible for individuals to be flexible in stressful situations, and which help them to adapt and learn from their experiences. Many factors and different life aspects influence development of these qualities, such as cultural background, upbringing, experience, etc. (Rutter, 2012: 40-41).

Individual resilience is intrinsically multi-levelled and it includes: distinctive social manners (e.g., agreeableness, trustworthiness, fairness, compassion, humility, generosity, openness); interpersonal resources and capacities (e.g., sharing, attentive listening, perceiving others accurately and empathically, communication care and respect for others, responsiveness to the needs of others, compassion and forgiveness); and collective resources and capacities of individuals (e.g., group identity, centrality, cohesiveness, tolerance, openness, management rules) (Cacioppo, Reis, Zautra, 2011: 44).

Nine individual resources, fostering social resilience, can be singled out. The first individual resource refers to the capacity and motivation to perceive others accurately and empathically: understanding the diverse experiences and perceptions of others from their perspective. The second individual resource implies the feeling of connection with other individuals and collectives: the acceptance of stable, positive relationships by encouraging well-being without social exclusion or ostracism. The third individual resource represents communication with care and respect for others: signs of concern for their well-being and understanding through certain acts. The fourth individual resource implies perceiving others in regard to oneself: promoting relationships with others without underestimating one’s reputation, which often leads to defensive self-protective behaviors that can create further distancing from others. The fifth individual resource consists of values which promote welfare of oneself and others: benevolence (concern for others with whom one has frequent contact) and universalism (concern for humanity).

These values enable prosocial cognition, motivation and actions, such as altruism, tolerance, cooperation, empathy and trust. The sixth individual resource is the ability to appropriately and potentially respond to social problems: promoting the constructive, team-oriented problem-solving strategies while avoiding individually focused strategies and social pressures that repress open communication. The seventh individual resource includes adequate and effective expression of social emotions: enabling people to express emotions in constructive ways (gratitude, compassion, jealousy and loneliness) and promoting appropriate responses to others' displays of social emotions (sympathy, forgiveness and respect). The eighth individual resource is trust, i.e. belief that others can be relied upon, and willingness to act on the assumption that the other person is benevolent. When people trust others, they can open themselves to them and signal their intent, thereby inviting cooperation and mutually beneficial actions; trust tends to depend on a situation and it includes prior experience with same persons. The ninth individual resource are tolerance and openness: evaluation of different perspectives and recognition that many tasks require coordination among persons with differing backgrounds, values, and priorities (Cacioppo, Reis, Zautra, 2011: 47).

Some authors perceive individual resilience same as the psychological resilience. The term resilience started frequently appearing in psychological sciences in the 1980s and was a metaphor for „the ability of individuals to recover from exposure to chronic and acute stress“ (Ungar, 2012: 13), or „the capacity of individuals to successfully adapt and cope well with negative experiences and unfamiliar situations, especially highly stressful or traumatic events“ (Bonanno, 2005: 136) and “capacity for generative experiences and positive emotions” (Bonanno, 2004: 20-21).

Key characteristics of individual resilience include a strong sense of personal capacity and efficiency, thorough awareness of the changing conditions, strong problem-solving skills and strong social connections and support systems (Luthar, Cicchetti, Becker, 2000). There are lots of evidence that capacity of an individual to deal with challenging events „is significantly affected not only by the speed and flexibility of the response but also by the ability of individuals to anticipate and shape the pathways on which they are travelling“ (Edwards, Wiseman, 2011: 186).

Collective/community resilience. Community resilience is a complex process which involves interaction between individuals, families, groups and the environment. The community is identified as a dynamic and changeable social framework that includes a group of individuals and organizations bound together by geography and perceived self-interest (Withanaarachchi, 2013: 6). Communities consist of built, natural, social and economic environments that influence one another. Discussions on community resilience often note that the whole is more than the sum of its parts, meaning that a collection of resilient individuals does not guarantee a resilient community (Norris, F. et al., 2008: 128). On the other hand, people in communities can be resilient together not merely in a similar way (Brown, Kulig, 1996/97: 43), which means that the community resilience does not guarantee the same individual resilience.

The most important thing to understand is that even those individuals that seem to be more resilient than others also suffer some sort of trauma-related stress, though probably to a lesser extent. Reactions such persons experience when exposed to a stressful situation are mostly milder in nature and degree, and usually short-lived, and they generally don't disrupt the individual's ability to function. So, just because some individ-

uals have stronger resilient reactions should not imply that they feel no stress at all, it just means that they are able to cope with such events without letting them affect their daily routine (Bonanno, Mancini, 2008: 371).

Community resilience is determined by the amount of necessary resources community has at its disposal, and its ability to organize itself when faced with a potentially dangerous situation, or even before that (Surjan, Sharma, Shaw, 2011: 19). Community resilience has capacity to predict possible hazardous situations, to find the ways to reduce their impact and to prompt rapid recovery during and after such events by adapting, evolving and growing (Withanaarachchi, 2013: 6).

Community resilience is more popular and has been explored more than the individual resilience, thus many authors gave their definitions of the concept. So, for example, D. Brown and J. Kulig define community resilience as “the ability of the community to recover from or adjust easily to misfortune or sustained life stress” (Brown, Kulig, 1996/97: 31 cited in Rhoads, 1994: 51), and D. Paton and his associates deem it „a capability to ‘bounce back’ and to use physical and economic resources effectively to aid recovery following exposure to hazard activity“ (Paton, Millar, Johnston, 2001: 158).

W.N. Adger emphasizes that community resilience is “the ability of communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change“ (Adger, 2000: 347), and A.K. Jha and his associates see it as „the ability of communities to self-organize, adjust to stresses, and increase their capacity for learning and adaptation; the ability to respond positively to change or stress and maintain its core functions“ (Jha, Miner, Stanton-Geddes, 2013: 22).

Different approach to defining community resilience is offered by M. Ganor and Y. Ben-Lavy, who believe that community resilient should be able „to deal with a state of continuous, long-term stress, (...) to find unknown inner strengths and resources in order to cope effectively with long-term pressures, (...) the measure of adaptation and flexibility“ (Ganor, Ben-Lavy, 2003: 106). Norris and associates also see community resilience as „a process linking a network of adaptive capacities⁷ (resources with dynamic attributes) to adaptation after a disturbance or adversity“ (Norris, F. et al, 2008: 127–128).

A number of authors have defined the community resilience in the context of preparations for possible disorders. So, for example, M. Bruneau and associates define community resilience as “an ability to prevent hazard-related damage and losses and post-event strategies designed to cope with and minimize disaster impacts” (Bruneau, M. et al., 2003: 735). Also, R. Ahmed and associates define community resilience as “the development of material, physical, socio-political, socio-cultural, and psychological resources that promote safety of residents and buffer adversity“ (Fayazi, Lizarralde, 2013: 149).

According to S. Kimhi and M. Shamai community resilience is “its ability to cope with the ongoing political violence” (Kimhi, Shamai, 2004: 439), and according to B. Pfefferbaum and associates „the ability of community members to take meaningful, deliberate, collective action to remedy the effect of a problem, including the ability to interpret the environment, intervene, and move on“ (Pfefferbaum, B. et al., 2005: 349).

⁷ F. Norris and associates believe that community resilience stems from four main sets of adaptive capacity: 1) Economic Development, 2) Social Capital, 3) Information and Communication and 4) Community Competence, that together provide a strategy for readiness in case of disaster (Norris, F. et al., 2008: 127).

Community resilient is, in regard to recovery after disorder, defined as capacity of a community, its skills and knowledge that enable to fully participate in the recovery of disaster (Coles, Buckle, 2004), and as ability „to use the experience of change to continually develop (...) and to respond in creative ways to stressor or change that fundamentally transform the basis of the community“ (Maguire, Cartwright, 2008: 5).

All the abovementioned definitions find that a resilient community incorporates the ability to recover and to evolve in order to buffer all forthcoming shocking events. The aspect of evolving is crucial for building a community resilient to climate changes, because the human capacity to adapt to climate changes is not infinite (Edwards, Wiseman, 2011: 187).

Norris and his associates see the community resilience as “a *strategy* for promoting effective disaster readiness and response” (Norris, F. et al., 2008: 128). Unlike many stressors, disasters affect entire communities; community members are exposed to it together and they must recover together (Norris, F. et al., 2008: 145). Qualities of a disaster community resilient are following: awareness of hazards threatening the community; understanding of the community structure, people’s age, where they live and what type of needs they have; awareness of the available options and needs of each community member; understanding of the available resources and from where they will be provided; understanding of the geographical area, constructed environment and transport infrastructure; understanding of the solutions to save the community; implementation of the recovery process in the place directly affected by a disaster; dissemination of information to the community members; and facilitating leadership and possibility to assess community’s vulnerabilities (Withanaarachchi, 2013: 7).

The Center for Community Enterprise (CED) has developed a model of community resilience based on what people know about successful community functioning. This model consist of two levels of information with four dimensions of resilience in its center, and those are: 1) people who support the “it can be done” attitude reflected in their proactive approach to change; 2) social and economic development organizations which disseminate information and involve public into programs of recovery/sustainability/development and which demonstrate high level of collaboration with others; 3) resources which need to be analyzed and appropriately used in order for objectives for the long-term future of the community to be achieved; 4) community processes used to examine local planning, participation and implementation process; the plan gets integrated in work of organizations involved in planning, and it contains strategies which bring together social and economic issues and their solutions; resilient communities have a wide vision of their future, they involve key sectors in goal implementation process, and they evaluate results in accordance with the rules (Figure 2). The four dimensions are interconnected. The first three describe the nature and variety of resources available for development of a community. The fourth dimension describes the approaches and structures available to a community for productive organization and usage of these resources (USAID, 2006: 25-26).



Figure 2. *The Community Resilience Model (USAID, 2006: 25).*

Each of the resilience dimensions breaks down into a series of more detailed *resilience characteristics* representing specific factors which can be examined in a community for estimate of the level of its resilience. This model defines 23 characteristics, but since each community is unique, they haven't been finalized. Communities will experience different levels of resilience for each characteristic, and these levels may vary over time (USAID, 2006: 26).

4. SOCIAL RESILIENCE CHARACTERISTICS

Taking in consideration the theoretical assumption of social resilience, both individual and collective/community ones, it can be concluded that resilient individuals or communities, during the period when faced with disasters or changes, go through phases of recovery, sustainability and development. Since the Earth is faced with problems that cause climate changes, and its urban systems with the dramatic growth and development, it is necessary to define the characteristics of resilience systems. Several authors (Bruneau, M. et al., 2003: 737-738; Wilkinson, 2011: 162; Jha, Miner, Stanton-Geddes, 2013: 9-10, 47) have defined those characteristics, as seen from the social resilience perspective, and they can be grouped as shown:

- robustness - the ability of the community to withstand a given level of stress without suffering degradation;
- strength - refers to the power of the community to cope with a change;
- redundancy (the extent to which elements are substitutable in the event of disruption, degradation) - refers to the resource of diversity: communities that depend on limited resources are less capable to cope with changes involving consumption of resources (dependence on resources as opposed to redundancy);

- speed (the capacity of community to achieve goals in a timely manner with minimal losses) - refers to how fast the communities can react to problems and use resources;
- ability to predict - the ability of the community to strategically anticipate future changes;
- awareness - information on a disaster or change gives community members a basis for determining the priority measures for its alleviation;
- resourcefulness - the capacity of the community to, if compromised, identify problems and mobilize resources;
- social integration - helps improving the quality of life, attractiveness and elimination of stigmatized images of communities;
- cultivation of systems and education - use of transferable knowledge, skills and resources that affect social systems; combining experimental and experiential knowledge;
- participation - involvement of community members and stakeholders in urban projects, including public-private partnerships;
- possibility of self-organization - the ability of the community to organize itself;
- reduction of urban poverty - it is especially sensitive to effects of changes and disasters due to location of homes of poor members of the community, lack of income and lack of reliable basic services.

The aforementioned 12 characteristics are deemed as key ones and they need to be met during the social resilience system development process. However, as it was already noted, these characteristics have not been finalized because every community is different, unique.

5. CONCLUSION

Climate changes and dramatic growth of urban systems are causing problems that social communities of today are forced to deal with. The question raised in this paper is how should communities handle these problems, how should they overcome them and continue to develop without psycho-physical consequences. In pursue of an answer to this question the concept of social sustainability and social resilience theory, which define models and characteristics of resilient communities, were explored.

A man or a group of people are in the center of social sustainability which includes involvement of local population, capital, technology and cultural diversity, and which brings certain level of quality of life and safety. Social sustainability can be based on social sustainability of an individual or a collective (community) and their well-being. Also, social resilience is studied as an individual resilience (representing characteristics of individuals in a group) and as a collective/community resilience (representing characteristics of a group).

Social resilience theory defines three processes which make a response to a disaster or change: recovery, sustainability and growth. Recovery is the focus of literature

on social resilience and it suggests that people are able to make necessary psycho-physiological and social adjustments to regain the same level of functioning they had before the disaster or changes occurred. Sustainability implies preservation of positive impacts of people even if they are exposed to a negative impact. Growth implies additional profit and progress for the community after some disaster, by developing new skills, gaining knowledge and by learning, as well as by improvement of the overall well-being, esteem boost and gaining new life perspectives.

A community resilience model was developed based on the theoretical assumptions of social resilience, and it highlights four interrelated dimensions of resilience: people, social and economic development organizations, resources and community processes. Resilience dimensions are further developed into a series of detailed resilience characteristics which have not been finalized because they represent specific factors of each unique community.

This paper is a review of the social sustainability and social resilience theory related literature, but it also defines a model and characteristics for creation of resilient social systems. Such systems are the only ones prepared to adequately cope with natural disasters and social changes when confronted with them, prepared to overcome them, to recover and to continue developing into 'smarter' social systems, i.e. systems with more experiential knowledge.

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METHODOLOGY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

WEBER'S METHODOLOGICAL CONCEPTION TODAY

Review paper

DOI: 10.7251/DEFEN1501005S

UDK 321.01:316.462

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Abstract:

This paper shall deal with the actuality of Weber's methodological conception. Contrary to frequent interpretations that declare classical sociology legacy obsolete, without offering a valid argument for these qualifications, Weber's methodological conception is presented as a fruitful heuristic framework for addressing the key aporias of modern sociology (e.g. dispute between modernists and postmodernists, relationship of action and structure / subject and object, advantages and disadvantages associated with the usability of qualitative / interpretive and quantitative / positivist approach in the study of social phenomena and processes. In this context, Weber's intellectual legacy should not be understood as a set of ideas that can be reactualized or rejected as needed via model of analogy, but rather as a theoretical and methodological active content that many sociologists (and not only them) use even today as a model and inspiration to understand contemporary social phenomena and processes.

Keywords: *Max Weber, methodology of social sciences, aporias of modern sociology, multiple modernity paradigm, MacDonalidization, analytical sociology, interpretive sociology, Charles Ragin's configuration analysis*

INTRODUCTION

In searching for *sociology in a new key* Berger and Kellner are largely referring to Weber: "Than again, why Weber?" As seen already, there are several answers to this question, nevertheless the most probable amongst them is the following: because Weber,

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more than anyone in the history of this discipline, was passionately and persistently devoted to the task of clarifying the very question of what could be a sociological way of seeing. And precisely this is where, more than to any other characteristics of Weber's sociology, today's sociologists should "return" – therefore, not to return to Weber as much as they should return to "the Weberian Spirit" (Berger & Kellner, 1991: 37). They, obviously, consider *the Weberian Spirit* to be the key for new sociology, but not in the form of presentist reading of Weber, but as a specific way of seeing – the method in the broadest meaning of the word – founded on the position of continuity between classical and contemporary sociology. If we set aside Berger's and Kellner's interpretation of Weber's intellectual legacy, which gets to the heart of Weber's sociological contemporaneity, while at the same time it represents the creative development of his ideas in a phenomenological key, we would choose something more modest, and hopefully more consistent, hermeneutic approach to the above topic. At the same time we will make reference to the *Weberian Spirit*, but without desire to make it more contemporary than it really is.

We think that Weber should be comprehended as *the middleman*², thinker whose theoretical and methodological settings transcend narrow paradigmatic and disciplinary divisions characteristic of the discursive space of the social sciences, as they are based on a general approach that does not ask for the origin, but the quality and applicability of ideas. Methodological purists would name such an approach as eclectic, but in Weber's case its comparative advantages are obvious. One should bear in mind that he was *the first sociologist*³ who stoically confronted numerous aporias which even today characterize social sciences, not regarding them as irreconcilable opposites (e.g. dispute between modernists and postmodernists, the relationship of activity and structure / subject and object, the advantages and disadvantages related to the usability of the qualitative / interpretative and quantitative / positivist approach to the study of social phenomena). Before the analysis of the importance of Weber's methodological principles for overcoming the aforementioned aporias contemporary sociology is facing today, we will take this opportunity to give a brief look on positions of the two leading sociologists today regarding this issue: Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu.

PRESENTNESS OF THE *WEBERIAN SPIRIT*: GIDDENS AGAINST BOURDIEU

Giddens observes Weber's methodological legacy from the perspective of relativization point of view: "I shall not evaluate Weber's version of 'interpretative sociology' here because many critical analyses of it are already available in the literature, as it shall become clearer subsequently, for I regard much of Weber's discussion of the interpretation and explanation of action as obsolete in the light of subsequent developments in the

² The aforementioned metaphor we take from Eliaeson. See: Eliaeson, S. (2002): *Max Weber's Methodologies*, Cambridge: Polity, pp. 104-105.

³ Despite the generally accepted opinion that Weber is one of the founding fathers of sociology, this definition should be used with caution. More in: Kaesler, D. (2004): „From Academic Outsider to Sociological Mastermind: The Fashioning of the Sociological *Classic* Max Weber“ in: *Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 1, No. 1, <http://www.bangladesh-sociology.org>

philosophy of method” (Giddens, 1993: 28). Here he relies heavily on Schutz’s critique of Weber’s ideal-typical settings of social action, which is based on the problematisation of Weber’s understanding of intersubjective and intentional nature of human action. Like his role model, Giddens does not notice that the questions of intersubjectivity and intentionality were not in the center of Weber’s attention. In fact, he was far more interested in establishing a certain methodological criteria for testability of scientific knowledge, rather than epistemological questions about the possibilities of phenomenological knowledge. Commenting the abovementioned, Eliaeson emphasizes the following: „Even if Weber and Schutz have an obvious common interest in intersubjectivity, they travel only some of the way together. Weber’s route is more seminal for the accomplishment intersubjective cumulative knowledge, accessible ‘even to Chinese’, but at the price of giving up the Icarian ambition of full understanding. Empathy might be indispensable to the practicing psychoanalyst but it is simply not compatible with the firm point of reference required by universally valid science. The utilitarian model of calculated rational economy actor, by contrast, could provide us with the Archimedian point required to advance from primitive cook-book of knowledge” (Eliaeson, 2002: 81).

Unlike Giddens, Bourdieu observes Weber as contemporary, accepting and (or) dismissing his intellectual settings depending on their compliance with his own theoretical and methodological determinations. This is a relationship based on excellent knowledge of Weber’s intellectual legacy, but also the importance that the legacy had and has on the development of modern sociology, as well as his personal development in one of the most famous sociologists today. For the purposes of argumentation of above presented claims we shall present two of his statements. The first emphasizes the overall importance of Weber’s approach to the problem of conceptualization (of course in a recognizable Bourdieu’s reflexive manner): „In distinguishing the *ideal type* from the generic concept obtained by induction, Max Weber was simply trying to make explicit the rules of functioning and the conditions of validity of a procedure which uses even the most positivist, consciously or unconsciously, but which cannot be mastered unless it is used with full awareness of what one is doing” (Bourdieu, Chamboredon, Passeron, 1991: 49-50). Another statement is a part of Bourdieu’s answer to the question whether the Weber was an inspiration to his own work, given during the interview under the symbolic title “With Webber against Weber” (said interview represents his intimate confession of his own reception of Weber’s intellectual legacy and completely radiates with the *Weberian spirit*): “without any doubt. I have always found Weber inspiring and important. Yet, my work has, from the start, dealt with all sorts of different ‘sources’. When I am asked about the development of my work, I cannot overemphasize this point. It is very common to reduce ‘Bourdiesian thought’ to a few key terms, and usually even just a few book titles, and this then leads to a kind of closure: ‘reproduction’, ‘distinction’, ‘capital’, and ‘habitus’ – all of these terms are often used in misleading ways, without really understanding what they stand for, and hence they become slogans. In reality, however, these concepts – these frameworks – are only principles for scientific work, which is usually of mere practical nature; they are synthetic or synoptic notions, which serve to provide research programmes with scientific orientations. At the end of the day, the important thing is the research itself, that is, the research on the subject matter itself” (Bourdieu, Schultheis, Pfeuffer, 2011: 117).

WEBERIAN SPIRIT AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY APORIAS

To the main course of our presentation we'll get through the connection of Weberian spirit with current debates about the general character of the social era which we live in. In this respect, we want to present Weber's intellectual legacy as a possible guideline for overcoming paradigmatic dichotomy of modernity-postmodernity. Due to the nature of this work we are not able to engage in detail presentation of theoretical arguments presented by the modernists and postmodernists, and we believe that it is not necessary, because it is a commonly known disagreement within the social sciences.⁴ For the same reason, our discussion on the above mentioned topic will be limited to two examples: *the multiple modernities paradigm* and Ritzer's thesis about the McDonaldization of society.

The multiple modernities paradigm represents relatively new approach to the problem of determination of the modernity epoch, which is based on the assumption of different modernities forms existence characteristic for particular civilizations. Representatives of this paradigm, such as Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, Johann Arnason and Peter Wagner, explicitly rule out the Universalist approach to the problem of modernity, not accepting the identification of modernization with Westernization / Americanization. Also, they tend to leave questions related to the interrelationship between traditional, modern and postmodern within particular civilizations opened, observing these categories not as successive developmental stages, but as the trends characteristic of the specific structural and cultural processes.⁵ One of the common links that connects the above-mentioned authors is their interest in Weber's intellectual work, especially in his approach to conceptualization through ideal types, or his comparative-historical method in general.

Eisenstadt points to the misinterpretations of Weber, characteristic for the 50s and 60s of the last century, which his ideal-typical settings of formal rationalization overstate into the monolithic modernization theory. In contrast, he believes that the Weber formulated with great success the new cultural program of modernity based on the concept of the future, which implies openness of different options that can be implemented through an autonomous human actions: "The essence of this program is that the premise and legitimacy for social, ontological and political order can no longer be taken for granted; thus was developed a very intense reflectivity based on ontological premise, and based on the social and political order of authority - reflexivity, which was shared by the most radical critics of the program, who basically denied the legitimacy of such reflexivity" (Eisenstadt, 2002: 29). In addition, the Eisenstadt emphasizes the impact of Weber's comparative-historical research on the creation of his own methodological approach: "At the same time, I undertook an analysis of the different heterodoxies and their impact on the dynamics of their respective civilizations in a series of researches (in the framework

⁴ We must emphasize that this is a paradigmatic division to which were not immune many of interpreters of Weber's intellectual legacy either. More in: Turner, C. (1992): *Modernity and Politics in the Work of Max Weber*, London/New York: Routledge, and Bilal Koshul, B. (2005): *Postmodern Significance of Max Weber Legacy: Disenchanted Disenchantment*, London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan

⁵ Compare with: Weber, M. (1997): "Inserted reflection: Theory of degrees and directions of religious rejection of the world" in: *Collected writings on the sociology of religion*, Volume I, Sremski Karlovci: Publishing Bookstore of Zoran Stojanović

of conferences on these topics, organized by a core group under the chairmanship of Professor W. Schluchter) that started with a reexamination of Weber's *The Protestant ethic* and his studies of some of the major civilizations – Jewish, early Christian, Indian, Buddhist, Chinese, and Islamic” (Eisenstadt, 1998: 50). Arnason makes similar observations: “If the impact of capitalist development on the human condition is ultimately unpredictable (as Weber argues in the final section of *The Protestant Ethic*, nobody knows who will inhabit the capitalist cage in the future), a comparison with other trajectories in other settings may at least help to clarify the issues. This position seems to me as distant from the naïve liberal image of a triumphant economic man as it is from the Marxist vision of an anti-capitalist revolution which would complete the self creation of humanity. Weber's awareness of open questions explains the caution of his introductory remarks on the comparative project as a whole. A distinctive trait of Western culture – its rationalizing capacity – is taken as a starting point for considerations on universal history, but it is presented as a developmental direction, rather than as an established model or paradigm... It seems clear that basic assumptions about the meaning and consequences of Western civilizational dynamics were to be put to the test in the course of comparative studies” (Arnason, 2003: 105). Let us mention Wagner's thoughts on the current importance of Weber's intellectual legacy for the paradigm of multiple modernity and for social sciences in general: “Max Weber suggested that ‘objectivity’ in the social sciences is possible in as far as there is a relatively stable social world and, importantly, some degree of a common interpretation of that world. Whenever ‘the light of cultural problems moves on’, however, new concepts would need to be elaborated for that changing world... I have similarly argued that the novel experiences call for novel interpretations, and that the concepts elaborated in such interpretations will often be found both viable and useful in as far as they can connect different experiences towards a common interpretation. More specifically, I have suggested that modernity has been undergoing a major transformation in recent decades so that a new interpretation may be required – or at least the question may be raised whether a new interpretation is required” (Wagner, 2008: 233).

Another example of a relatively successful revitalization of the *Weberian spirit* represents a Ritzer's thesis on McDonaldization of society. In its original form thesis of McDonaldization of society, presented as a homonymous essay in 1983 and homonymous book in 1993, reflects Ritzer's ambition to bring Weber in step with time and offer distinctive modernist interpretation of Weber's settings about the process / processes of rationalization. He reserves the basic heuristic potential of the original thesis, but with remark that bureaucratic organizations are no longer paradigmatic example of rationalization, and that this role should be assigned to fast food restaurants; based on that, neologism MacDonalidization emerges as a metaphor related to the first and largest American fast food chain – McDonald's. In this context, Ritzer defines the MacDonalidization as “the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as of the rest of the world” (Ritzer, 1999: 15). According to him, there are four basic principles of the organization of work/production in fast food restaurants that simultaneously represent a fundamental dimension of the McDonaldization process:

1. *efficiency* – Finding optimal/best possible means to achieve the set goal,
2. *quantification* – highlighting the measurability and cost-effectiveness as a surrogate for quality,

3. *predictability* – emphasizing discipline, order, systematization, formalization, routine, consistency and methodical activities as a basis for business and personal security,
4. *control* – the effective management of human beings and the development of non-human technology (machines, materials, skills, knowledge, rules, regulations, procedures and methods).

Even though he also mentions the benefits of McDonaldisation (different variations on a theme: a greater selection of goods and services, and facilitated ability of their acquisition), Ritzer emphasizes the downside of this process: the irrationality of rationality, i.e. Aspiration of rationally administrated system to produce a series of dehumanizing consequences, which not only undermine human anthropological preconditions (ability of deliberation, skill, creativity, versatility, fellowship with other people), but also the environmental sustainability of the planet Earth (logging for paper production, pollution with polystyrene and other materials, many ecological contradictions that accompany intensive agricultural production and so on) (Ritzer, 1999: 29-33).

It is particularly interesting, from a methodological perspective, that the arguments for the thesis on McDonaldisation Ritzer does not base on his own academic research or academic researches of other scientists, but primarily relies on journalistic reports on current developments in various areas of social life (nutrition, popular culture, housing, health, education, sports). The above-mentioned approach, which he will continue to apply in his empirical analyses that will follow, justifies with the explorative character of his own research, or circumstances related with the absence of similar studies within the American academic community; reduced reflective ability of American scientists due to their blending with the process of McDonaldisation and their attitude that certain social phenomena, such as fast food restaurants, or credit cards, have trivial character, and for that reason do not even deserve to be the subject of serious scientific researches.⁶ And this Ritzer's argument can be linked to the way in which Weber has used a variety of data sources in his researches (e.g. in "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism"), but also to his commitment to value-free science and equal status for all cultural phenomena.

If the original thesis on McDonaldisation of society represents an interesting, but somewhat archaic attempt to reactualize Weber within the modernist paradigm, Ritzer directs its further development towards the postmodernist, and then postmodernist paradigm. Taking into account comments of numerous critics who have complained that he ignored the ideological and cultural dimension of the process of McDonaldisation, Ritzer first turns to Baudrillard and his conceptions of the consumer society, simulation and hyper reality. In his works from this period⁷ the process of McDonaldisation is shown as part of a broader movement related to revolutionize the means of consumption, offering us insight into the many social settings – cathedrals of consumption / non-places – which

⁶ More in: Ritzer, G. (1998): *The McDonaldisation Thesis: Explorations and Extensions*, London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd., pp. 13-15.

⁷ Like: Ritzer, G. (2000): *Enchanting a Disenchanted World: Revolutionizing the Means of Consumption*, London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd. or Ritzer, G. (2001): *Explorations in the Sociology of Consumption: Fast Food, Credit Cards and Casinos*, London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage Publications Ltd.

are dominated by consumption, phantasmagoric advertising and postmodern hybridization between modern and traditional (large shopping malls, amusement parks, etc.). The latest phase in the McDonaldization thesis development marks Ritzer's effort to draw attention to new trends in the fusion of production and consumption, which are typical for the use of modern information technologies.⁸ Although with these new advances in the development of his own theoretical orientation greatly exceeded achievements of the original thesis of McDonaldization (a large part of the heuristic potential of Weber's concept of formal rationalization), Ritzer's tendency for constant revision and empirical verification of his own conceptual settings still remain close to the *Weberian spirit*.

In addition to these particular examples presentness of Weber's intellectual legacy can be proven at more abstract level. Namely, Weber's methodological writings show us the way how to overcome many of the key problems and divisions within contemporary social sciences. In the first place, we think on his epistemological and theoretical assumptions concerning the relationship between subject-object / action-structure, as well as the attempt of linkage of the qualitative / interpretive and quantitative / positivist paradigm that stands at their basis. Although originally conceived as a response to the famous *battle over methods* (Methodenstreit), the aforementioned settings do not lose their significance because the social sciences today are burdened by a deep lack of understanding that separates modern supporters of idiographic and nomothetic approach to social phenomena. A major role in maintaining the division also had a distorted reception of Weber's intellectual legacy, which popularized many sociologists – Parsons and Schutz among the first ones. While Parsons managed to overstate the theoretical and analytical dimension of Weber's methodological concept, equivalent Schutz's attempt in the opposite direction will have no significant impact on the development of interpretative sociology until the mid 60-ies of the last century.⁹ When it reached that point, many interpretative sociologists ignored Weber's insistence on a methodological approach that combine understanding and the causal explanation. In contrast to him, they continued to equate social sciences / sociology with understanding, reducing the latter to the interpretation of subjective meaning, or motivation and intentionality of individuals. However, in methodological and sociological circles there are more and more voices which propose to return to the *Weberian spirit*.

Aakvaag believes that Weber's intellectual legacy provides a good basis for the development of the approach that make it possible to consolidate the abstract universality of the great theories of modernity in the empirical program of analytical sociology based on the concept of social mechanism (easily recognizable and frequent causative form – a constellation of individuals, their characteristics and activities – that can be activated in a largely unknown conditions and having indeterminate consequences). In his opinion, there are three main reasons why Weber is current in this context:

1. Weber should be seen as a great theorist of modernity, because he offered a comprehensive overview of cultural, institutional and psychological matrix

⁸ See: Ritzer, G. and Jurgenson, N. (2010): „Production, Consumption, Prosumption: The Nature of Capitalism in the Age of Digital 'Prosumer'“ in: *Journal of Consumer Culture*, Vol. 10, No. 1, <http://joc.sagepub.com>

⁹ Jennifer Platt convincingly argues that American interpretive sociology is genuine, and that Weber was subsequently characterized as her precursor and model. More in: Platt, J. (1985): „Weber's *Verstehen* and the History of Qualitative Research: The Missing Link“ in: *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 36, No. 3, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/590460>

of modern societies; his concept of formal rationality represents a fundamental structuring principle of modernity which is manifested as demystified at the level of culture, as bureaucratization is at the institutional level and as the inner-worldly asceticism/ disciplining is at the level of personality,

2. Weber was not only a supporter of methodological individualism, but also the pioneer of analytical sociology. His ideal types can be seen as a pioneering attempt to introduce the concept of social mechanism, because they are carefully structured causal models that allow understanding and explanation of the outcome of social action,
3. in Weber's sociology there is no conflict between his grand theory of modern societies and ideal types; on the contrary they mutually support each other. Weber's grand theory of modern societies is nothing but a constellation of ideal types and social mechanisms. (Aakvaag, 2013: 206-209).

Weber's intellectual legacy can serve as an example for methodological upgrade of interpretative approach. According to Baker, Weber's actuality for the interpretive paradigm is reflected in his attempt to expand the meaning of the term understanding (Weber's division to present understanding and understanding through explanations). Referring to the Weberian spirit he further elaborates that idea:

1. *Extra-cultural Verstehen* – The understanding we have of others from totally alien cultures,
2. *Intra-cultural Verstehen* – The understanding we have of others who share with us a commonly understandable symbol system (or language),
3. *Pattern Analysis of Verstehen* – hermeneutics or understanding “Patterns of patterns” (e.g. A linguistic mapping of language structures or ethnography mapping of religious rituals),
4. *Verstehen as Interpersonal intuition* – “common sense” knowledge of human behavior.

Also, Becker points out that qualitative origin of ideal types is not an obstacle to their further theoretical purification to variables, which can then be operationalized and quantified using some form of statistical analysis (Bakker, 1981: 41-44).

A Swedish sociologist Ola Agevall offers a particularly interesting reactualization of Weber's methodological concept. According to her, Weber's conception of causality can be associated with one of the most innovative concepts in contemporary sociological methodology - configuration analysis of Charles Ragin.¹⁰ Like Weber and Ragin developed the concept of causal explanation directed to the realization of specific events. Key terms for understanding of the concept are multiple causality (the existence of several causal paths that lead to the same outcome) and conjectural causality (condition A is not sufficient to cause the result P, but it will cause it in conjunction with B). Representation and exploration of these forms of causality Ragin bases on the Boolean algebra, functions and truth tables:

¹⁰ See: Ragin, C. (2008): *Redesigning Social Inquiry: Fuzzy Sets and Beyond*, Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, and Ragin, C. (2009): *Configurational Comparative Methods: Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) and Related Techniques* (Edited by Benoît Rihoux and Charles Ragin), Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks/London

1. the presence of a certain condition is marked with a capital letter ($A = 1$), while its absence is marked a small letter ($a = 0$),
2. multiple causality – logical *or* is marked with addition symbol (e.g. equation $P = A + B$ means that the result P shall occur if the condition A is present or if the condition B is present),
3. conjectural causality - logical *and* is marked by mathematical symbol for multiplication (e.g. equation $P = A \times B$ or abbreviated $P = AB$ means that the result P shall occur only if conditions A and B are present at the same time).

Obvious similarity between Weber’s conception of *adequate causation* and Ragin’s configuration analysis can be proven, if the above settings are transferred into particular example of the search for a combination of conditions that lead to a consequence, based on common methodological categories of sufficient and necessary conditions (*Table 1.*) (Agevall, 2005: 13).

		C is necessary	
		Yes	No
C is sufficient	Yes	$P = C$	$P = C + B$
	No	$P = Ca + CB$	$P = aC + AB$

Table 1. An example of truth table based on the Ragin’s configurational analysis

In contrast to the combination of the conditions in the non-shaded cells, the combination of the conditions in the shaded cell exceeds the reaches of the explanatory models a sufficient – necessary causality. In this case, the condition C is not necessary, because there is a causal path that does not include the condition (AB) , but it is not sufficient, because it will not lead to consequences P unless combined with the absence of a condition A (a). Agevall points out that Weber did not use the presented terminology, but that it was the same form of causal explanation used in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.

CONCLUSION

With the phrase *Weberian spirit* we have tried to emphasize the sensitivity of the issues related to the possibility of actualization of Weber’s methodological conception. Particularly, we thought that it was a neutral definition, which refers to Weber’s methodological preferences, does not have a presentist connotation, and yet points to their current actuality. Guided by this idea, we have chosen examples that are not simple analogies, but also an open invitation to return to the *Weberian spirit*. Naturally, the authors and their studies mentioned in this paper represent only a small part of a larger movement directed towards (re)actualization of Weber’s intellectual legacy. In addition to the aforementioned, Weber’s theoretical and methodological solutions are still very relevant for

researchers who study social phenomena and processes related to religiousness¹¹, group identity¹², politics¹³ and economics¹⁴.

At the end of this paper we will not bring a classic *final conclusion*, because that would be in contradiction with the presentness that characterizes the spirit of Weber's methodology. Instead, we will give a quote from known Weber's text "Objectivity' in Social Science and Social Policy", published in 1904, which appropriately reflects the eternal message of the spirit: "The light of great cultural problems moves on. Then science too prepares to change its standpoint and its analytical apparatus and view the streams of events from the heights of thought" (Weber, 1986: 83-84).

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¹² See: Putinja, F., Stref-Fenar, Ž. (1997): *Teorije o etnicitetu*, Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, p. 37-41.

¹³ Kalberg, S. (2001), "The Modern World as a Monolithic Iron Cage? Utilizing Max Weber to Define the Internal Dynamics of the American Political Culture Today" in: *Max Weber Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2, <http://www.maxweber-studies.org> (downloaded on 23rd September 2011)

¹⁴ Ford, L. (2008): *Economic Sociology: An Aristotelian-Weberian Approach*, Center for the Study of Economy and Society, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/23398744/> (downloaded on 14th August 2011)

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