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Nottingham

Professional Education in Contemporary Serbia:an examination of the
intellectual transition from state-socialism to post socialism

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Professional Education in Contemporary Serbia: an examination of the transition from state-socialism to post-socialism

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The List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

(It is my belief that the list of acronyms guides the reader through the thesis and makes the understanding easier and more profound. It offers an overview of key theoretical and practical concepts used in the thesis and it was my intention to make it as accurate and as up-to-date as possible)

AAEN-Alternative Academic Educational Network

BAFOG-The Federal Law on the Provision of Education-Bundes Ausbildung Forderung Gesetz

BERA-British Educational Research Association

BOAL-Basic Units of Organized Labour-Organizacija Udruženog Rada

CDO-Collateralized Debt Obligation

CEU-Central European University

CEASER-Conference of European Schools for Advanced Engineering Education and Research

CEEPUS-Central European Exchange Programme for University Students

CERN-European Organisation for Nuclear Research

CLUSTER- Consortium Linking of Science and Technology for Education and Research

COE-Council of Europe

COPERNICUS-Cooperation Programme in Europe for Research on Nature and Industry Coordinated University Studies

CPD-Continual Professional Development

DAAD-Deutsche Akademische Austausch Dienst-German Agency for Academic Exchange

DOES-Department of Education and Science

DFID-Department for International Development

DPS-Demokratska Stranka Srbije-Democratic Party of Serbia

EBRD-European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

ECTS-European Credit Transfer Scheme

EBP-English for Business Purposes

EHEA- European Higher Education Area

EIB-European Investment Bank

ENQA-European Agency for Quality Assurance in Education

ERASMUS-European Region Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students

ESEE-Electronic South East Europe

ESP-English for Specific Purposes

EST-English for Science and Technology

ESRC-Economic and Social Research Council

EURASHE-European Association of Institutions of Higher Education

EURIBOR-European Interbank Offered Rate

EURING-European Engineer

FDI-Foreign Direct Investment

GP-General Practitioner

GDP-Gross Domestic Product

NHS-National Health Service

ICT-Information and Communication Technology

ILO-International Labour Organization

IMF-International Monetary Fund

INSET-Inservice Education of Teachers

ISCED-International Standard Qualification of Education

ISCO-International Standard Qualification of Occupations

LEA-Local Educational Authority

LIBOR-London Interbank Offered Rate

LLB-Bachelor of Law

NGO-Non Governmental Organisation

NEET-Not in Education Employment or Training

NCT-New Computer Technologies

NIP-National Investment Plan

NNS-Non-Native Speakers

OECD-Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

OJT-On the Job Training

OSCE-Organisation for Security Cooperation in Europe

OFSTED-Office for Standards in Education

QA-Quality Assurance Analysis

QNGO-Quasi Non Governmental Organisation

RAE-Research Assessment Exercise

REGPOT-European Union 7th Framework Regional Potential Programme

SEFI-Societe Europeene Por la Formation des Ingenieur-European Society for the Education of Engineers

SME-Small and Medium Enterprise

SRP-Serbian Radical Party

SWOT-Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats

TEMPUS-Trans-European Mobility Scheme for University Students

TESOL-Teaching English for Speakers of Other Languages

TUC-Trade Union Congress

UCAS-Universities and Colleges Admission Service

UNCTAD-United Nations Conference for Trade and Development

UNDP-United Nations Development Programme

UN-United Nations

UND-Union Nominated Board of Directors

UNESCO-United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

USAID-United States Agency for International Development

WDR-World Development Report

WFME-World Federation for Medical Education

The List of Serbian names

This list is relevant to the thesis insofar as it represents Serbian policy-makers, intellectuals and historical figures linked with the particular research topic and education policy. In that sense it is not randomly inserted into the thesis and I tried to keep it as accurate and as up-to-date as possible

Slobodan Antonić-professor of Sociology at Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade

Violeta Arnaudova-professor at the University of Skopje

Marko Backović-Dean of the Belgrade School of Economics, professor of economics

Aleksandar Belić-professor of Science

Dragomir Bondžić-historian and researcher in the Institute of Contemporary History, Belgrade

Čedomir Čupić-Serbian sociologist and writer, professor at the Faculty of Political Sciences Belgrade

Ljiljana Čolić-Serbian policy-maker

Jadranka Dimov-specialist in Psychology

Milovan Đilas-Communist Party intellectual

Miloš Đurić-Serbian specialist and expert

Ljubiša Glišić-specialist and expert

Dejan Ilić-Serbian technicist and expert

Vesna Gavrilov Jerković-Phd in Psychology, expert

Edvard Kardelj-Communist Party representative

Boris Kidrič-Communist Party representative

Branko Kovačević-Rector of Belgrade University, professor of electrical engineering

Jelena Kleut-Serbian educationist

Sašo Kjošev-Macedonian analyst

Todor Kuljić-professor of Sociology

Ljiljana Kundaković-Serbian professional and policy maker

Mladen Lazić-professor of Sociology at the University of Belgrade

Predrag Lažetić-Serbian educationist

Branko Milanović-Serbian sociologist

Sima Milivojević-professional and expert

Slobodan Milošević-Former president of Yugoslavia

Danilo Mrkšić-former professor of Sociology

Marko Nikezić-Serbian policy-maker

Marina Nikolić-professor of Spanish

Enes Osmančević-Bosnian professional

Dragan Pantić-professor of Psychology

Latinka Perović-professor of History

Dejan Popović-former Rector of Belgrade University

Savo Radošević-analyst

Ljubiša Rajić-professor of Modern Languages (deceased)

Aleksandar Ranković-Communist Party Representative

Ivan Stambolić-journalist (deceased)

Fuada Stanković-professor of Economics and Entrepreneurship, Novi Sad University

Miodrag Stojković-Serbian geneticist

Dejan Šoškić-Serbian economist and policy-maker

Sreten Šljivić-professor of Chemistry at the Belgrade University

Srbijanka Turajlić-retired professor of Electrical Engineering, Belgrade University

Jovan Teokarević-professor of Politics

Josip Broz Tito-Former president of Yugoslavia

Ivan Vejvoda-Serbian intellectual and writer

Tamara Valčić Bulić-professor of Novi Sad University

Miloš Vasić-Serbian intellectual and writer

Nikolaj Velimirović-bishop of the Serbian Orthodox Church

Martina Vukasović-Serbian educationist

List of Interviewees

Many interviewees wanted to remain anonymous because of the consent and confidentiality issues as well as because they were afraid answering the interview would jeopardize their future job prospects. However, Dalibor Soldatić, a head of the Hispanic studies at the Faculty of Philology and Dean for international cooperation, had no objections to research conduct that is not anonymous and offered generous assistance

Anonymous Lawyer from Belgrade

Apprentice Lawyer from Belgrade

Anonymous Lawyer from Belgrade

Professors of Russian and French from the Faculty of Teacher Training

Anonymous Lawyer from Belgrade

Anonymous Lawyer from Belgrade

Dalibor Soldatić, Dean for International Cooperation at the Faculty of Modern Languages and Chair of Hispanic Studies

Student from the Faculty of Organisational Science

Abstract

The thesis, professional education in contemporary Serbia, an examination of the transition from state-socialism to post-socialism tries to answer the question of the changing patterns of professional education in contemporary Serbia in the light of the advent of post-socialism, after a very long period of reign of state-socialism. It does so by employing an in-depth historical analysis. It is argued that the economic problems in post-socialism, blocked transformation, exclusion from the European Community, and other problems impacted on the change in professional education patterns. Post-socialism is distinguished by the growing marketization, globalization and the economic intra-dependence, as well as the stronger influence of the emerging markets. In Serbia, it is distinguished by the fragile economic recovery and the emergence of the new economic order. The thesis uses Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony to explain the inevitability of the knowledge economy and Karl Popper's theoretical concepts developed in his study *Open Society and its Enemies*. Methodologically, the project used chiefly qualitative methodology: questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions. In addition to this, there is also abundant use of the relevant documents, useful for documentary analysis, as well as biographical method. Empirical conclusions of the project are based on 5 months survey in contemporary Serbia, based on qualitative methodology, and participants were university teachers, lawyers and researchers. Survey is understood here as a social science research technique.

The project findings are organized around three major subcategories: democratization, governance and civil society, institutional sustainability and graduate employment, and internationalisation and the European Union. The system of professional education is characterized by the growing democratization, the implementation of the Bologna Process, the introduction of course fees, the overall marketization of education and the emergence of private universities. Policy-makers and educationists should be cautious because this system causes enduring inequalities. Unemployment is also a significant problem for the change in professional education patterns. The influence of markets on professional education is stronger and companies and enterprises are looking for university talent to gain the increase in profit and they have a clear stake in shaping the new system of professional education. This brings significant changes to professional education in general and the creation of the curricula in particular. Although the state-socialist system of professional education was distinguished by the increased level of international cooperation, it is growing more intense and it happens more often in the context of post-socialism. Serbian professionals, educationists, and policy-makers are having many more opportunities for international cooperation.

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To research and to write a dissertation like this means to incur many debts of gratitude. I have incurred many personal debts of gratitude, chiefly to Professor Simon McGrath and Professor William John Morgan who helped me obtain the research grant, and Dr John Wallis and Dr Barbara Merrill for their comments on how to improve the manuscript. I owe a special thank to the University of Nottingham, School of Education and for being able to use its resources. My thanks also goes to Professor William John Morgan who had an instinctive sense of my weaknesses and helped me to maintain the focus on the distinct research questions throughout this 3 year research project. He also guided me with his watchwords on ‘clarity, brevity and simplicity’ and was very patient and resilient during many supervision sessions that took place over the course of the research project. I am also indebted to Professor Simon McGrath who supported my proposal for funding and proved to be very helpful during my time at Nottingham. In addition to this, I am also grateful to many research participants, university teachers, lawyers, researchers and students who took their time to answer questionnaires, interviews and take part in discussions as well as, those organisations, The Centre for Education Policy, most notably, who helped me with books, articles and other publications useful for the documentary analysis. Researchers from the Institute of Contemporary History also aided with their publications and took time to answer questionnaires and take part in the interviews. I also used documents from the Goethe Institute Belgrade to aid me with the documentary analysis. In addition to this, I have incurred debts of gratitude to many owners of the legal offices who took part in the discussions.

In Serbia, I owe a special debt to Milorad Milinčić from the Faculty of Geography, Dalibor Soldatić from the Faculty of Philology, Predrag Lažetić from the Centre for Education Policy, Marina Stamenković Radak from the Faculty of Biology and Dragomir Bondžić from the Institute of Contemporary History who provided valuable time, resources and contacts to help me complete my project successfully. Lawyer Aleksandar Đorđević helped immensely with his time and resources. Lastly, but not least importantly, I am thankful to all of the housemates: Sanja, Alexandre and Marijana, Kumar and Rishi, Goh, Natalia and Chau, and importantly Tu, Abdul and Binh, Kwambena Anani, Dasenko Pajović as well as other friends and acquaintances that helped me with their time and support. As such the list of people who aided me during the project is very long and some of the people who took part in this research project are necessarily omitted.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is a product of my own efforts and has not been presented to other university or educational institution for the degree of Phd for which I am now a candidate

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis will be developed from research on the changing patterns of professional education in contemporary Serbia after a long period of state socialism. The main research question asks if this historical shift has impacted significantly on the patterns of professional education of two groups-lawyers and university teachers. The method is that of the comparative “case study” common within modern social sciences. The project is challenging and innovative, bearing in mind that the Serbian case has been under-researched from the perspective of comparative education and, in that sense, the thesis is a contribution to knowledge. Comparative education draws on many disciplines and disciplinary “others”. Sociology, political science and psychology all play an important role. The main task of this discipline is to examine the role that education plays in national development, as well as to find out how national values influence education (cf Kubow and Fossum 2007).

The choice of these two professional groupings is purposeful, because of the paramount importance of higher education in post-socialism, as well as the crucial importance of legal professionals during the period of intensive social change. This part of my thesis uses Gramsci’s well-known distinction between ‘organic’ intellectuals and the ‘traditional intelligentsia’ as an analytical/theoretical framework for the empirical analysis and there is a discussion of this later in the thesis, particularly within historical analysis and research findings sections. More particularly it puts strong emphasis on the role of organic intellectuals such as Tito. Some sociologists, such as Bourdieu, argue that an established *ancien régime* is often maintained by the accumulation of social and cultural capital, and that academia is an important agent for its maintenance (Bourdieu, quoted in, Simon 1994:87). This research is based on the hypothesis of the creative and innovative power of intellectuals. Ericsson (1975:59) believes that radical students have always perceived the university as giving support to the maintenance of the social order, but nevertheless, they have believed that academics should be galvanized into the role of social radicals. Intellectuals have been perceived as estranged from practical action and not ideally suited to their principal role. The thesis is centrally concerned with the major role of lawyers and university teachers, both as intelligentsia in the traditional sense of the word, and as radicals supporting the downfall of state-socialism and the advent of post-socialist society. In particular, the creative role of intellectuals will be explored, focusing on their writing and practical action towards liberalization, and this line of inquiry will be considering the professional education in post-socialism.

Another broader aim is to set the research in the context of state-socialism and its collapse. Moreover, I will try to defend the hypothesis that state-socialism as a system was intrinsically fallible in character, and had no

chance of being maintained over the long run. As noted above, Gramsci made a distinction between two types of intellectuals traditional and organic. The first group consider themselves to be divorced from the masses, and stress the primacy of individual reason or *logos*. They are nonetheless class-bound and are key ideological supports to the ruling class. The second group of intellectuals is also class-bound, but emerges from activity with the people, they are more closely allied with the masses, and are concerned with practical activity and promotion of practical and utilitarian goals on behalf of the masses (cf Fontana 2000:28ff). It is particularly important to consider the role of these two groups in both socialist Serbia and in the transition to post-socialism. Research questions important are the role of organic and traditional intelligentsia in state-socialism, which would be linked to the structure versus agency debate in social theory. More particularly, I will investigate the influence and power of organic intellectuals and of traditional intelligentsia in state-socialism and to consider how these are manifested through the status of professionals. One important aspect is to consider education in post-socialism as sets of dichotomies: society/state as the driving force for the creation of knowledge/socialist party; mandatory curriculum/socialist state; promotion of specific branches of social science or open mindedness? Is moral education guiding the creation of knowledge in modern society?

The advent of post-socialism is a research context of significant importance. The thesis is a continuation of the work done by social scientists previously. In particular, I argue that Serbian post-socialism has been ‘path dependent’ to a certain extent. As Stark and Bruszt argue (1998) post-socialism is not created out of nothing, and the shape of post-transitional society is dependent upon previous developments during state-socialism. Backward political system, lack of economic freedom, and values that are not favourable to the development of market economy discourage this social change and *vice versa*. Many authors have examined the nature of change towards post-socialism and this is one of the perennial issues within the context of social sciences. The particular Serbian case has many interesting research questions: the influence of the hypothesized EU accession and liberalization; the influence of the introduction of market economy and the market forces and, the core of the thesis, the changing roles of traditional intelligentsia and organic intellectuals. From the perspective of professional education, a number of questions are of importance: NGOs, main funding bodies, and international organizations as creators of knowledge or independent research of academics? Liberalization and EU accession dictates as guiding theory and research or the independent research of social scientists? Is moral education the driving force of research or the sociological imagination of the scholars? This brief historical account, with diagrams to clarify the overall structure and its impact on educational development and funding, as well as the debates and discussions on the transition from state-socialism, will be given in Chapter 2.

A further key aspect is the development of theoretical notions of professional education. This part of the thesis addresses both the traditional and contemporary notions of profession and of professional education. For

example, Harold Perkin, a well-known writer on the social history of professions, argued that we are living in an increasingly professional society. Modern hierarchies are based on trained expertise. Professional societies are thus based on human capital hierarchies and closure, that is to say, the exclusion of the non-qualified (Perkin 2002:2). The importance of professions has increased gradually over the years and Perkin's considerations are valid to even a greater extent for post-socialist countries. A profession is generally thought of as being of higher value than occupation. It involves a very long process of education and is highly regarded in society, whereas an occupation implies mainly practical skills that are acquired relatively easily. Examples of professions are lawyers, university teachers, doctors, surgeons, whereas artisans and craftsmen stand for occupations. This is a predominantly sociological distinction (cf Watson 1987). Historically, occupations are in steady decline. According to Michael Strain, when there is a claim today that a job is that of a professional, it is not only a claim for status and higher level of reward, but also of expectations of others from those admitted to the circle of professionals (Strain 1995:47-8).

To shed additional light on this phenomenon, Everard (1995:138) also says that professions have a code of ethics geared to uphold its good standing in the eyes of the public. The literature review chapter will look at the understanding of professional education from the perspective of social history and social theory. Research questions: what is the difference between an occupation and a profession? How can researchers track the development of this notion historically? What are the recent developments in the conceptualization of this notion? Has the understanding of this process changed within the context of modern social theory? How were these distinctions manifested in a state socialist system? How the theory of human capital informs the research findings? will be of importance. Education in the professions has gained importance in the light of the advent of modern 'knowledge economy', a concept that is still one way of looking at recent historical developments, although it has been vigorously contested. Serbian post-socialist society is likely to follow the path of the developed countries of the Western Europe, so that some of the old professions are withering away, but a number of other highly qualified and competitive professions are emerging. The thesis will look at this shift from the perspective of classical and contemporary sociology/psychology of work and the 'knowledge economy' hypothesis in developed countries.

Methodologically, the thesis is firmly rooted in the tradition of interpretive/qualitative methodology as opposed to the strictly positivistic and quantitative methodology. This means using research tools such as case studies, narratives and autobiographical studies, in-depth interviews, questionnaires. Moreover, a mixed methods approach is seen as particularly useful as the final framework for the analysis of the data and premium is put on biographical method. In particular, the specific rules and guidelines for the research in social sciences will be applied. This involved presenting the questions in a clear and understandable manner, following all of the nuances of the wording and formulation, using filter questions in order to find out how opinionated the respondents are when thinking of a particular topic. More particularly, methodological tools such as Gallup's filter set of questions as well as scales to measure attitudes will be used (cf Foody 1994).

Bearing in mind the difficulties and limitations, as well as the importance of the project, a great deal of attention was paid to making the most appropriate research tools effective and efficient, and to avoid problems due to the imperfection of the analytical framework. One important research question will be to see on if the transition has created an ‘open society’ in contemporary Serbia, as understood by Karl Popper.

In terms of the methodological framework, one of the important aspects of research was sociological survey, common within modern social sciences. Within the context of modern sociology, the exploration of intriguing ideas is done through surveys, and a great deal of importance is given to such notions as human rights. Tacit and participatory research meant that a great deal of attention had to be paid to the privacy of the people (De Laine 2000:1). Consequently, this meant survey in Serbia, inquiring into the professional education and practices of lawyers and university teachers. Questionnaires and in-depth interviews will be used in order to determine the changing patterns of education of these two groupings in post-socialism. According to Hobson (2007) survey and research should also involve using the observation of tacit assumptions. Within the context of this thesis this will often involve observing tacit assumptions of professional practice. As contemporary debates indicate, there are likely to be frequent conflicts about the researchers’ wish to ‘open themselves’ to the outside world of the researched and the need to pursue their own educational or ideological agenda. There are many difficulties that can arise from this, like the feelings of guilt and embarrassment from the pressure of being involved in actions that are not moral and represent a diversion from the central idea of the research (De Laine 2000:55).

Normally, this means reflecting on all the subtleties and ethical guidelines outlined in classical and contemporary theory within some of the social sciences. However, a more detailed account of the methods used in the thesis is given in chapter 4. This gives a relatively detailed account of philosophical and sociological underpinnings of social research as well as the concrete research tools and techniques that were used in the project. Chapter 5 gives a detailed account of the research findings. This chapter gives a detailed account of the findings of the documentary method. Chapter 6 analyses the research findings obtained by sociological survey according to the research questions and hypothesis posed initially and suggests possible conclusions. This includes the changing patterns of professional education in contemporary Serbia during post-socialism, and its likely directions. Chapter 7 presents combined data analysis the findings of the documentary method, questionnaire/interviews and focus groups. It should be noted here that the key task of the research is to establish the link between these questions in both types of societies and seek insights into: the differences between professional education of lawyers and university teachers in post socialism and state-socialism; the different understanding of the notion of profession in two types of societies; has the nature of knowledge creation changed as a result of this historical change? Is thus the knowledge within the context of these professions cumulative or not? How is curriculum created within the context of professional education? Chapter 8, the last chapter, will summarize briefly the findings of the research project and will offer the predictions for the future. This is an ambitious thesis that is geared towards investigating two case-studies in

detail with the aim of achieving conclusions that can be extrapolated to professional education in Serbia as a nation-state.

Chapter 2: Serbian Society and the Transition to Post-Socialism

Introduction

This chapter introduces the idea of interconnectedness of education and the cultural tradition. It advances the thesis by arguing that the historical changes and especially the changes in post socialism exercise important influence on the change in professional education. Conceptually, it discusses some of the key notions such as socialism, post-socialism and neoliberalism. More particularly, since the Decline of Communism, enduring inequalities, poverty and the emergence of neoliberalism as a social system have clearly played an important role in determining who can be educated at the tertiary level and who can not. In addition to this, outsourcing and the emergence of market economy play an important role in setting the question of which skills at universities for the labour market? The emergence of EU-level integration also helps greatly the cooperation in education.

Society and Education in Serbia

Education is a product of cultural tradition in which it is embedded. Altbach et al argue that: “Institutions of higher education are socially constructed realities that in part develop from their own socio-cultural histories and traditions. The content and structure of colleges and universities are also shaped by external cultural environment and nations place within the “international knowledge networks””(Altbach *et al*, quoted in, Kempner and Tierney 1996:1). Educational institutions are deeply rooted in the historical experience of a particular country and are result of accumulated historical changes. These considerations are valid to even a greater extent for professional education, because this process is dependent upon the developments and historical experience of a particular country. For an example, within state-socialism, curricula were centrally dictated by the socialist state. These considerations are valid to even a greater extent for post-socialist countries and those undergoing the process of transition, of which Serbia is an obvious example. Education in general, and professional education in particular are a particularly sensitive topic in post-socialist countries, because there is a liberalization of the curriculum. In addition to this, professional education funding becomes greatly decentralized. The educational system is undergoing a profound change, and a well thought and innovative approach to education management is beneficial. The role of the University in the prosperity of education and society is of paramount importance. As one of UNESCO’s statements stresses: “This is the

reason why universities-institutions dedicated to education and the creation of knowledge-are essential and have to be conscious of their responsibilities in these discussions aimed at global literacy" (Delgado 2005:27). Hence, this is an obvious argument in support of the sociological and cultural approach to understanding education in the professions in contemporary Serbia.

State-socialism as an idea

Western academics normally make a connection between socialism and the French Revolution of 1789, or alternatively, the revolutions of 1848. On the other hand academics from Eastern Europe believe it to be chiefly a product of the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917 (cf Morgan 2001). Nevertheless, the French revolution did put forward a number of fundamental ideas such as nationalism, political and economical liberalism, as well as the beginnings of socialist thought and practice that were to influence the subsequent development of Marxism and socialism in the full sense of the word. One consequence of this was the development of socialism during the beginning of the twentieth century, with the advent of Russian revolution. Key characteristics of this system of societal organization were state owned property, supremacy of the politics over other social subsections, as well as egalitarianism. *The Communist Manifesto* states that the history of all societies is the history of class struggles. Classes are created by the logic of the material production and there is a relation of domination involved as well. The only escape from this is the socialist revolution, which is the task of the industrial proletariat (Morgan 2003:31). Social systems are intrinsically dynamic and driven to introduce changes, as well as continue onto the path of development. The logic of capitalism as a system implies contradictory interests of bourgeoisie and the proletariat, which produces social revolutions as the end point. Revolutions are grand historical watersheds, and enable the change of social systems. Coupled with the changing patterns and relations in the sphere of production, they are an ingredient in enabling further societal development. Proletarian class consciousness is a revolutionary consciousness. Without it, the class remains an amorphous mass and not a class in itself (Morgan 2003:32).

Essentially, this is the distinction between the objective notion of the social class, and the class status perceived by its members. Classes can exist objectively without ever achieving the action potential, whereas only this subjective consciousness enables social revolution. Marxist and socialist thought was further developed by subsequent authors, like Kautsky and Bernstein, as well as Luxemburg, Trotsky and Gramsci. Some authors even argue that Marxism, like Christianity, unites its bible, councils, schisms, orthodoxy and heresy. It has its schisms, profane and sacred (Morgan 2003:16-17). Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* make a clear distinction between *the profane*, as reserved to the matters of this world, and *the sacred*, as being a synonym for other-worldly concerns. As a well developed mode of thinking within the context of Occidental culture, it has had many interpretations and amendments. Broadly conceived, socialist thought is an interpretation of history and an interpretation of human development. However, some of Marx's points concerning social development have been discredited by the historical experience. Subsequent authors

did feel the need to reconcile Marxist and socialist thought with the historical development. This is basically the origin of revisionist theories. As a mode of social engineering and social development, socialist thought witnessed a genuine re-naissance with the advent of 20th century. The socialist systems that existed in 20th century used a peculiar political rhetoric. It proved to be empty of meaning, and served only to legitimate group power. The state was used as an instrument for social engineering and it did neglect the interests of the common people (cf Morgan 2003:124ff). Socialism in practice was different from the ideas conceived by the intellectuals. Some of the fundamental ideas have been neglected, and the hypothesized egalitarianism was never achieved. Instead of this, authoritarianism gained pace. All aspects of life, including economics, social and legal were subordinated to the ideologically derived goals (Morgan 2003:124). Contemporary neo-socialism and neo-Marxism involve debates whether race and ethnicity have overpowered class as an analytical tool for the explanation of social reality (Malešević 2004:31). Serbian experience of state-socialism has been different from the experience of other countries, but nevertheless, it will serve as a case study.

Serbia in Tito's Yugoslavia

The introduction of communism in Yugoslavia was the own work of the partisan movement (Fowkes 1995:44). An interesting book by Archie Brown argues that Tito's partisans were engaged both in civil war and in the battle against the Germans (Brown 2010:151). Tito was the president of the National committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia and was given the title of the Marshall (Brown 2010:152). The communists in Serbia have taken power instantaneously and within other communist countries this process took several years to complete (Brown 2010:153). One of the strengths of the communists was their ability to bring together different nationalities (cf Brown 2010). Serbian history after the Second World War is interconnected with the history of other Yugoslav peoples more than after the First World War. Serbian monarch did not now have predominance over other Yugoslav peoples and Tito's communists were ready to suppress all nationalism for practical and ideological reasons. Serbian history of this period can thus be likened to the history of Yugoslavia (Cox 2002:102). Some analysts, like Savo Radošević, for an example, argue that the post Second World War industrialization of Yugoslavia was based on domestic raw materials, cheap labour and holding down of the industrial prices as a means of extracting surplus. On the basis of the scheme of extensive industrialization new capacities were created to achieve quantitative goals (Radošević 1996:69). Yugoslavia has been held together partly by the newly found optimism and the cohesion between the liberation forces. However, the importance of Tito's personality and political wisdom, acting primarily as an organic intellectual and charismatic leader, plays a much greater role. His closest comrades were Edvard Kardelj The Slovene, Serbs Moše Pijade and Aleksandar Ranković and Milovan Đilas, a Montenegrin (Brown 2010:153). However, some analysts are highly sceptical about the positive historical validation of this period. Životić (2002:49) argues that it is essentially no more than half a century of unlawful actions, and violation of human creativity. What is more, alternative political parties were sidelined, and the state apparatus controlled all

spheres of the society. Regardless of the historical/sociological valuation of this period, it is divided into a number of sub-periods that are distinguished by their idiosyncratic characteristics.

The development of communism saw the suppression of religion as well. Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović, one of the most important members of the Serbian clergy was labelled as an enemy to the socialist revolution. His works were forbidden and he was discredited even by some branches of the Orthodox Church (Byford 2005:37).

Historians often divide Yugoslavia's history according to periods:

1. 1945-1952: Predominance of the Stalinist model
2. 1953-1971: experimentation and liberalization
3. 1972-1980: political and economic decentralization and the unification of military negative selection coupled with economic stagnation
4. 1981-1991: post-Tito period with economic problems and increasing nationalist unrest in the absence of effective central leadership (Cox 2002:102-103).

Diagrams: It is my belief that diagrams make it clearer to the reader the central storyline of this chapter. In addition to this I believe that these help explain how models of curricular change and education funding have developed within the period of state-socialism as well as how these have made an impact on present state of education. These diagrams also seek to offer an explanation of difference in educational development during the periods of state-socialism and post-socialism. Key sources are also mentioned and how these sources explain the differences along the lines of *democratization, governance and civil society, institutional sustainability and graduate employment and internationalisation* and how these categories have been influenced by different state structures and historical changes. In addition to this, the diagrams also allow me to give my own view on the subject under scrutiny. In addition to this, they also aim to cancel out the shortcomings and fill the gap where these differences have been under-argued or where there was a lack of clarity.

DIAGRAM SEVEN: I felt that the Diagram five is of particular importance as it (A) helps delineate the periods of state-socialism and post-socialism (B) makes it a little clearer to the reader the differences in educational development during the periods of state-socialism and post-socialism. Compared to other diagrams it gives a very brief explanation of these differences but I felt that it was much more succinct. To add to this central storyline, I felt that the pictographical/text additions in the following sections allow the reader to follow the historical changes and passages with greater clarity. Given that the thesis might be used by English speaking audience and international students, this is particularly important, as some of the readers might not be thoroughly acquainted with the specific Serbian context and are therefore in the need of

introduction when reading on the different periods of state structure and how this has influenced the accessibility and the development of the curricula in particular, and professional education schemes in general.

DIAGRAMS ONE and TWO: Pre and Post-Split map

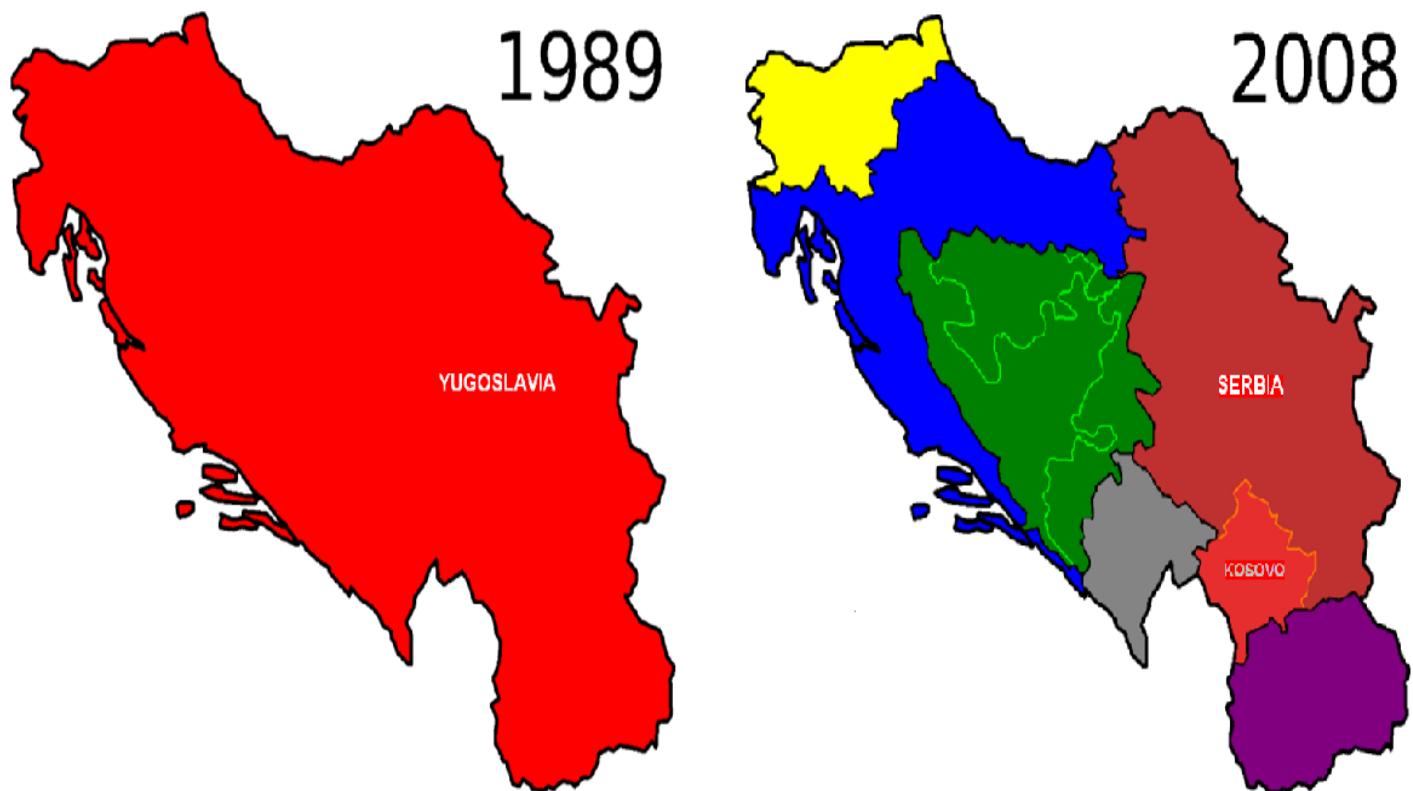
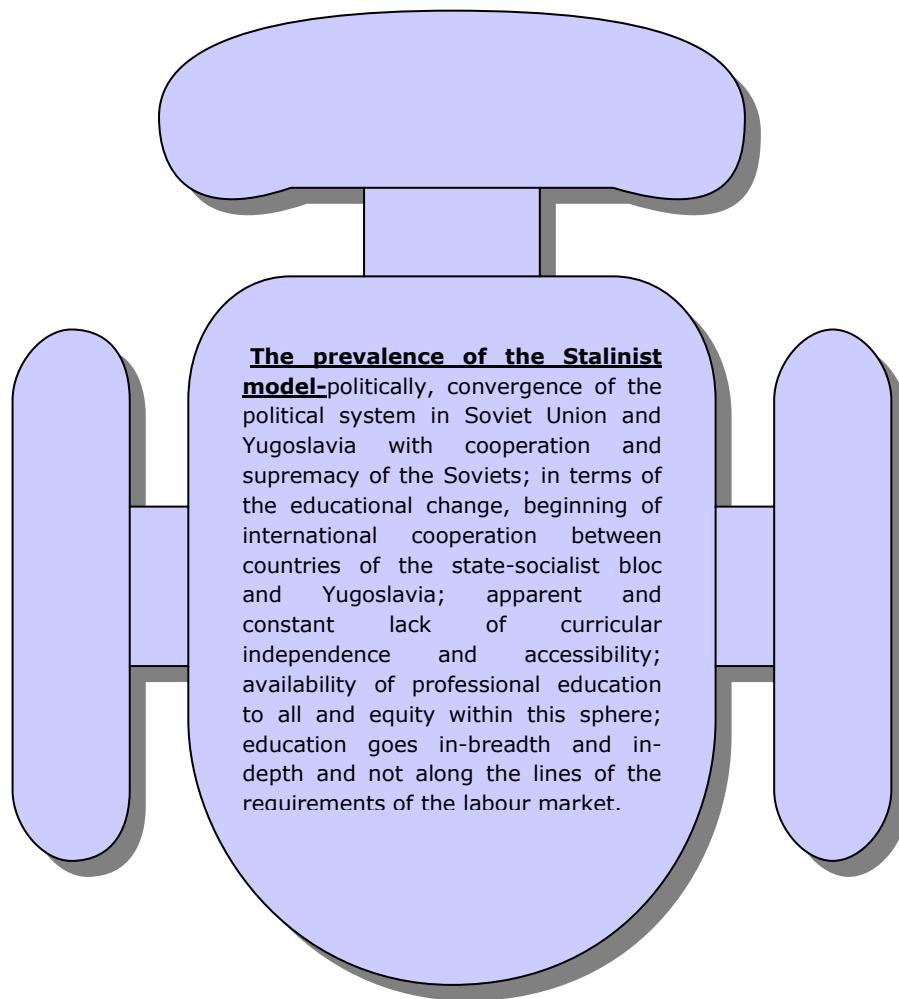
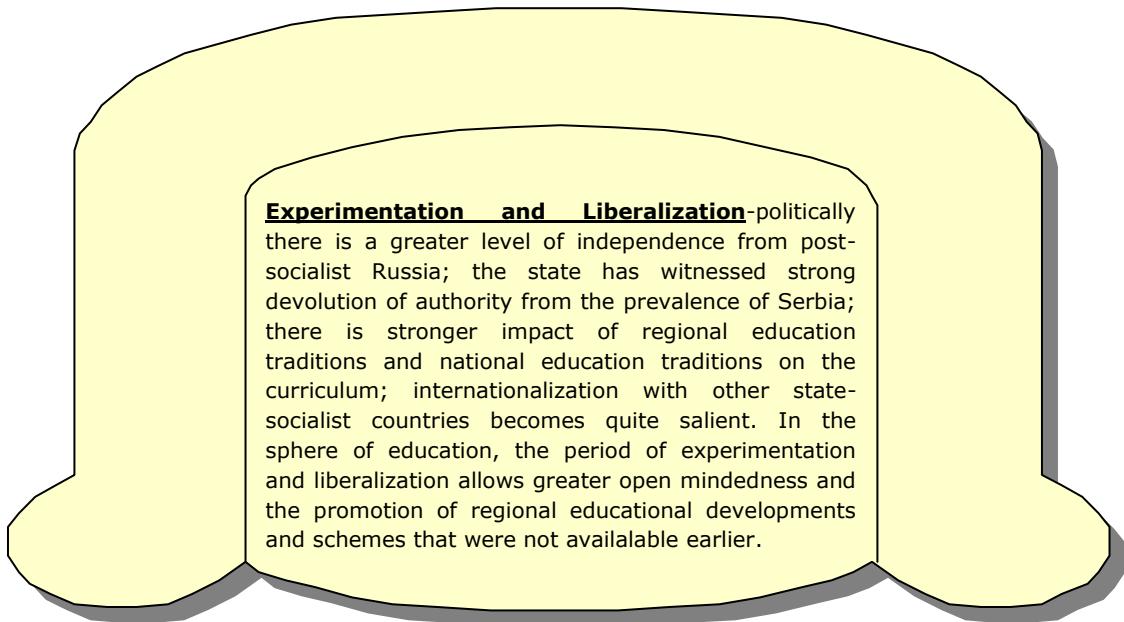


Diagram THREE



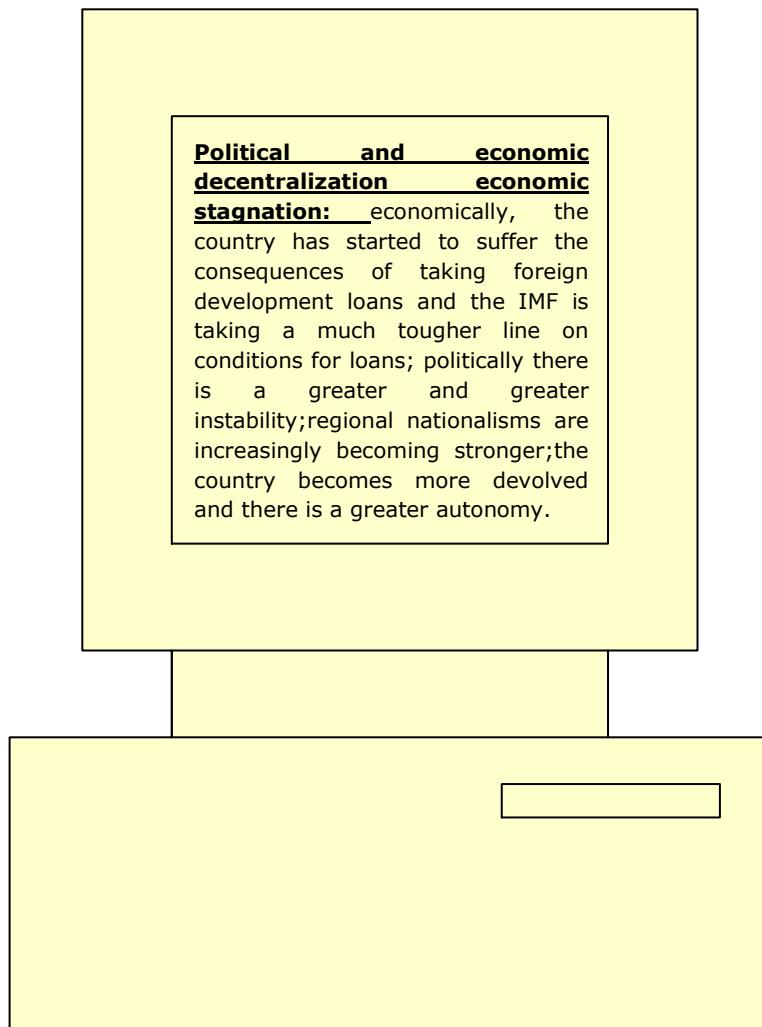
- The period is depicted as Stalinist Model but analysts could still speak of the Yugoslav exception, meaning that state structure had idiosyncratic characteristics. This means that state socialism in Yugoslavia was not imposed from outside and was the work of the domicile liberalization forces. This is an important development and will exercise important influence on the subsequent historical developments.
- New constitution was drawn which marked the desire for independence within the period of state-socialism. By the 1960s the country could be depicted as a middle way between the state-socialism and capitalism. There was a fertile ground for the next phase of historical and state-development that could be labelled as experimentation and liberalization.

DIAGRAM FOUR



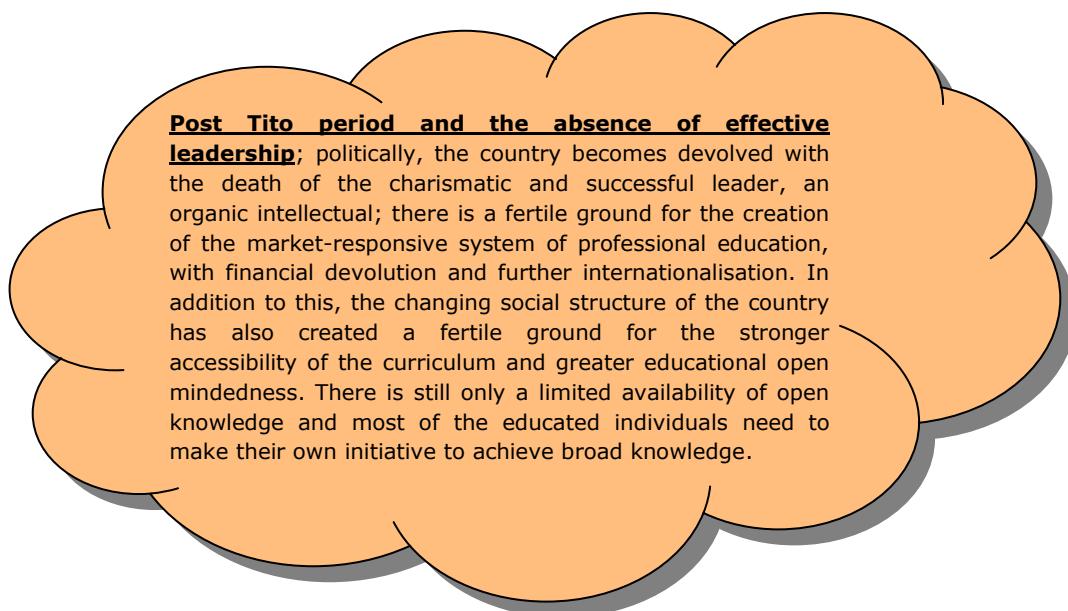
- Democratization, Governance and Civil Society in the sphere of Education:
- A number of sources highlight the availability of funds for tertiary education and student support services. This is quite different from the period of post-socialism, when there is scarcely any support for talented students, with the exception of some limited provision for books.
- Institutional Sustainability and Graduate Employment in the Sphere of Education: There is still no sufficient coordination between the needs of the labour market and the sphere of professional education; some enterprises still offer 40 year career paths and there is the system of Basic Units of Organised Labour which hinders the developments towards market responsiveness.
- There are signs that the socialist system was dysfunctional. Nevertheless, students were still able to attend best Universities in Europe, such as Prague University and were able to go to Moscow to attend professional specialization courses. Contracts and professional development schemes are still under-elaborated compared to the era of post-socialism.

DIAGRAM FIVE



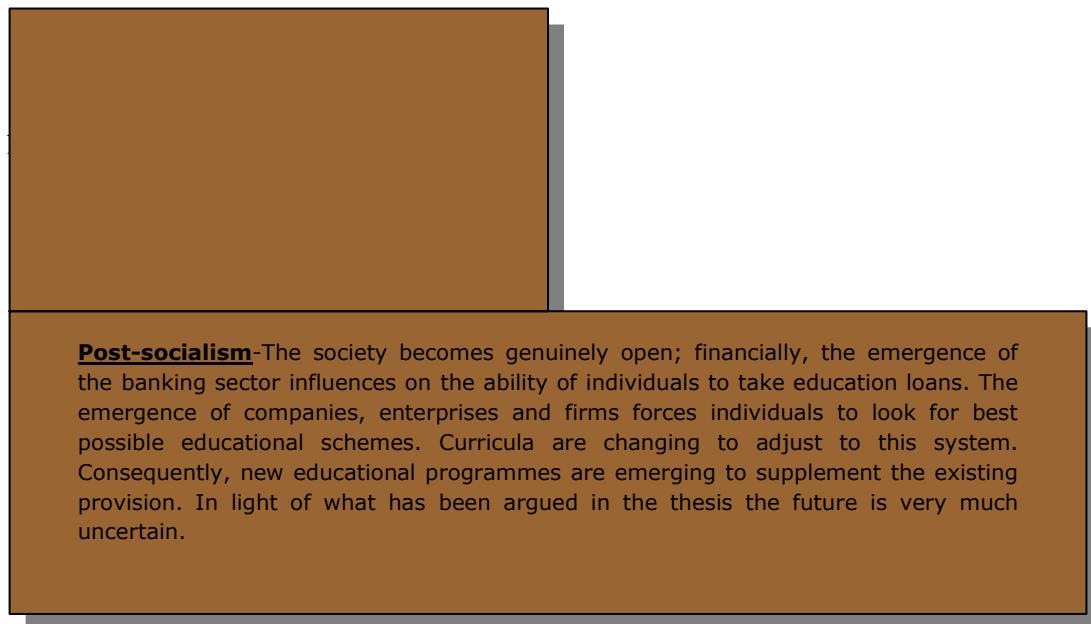
- New Constitution was drawn by 1963; There was still apparent lack of freedom as some of the dissenters were sidelined and there were ceremonies to commemorate the important events in the state development which is a common situation in all autocratic countries. Linked to this, experimentation and liberalization still allowed limited availability of rights and liberties.
- Regional nationalisms and regional educational traditions are becoming particularly strong with such developments as *Croatian Spring* which allowed for Croatian national education content to make an impact on the development of curricula in professional education and allow accessibility. This is one important element in making the system of education more open and accessible. Similarly it allowed for the state structure to change and enable stronger regional nationalism and national traditions.

DIAGRAM SIX



- Professional education is still state-based. In this period as well during the 1990 a number of students were financed from the state-budget; For an example, throughout the nineties there were three cohorts of students. These were students funded by the state budget who had excellent marks during pre-university education, students whose study has been only partially funded by the state and those who were consistently self-sponsored. The key developments in the privatization of professional education were accomplished only during the period of late post-socialism and were partially driven by the political pressure and those factors operating in the field of economy.
- The political and economical crisis has aggravated the problems in the sphere of education; therefore, most of these problems relating to the lack of market responsiveness will ‘pile up’ and will need to be addressed by educationists and policy makers from 2000 onwards; enterprises are complaining about the lack of market-responsiveness of the Serbian system of professional education and advocate the need to change this state of affairs. There is still not sufficient on the job learning and the system of professional education is still more focussed on the broader development of the individual and goes very much in-breadth.
- There are now consistent attempts to contribute to stronger internationalization of education, although this process will become more salient from 2000 onwards. Still these initiatives are still rare and minor compared to the period of post socialism and later developments during this period. These initiatives are still limited to the states of the socialist bloc and there needs to be more open mindedness and educational joint ventures. Educationists need to see this as their concern.

DIAGRAM 7



Differences in Educational Development between state-socialism and post-socialism

- State-Socialism
 - Fee subsidies for excellent students, lodging and food provided by the state
 - Lack of market responsiveness of education
 - Internationalization although limited in character
- Post Socialism
 - Privatization of professional education, higher cost of study, stronger insecurity and an apparent lack of equity within the sphere of professional education
 - Education needs to be made more practical, learning to learn, education also needs to be more market responsive and there should be coordination with firms and enterprises
 - Stronger internationalization with Western countries, existence of Educational Joint Ventures (EJV) and contracts with educational institutions operating abroad; internationalization as a *continual and ongoing process* rather than an issue to be addressed sporadically

This periodization is often used by the most historically and sociologically informed authors. However, it does not reflect all the subtleties of Yugoslavian history. The following section will look at the first period of state-socialist development.

The Stalinist Model

In 1947 the Yugoslavs enthusiastically supported the formation of Cominform and this was a sign of the good relationships with Russia, as an interesting book by Archie Brown shows clearly (cf Brown 2010). The formal organization of the country's government was accomplished during the period of Stalinist predominance. This implied polishing the institutions and starting over from the very beginning. By 1946, the country got a new name, People's Republic of Yugoslavia, and the new Constitution was drawn. It was modelled on a Soviet constitution of 1930s. Tito became a Prime Minister and Ivan Ribar a President. Moreover, the predominance of CPY (Communist Party of Yugoslavia) became pervasive in all sectors of society (cf Cox 2002:104ff). This period saw the introduction of socialism into the country. Both the socialist system and the unity between the nations were held together by the charismatic figure of Tito. He was to be one of the most idiosyncratic and successful leaders of the Eastern bloc. Although the first decade of the existence of Serbia as a country was marked by the introduction of soviet type socialism, later on the country developed its own social system and positioning in the global politics, which could be described as "liberal socialism" or *laissez-faire* socialism. Fowkes (1995:2) believes that Stalin had to power to introduce more compliant leadership in Serbia, but he did not want to.

During the first period of existence after the Second World War, the country incorporated central planning that was comparable to the one of the Soviet Russia (...). The elements of market economy were re-introduced after the 1965, but the economy could scarcely be called a market economy. This was because Yugoslavia was unevenly developed as a country, with regional imbalances, peasant farming, under-exploited raw material sector and a backward industry (Prout 1985:5). Fowkes opines that the essential characteristic of Yugoslavia was the willingness to move forward with own forces. In another line of argument, Fowkes (1995:52) is of the opinion that we can speak of the 'Yugoslav Exception' as the drive for the escape from blind uniformity. Yugoslavia aspired to the position of leadership in the Balkans and jeopardized the rights of the Soviets (Fowkes 1995:71).

Most of the countries of the Eastern bloc were modelled according to the image conceived in Moscow. During the first period of development, Yugoslavia was not an exception from this general rule. However, unlike most of the other state-socialist countries, Yugoslavia gradually started following its own path. This implied experiments in the domain of politics, and the adoption of a certain kind of *via media* between communism and liberal capitalism. In the domain of economy, there have been experiments with the introduction of self-management-an attempt to balance between the system of state-owned and private property by giving supremacy to the workers. The next section will look at these phenomena in greater detail.

Experimentation and Liberalization

Yugoslavia experimented, trying to find its own path towards development. Politically, the new constitution was drawn, which marked a new beginning that distanced the country from the Stalinist model. Economically, a socialist “Third Way” was conceived and put to practice, embodied in the “self management”. Lastly, but not least importantly, Yugoslavia witnessed the revival of regional nationalism in the cultural and practical domain. In the words of Ivan Vejvoda, a well-known Serbian political scientist, Yugoslav leaders have followed the Stalinist model with a wholly centralised state controlled by the party. After the break with Stalin, they became more adventurous, realising that they could stretch the model so as to create a scope for a pluralism with respect for economic activity, and space for bounded liberties that would not endanger their uncontested leadership (Vejvoda 1996:13). This period saw the beginnings of political experimentation in many societal domains. The Constitution of 1953 replaced the 1946 which had been drafted according to the Socialist model, but the political situation required the elaboration of another constitution by 1963. Edvard Kardelj, the Leader of the country’s Slovene population, played a key role in drafting the new constitution (Cox 2002:107).

The new Constitution implied that the country was formally distanced from the Stalinist path of development and started following the socialist Third Way. This meant that central planning was not as strict as in other regions of the state-socialist bloc. The country was liberal both politically and economically. However, Tito displayed a number of examples of despotism. Although surrounded by his trusted men, he often removed them from the political scene, when the circumstances required such action. During 1966, Aleksandar Ranković, one of the country’s most powerful men, was dismissed and forced out of the public life. He was a vice president and chief of secret police. His attitudes towards the strong central government earned him the mistrust of non Serbs, especially the Kosovars (Cox 2002:107). Although considered as a liberal ruler, Tito was often vulnerable to the temptation of authoritarianism. Ceremonies were often held to commemorate the glorious events from the socialist past. These were often in the form of Day of the Republic, Day of Army and Insurgence in each of the Republics as well as the Day of Youth that signifies Tito’s birthday. Some of these events were accompanied by military parades and there were pupil excursions to the holy places like (Sutjeska, Neretva, Drvar, Jasenovac) or to Tito’s birth place Kumrovec (Malešević 2004:210). His main political goal was to unify the country socially and politically, and centrifugal forces that hindered such progress had to be removed, so that his personal characteristics were important for the country’s prosperity, as argued by Gramsci in his account of leaders.

Tito’s policy and personality were the main factors that held the country together, and this is one of the main focal points where I use Gramsci’s notion of the ‘organic intellectual’ throughout the thesis. However, these efforts to balance and resist the temptation of regional nationalisms did not prove successful in the long run.

Occasional outbursts of nationalist feelings were quite frequent, and during the next decade they enjoyed a genuine renaissance, particularly in Croatia and Slovenia. Economically, the country did quite well. From 1953 to 1964 the GDP grew at the rate of 8% per annum, and the industrial production at 12,4% per annum. During these years, the country's GDP increased for 133% and Yugoslavia became a predominantly industrial rather than agrarian as a country. Rural population was in minority for the first time, which testifies additionally to the fact that the process of modernization gained pace (Antonić 2006:16). During the sixties there were ongoing problems with the reforms to grant further autonomy to the regional republics. Slovenia and Croatia have been particularly vocal about seeking greater autonomy in political decision-making (cf Prout 1985). Croatian nationalism had a long line of development. During the interwar period, as well as during the Second World War, Serbia and Croatia were on the opposite sides of the battleground.

During the seventies, the country witnessed the development of regional nationalism. The period from 1967 until 1971 is often called the Croatian Spring. Matica Hrvatska, the most important Croatian cultural organization, rejected the Novi Sad Agreement of 1954¹, and advocated for the recognition of Croatian as a separate language. There were ongoing demands for the revival of nationalism and decentralization (Cox 2002:109). Theoretically, as Janjić argues: "In a society such as Yugoslavia, nationalism represents a sort of social cancer and an enemy to democracy" (Janjić 1995:42).

The beginning of 1970s re-invigorated these suppressed feelings to a certain extent, and they enjoyed a genuine renaissance two decades later. During the year of 1972, the liberal communist leaders Marko Nikezić and Latinka Perović were removed from their position (cf Malešević 2004:278ff). They were 'unorthodox intellectuals' that opposed the hard line of socialism and advocated some kind of a Third Way between socialism and capitalism, but were essentially socialists. This practical experience also fits well with Gramsci's theoretical analysis of intellectuals. Nikezić was an intellectual with liberal slant, who advocated the change from hard line socialism and democracy (Nikezić 2003). As an 'organic' leader, of the type described by Antonio Gramsci, Tito made efforts to suppress these centrifugal forces. For example, Tsar Lazar, one of the most important Serbian national figures, did not get much public attention during the period of state-socialism. The change came about with the Milošević era, who used this cult to re-invigorate Serbian national feelings (Leurdijk and Zandee 2001:8). Foreign analysts, such as Susan Woodward, for an example, argue that the main secret of Tito's rule is associated with personal charisma. Consequently the non membership of either the Eastern and Western blocs was a partial result of the founding of the non-aligned movement (Woodward 1996:157). Organic leaders often have the charisma and inspiration to lead the masses.

Croats have nourished their own national identity and cultural independence even before the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and the Slovenians. Croatian national and cultural identity enjoyed a revival, which would lead to the subsequent dissolution of Yugoslavia, when the bonds of solidarity loosened after Tito's

¹ The Novi Sad Agreement was an attempt by writers and intellectuals to create unity between the Yugoslav Peoples and for strengthening of the Serbo-Croatian language

death. According to Wachtel (Making and Nation Breaking and Nation 1998), culture, literature, poetry and ideational elements have been both a unifying factor and *malum discordiae* of the Yugoslavs. Bougarel also says with certainty that the Croatian Spring of 1971 marked by a confrontation between the Croatian League of Communists and the other Leagues of Communists and the Yugoslav National Army showed how national policy was a genuine rival of republican political elites and a favour a locus of confrontation and *relegitimisation vis-à-vis* the respective national communities (Bougarel 1996:93).

Economically and socially, Yugoslavia experimented as well. During the 1950s, the government introduced a new principle of economic organization called “workers’ self-management”. In order to break with Stalin and genuine communism, the country invented a new mode of organization that was based on socially owned property, rather than the liberal private property or socialist state-owned property (Cox 2002:112). It was perceived as a system that was more liberal than that of socialist state-owned property. The capital and profits were owned by the units of the organized labour and were shared by the employees. The idea of workers self-management attracted the interest of many socialists outside the state-socialist bloc. Tony Topham and Ken Coates argue (1972:43) that workers should make efforts to overthrow the government of managers and entrepreneurs in order to introduce their self-management. Moreover, the authors believe (1972:55) that this form exists in the form of workers’ resistance to the prerogatives of the employers. Lastly, Topham and Coates argue strongly (1972-56) that self-managing economy is quite unevenly developed and represents only a partial and limited countervailing power against authoritarianism. The idea of self-management is still very much alive in today’s society. As Strauss argues (2001:97), UNDs (Union nominated boards of directors) are a part of the bargaining process in the United States. Their number is small, but their experiences have been studied sufficiently to draw some limited generalisations. According to Gramsci, the proletariat should apply the same strategy as bourgeoisie, that is to say, to build its own ideology in order to enable its hegemony of this class. In order to achieve that, it is necessary to take advantage of the organic intellectuals that are created from the ‘inside’. They should use practical means in order to enhance their operation (Malešević 2004:35).

By 1962, Yugoslavia was no longer the outcast from the international communist movement, but came to represent a revisionist movement, as an insightful booklet by Archie Brown shows with certainty (Brown 2010:319).

Most of the creators of the self-management system fit well with Gramsci’s description of ‘organic’ intellectuals. Milovan Đilas, Boris Kidrič and Edward Kardelj developed the system of self-management. The Constitution of 1974 expanded this vision and labelled it the self-managing economy. All of the enterprises consisting of more than two-hundred-and-fifty employees were broken down into the Basic Units of Organized Labour (BOAL) that were to make production decisions, set prices, invest and distribute profits (Cox 2002:112-113). Milovan Đilas break and the subsequent of his critique in *The New Class* in the mid 1950s presaged what was to follow. In 1971 the critical journal *Praxis* devoted a whole issue to the current

state of society (Vejvoda 1996:250). To reinforce these points, Woodward opines that the main problem was decentralisation and segmentation of the economy in line with the Constitution of 1974. What is more, there was a problem with decentralisation of foreign exchange, foreign borrowing and foreign debt obligations from the centrally planned system to the one planned by individual republics. Delays in decision-making, financial discipline and a deadlocked, immobilised governmental administration seemed to point to the absolute necessity of constitutional reform that would strengthen federal administrative capacity, improve macroeconomic management and create a central bank appropriate for managing affairs in this domain (Woodward 1996:160).

It was an idiosyncratic economic system, which implied the role of workers as participants in decision making, and egalitarianism as far as distribution of wealth is concerned. It could be distinguished from both capitalist and communist mode of development. In terms of political experimentation, the country obtained a new constitution. The 1974 Constitution, as well as introducing a new system of “self-management”, established the power of party, military forces and Tito’s personality as supreme (Antić 2004:188). Politically, the 1974 Constitution solidified Tito’s power as a ruler. His influence as an “organic intellectual” can be likened to that of Milošević during post-socialism, with the exception that Tito’s decisions were much wiser and contributed to the maintenance of a long-term power balance within the Cold War constellation. Although considered as close comrade during the Second World War, there were areas of his activity where he proved to be quite fallible. Milovan Đilas, one of the Yugoslav policy-makers and Tito’s close comrade from the Second World War at that time, did point out (Đilas 1980:63) to some of his weaknesses. He was not capable of admitting his mistakes publicly. During one of the disputes, Đilas suggested that commissars in the army should be abolished. At the first glance, he refused this assertion as nonsensical. Later on, commissars were abolished. The Constitution of 1974 had as a credit the strengthening of nationalism. Some of its acts fomented the spirit of republican etatism and social economy. Secondly, the repression of the so called “brotherhood and unity” which was made with the aid of artificial national and religious feelings, could only strengthen regional national feelings as the ultimate consequence (Knjažev-Adamović 2002:178).

Croat nationalism has proved to be a very strong centrifugal force. Quite interestingly, Yugoslav idea has been developed by Croat intellectuals. During 1930s, The Illyrians mythologized their history in order to present it as a part of the wider South Slav History (Cipek 2007:74). These were some mistakes committed by Tito, as well as by his ‘professionals’ and ‘policy-makers’. The market started to gain pace in late sixties and the beginning of seventies. Denisson Rusinow, the authority on Yugoslavian history, labelled this period as *laissez-faire* socialism (Prout 1965:5). The prosperity during Tito’s reign has been accomplished by his charismatic figure and the fact that he had the faculty of balancing successfully between the East and the West. This often meant that he maintained good relations with capitalist countries although Yugoslav regime has been essentially socialist. Due to this wise strategy, the country took loans from the West, and could finance short-term and long-term investments. However, as Đilas points out (1980:71), the bureaucracy multiplied

itself incessantly. Not even the agencies of oppression, the political oppression, were exception from this general rule. During the first period of socialism, these agencies were staffed primarily by the loyal communists and party members. However, these positions proved to be appealing to careerists and post-revolutionary revolutionaries. Moreover, this is a clear confirmation of the “Parkinson law” that was found to operate within the context of economical theory. The part of the neutral policy was Yugoslavia’s role in the non-aligned movement. Finlan argues that the country became a central player in this organization during the Cold War, which offered developing countries the real opportunity to be between two super powers, instead of being involved in the rivalry (Finlan 2004:15).

The non-aligned movement was of great importance for the countries that would not run the risk of taking chances within the global politics. Moreover, it was the Serbian idiosyncratic way of responding to the political constellation of the Cold War. Antić, one of the Serbian most prominent young historians argues that the non-aligned movement was: “Yugoslavia’s own programme of world politics” (Antić 2004:19). Zigzag policy is an appellation that Fowkes gives to this successful balancing between the East and the West (Fowkes 1995:74). Having analyzed this period, the next section looks briefly at the period of economic and political decentralization which lasted until Tito’s death, and intensified from 1980 onwards.

Political and economic stagnation

The analysis showed that the country was vulnerable to economic and social short-termism. The amount of money spent on unproductive ventures and risky enterprises was staggering. As Dinkić confirms with further arguments, people of influence and policy makers have invested in the development of their places of origin, thus creating a positive image for themselves. Although seemingly rational, this strategy proved to have far-reaching and negative consequences (Dinkić 1997:25). The Serbian and Yugoslav “affluent society” during the period of state-socialism and to even a greater extent before Tito’s death, was not based upon healthy economic risk taking and ventures, but due to the political skilfulness and ability. The country had to elaborate techniques to repay the foreign development loans, and these were essentially transferred to the individual republics after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. However, the communists are credited with building the industry that enabled the utilization of almost all of the country’s resources. This industry was quite successful, because salaries were modelled according to the Eastern bloc standards, whereas they had Western design, and were therefore quite popular in the East (Antonić 2006:19). To shed additional light on these phenomena, the largest firms of the Republic of Serbia (Smederevo Steel), Croatia (INA OIL) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Agrokomer food processing conglomerate) witnessed hardships and bankruptcy. In addition to this, banking

system tried to socialize the debt among its members, which incited further crisis (Woodward 1996:162). With good reason, most scholars date the start of the dissolution of Yugoslavia, with the death of the powerful and popular leader, Josip Broz Tito. As he aged, he had gradually left the governance of the country to his trusted men, and ruled with the lighter hand than before (Cox 2002:128). Tito was the key factor for the maintenance of peace in a multiethnic and multi-religious society which Yugoslavia really was. The open borders and heavy international borrowing, the possibility of working abroad and travelling, were the benefits for the citizens. In that way, they could experience consumer society (Cox 2002:113).

The economic outlook of the country in the 1980s began with the liberal reforms sketched during the 1960s. That policy was aimed at the stimulating manufacturing exports to Western markets in order to stimulate trade and liquidity. By 1979, the Yugoslav foreign debt reached crisis proportions at about \$20bn, partially as a result of Western protectionism, the decline in foreign demand of the Yugoslav labour. Commercial banks have reacted to the Polish debt crisis with the decline in lending for all of the countries of the Eastern bloc (cf Woodward 1996:159). By 1992, the IMF (International Monetary Fund) was taking a much tougher line on conditions for loans, in response to the global debt crisis which was a result of over-lending of multinational banks and the International Monetary Fund towards newly industrialized countries in the 1970s. A developmental programme of the country aimed at cutting domestic demand, labour costs and inflation was introduced in 1982 with yet another conditional pecuniary provision from his multinational organization (Woodward 1996:159). To make the matters worse, with rising prices for most of the goods, tight quotas on imported consumer goods and wage and salary freeze, the cuts that were required in public expenditure also put severe pressure on employment, with the official unemployment rate rising to 14%. Most of the unemployed were under the age of twenty five, and the weakening foreign demand was cutting off the primary outlet for rural labour surplus (Woodward 1996:159).

Lazić, a well known Serbian sociologist reinforces these arguments by saying that the crisis of the state and the breakup of the country in the civil war enabled the ruling group to retain domination, both politically and economically (Lazić 1990:7). Yugoslavia was relatively affluent society at the time, both in terms of economic prosperity and the quality of life. Most of the population living in other socialist countries did not have the the quality of life enjoyed by the Yugoslavs. The view that Yugoslavia was an affluent society is highly contested. Moreover, some authors argue that there was a sharp dichotomy between ‘professionals’, ‘leaders’ and the masses. Consequently, the view is attacked on the basis that the country’s interests were subjected to the will of the leaders. Mladen Lazić makes a distinction between the ‘class of collective owners’ and the masses. The entire organization of society is subjected to the interests of ‘professionals’ and ‘residual classes’ are no more than their subjects (Lazić 2002:32). ‘Intellectuals’ and professionals played a key role in Serbian socialism from the very beginning. Alongside Tito, major roles were distributed to the creators of the self-management, as well as policy makers in charge of various societal sectors. There are indicators that the country’s prosperity was a chimera. Vujović (2002:87) is of opinion that, according to the census of 1981, half

of the Serbian population lived in rural areas, which is an indicator that the country was largely underdeveloped. Tito died on 4th of May 1990. He left the country in grief and there was bewilderment over the future of Yugoslavia, because, paradoxically, he had not left successor (Cox 2002:128). As Đilas states (2007:73) he had formally been given absolute power, the lifelong presidency of the party and the state. The programme of indoctrination was active throughout the period of Tito's rule that advocated his own way of Marxism. In his own country, he was the only acknowledged presence and abroad he was a statesman without peer. Tito's reign can be likened to caesarism.

Stanković (1981:66) argues that his chief mistake is that he did not solve the problem of succession. From time to time he displayed autocratic behaviour, but nevertheless, he will be remembered as perhaps the most powerful figure in the 20th century history of the Balkans. He was both an "organic intellectual", who led the dynamic social revolution and national resistance movement, and a "traditional intellectual", who conceived a new state with a unique social and economic system (Christman 2002). Brown's interesting book says that Yugoslavia as a country seemed better prepared for the life after communist than a great many of the state-socialist countries. A genuinely federalist system, coupled with the elements of market economy, devolved a lot of power from the centre. Although it seemed a one party system, in the 1970s and 1980s it seemed a two-party system (Brown 2010:546).

However, by the end of the 1980s Yugoslavia was not bound by ideology as Marxism Leninism lost its appeal, and there was no Communist Party or a charismatic leader since Tito's death (Brown 2010:547). Subsequent decades would prove to be far less prosperous and successful, as compared to the period of Tito's rule. As Knjažev Adamović (2002:177) points out, there is often the feeling of 'good old times' when people recall the period of Tito's reign. His rule can be likened to some sort of enlightened absolutism, which was much better than totalitarianism of his successors. Milošević would prove to be a comparable figure, but he displayed a lesser degree of political maturity and independence.

The end of the Tito era happened during the period of world disintegration. The number of conflicts across the globe has skyrocketed, as well as clashes between communist countries (Stanković 1981:104). Politically, Yugoslavia suffered a major shock with the demise of Tito. Subsequent developments led to the disintegration of the country, and the seizure of power by Slobodan Milošević, a short sighted politician, who would eventually hinder Serbian progress towards post-socialism. Born in Požarevac, he earned a law degree in 1964, progressing through acquaintances and positions in various companies. In 1984 he was promoted as the party chief of the Belgrade branch by Ivan Stambolić, who was later to become Serbian president. Moreover, Milošević began placing his acquaintances on influential positions and gradually sidelined Stambolić (Cox 2002:131-132). The next section looks briefly at the history under the rule of Ante Marković and the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Ante Marković and the dissolution of Yugoslavia

The study of the civil war and the dissolution of Yugoslavia is interlinked with the notion of ethnicity. The subsequent Fall of the Berlin Wall and the breakup of the Soviet style federations have introduced further complications. Ethnic cleansing policies in the Balkans and Caucasus have made the definitions even more complex. With the Wars on the Yugoslavian soil, and the coverage of the conflict by mass media, ethnicity has been perceived as the synonym for tribal, primitive and isolated (Malešević 2004:2). David Dyker, for an example, says that the former Yugoslavia did not fall apart neatly, like a ripe orange. Only one of the successor states managed to disentangle itself completely from the old constellation and achieve total redefinition as a Central East European State with the same global aspirations as Central East European States as Hungary and Poland (Dyker 1996:3). Many analysts simply assume that the key factor influencing the downfall of Yugoslavia was the death of Tito and the subsequent ascendancy to power of Slobodan Milošević (Woodward 1996:155). Having already depicted 1989 as the year of wonders, it is useful to point out that it brought a profound change within the Yugoslav society as well.

This was embodied in the attempts for reform during the reign of Ante Marković. He had a difficult task to accomplish, because the country was backward and under-developed. Not only that social and economical structure was thoroughly ruined, but the mentality of the people was a hindrance as well. The basics of his modernization attempts can be put succinctly as internationalization, the rule of law, democratization and political pluralism (Dinkić 1994:53). Marković was described as a technocrat called in as a premier in order to settle the country's finances by some Western analysts (Anon 2011:76).

The reform was successful only for a short time, and was defeated by internal conflicts, that were a much more pressing issue. Antić argues that the reform did not prove to be successful particularly because it was overpowered by the strength of regional elites and regional nationalism (Antić 2004:198). The basic objective of the Yugoslav war was to solve the problem of the national identity through national states. This goal was not achieved even with the simplification of the maps of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. This created the problem for all of the political forces which had as their aim the creation of mono-national states (Radošević 1996:80). Glenny (1992:88) says that reforms brought about by Ante Marković gave incentive for resentment on the Croatian and Slovene side. These reforms were, in their own view, an embodiment of Serbo-centrism.

Miloš Vasić, a well known Serbian political writer, says that Yugoslav Army was hoodwinked, used and misused by Slobodan Milošević (...). Yugoslav Peoples Army did not die of natural causes, it was murdered (Vasić 1996:116). From a historical viewpoint, this modernization attempt was followed by the dissolution of Yugoslavia. The study of this historical period is of immense importance for social scientists. Finlan argues that “The collapse of Yugoslavia from 1991 to 1999 represents one of the greatest and yet least understood tragedies of our times” (Finlan 2004:7). In the early 1990s Slovenes and Croats seceded from the communist party. Moreover, the communist parties in these two regions were sidelined and were replaced by nationalists,

eager to pursue self-determination. Within the space of two years, referendums were held within both Croatia and Slovenia, and both republics declared their complete independence (Cox 2002:139). Most of the Slovenes deserted rapidly and Slovene police seized hold of the border crossings to Italy and Austria (...). During the fights along the borders, around 50 people were killed and close to 300 injured (Cox 2002:139). According to the Marxist view, ethnic conflict is no more than an embodiment of class struggles and conflicts in the field of economics, and if these were eliminated the conflicts would diminish (cf Malešević 2004:17).

The most dangerous element with the advent of the end of Marxism Leninism was to supplement it with nationalism. Once he found out that Serbia will not survive as Tito's federation, he set his sights on creating the Greater Serbia (Brown 2010:547). Glenny (1992:13) reinforces these arguments by saying that the Decline of Communism saw the rise in resentment, mainly on the Croatian side, because of the undue influence the Serbs exercised historically, and continue to exercise with the Decline of Communism. Milošević held mass rallies to intimidate Kosovars and tried to create a greater Serbia in order to subject other countries and that led Slovenia to secede as a separate country (Brown 2010:547).

The fact that the conflict emerged in the period of intensive social change and economic failure does not necessarily imply that it happened because of that. Arguing broadly, Marxist explanation is vulnerable to the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* reasoning. Within the context of social science, and sociology in particular, the dissolution of Yugoslavia gave incentive to a new area of research that was labelled as culture of memory or culture of remembrance. Todor Kuljić, a leading Serbian historical sociologist, used these concepts in examining the culture of memory in post-war Yugoslav republics. Studies such as *Culture of Memory* and *Mastering of the Past* deal with the modes of overcoming the traumas in post-war republics as well as the culture of reconciliation and coexistence (Kuljić 2002; Kuljić 2006). Selected memory and orchestrated forgetfulness were catalysts of the civil war (Kuljić 2002:8). The argument that is weaving through my analysis is that regional nationalisms hindered its functioning from the very beginning. All in all, Yugoslavia did not prove to be sustainable in the long run. The central problem was, as Nećak argues, the suppression of national aspiration and conflicts that evolved as a result (Nećak 1995:13). Serbia had to continue its own idiosyncratic path into socialism. The next section looks briefly at the common experience of post-socialist tradition within the Eastern bloc, before examining the specific Serbian context of transition.

The Rise and Fall of Communism

The Fall of the Berlin Wall has been hailed as a historic event. Fukuyama's *The End of History and the Last Man*, hailed the eulogy to the advent of neo-liberalism as a social system (Fukuyama 1992). Fukuyama's philosophic approach sees post-socialism as the end of ideological evolution of mankind. Although his views are contested, they gave incentive to public debate and aroused the attention of social scientists to the emergence of post-socialism. However, as Tomiak argues strongly (2007:108), the Decline of Communism in the Soviet Union and across Eastern Europe had significant consequences for education in general. The old

political, social and economic structures have declined. Contracting, deregulation and privatisation have reduced the capacity for the direct intervention of the state and for state-management. However, these devices are quite useful for the new mode of interventionism. It is a framework for the new relations between the government, the state and workers (Ball 2007:225).

In the early nineties, American opinion leaders tried to outperform each other in triumphalism. Economists argued that the “Washington Consensus” would spread peace and prosperity all over the globe whereas political scientists argued that the end of ideological evolution took place (Anon 2009). The end product of the transition from state-socialism should be in the form of consolidated democracy. It is a society as depicted by the nineteenth century writer Alexis de Tocqueville, with free elections, check and balance, and a system of democracy (Tocqueville 2003). As Stark and Bruszt argue (1998:4-5), for neoliberals, this explanation for the causes of post-socialism ranks low, because they regard it to be a project of social imitation. The road to an advanced capitalist economy is the same road, wherever the starting point may be. Having outlined the views of neoliberals, Stark and Bruszt argue that the dissolution of the Communist regimes and the awakening of the Eastern European peoples gave incentive to many observers to overestimate the strength of the democratic forces in these events (...). This overestimation was the direct consequence of the overestimation of the strength of the Communist regime (Stark and Bruszt 1998:15). Some social scientists argue that the main challenge of post-socialism is essentially to transform the property regimes and extend the citizenship rights simultaneously. Moreover, it is the task to choose between the changing political programmes. This is the post-socialist experiment. Property and the politics are rapidly changing, alongside the burden of economical change (Stark and Bruszt 1998:1). This is the central assumption upon which rests the challenge of post-socialism. Essentially, 1989 represented a major challenge for the societies of the post-socialist bloc. Eastern European countries are increasingly becoming dependent upon the aid provided by such institutions as The World Bank, International Monetary Fund, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the European Union.

Philo and Miller (2001:29) have observed that free-market is not exactly free. The emerging shape of the post-socialist society can be depicted with a colourful metaphor. Researchers and social scientists are in the position that can be likened to the three blind men touching the body parts of an elephant and trying to guess what the actual shape might be. Moreover, it is affected to a significant degree by the current financial crisis. The European Investment Bank’s Board of Directors approved the operational plan for 2009-2011 giving higher lending targets and making other political measures to mitigate the current crisis. What is more, the EIB will increase the total lending volume for 30% (...). Lending to SME (small-and-medium enterprises) will rise by entire 50% (...). In terms of the aid for the countries undergoing transition in Central and Eastern Europe, the European Investment Bank (EIB) has sources of funding to help the growth of small and medium enterprises that are distributed through the local banking system and the Board of Directors is willing to increase these sources in the foreseeable future (EIB 2009). Serbian post-socialism has some general

characteristics that are valid for post-socialism elsewhere. However, it has some peculiarities, to paraphrase Tolstoy: “All happy families are similar, whereas each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way”. Next section looks at the history of post-socialism in Serbia.

Post-Socialism in Serbia

In spite of many controversies, one issue became obvious: the whole edifice of state-socialism was becoming un-done. This wave of reforms and revolutions poses important questions to three communities: the nations in which these changes are unfolding, the international community that is absorbing the revolutionary impact of events, as well as the academics who have studied it for so long (cf Pei 1994). Conceptually, there is a strictly limited number of the phenomena under the notion of transition. What puzzles sociologists of the politics is that value rich notions such as ‘pluralism’ and ‘democratisation’ are sometimes empty of meaning. There are parties that are not parties and oppositions that are not genuine oppositions (Maliqi 1996:138). As Pine and Bridger argue (1998:3) a transition implies a state between positions. Moreover, it is a process between departure and arrival. Many politicians, consultants and policy makers worked on the assumption that, given the favourable circumstances, liberal democracy and free market must take root.

Quite contrary to these theoretical assumptions, the practical experience of Serbian post-socialism has been very different. Serbian society entered the process of transition alongside a number of other countries of the Eastern European bloc. The year of 1989 was perceived as an *annus mirabilis* and a genuine watershed in European history. Some of the most conspicuous characteristics across the socialist countries were democratization, gradual introduction of the private property into national economies and political liberalization after a long period of reign of communist parties that were dependent upon Russia. Some analysts (Janjić 2002:203) argue that post-socialist Serbia was a result of Milošević nationalist programme. This is a conception of the medieval nationalist-state, that implies an aggressive role, as a military state that progresses in poverty and isolation. Milošević’s role is that of an authoritarian leader, and such developments cannot be maintained over the long run.

Slobodan Antonić argues (2006:91) that Milošević regime was authoritarian. There were political parties, as well as parliament and elections. However, the most conspicuous characteristic was the lack of democracy within the system. The Constitution and laws had democratic content, but they were only a façade for the reign of a single person. However, he was credited with a reasonable degree of legitimacy and had a degree of backup from the citizens. Puhovski argues that most of the countries that are experiencing post-socialism and post-communism are under the direct influence of socialist heritage and it can be perceived in all areas of society as politics, economy, cultural and social life (Puhovski 1995:121). Indeed, the transition from state-socialism increasingly becomes path dependent, and acquires idiosyncratic shape in each of the countries, although there are general similarities.

In addition to this, Jovan Teokarević, a Serbian political scientist, says that Serbia and Montenegro were punished by the most severe sanctions ever imposed by the United Nations Security Council for their involvement in the war with Bosnia and Herzegovina. Coupled with mismanagement of economic affairs, these measures caused the most severe hyperinflation that surpassed even the German one in 1920s (Teokarević 1996:179). In addition to this, fertile ground for entrepreneurial innovation was gone. More precisely, economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were imposed on the 30th of May 1992 with the resolution 757, because the country did not compile with the previous resolution 752 (Teokarević 1996:185). Estimates of damage financially are very indicative. However, social costs are even more salient than this. In spring 1994, exactly two years after the imposition of sanctions, the Belgrade government calculated that the total damage inflicted by these measures from the international community amounted to \$45 billion and by the year 2011 the total loss was \$150 billion (Teokarević 1996:188). The mismanagement of privatisation was an important issue answerable for the woeful state of affairs in the country. The state enterprizes began privatising at the beginning of 1990s, legislation reduced the share of private assets within the paid in capital of most enterprizes to less than 1 per cent, on the pretext that enterprizes were sold off too cheaply (Teokarević 1996:189).

Although Milošević brought the country to the level of economic depression and social uncertainty, he still retained popularity among the masses with some of his moves. Among the key changes in the political domain is the rising popularity of the Milošević at the end of 1995. Reason for this was the signing of the Dayton peace agreement and the subsequent suspension of the United Nations (UN) sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro by the Security Council Resolution 1022 of the 23 November 1995 (Teokarević 1996:194). The negative heritage from the socialist past, coupled with negative developments, produced a genuine ‘breakdown of society’ by mid nineties. Politically, Serbia was under the authoritarian rule. Milošević was a radical and a nationalist. Although there were outbursts of authoritarianism, scapegoating, militarism and nationalism, the basis of the society was not anticommunist or anti-modern (Cox 2002:161). The research project also aims to test the hypothesis to what extent Serbia has become an open society. Popper’s vision of a desirable society was a society capable of solving problems and incorporating problem-based learning (Magee 1973:74). Next section presents the issue of monetary sustainability with the aim to test to what extent this important goal has been achieved.

Monetary Chaos

Serbian post-socialism witnessed the changing role of ‘professionals’ and ‘intellectuals’. Within the Yugoslav ideological framework, most of the intellectuals were not subjected to powerful political leaders. Moreover, they rebelled against these, and their attempts were condemned as heresy. With the downfall of Yugoslavia, the role of intellectuals changed as well. They now appeared as war-mongers and fomenters of conflict (cf Božović 2002:230ff). This assertion might prove to be intrinsically intellectually dubious, given

Tito's supremacy as an organic leader during the period of state-socialism. However, professionals and intellectuals had a significant and independent role to play as well, during the period of former Yugoslavia. With the advent of post-socialism, most of them were subjected to the authoritarian rule of Milošević. The Serbian hyperinflation skyrocketed, and one of the most striking and one of the highest in economic history. Moreover, it was by far the longest because it lasted for the full twenty-four months. The data are truly impressive, bearing in mind that inflation in Hungary lasted for twelve months, the Greek one for thirteen, and the German inflation after the First World War for sixteen months (Dinkić 1997:239).

Moreover, this economic meltdown created a genuine social chaos. This often implied that the bonds of solidarity were often broken and that the basis for social security was undermined. Economically, the inflation meant that some of the key resources were scarce and that most of the stocks were cleared by entrepreneurs and shopkeepers which created uncertainty and hindered day-to-day functioning of an overwhelming majority of the population. To make the matters worse, this period in Serbian history saw the emergence of state-controlled banks. The most important ones were Jugoskandic and Dafiment Banks, that offered interest rates for deposits, that had been at least ten times higher than those in the developed countries of liberal capitalism (Dinkić 1997:155). Scarcely any of the Serbian families managed to resist the temptation of investing in these banks. Some of them even sold their property and businesses, expecting an easy gain. Gradually, the fraud was discovered, and most of the Serbian population did not even manage to re-gain their investment up until the present date.

This was one obvious problem that badly needed to be addressed by the Serbian politicians and policy makers. The degree of confidence of the population towards the banking system was sub-zero, as was the credibility of the government as well. Only after a significant period of time did the majority of the Serbian population start to re-gain confidence and invest into the banking schemes. The next section looks briefly at the other societal levels that served as a hindrance for the unmolested flow of the Serbian population. Popper's vision of an open society was that of one that is intrinsically well-suited to avoiding problems, and as such, this conception implies 'unavoidable suffering' (Magee 1973:84). Having given a brief analysis of monetary sustainability, next section looks at the problems encountered during the post-socialist transition.

In Serbia

The main goal of the transition is to achieve a stable market economy, political liberalism with clearly defined elements of welfare state. This is one of the main elements of Keynesianism in economical theory. As opposed to the mainline liberalism, Keynes' *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* put forward the argument that state should create the demand and employment. One of the main arguments of his theory involves guaranteed income and the diminishing levels of inequality. I argue that his arguments are to be taken seriously within the context of post socialist and transitional societies. The swift and superficial change has been one of the major fallacies committed by 'professionals' and 'policy makers'. Within the

context of Serbian society, lack of solidarity has become evident, as well as the dichotomy on the sectors of population who benefit from the change and those who do not. Some of the established academics have criticized these developments.

However, international organizations as well as the Serbian state have made efforts to introduce elements of the civil society and solidarity within the context of the emerging post-socialist society. These were often in the form of basic adult literacy programmes in Belgrade, geared to acquaint the general population with the basics of the English language, computer literacy and the notions of civil society (e.g. Kaurin 2008). Some of the notable Serbian social scientists including professionals working in the field of economics, sociology, psychology have enumerated a number of factors that literally served as a hindrance for Serbian transition to post-socialism with all that it implies: the hypothesized EU accession, political liberalization, economical prosperity and democratization. Factors were found to operate in almost all spheres of society including governance, the country's president, values and beliefs of the population, authoritarianism and backward social and economical structure. It is worth bearing in mind that most of the studies are from the year 2000; significant progress has been made since then. The reconstruction and formation of elite is a very important process in contemporary Serbia. As Bottomore argues (1964:1) elite has been used to describe commodities with particular excellence. Later on, it was used to describe superior military groups and nobility. In the English tradition, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, it is used to describe social groups. The term was not used widely up until the early twentieth century in Europe and America. Moreover, it is commonly used within contemporary political science and sociology. Mladen Lazić, a well-known Serbian sociologist, argues that there is sufficient evidence for accepting the hypothesis that the process of post-socialist reconstruction of elite in Serbia intrinsically implies that the possibility for the non-elite to become vertically mobile is insignificant (...). This can be a serious hindrance for the democratic stabilization of the country (Lazić 2000:45).

Within the specific Serbian context, as Bottomore defined it, elite is conceived as the functional and occupational groups which have high status in society (Bottomore 1964:8). Open vertical mobility and the possibility to climb on the societal scale constitute a trademark of an open post-socialist society and indicate that it is far advanced in terms of the application of democratic standards. The evidence shows that Serbian post-socialist transition has been hindered by nepotism and closed-mindedness. However, Lazić further argues that some sort of entrepreneurial elite is emerging as the dominant class of society, and is becoming the leading group in terms of material wealth. These findings are not unexpected, and will have to be confirmed with further research (Lazić 2000:49). These developments are quite positive, and point out to the fact that, although there are problems, significant progress has been made. Bottomore argues (1964:8) that the study of elites is important for several reasons. The fact that Serbian elite is closed to the influence from the outside, as well as the fact that there is the exclusion of outsiders and the lack of vertical mobility, point out to the fact that profound changes are required. This can be achieved in the form of cross-examination of property and

stocks, which should be governed by independent bodies. Cvejić, a positivist sociologist, testifies of a profound change in values in his insightful book chapter (Cvejić 1999:61).

Slobodan Antonić sought the factor of explanation for the backwardness of Serbian society by revisiting the structure vs agency debate and applying it to the specific Serbian context. The main line of inquiry belonged to the field of historical sociology, that is a relatively modern and vibrant field of study within the context of social science (cf Smith 1991; Antonić 1995; Kaurin 2007). Linked to this, Serbia has comparatively stronger remnants of nationalism, as opposed to other post-socialist countries (Ramet 1999:263). Serbian post-socialism has been characterized by nepotism, cronyism and corruption (Ramet 1999:265). Serbian propaganda wanted to inculcate feelings of disphoric rumination, victimization and hostile outsiders, like so much else (Ramet 1999:276).

Serbia has not witnessed the emergence of stable democratic order, whereas most of the Eastern European countries did. Most of the social scientists argue that it is due to weak political culture, mismanagement of the political elite, or the social structure (Antonić 2000:65). However, empirical data point out to the fact that Serbia had an enviable record with regard to literacy. Quite similarly, the social structure before and after the Fall of the Berlin Wall was favourable as well (Antonić 2000:74-75). This mode of argument suggests that the country basically had all of the indispensable ingredients to complete the process of transition successfully. During the period of state-socialism, Serbia excelled in market reforms, as well as the elements of liberalism and open-mindedness (Antonić 2000:87). The historical analysis presented in this work suggests the same conclusions. Essentially, Antonić argues that the main hindrance for the progress towards liberalization and stable post-socialism was embodied in the personality of Slobodan Milošević. Political, economic as well as military elite surrounding Milošević is one of the main factors for the maintenance of authoritarianism and etatism (Antonić 2000:132). Nevertheless, Serbian sociologist concludes the argument by stating that: "Serbian authoritarianism is not the consequence of social structure; it is the product of political actors" (Antonić 2000:154). Ramet (1999:279) is of the opinion that thinking that Kosovo is a part of Serbia locks the country in the Mad Hatter's tea party where they negate reality.

Indeed, although historical individualism seems to be intrinsically intellectually dubious, Antonić's mode of argument has not been disproved by the historical experience. Namely, after Milošević's reign had ended, Serbia progressed both politically and economically, as the analysis presented in this work confirms. On the other hand Gredelj, one of the notable Serbian sociologists, sees traditional values as the main barrier for modernization (Gredelj 1994). Essentially, there is a set of loyalties, adopted by the majority of the Serbian population, that are deeply rooted in the country's historical experience. These are mainly the Serbian Orthodox faith as the basis for the national unification; society conceived as an organic whole; reluctance to accept the rule of law as well as liberal institutions; mythical conception of history; nationalism conceived mythically; patriarchal rule and authoritarianism; solidarity; the sense of solidarity and uniqueness; the choice

in favour of autarchic model of social and political growth (Gredelj 2000:177). Serbia has recently witnessed the revival of these values with the success of the SRP (Serbian Radical Party) on the recent elections. This world view is mainly promoted by the nationalists and sectors of population that are against EU accession as an option for the future. Latinka Perović, a social scientist and a researcher, confirms Gredelj's arguments. According to her view (2002:27) Serbian society has had a chance to pass through modernization attempts, but it often responded in a patriarchal way. Technocracy has been perceived as a major threat to the maintenance of the stable order. Vogel (2002:65) is of opinion that liberal Serbian state is essentially a utopian characteristic, if current concerns are to be taken seriously. It is so primarily due to the fact that current political situation is rather amorphous. Serbian politics unites a large number of parties, from extreme right to the extreme left, and there is no straightforward way of making progress towards total liberalization. Within the context of social psychology, religious traditionalism is becoming very important as a research topic.

Byford (2005:10) undertook research on the formation of memory of Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović. As a controversial figure, he was labelled as fascist and a traitor by the communists. Nevertheless, within the context of Serbian neo-traditionalism, he is eulogized as the most illustrious of the Serbian writers and a philosopher from the Middle Ages up until the present date. Namely, as Billington argues (2008:19) religion has often been a progressive force that served to modernize backward political systems. For example Polish Solidarity movement has been grounded in religion. Throughout the good part of post-socialism, Serbia has had to face economic difficulties. Some of them were similar to those experienced by other post-socialist countries, whereas there were problems that were particularly Serbian. Mrkšić argues that only one third of the population is economically active, whereas two thirds are dependent (...). The influence of grey and informal economy is quite significant as well. According to the official data, every second household has at least one member that is economically active within the context of grey and informal economy (Mrkšić 2000:263). Serbian post-socialist pathway has been hindered by the economic crisis and backwardness, so that a significant percentage of the population has been engaged in grey economy, that has the positive effect of narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor.

In terms of social classes and the analysis of poverty, two thirds of the population are below the line of poverty and are struggling to make a living. One fourth constitutes the middle classes, whereas one tenth belongs to the upper strata (Mrkšić 2000:266). It can be seen from the data presented that the country lacks what is perhaps the most important ingredient for stable democracy and these are the *middle classes*. Quite similarly, inequality is quite salient, as Mrkšić confirms (2000) with the analysis of the Gini Coefficient. The overall negative picture is then confirmed with the author's assertion that: "The affluent society of self-managers has witnessed the collapse and gone into poverty and economic depression" (Mrkšić 2000:279). Unemployment also serves as a brake on demand, making consumers save rather than spend. Public sector workers are being sacked, leading to even higher problems. As mentioned earlier within the context of historical analysis, pyramidal banking schemes developed during the nineties were one of the most successful

in the world. Arandarenko, an economic analyst, labels this type of behaviour as economic machiavelism (Arandarenko 2000:345). As Cvejić argues, the number of the unemployed in Serbia cannot be attributed to the operation of the market mechanisms so that the causes seem to be much more deeply-ingrained. The official number of the unemployed is 814 000, whereas the total number, if we take into account all of the relevant social groups amounts to 53% of the workforce (Cvejić 2000:300).

In particular, there is also a danger of many people undergoing only a ‘temporary employment’. Lindsay, McQuaid and Dutton (2007:543) describe this as the increasing problem of all ‘New Deals’ that can be depicted as the ‘revolving door participation’ where individuals move from training programmes into short-term employment, with eventually repeating their participation in training. All in all, most of the Serbian-social scientists are of opinion that the backwardness of the social system is structurally determined, and a great many of obstacles will have to be surmounted if current concerns are to be taken seriously. Likewise, it requires great energy and determination to succeed, from the population, government and international organizations.

Transnational cartel as a pre-requisite for transition

Slobodan Antonić argues that Serbian transition has been guided by four major agents. These are evaluators, reformators, businessmen and missionaries (cf Antonić 2006). Essentially, this set of agents operated and continue on to perform their activities in order to steer the country into the direction of EU accession and liberalization. The first interest group is essentially composed of international bureaucrats. These are politicians from Brussels or Washington that are in charge of the reconstruction and integration of the Eastern European societies. These four fractions are politicians, like Javier Solana, or the ambassadors of influential states like the United Kingdom or the United States of America; reconstruction agencies like USAID (United States Agency for International Development), European Agency for Reconstruction, Stability Pact; international Non-Governmental Organizations (Freedom House, Amnesty International, Transparency International, Internal Crisis Group) as well as trans-national financial institutions (International Monetary Fund, The World Bank) (Antonić 2006:35). Financially, IMF and the World Bank took part in the economic transformation. In terms of the welfare state, multiculturalism and adjustment, agencies like USAID took part by organizing basic adult literacy programmes and adjustment for ethnic minorities. Legal and social organizations played a key role in tackling the problems of collective guilt and responsibility. The second group is composed of reformist politicians and those who advocate European integration. They have the dynamic role as opposed to the integrators. Their main task is to enable social transition processes, even if it goes against the democratic order (Antonić 2006:36). A great many of authors are of the opinion that the main issue on the agenda is to build institutions for markets, and this is in accordance with the World Development Report. This report entitled *Building Institutions for Markets* (2002) asserts that, in order to escape the poverty

trap, institutions need to be formed to support inclusive and integrated markets that would span across communities and societies. Markets need to be developed to incorporate both formal and the informal (Sanyal 2007:235).

More generally, politicians tend to emphasize that EU accession is the ultimate goal of the country's social development. The third group is composed of regional sections of the transnational corporations. These are Serbian tycoons interlinked with the international capital, as well as the representatives of the corporations that operate in Serbia such as Philip Morris, British American Tobacco as well as U.S. Steel (Antonić 2006:36). Large Serbian enterprises including breweries and steel factories have been bought and modernized by the foreign companies.

Lastly, but not least importantly, there is a group of cultural and political workers that advocate reform and EU accession as an option for the future (Antonić 2006:36). It is essentially a cultural grouping that is advocating the goals proclaimed by the Serbian government. The next section looks briefly as to what these goals are, and what progress has been made in order to achieve them.

Politics

After the fall of Milošević and the ongoing international support for Koštunica, Serbian political scene was dominated by several issues under consideration. These were the future of Yugoslavia, the status of Kosovo, energy crisis, the future of Milošević, and solidifying the power of democratic forces (Cox 2000:180). The Fall of Milošević was an impressive form of historical self-organisation (Blunden 2004:23). More broadly, the transition is a question of what kind of Serbia is wanted, what we can achieve, and what are the agents that are going to lead to its making (Rajić 2002:83). The line of division is not so much about his partisans and adversaries; it has to do with the general attitude towards the Tribunal of Hague. It is perceived by Eurosceptics as an illegitimate and unlawful institution, whereas those who advocate the unconditional acceptance of EU accession mandates are of opinion that these debates are peripheral to the main concerns of the Serbian politics. The problem of Kosovo links back to the earlier periods of Serbian history and cannot be presented in detail here, given space constraints. The presence of international community in Kosovo can be likened to the situation in Bosnia Herzegovina and is a specific kind of nation-building. Partial nation building is a much more appropriate term for Kosovo, because it is not a fully formed state (Leurdijk and Zandee 2001:113).

At the moment of writing, Serbia is an independent country. Montenegrins wanted to follow their own path towards development, as well as achieve EU accession. The relations between the two countries remain amicable, and each follows its own road towards EU accession. In terms of democratic progress, significant development has been achieved, although contemporary developments cast a shadow of doubt. Recent parliamentary elections have strengthened the power of conservative and right wing forces, and a significant percentage of the population and voters are partisans of the SRP (Serbian Radical Party), the right-wing and

nationalist grouping. Similarly, the democratic DPS (Democratic Party of Serbia) has strengthened the nationalist and right wing elements. Finally, the hypothesized EU accession is one of the most important issues on the agenda of Serbian politics. It is a matter of controversy, because it requires the trade of companies that were reserved to Serbian citizens and their offspring. Moreover, the emerging elite is getting richer and richer. The subjugation of the interests of the country to foreign mandates, including the tribunal of Hague, the foreign entrepreneurs etc is becoming a reality (Antonić 2006:29). Having given a brief account of political issues, the next section explores economic problems in further detail.

Economy

Within the specific Serbian context, the abrupt social change has seen the lack of social solidarity. In the domain of economics, this has become particularly evident. Emile Durkheim, one of the sociological classics, analysed the phenomenon of *anomie* within the context of industrialised societies. Urbanization and industrialization were the causes of this phenomenon. It can be depicted as the lack of solidarity, or etymologically, as the absence of well-rounded social rules (De Jong and Braster 1998:114). Serbian post-socialist economy is characterized by the absence of rules and the supremacy of international agents. As Pei (1994:63) argues Western aid has served to cushion the blow of the transition. From November 1991, OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries, the IMF and the World Bank pledged 45\$ billion including 8\$ billion in grants. For example, In March 1991, the members of the Paris Club waived half of the Poland's 33 \$ billion external debt.

Most of the post-socialist economies, and Serbian economy to even a greater extent, witnessed the advent of a global “risk society”. A research published by the Russian Institute of Sociology argues insightfully that the key drivers of the Russian modernization are the young, intelligentsia and the middle classes (IoS 2010:38). Beck argues (2004:34) that the past twenty years have been characterized by risks such as terror, market collapses, side-effects and devaluations of products. After a long period of economic recovery, the country attracted the aid of such institutions as the IMF and the World Bank. Alongside the general problem of dependence upon the aid of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, Serbia inherited the debt towards these institutions from the socialist period. The donor institutions were The Paris Club, consisting of 15 developed countries of Western Europe, the London club composed of commercial banks, as well as IMF and the World Bank (Dinkić 1997:306). This is part of the liberal orthodoxy (Tsoukalas 1997) that implies liberalization of the internal market, customs as well as the opening up of the country to direct foreign investment. This often implied managing the country's scarce funds and resources in order to gain confidence of transnational institutions.

Joseph Stiglitz (Stiglitz 2002) argues that the approach of IMF and the World Bank is fallible because it is often reduced to the mantra of ‘privatize, cut inflation, reduce the public sector’. Within the specific Serbian context, the policy has particular drawbacks. Reducing the public sector means increasing unemployment.

This strategy can have negative consequences in the short run, because at the moment of writing, Serbia is experiencing an unemployment rate of nearly 30 per cent. Relevant authors (Stark and Bruszt 1998) develop a mode of argument that is similar to that of Stiglitz. Economic experts of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank that are developing policies for local countries have little or no knowledge of history or social context of the region in which they operate. Having outlined this drawback, it is quite understandable that mistakes are often made. Hence, some countries that have not followed the route that is pre-conceived in Washington have advanced quite far on the path of privatization. Serbian policy makers and experts, including Božidar Đelić, an economic expert, often use the excuse that every change towards the better is long-lasting and painful. This policy has excited much public debate, as well as discontent of the general population and workers. Errors have been committed in other countries as well.

By late nineties the privatization of the state-owned property ensued and was accompanied by the intensification of the activity of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The economic activities of the country, and educational as well, became quite dependent upon the provision of the aid from these institutions. In return, these institutions required the so called ‘structural adjustment’ which implied the privatization of property, low inflation and the gradual abandoning of the state sector. In terms of economical development, the country made a lot of progress with legislative acts which gradually became a pre-requisite for ‘green-field investments’, that is to say, factories that were built and maintained by foreign companies. These were of immense importance for the development of economy, particularly because they created new employment structure. An obvious example is Mercator, a chain of warehouses from Slovenia that built their own objects in Belgrade, thus creating new vacancies for the unemployed. Although the participation of companies that bought existing factories is not to be underestimated, ‘greenfield investments’ are the only genuine incentive for the development of economy. Most of the Serbian breweries were bought by foreign companies, as well as Sartid, a steel company, that was sold to U.S. Steel. These investments clearly contribute the GDP of the country, but the profit still goes outside Serbia. The foreign debt was increased from 10 to 13, 5 billions of dollars. Coupled with the obligations towards citizens, this surpassed the level of GDP in 2003. In 2004, the London club, exempted the country from repaying 1.6 million dollars of obligations (...). Quite expectedly, the country runs the risk of a debt crisis (Antonić 2006:27).

Serbian society is no exception to this general rule about recession. The future of the country economically, politically and socially as well, can be likened to the face of the Roman God Janus, with a positive and a negative side. Economic development is dependent upon foreign aid to a certain extent, and will continue to be subjected to the aid from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as well as other aid agencies. Although political liberalization has been achieved to a significant degree, the situation is not ideal. The increasing success of the Serbian Radical Party and other Conservative fractions has been undermining the progress towards political liberalization. Similarly, some of the political parties that espoused anti-authoritarian elements previously have started to adopt conservative elements. The exact case is the

Democratic Party of Serbia which was one of the most important agents in the struggle against the authoritarian regime of Milošević. Socially, there is increasing discontent with the high unemployment, lack of perspectives for the young and educated. Therefore, many Serbian students opt for a career away from the country, which is interlinked with the ‘brain drain’ problems over the recent years. Having tried to depict Serbia at the end of the transition period as a framework for sociological analysis, it is always useful to point out to new perspectives and re-gain confidence with regard to the future development.

Conclusion

The purpose of this section was to show the relevance of the socio-economic and historical context to the change in professional education patterns. I emphasize the importance of the development of the post-socialist economy, enduring inequalities and the internationalization. It is a central hypothesis that developments in post-socialism have an important say in the creation of the new system of professional education, and in that sense, sections above have clear relevance to this study.

Chapter 3: The Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of the literature review is to consider what other research has been conducted to shed light on the problem, what methodology and methods were used, the findings and their significance, the theory and gaps in research, as well as make the chapter a lot more analytical rather than descriptive. The research problem for this thesis and the specific research questions must be shown to derive from the research question. Key issues to be examined are human and social capital, as well as democratization, governance and civil society. As MacKenzie (1999:419) argues, theories should not be only the ways of speaking, but should offer guidance for concrete situations and this is the key purpose of this chapter and its use for the whole thesis. Literature contributes to the analytical and theoretical framework by introducing key concepts that are under scrutiny in the project and facilitating the analysis of findings by making the roots of the research more accurate.

The History and Sociology of Professions

Harold Perkin, a well-known English social historian, has conducted research on the history of professions. Most of his findings are summarized in the studies *The Origins of the Modern English Society* and *The Rise of Professional Society*. The middle classes in the old English society were distinguished by the necessity to earn their living by some sort of craftsmanship and local knowledge. Professions were in the form of great overseas merchants, judges and officials (...). There were great disparities among the social classes as well as business and professional hierarchies, coupled with graduated statuses (Perkin 2002:23). Eliot Freidson, for

an example, offers a discursive analysis of the history of professions. They have been worthy of special attention in English speaking areas for over a century. Herbert Spencer dwelt on their special importance in the English society and so did Beatrice and Sydney Webb, R.H. Tawney, A.M. Carr Saunders and T.H. Marshall, for apparently different reasons (Freidson 1994:2). Within the context of the old society, professions were interlinked with the religious eulogy and status.

Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* has important findings in this regard. Etymologically, most of the professions have religious status. The German word *Beruf* has connotations with religious calling and the fact that one is invited from God to pursue his own professional status. Quite similarly, English word *Vocation* has special importance (cf Weber 1992). Likewise Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* often have the same message. Calvinist believer is restless because he constantly has to prove to himself that he is elected from God to pursue his own calling. Therefore, he needs to seek constant professional success in order to live religiously. The nature of professions and occupations, to quote Perkin once more (Perkin 2002:124), has changed with the Industrial Revolution in England. This was accompanied by the redistribution of people across regions and communities. The main driving force behind this was the tendency that accompanies the rising of the living standards and this is the shift from lower paid occupations, most notably in agriculture, to higher paid ones in manufacturing, commerce, transport, to professions and the government.

The most important development (Perkin 2002:255) was the rise in the status of professional intellectuals in the society. This can be observed in the profession of letters. Authorship became a genuine profession. It was not perceived as an intellectual exercise and pastime for people like Dryden, Addison and Pope and low paid occupation for Defoe or a regular profession for people like Walter Scott, Southey and Cobbett. To further his historical analysis, Perkin argues that the period from 1945 to 1970 was one in which professional expertise was generally acknowledged and where meritocratic principles for advancement were much more valid than jobbery or nepotism. In the early seventies, after the oil-shock, this situation was somewhat challenged. Professional solidarity often proved to be a strong countervailing power to the bureaucratic regulation of the state and enable stronger positioning on the labour market. What distinguished professionals from others (Perkin 2002:256) was their comparative advantage over others. Indeed, they did not have to enter the labour market in order to earn for their living. Some professions also have historical watersheds that mark specific points in their development. In relation to the point above Hoyle (1995:67), quite insightfully, gives the example of the 'accountability movement' in the teaching profession that began with James Callaghan Ruskin College Speech in 1976. Its emergence testified to the fact that the teaching profession has become too autonomous.

The Rise of Professionals and Technokrati

Within the context of the state-socialist countries, soon after the creation of the system, there was an immense rise of bureaucracy and nomenklatura that consolidated the system under their own rule and as well enabled them to gain privileges for their own benefit. Serbia was not an exception to this general rule. The idiosyncratic characteristic of the Serbian system was that the rule of professionals was slightly less stern and more productive in the sense that there was a balance between the interests of the State-Socialist bloc and the Occidental Countries. The theory has been worked out in great detail. Lenin is claimed to have said that Soviets were the form of social organization that were supposed to be the representation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The statement has certain importance in spite of the fact that this form of organization never existed. So the soviets form a means for exercising the state power (Voslensky 1984:243). Lenin the revolutionary created the organization of professional revolutionaries. Stalin, the apparatchik, was credited with the creation of *nomenklatura*. Lenin's creation enabled him to overturn Russia. However, Stalin's creation enabled him to rule Russia and as well it proved to be far more durable (Voslensky 1984:46). Within the specific Serbian context, socialist society was brought about by popular revolution. Tito surrounded himself with professionals who were credited with creating the socialist Third Way. Voslensky further believes (1984:102) that Russian communism brought about the solidification of social structure. The children of party officials became factory workers only in the pious novels of socialist-realism; within the context of real socialism they immediately have access to the state apparatus. Anyone who might have any reservation would find it difficult to quote examples of children and nomenklatura families that are not connected or married to other *nomenklaturists*. Voslensky (1984:102-103) depicts the model that would illustrate the social structure of the *nomenklatura*. Essentially, this is a cone within a cone. On the other side of the surface, a number of concentric rings would represent the boundaries between the various *nomenklaturas*, with those of the district committees at the bottom, and the way up the committee at the top. Similar concentric rings on the inside cone would represent the committees that are controlling agencies of the *nomenklatura* from the district committees at the bottom to the Politburo at the top. The tip of the outer cone would stand for the Secretary general of the Central Committee. The interior cone, the core of the nomenklatura class, would consist of a hard substance that differed from the soft outer cone, which would be attached to the central nucleus as a stalk. Thus it would not be cutting through the whole structure, this would inform two substances. Some analyses highlight the fact that the state bureaucracy is perceived as a distinct social class (Tikhonova 2007:9). Petukhov is of the opinion that bureaucracy has strengthened the influence in various parts of the society and has taken control over the state apparatus (Tikhonova 2007:9). An interesting survey in contemporary Russia, for an example, highlights that only one in ten of the respondents (9.6%) estimate positively the work and

effectiveness of the Russian bureaucracy. The view that bureaucracy is ineffective is becoming a constant in the Russian opinion polls.

Marxism, State-Socialism, Professionalism, Nomenklatura and Moral Education

As Lukes (1985:3) observes in his succinct analysis of socialist thought, very few professionals can fail to notice that Marx's and Marxist writings abound in moral judgements, both explicitly and implicitly. According to Lukes (1985) Marx expresses his view of servility in his early works, through the critiques of alienation and the visions of communism in his Paris manuscripts and *The German Ideology*, to the attacks on factory conditions in *Capital* it is plain that Marx attacks with vehemence the exploitation and has a burning desire for the betterment of the living conditions of the proletariat. Engels' writings give pretty much the same overall message. With regard to the attitudes towards morality, socialists tend to fall in two distinct categories: those for whom there is no problem, and those for whom there is a deeply ingrained problem with regard to Marxism and morality (Arblaster 1990:81). A great many of authors think Marxism utterly unfashionable. Marxism is often equated with technological determinism. To be more precise, German translations of Marx often used the verb *bestimmen* to describe this type of complex relation. Plekhanov defends mainline Marxist orthodoxy from revisionism as well as neo-kantianism. According to this philosopher, these streams of thinking are a philosophy of the persons who want compromise rather than progress (Plekhanov, 1908:94, quoted in, Lukes, 1985:19). This 'mainline' Marxist orthodoxy was an incentive for the nomenklatura in most of the socialist countries, and Serbia to a certain extent, to deviate from the pattern of popular ideology and ideology of the masses. Lenin defended mainline socialism from streams of thinking such as Ethical Socialism of the populist writers, which he contrasted with Marxism as a determinist doctrine which relates all phenomena of consciousness with the material production. Proletariat is perceived as an intellectual and moral force that is a physical executor of the inevitable advent of socialism (Lenin 1915:71, quoted in, Lukes 1985:21). Within the context of most countries of the Eastern bloc as well as most socialist countries, this ideological background proved to be rationale for the emergence of organic intellectuals surrounded by professionals who constituted an essential element of the Socialist Parties. In accordance with the above, Lenin also stated that, as far as Marxism is concerned, there is no grain of ethics in it, since the principle of causality is reduced to the class struggle (Lenin 1894:421, quoted in, Lukes, 1985:22).

Lukes further argues (1985:22) that there are many writings where Marxists take an instrumentalist view of morals. Voslensky (1984) argues that the Revolution in the Soviet Russia has brought the establishment of a monopolistic and privileged stratum which had been fortified and legalized ever since. This stratum has been separated from the people and the society and from the rest of the world. It had conspicuously established hierarchical ranks and barriers and the name of this stratum was Nomenklatura. This was the beginning of an ongoing process in Socialist countries labelled as bureaucratization. In the final instance, these developments proved to be one of the main causes of the corruption of the original socialist ideas as well as the ultimate

consequence for the downfall of the system. Voslensky (1984:1) further defines this phenomenon. In science and technology it means a codified system of terms and phrases used; system of conventional signs that defines and designates certain things. All of the enumerated appellations belong to the field of science and technology. However, the later editions of *Administrative Management* define nomenklatura as the list of positions whose ranks are confirmed by higher authorities. Voslensky (1984:3) argues that developed socialism cannot be found in either Marx or Lenin. There are many communists in Russia and elsewhere who considered socialism as it existed as primitive and under-developed (...). Marxism rejects any kind of state apparatus that exists for the repression of the social classes. This reflects the underlying belief that the state will wither away with the advent of a classless society. Voslensky (1984:19) argues that Lenin developed Marxist thought further in his book *What is to be Done*. Lenin argued that what was required now was not the search for heroic individuals but something radically new. His first point meant that Marxism must be transformed.

The Importance of Lawyers and University Teachers for this Survey

Legal professionalism combines conceptual knowledge, skill and moral discernment into the capacity for judgment guided by professional responsibility (cf Sullivan *et al* 2007:12). This is an argument in support of the choice for lawyers and university teachers for this study. They are credited with bringing social change, and their views on educational reform are particularly relevant.

Human and social capital

It is my view that human capital is the key notion for this study. This also adds clearer link of the theoretical concepts used in this study and empirical findings (...). The possibility that skills of workers could be different and that this can cause differences in productivity was largely ignored (cf Brown, Green and Lauder 2001). Some contemporary authors (Boldrin, Chen and Wang 2003:1) see human capital as the *spiritus movens* of economic growth in developing economies (Guest 1992:7). These considerations are even more valid for contemporary Serbia. The key insight of human capital theory is that investment in education produces social returns (cf Schuller 2004). Melanie Walker draws from Amartya Sen who conceptualized the professional education programmes as opportunities to obtain human capabilities and ‘achievable functionings’ (Walker 2010:29). Human capital theory was born under the leadership of Theodore Schultz, Gary Becker and Jacob Mincer (cf Hartog, Maassen van den Brink 2007). Some insightful analyses show that the most important way to increase competitiveness on the level of individual enterprises is through effective utilisation of the people that they employ (e.g. Beaumont and Sutherland 1992:223). Importantly, the diversity of national contexts and the need to effectively manage workers of different cultural backgrounds introduces complexity into the operation of companies (Lazarova and Caligiuri 2004:333). There are sophisticated measures for the measurement of the social capital (Schneider 1991:16).

The notion of the capitalism is derived from the word capital which is essential for economics (...). This notion emerged in the early 1960s and is often thought as a way and means to achieve certain goals (Kubow and Fossum 2007:39). This has obvious implications for professional education. Historically, most of the professions operated as closed groups that hindered the influence of outsiders. At the present moment, professional education represents a certain monopoly over higher income and social stratification. The process of skills development and diversification of knowledge is answerable for the divide on ‘haves’ and ‘have nots’. What is more, it represents a certain kind of monopoly over the important aspects such as longevity, social capital, income, perspective. Social capital is increasingly becoming important for the history of professions. Henn, Weinstein and Hodgkinson (2007:467) are of the opinion that it is a contested concept, but that it nevertheless plays a major role in professional development and knowledge creation. This situation has been a result of a longer development. Walker and Thomson give an insightful argument that a recent report published by VITAE (2009) concerned with the placement of graduates says clearly that employers place a very high value on doctoral-level generic skills (Walker and Thomson 2010:13). As well as the findings of this important study, particularly within the section *Institutional Sustainability and Graduate Employment*, that suggest that the investment in human capital is the key for educational development in contemporary Serbia, some contemporary business scholars, such as Hugh Scullion, give evidence that human capital is becoming an issue of central importance, both practically and theoretically (Scullion 2005:6). Linked to this, some analysts think that entrepreneurs would benefit greatly from the exact calculation of returns of investment to education of employees (cf van der Sluis and van Praag). Within the context of contemporary Serbia, it is of particular importance to consider the importance of investing in the education of educators, as some theorists argue (e.g. Waterreus 2007:189). The key issue when thinking of education and human capital is training and development and the burgeoning literature within social sciences confirms the importance of this (cf Gos 1994; Brennan *et al.* 2010:3). A number of authors see human capital and leadership as intangible asset (Pucik, Barsoux and Evans 2002:33). It is imbedded in strategic, cultural and technological context of MNE (Multinational Enterprises) (Dowling, Festing and Engle 2008:25). Careers are becoming discontinuous, meaning that an individual may have periods of transition from firm to firm, and periods of unemployment (Dowling, Festing and Engle 2008:200). Enterprises need to invest in training so that employees know how to use equipment, for an example (Ibidem 2008:235). Within contemporary Serbia green field investments or investments where new enterprises are formed are ideal for the development of the human capital, because they allow space for innovative management, and this links more clearly with the research findings. This is strongly interlinked with some theoretical precepts (Gunning and Morley 1998:147). Manpower planning is sometimes criticized on the grounds of being too theoretical (cf Bramham 1994). People within enterprises need to be shown to matter (Hughes 1970:63). As strategic plans alter, organisational capabilities need to be redefined to sustain and integrate individual competencies (Ulrich 1997:10). Jackson (2004:233) argues forcefully that locus of human value is a key notion when speaking of the issue of human capital in developing countries.

Indeed organisational learning will be the key for individuals' survival within organisations within contemporary Serbia, and this is an indisputable fact underscored within educational theory (Preston and Hart 1998:205). It is worth highlighting, though, that, as Starkey and Dobson point out in their interesting analysis, (1992:397) firms and enterprises should go from tough managerialism and employee control to a situation where there is employee participation and involvement. Some enterprises in contemporary Serbia, as some analysts suggest, (Iles, Wilson and Hicks-Clarke 1998:198) will be looking for soft skills, like communication skills, for an example. Much of what we call consumption can be attributed to investment in human capital (...). Some examples of this might be earnings foregone during tertiary education and on-the-job learning (Schultz 2004:26). Size has its importance in human resource management. It permits sophisticated manpower planning, career planning and large central staff development budgets, like so much else (Lundy and Cowling 1996:151). The *Institutional Sustainability Section* [my italics!] shows clearly that firms are hunting for university talent. This is in accordance with common body of knowledge arguing that human capital can be defined as the *added value* [my italics!] that people provide to organisations (cf Armstrong and Baron 2007). Careful thought should be given to the management of human resource within contemporary Serbia. For an example, Cumings (1980:25) believes that manpower planning is a key issue for firms and enterprises and is based on 5 year forecasts of labour requirements. Theoretically, some analysts (Schumpeter, quoted in, Boxal & Purcell, 2008:264) highlight that the key talent to be used by firms & enterprises is entrepreneurial. The findings chapter also argues strongly that this is the case in contemporary Serbia, so that individuals must be proactive and innovative when seeking to match the needs of the enterprises. The very term human capital wants to convey the message about the importance of managing people as a scarce resource (Tyson 1994:1). Metcalfe and Rees (2007:89) believe that human resource development has grown to include corporate strategy and learning theory. Stakeholding is particularly important for the development of human capital in general. This represents the empowerment of employees (cf Winstanley and Woodall 2002:3ff). Outsourcing, as the documentary analysis in particular and research findings in general have shown, is becoming increasingly important for the relationship between Serbian system of professional education and the labour market. Theoretically, some analysts have pre-conceived these developments (cf Sparrow and Brown 1999). The key issue for the employment of human capital is to retain high internal motivation within companies and enterprises (Lazarova and Caliguri 2004:346). Companies also need to have internal procedures that ensure that the most able people are promoted (Wachter et al 2003:54). Some analysts put a premium on social capital by saying that successful firms are defined by allocation of human resource in an appropriate manner, working towards the achievement of short-term goals with a view to furthering the aim of organisational long-term vision (cf Evans, Lank and Farquhar 1989:135).

When I speak of the 'subjected' status of labour in contemporary Serbia, made apparent in the section *Institutional Sustainability and Graduate Employment*, it is important to underscore, echoing a number of contemporary authors, that firms that take into account the long term interest of stakeholders, such as workers,

the bearers of human capital, tend to fare much better and work more efficiently than those that are only mindful of the interests of shareholders (Wheeler and Silapaa 1997, quoted in, Silapaa and Jackson 2000:227). Bamberger and Meshoulam (2000:30) reinforce this point by saying that the interests of shareholders shape human resource strategies within many firms and enterprises. This is one way of looking at the recent developments, as some theorists still put forward the argument that human resource should be *used* [my italics!] to achieve quantifiable goals and increase output (Collings and Wood 2009:2). Progressive management will seek to involve the intelligence of the employees with a view to furthering organisational aims (cf Lundy and Cowling 1996). McKinlay and Taylor (1992:267) have highlighted that the longitudinal studies of the impact of human resource management (HRM) on firm's performance have been sadly absent from sociological discourse and these considerations are valid to even a greater extent for contemporary Serbia. Within contemporary Serbia, reward management will be of particular importance. Kempton (1995:53) is of the opinion that reward management is a key for the positive response of the human capital as well as increased productivity. Timo and Davidson (1999:24) firmly believe that enterprises rely on external labour market for ready skill, rather than using and re-deploying existing workers. Sometimes there is an absence of well-defined human resource management practice. Linking this to research findings, this particular piece of theory can highlight the importance of trade unions in contemporary Serbia. The rise in the number of graduates is a possibility within contemporary Serbia. Holden and Jameson (1999:49) argue forcefully that the rise in graduate numbers is an important development on the labour market. Social capital compounds the benefits of human capital and this will therefore be the focus of attention of the next section.

Social capital

Burt opines that social scientists can distinguish between financial, human and social capital (Burt 2003:197). Sociologically speaking, Granovetter's essay *The Strength of Weak Ties* presents a crucial contribution to the study of social capital (...). The study of social networks, however, has been curiously peripheral (cf Granovetter 2003). Social capital plays an important role in the research findings section, as this section has shown that the investment in this form of capital is what the companies and enterprises in contemporary Serbia are looking for at the present moment. Unlike human capital, social capital is not a personal asset, it is the attribute of social relationships (Schuller 2004:17). Within social capital, what is at issue is not estate or personal property or cash, but goodwill and fellowship (Judson-Hanifian 2003:22). Putnam is one of the key authors when thinking of the issue of social capital (...). Most of the authors see social capital as being concerned with trust and interpersonal relationships (Knack and Keefer 2003:489). Brehm and Rahn (2003:557) are of the opinion that all societies face the problem of collective actions and in addition to this believe that societies are much better off when individuals cooperate with each other. These considerations are valid to even a greater extent for countries such as Serbia, that is undergoing profound social change. It is very important for firms operating in Serbia to understand, that the more an enterprise is characterised by unmanagement or self-organisation, the more social capital it is likely to generate (c.f. Ehin 2005:4ff).

Social capital is weightless and intangible (Luo 2000:10) and this has relevance for contemporary Serbia, precisely because of the need to introduce facilitators of social work into the post-socialist economy. Unlike human capital, social capital is an aggregate of potential resource (Luo 2000:41). The research findings suggest that social capital comes as being important for the Serbian post-socialist economy/education and that contacts are more important than within post-socialism. Theoretically speaking, some analysts, such as Halpern (2005:59) underscore the fact that social capital plays a key role in *success and failure of firms* [my italics!]. Some survey respondents have highlighted the fact that social capital is key to success on an individual level. Social capital can be built through participation in organisations (Illingworth 2012:2). Some social scientists see social capital as superglue that holds society together (cf Illingworth 2012) and that is particularly important for countries such as post-socialist Serbia, because of the need to introduce the context of neoliberalism. Some analysts also suggest that transnational aid organisations like the World Bank, that operate in Serbia (observation mine!), the putative knowledge bank, depend more heavily on social capital (Fine 2010:137). Granovetter, a sociologist, also thinks that social capital is the key issue for development (Fine 2010:98). Social capital is intimately interlinked with power, because it implies the firm belief that personal connections are a resource that individuals and groups can draw on (Field 2005:5). Within contemporary Serbia, it is particularly difficult to track the direct impact of social capital. Social science institutes and other organisations should concern themselves with this important issue. According to some scholars, it has hard, intuitive appeal, but it is increasingly becoming hard to track (Dasgupta 2003:309). The measurement of social capital is an important issue for this particular research. The questionnaire developed was particularly useful for this analysis, as some social scientists argue that this is one of the best research tools for this type of enterprise, although it is not perfect (Woolcock and Narayan 2003:435). On this example the reader can see how theoretical framework relates to the literature. Next section offers a discussion of key concepts for this thesis.

Democratization, Governance and Civil Society/the Concept of the Open Society

Petschow, Rosenau, and Weizsaecker (2005:9) argue forcefully that the very combination of terms such as governance and sustainability imply steering societies towards a certain teleological end (...). This brings both analytical and normative aspects into focus (...). According to many analysts, there are limits to the steering capacity of the societies. The research findings section has clearly highlighted the fact that Serbian system of professional education needs to be planned carefully by educationists and policy-makers, and linked to this, stronger equity should be ensured. The third wave of democratisation started after the *annus mirabilis* of 1989 (Haerpfer 2002:1). Full democracies where there is responsible government, elections and where these are limited by the rule of law are in the minority (cf Rose, Mischler and Haerpfer 2002: 15ff). Democratization is sometimes centrally concerned with the onerous task of building good government on the basis of reflection and choice (e.g Bastian and Luckham 2003:303). Over the recent period of time, the emergence of Third Wave democracies has given incentive to the growing interest in relationships between economic

development and economic transition (cf Leduc, Niemi and Norris 2002:3). Democracies tend to be in societies that are more affluent (e.g. Gill 2000:3). According to a number of theorists, democratization can only be understood as encompassing a shift in *political culture* (original emphasis!) (Diamond 1999:65). Some researchers depict this in a colourful manner by saying that democracy would be top of the list of contenders for the Gold medal of political concepts among power, freedom and equality (Ish-Shalom 2012:39). Transition theory argues forcefully that rapid democratization is possible (c.f. Smith 2012:210).

Anna Marie Smith paraphrases Laclau and Mouffe who argue forcefully that radical democracy is the optimal solution for the transition to post-socialism (cf Smith 1998). Within the Serbian context, this should be optimal solution for societal development in general and educational development in particular, because by doing this, stronger equity would be ensured. United Nations also adopted the notion of democracy but its content remained vague (c.f. Charlesworth 2012:194).

Related to the issue of democratization, many analysts firmly believe that the creation of the market economies is a central theme linked to democratization (Whitehead 2002:32). Economic crisis, and economic developments are notions of key importance for the development of democratic transition (cf Haggard and Kaufman 1999). Transition towards democratization is an arduous process. These periods are formative and they set society on a path towards its subsequent development (Munck and Skalnik Leff 1999:193). Survey findings highlight this important sociological truism, so that in that sense they fit well with the existing body of knowledge. Parry and Morran (1994:10) think that democratization is an arduous process, and it is a big theoretical question on how to realize this goal practically.

Many theorists have not seen necessary or sufficient preconditions for democracy. In the words of many analysts political stalemate and acceptance of second-best solutions by opposing sides are of key importance (Waterbury 1999:261). Historical sections and some research findings clearly contribute to the literature by reinforcing what is believed in sociological theory. Antonić believes that the application in practice of Popper's piecemeal engineering within contemporary Serbia might be an appropriate precept for modernization (cf Antonić 2003:197). The lack of defined borders and frequent changes of the state structure were a serious hindrance for the democratization and modernization of Serbia (e.g. Antonić 2003:275).

The very essence of governance is that societies should maintain the capability to be steered in the direction that they want to go to. Put simply, governance is about self-determination (cf Rosenau 2005). Participation, according to a number of authors, is a fundamental, although sometimes controversial aspect of the European debate on governance (see Liberatore 2005). Governance implies the *development of an adaptive political system* that can respond to changing demands and changing environments (e.g. March and Olsen 1995:46). According to some interesting analyses, CEOs are increasingly playing an important role within the context of the debate on governance (Plees 2005:59).

Civil society (*burgerliche Gesellschaft*) owes its origin to particular historical development. A *Bürger* may originally be a person that defended a castle (*Burg*) and from around the twelfth century this notion referred simply to a city dweller (Turner 2000:130). Similarly, civil society, as a notion, was introduced by the Scottish moral philosophers Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson who understand the economy, namely the market, as an integral part of the civil society. Inevitably, modern corporations see themselves as an integral part of the civil society, and this is made apparent in such notions as corporate citizenship and public relations strategies of the leading corporations (cf Rucht 2009). NGOs are seen as an integral part of the civil society and these include such a diverse set of agents from the Church of Scientology to Mafia (e.g. Rucht 2005:223). Civil society should not be understood as an empirical reality, but as a ‘master frame’ that emerged across Europe in 1970s (Glenn 2001:50). Civil society shifts the focus to entire political communities (Whitehead 2002:65). Civil society, in the words of many theorists and analysts, is a collection of associations. For an example this is how Michael Waltzer uses this term (Whitehead 2002:68). Tocqueville was also of the opinion that civil society is an indispensable ingredient for democracy (Whitehead 2002:71). Gramsci was of the opinion that civil society should be the means for the creation of counter-hegemonic education (Crawford and Abdulai 2012:132).

The concept of the open society was introduced by the philosopher Karl Popper. Popper’s view is that the open society is formed by ‘piecemeal engineering’, rather than radical social change (Popper 1966, vol 1:1). Closed society is essentially a collectivist society, and the open society is one where individuals are confronted with personal decisions. This is a crucial distinction introduced by Popper in *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (Popper 1966, vol 1:173). The closed society can be compared to an organism. This is the society where individual members are held together by organic ties (Popper 1966, vol 1:173). The key distinguishing feature of the open society is the faith in the primacy of reason and humanitarianism. Humanitarianism needs to assert itself as the main ideology, in order for the open society to be made possible and achievable (Popper 1966, vol 1:183). The discussion on the issue of post-socialist transition is increasingly giving incentive for thoughts that it is becoming an open society where opinions of individuals are appreciated and remnants of collectivist society will be abandoned. A *posteriori* analysis of survey findings also suggests that progress towards democratization has been significant and appreciated, but there is still room for progress. According to Karl Popper, before Rousseau, the supreme leaders of states were the princes. The French philosopher gave a very radical answer. The essence was that prince should not rule from now on but the masses. This line of argumentation led Rousseau to invent the term ‘general will’ and not the will of the prince. As such general will was exalted to the status of super-personality (Popper 1966, vol 2:52). The Post-Milošević era has certainly introduced the increased appreciation of *volonte generale* and there is a strong emphasis on this. Several survey respondents also commented on the issue of democratization and the emergence of civil society. The working of a democracy rests upon a tacit assumption that the masses can revolt against a tyranny that misuses its powers (...). These attempts to rebel should be unambiguously defensive (Popper, 1966, vol 2:152). One of the key questions to be answered is to what extent Serbia can be depicted as a ‘closed society’

or ‘an open society’ as defined by Popper. Key issue is to see if the survey respondents give answers that could enable generalizable conclusions.

Professionals and Public Intellectuals

As Misztal puts it (2007:1) the tradition of ‘public intellectuals’ is that of the guardian of universally held truths and values. Their tradition stems from ancient Athens, until the Enlightenment ideals, the Dreyfus Affair and the values of the mid-nineteenth century Russian intelligentsia. The Dreyfusard intellectuals believed that they had the right to uphold interest against the state on the account of their immersion in the world of ideas (Coser 1965:223, quoted in, Misztal 2007:13). Misztal shows the value of intellectuals for public good on the example of Nobel Prize laureates. There are many examples that support this view. Nobel Prize laureates are public intellectuals *par excellence* and serve both their societies and their community. There are strict rules that make it one of the most highly regarded prizes in this world. It is owed to Alfred Nobel who stipulated in his will (1895 in Paris) that the prize should be given to those who serve mankind (Misztal 2007:109). Among these are literature laureates such as Boris Pasternak who was forced to decline the honour by the state, Jean Paul Sartre who declined the honour on own initiative, human rights proponents such as Martin Luther King. After the collapse of the Berlin Wall the prize went to Mikhail Gorbachev, which reflected the end of the celebrations after the Second World War (cf Misztal 2007). Among the recent laureates there are peacekeepers as Martti Ahtisaari, as well as economists Paul Krugman and Paul Samuelson. The next section continues the analysis of profession and professional education.

Profession and Professional Education

Argyris and Schon (1974:139) give evidence that the current philosophical picture of professional education is paradoxical in several ways. Importantly, certain professions, law, medicine, clinical psychology, urban planning are attracting students as never before. At the same time, discontent is rising. Gordon Stewart (2008) argues that professions are characterized by several features. Professions are formed around a specific body of knowledge over which they have control.

Professional qualifications are taken in the form of (B.A. or BSc) degrees and involve around 3 years of full-time university study with half of the assessment being done in the first two years. Masters Degrees (M.A., MBA, MSc, MPhil) are 1 year full-time or two years part-time and are meant for specialisation and career change at late 20s or early 30s (Lloyd, Ahmad Khan and Jacynuik Lloyd 2007:55). Arnold *et al* (1991:34-35) argue that an interesting joke about psychologists that they are tasked with telling you in sophisticated language something that you already know. Profession is generally regarded as being of higher value, whether occupation is normally thought of a set of practical skills that does not require the use of cerebral cortices.

However, this distinction remains relevant for contemporary debates. Some of the old professions are withering away and the new ones are emerging. For example, scribes are withering away as a profession in contemporary Mexican society. They were credited with bringing printing shops and giving the neighbourhood its character. However, they are a dying breed, substituted by modern gadgetry (Anon 2008). The doctorate is now seen in the United Kingdom as a period of training for future researchers, and this implies a range of skills. The objective is to form professionals to undertake work within research projects (Trigwell 2010:284). Dzur (2008:45) is of the opinion that professions are characterized by systematic knowledge and a well-rounded corpus of skills. McWilliam and Tan (2010:46) argue that extended and ongoing debates about the nature of knowledge should be an inherent part of the doctoral programmes. Professional associations (PAs) are one important aspect of common solidarity. They are able to influence common policy as well as policy at the level of the state. One obvious aspect of this is the legal profession in the United States, partly because of its normative character, and partly because of its important relation to the institutions of the state (Friedson 2001:160). To supplement the analysis further, the next section looks briefly at the issue of professional tradition.

The Professional Tradition

Mitrović is of opinion (2003:76) that the notion of a professional and intellectual is honorary rather than derogatory, and the latter term was reserved for those who deal with trade and production. Their rise on the scale of prestige was particularly reserved for Eastern Europe and Slavic countries that had strong capitalist class and relied on professionals and intellectuals for their future. Lenin made a clear cut distinction between intellectuals that promoted ‘national consciousness’ and those with ‘revolutionary consciousness’. According to his distinction, these two groups were radically opposed (Mitrović 2003:77). As Perkin argues (2002:254), professionals have not always lived up to high standards. The old society knew ‘hedge priests’, ‘pettifogging attorneys’, ‘fee snatching office holders’ and the likes. The society sometimes held these professions in quite low regard. In response to this (Brint 1994, quoted in, Friedson 2001:3) the professions have not defended themselves well. They are a varied selection of occupations working in different sectors of the economy and with different vested interests, that are more inclined to attack each other rather than share their common interests. However, there is contrasting evidence that sees professional education as being driven by utilitarian goals and short-term interests, rather than the tradition. As Starkey and Tiratsoo (2007:106) show in their analysis *The Business School and the Bottom Line*, MBA’s are often dismissed as intellectually shallow. What is more, MBA enrollees want to complete these courses as quickly and as painlessly as possible, in order to enjoy fruits that are available on the labour market (Starkey and Tiratsoo 2007:106). In addition to this, some entrepreneurs are half-jabed and have under-elaborated ideas (Ward 2003:2). Most of the modern professions are driven by the curriculum that is simplified and adjusted to the utilitarian models of the labour market, as

well as the emerging ‘knowledge economy’. Nordberg (2007:80) continues this mode of argument by saying that within the world of HE (Higher Education) the power of purse lies behind the curriculum design. The first question is whether or not the knowledge can be marketed and whether or not the course could be marketed. On the other hand, we need to ascertain which standards we wish to uphold. Some recent studies (2008:41) give arguments that professionals are tasked with promoting citizen participation and deliberation. In addition to this, a great many of the professions are characterized by institutionalized education processes.

Private Universities and Professional Tradition

Many analysts have voiced concerns that private universities jeopardize professional tradition, and this view is also in accordance with survey findings. Li and Morgan (2008:30) argue insightfully that in contemporary China, enrollees of private professional education institutions also need to pay substantial amount of money for living costs, accommodation, transport and medical insurance. According to the book *Modernization of Russian Education*, the key distinguishing feature of the public professional education, generally speaking, is that it is free and available to everybody, whereas non-state provision of professional education is charged and the provision is intrinsically non-egalitarian in character (IoS 2010:118). The collaboration between the private sector and private universities is increasingly becoming salient.

Li and Morgan (2008:29) argue that most of the private professional education institutions in contemporary China are subjected to private enterprises as is the case of Jili University, subjected to the Jili Motor Company. *Modernization of Russian Education: Problems and Perspectives* argues forcefully that the key developments in Russian professional education should be stronger accountability, check and balance and the formation of the appropriate legislative framework and institutional arrangements for accreditation of professional education institutions (IoS 2010:57). Li and Morgan (2008:29) opine that private education institutions in contemporary China still lag behind in quality and student recruitment. Private professional education institutions lack quality and consistency. Likewise Morgan and Kliucharev (2012:2) believe that, within the particular Russian context, private professional education was elitist and public professional education was egalitarian. Within the context of contemporary Russia, there is a specific legislation that puts order into the development of private professional education (Morgan, Geroimenko and Kliucharev 2012:78). These institutions have developed not in opposition, but as a supplement for public provision of professional education (Morgan, Geroimenko and Kliucharev 2012:78). Trustees of private professional education institutions are sometimes leading figures within the governance boards of private companies (Morgan, Geroimenko and Kliucharev 2012:86).

Li and Morgan (2008:32) are of the opinion that Chinese case shows that graduates of private professional education institutions go to less competitive job market and obtain jobs with worse working conditions. In Russia, there is a coherent national policy that affects professional education. The scheme ‘Education’ is essentially geared to help push forward all aspects of Russian professional education (IoS 2010:62). Li and

Morgan (2008:33) are of the opinion that the context of globalization will incite the creation of competition between universities, both for students and tuition fees. Morgan, Geroimenko and Kliucharev (2012:82) believe that professional education in contemporary Russia is just about implementing new market reforms and financial mechanisms that were unknown up until the present date. Li and Morgan (2008:28) are of the opinion that there is a public subsidy of private higher education institutions in contemporary China. Li and Morgan (2008:29) stress that the main mission of private professional education institutions in contemporary China is to form sustainable labour market qualifications. Having tried to give a short overview of this problem, the next section looks at the problem of institutionalized education processes.

Institutionalized Education Processes

Professions imply institutionalized educational processes. These are in the form of certified schools or universities for those professions that are more advanced. For example, accounting education (cf Carsberg 1976) was further developed and refined with the McNair Scheme, and main aim was to establish the study of this discipline on universities. The first chair of accounting was established at the University of Birmingham in 1906, and the second within the London School of Economics and Political Science. As Velayutham and Perera point out (2001:31) the establishment of accountancy at the university was a result of a desire to elevate the status of this profession to the level of law and medicine. At the beginning of 1950s professional bodies required aspiring members to complete an undergraduate degree for admission. An undergraduate degree has become a standard requirement for bodies in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. However, the system in the United Kingdom gives exemptions from a full examination structure for those who complete an undergraduate degree. Quite contrary, occupational education very rarely goes beyond the attendance of vocational and craftsmanship schools. In addition to this, professions aim at a monopoly for the provision of services of a particular kind. Monopolies can only be granted by the state, so that professions need to cooperate with the state (MacDonald 1995:66). Over the recent years, specific national performance indicators have been developed in the teaching profession. Large amounts of data on school performance and pupil achievement are used to measure this (Pollard et al 2008:56). Legal profession was perceived primarily as a craft, and professional education was entrusted to the members of the professional society, rather than to separate institutions. Professional education was transferred to separate institutions comparatively recently (Hegarty 1976:73). In the case of lawyers, society was entrusted to educate future professionals, whereas the specialization of the educational process to separate institutions points out to the fact that it is well-rounded as a profession. Moreover, establishing connections with those who share the same or similar commitments is one of the most important characteristics of a particular profession (West, Osborne and Bubenzer 2003:5). Institutionalized education processes are often supplemented by professional associations, credited with furthering the aim of a particular profession and professional education. Donald MacKenzie reports on the

existence of Mont Pelerin Society, a meeting of conservative economists set up in 1947 by Friedrich von Hayek (MacKenzie 2006:10). The Scottish sociologist, in yet another book entitled *Mechanizing Proof* pulls his argument together by saying that some designated professions have very formal controls over their membership, norms requiring consideration for the public good, mechanisms for disciplining and excluding deviant members, the capacity to take legal action against outsiders who claim to have professional status (...)(MacKenzie 2001:3). What is more, some professions have associations that are promoting goals of each of the members. During the Middle Ages, some cities as Florence had guilds for all medical practitioners. Paris and London had their own professional corporations (Park 1992:81). Dzur (2008:79) writes that professionals have sometimes been accused of maintaining commercial power and consumerism. Consequently, some of the modern professions, as the NNS (non-native speaker) teachers of English, also imply a standardised educational process, attendance of particular institutions, as well as a unified qualification framework. Within the context of this profession, most of the Universities in the United Kingdom and the United States offer M.A., and PhD in TESOL (Teaching English for Speakers of Other Languages). These courses are frequented by students from such a diverse set of countries as, Korean, Japan, Surinam, Togo, Burkina Faso and many more (Braine 2005:13).

Business schools are increasingly becoming important for the schooling of the professionals. As Starkey and Tiratsoo (2007:1) argue, they are very important players in today's world (...). British government officials are sent to Oxford for school training in these subjects. Within the U.S. context, George Bush is the first American president to have an M.B.A. Within the British context, business schools are becoming 'cash cows' of the university and their touchstone, The Master of Business administration degrees, are increasingly becoming important. Tuition fees for these degrees have increased over the recent years. Dzur (2008:3) is of the opinion that democratic professionalism plays an important role in the modern professional education processes. In addition to this the author (2008:269) speaks that analysts rely on University and other formal educational institutions to solve the crisis of professions in the United States. A great many of the social theorists are of the opinion that professions are characterized by diversified portfolio of skills.

Diversified Portfolio of Skills

Ball introduces the idea of performativity (2008:51) by saying that performativity incites us to work more and better, as well as to be more effective. In addition to this, performativity incites us to feel inadequate if we are inefficient. Modern professionals need to adjust themselves to such trends. MacKenzie's insightful argument says clearly that the profession of an economist often implies the role of the advisor, as the most distinguished economists function as government advisors (MacKenzie 2007:1). Accountancy, for example, implies a wide portfolio of skills. Their nature of responsibilities is often creative. As Carsberg argues (1976:1) an accountant may well stand for a legal expert in taxation, an auditor keeping watch about the regularity of financial reports, a manager of the financial position of the company or a practitioner for the information management or even insolvency. The work of arbitrageurs is increasingly complex. Arbitrageurs need to exploit price discrepancies, differences between the prices of same assets at different geographical locations and between prices of similar assets at one location (MacKenzie 2005:62). MacKenzie gives a strong argument that professionals in hedge funds need to predict British Bankers Association LIBOR (London Interbank Offered Rate) the dominant global benchmark for interest rates and one of the world's most consequential set of numbers (MacKenzie 2009:1). Human professional skills are often insufficient for remaining competitive. For an example, the models for pricing CDOs (collateralized debt obligations) often require using grids of several hundred interconnected computers (MacKenzie 2009:17). Richard Sennett, a well-known sociologist, reinforces these arguments by saying that the notion of 'flexible capitalism' represents much more than the permutation of an old theme. Rigid forms of autocracy are under attack, as well as the evils of blind routine. Workers are asked to behave nimbly, to be open to change at a short notice, to take risks continually, to be less and less dependent upon routines and formal procedures (Sennett 1998:5).

MacKenzie (1990:40) gives further evidence for this by saying that building working gyroscopic systems requires manual skills, tacit knowledge and theoretical comprehension. Diversified portfolio of skills for professional education is a clear answer to the call for a greater market-responsiveness. With the finance sector in the United States growing, and with more complex tasks being performed in the treasurers departments of non-financial corporations, there was a rapid demand for holders of Master of Business Administration (MBA) degrees with training in finance. This meant more jobs for people holding PhD degrees in finance to train these students (MacKenzie 2006:75). The quantitative, analytical skills that financial economists taught their students were certainly likely to be very useful for future employment. Relatively smooth institutionalization of finance in universities was contrasted with a different reaction to it outside the academia (MacKenzie 2006:75). Beunza and Stark's fine-grained analysis informs that innovation holds a very alluring promise for Wall Street Traders and modern economies. The Creation of Nasdaq in 1971 and Bloomberg terminals in 1980 has given wall traders an economic medium much before the appearance of the

commercial Internet (Beunza and Stark 2005:84). What is more, every profession implies a wide range of experts that are engaged in work. As Park (1992:80) argues that excluding casual healers such as neighbours, friends and family that are not members of the profession, medicine includes such a wide range of specialists as general surgeons who treat sores, fractures abscesses and other external disorders; barbers and barber surgeons who try to perform minor operations; apothecaries who offer medical advice on the side; members of the medical profession are even those that are considered a Cinderella of this particular group: midwives and minor apothecaries. Teacher's work is evaluated as never before so that measure of teacher capacity are conducted and international studies are co-authored to assess outcomes (Lang et al, 1999:9). As Friedson (2001:2), a well-known contemporary sociologist of professions points out, the popular characteristics of professions have been "competition" and "efficiency", the first refers to the free market, whereas the second points out to the need of the skilled management. Sennett puts additional light on this aspect by saying that skills need to be constantly updated and improved, because the damaging of professional skills during the working life comes as one of the most important aspects (Sennett 1998:94-95). Dzur (2008:46) is of the opinion that some professionals want jobs that are more than just a paycheck that serves a greater good than consumer preferences. More broadly, this diversified portfolio of skills is increasingly becoming important for the economy. As Palmer et al (2007:14) argue a workforce that is more educated, tends to be more productive as well. This raises income on the national level, which stimulates the government for taxation, that has better social services as the end point. It also makes national capacity better and provides better developmental expertise. Threaded through this dissertation is the argument on high skills professions incited by the market-drivers. In the case of NNS (non-native speaker) EFL (English as a Foreign Language) teachers, the range of skills that is required is even more varied and diversified. Teaching of language requires a keen respect for the learner's cultural orientation. The main aim of the learning process is thus to understand their own cultural positioning as well as that of the other, and not only act as passive recipients of the language (McKay and Kramsch 2005, quoted in, Modiano 2005:31). Lynch (1992:254) speaks very highly of the profession of lawyers. Their agency permeates all spheres of society and they are important as agents in everyday life, administration and the state. As a countervailing power to this stream of thinking, Dzur (2008:267) gives evidence of professional fraud and malpractice. Next section explores the issue of experiential learning.

Experiential Learning

Stewart (2008) argues that the central theme of professional education is the experiential learning. Workplace knowledge is derived from concrete circumstances, rather than through attendance of formal educational institutions. However, experiential learning is not conducive to professional success if it is not supplemented

by theoretical knowledge. Kim argues (2007:30) that learning implies two meanings: the ability to acquire skills or know-how which implies the ability to produce action. Secondly learning is in the form of know-why, which is the conceptual skill to produce an action. According to Lev Vygotsky (2002:104) learning can often be equated to the formal acquisition of knowledge, but it has this important link with play. For example, learning is sometimes conducted with the acquisition of knowledge through playful manipulation of objects. Prahalad and Bettis (2004:79) review Skinners work on operant conditioning. Behaviour is often a function of its consequences. It is a response to a certain type of behaviour. The behaviour that was reinforced is the one that is approved and conducive to success. Professional education forms the basis for further learning and skills development. This is the basis which forms the lens through which professionals form their own idiosyncratic experience and continue on with upgrading. Within the context of social sciences, workplace studies concern themselves with explaining how humans, technology, objects and individuals interact in order to achieve progress and solve problems. They are overwhelmingly naturalistic and ethnographic, using Geertz's notion of 'thick description' (Luff, Hindmarsh and Heath 2000:13). The theory of professional education has a lot to gain from these fields interlinked with economics of professions. Human intellectual capacities are appreciated as useful. Relevant authors have introduced the notion of Case-Based-Reasoning. Essentially, this means that people tend to store the problematic situations and solutions in their memory, and when new problems appear they somehow 'dig out' the mechanisms for their solution (cf Whalen and Vinkhuyzen 2000). Professional education has to be supplemented by practical experience. Essentially there is overwhelming evidence that formal knowledge and qualifications do not suffice for success. Although filled with executives with MBAs, the failure of Enron could have been prevented, had there been more practical experience and wisdom. Moon argues that the notion of reflective learning lies somewhere in between learning and thinking (Moon 2004:80). As Moon argues further (2004:89) reflection is all about the self, that is to say, it always concerns the thinking subject. David Kolb and Donald Schon are among the most significant authors on experiential learning. Indeed, Schon's work has attracted intellectual descendants. Kolb's interesting and timely study *Experiential Learning* engages with fundamental aspects of learning, its nature and broader development processes, while Donald Schon's *Educating the Reflexive Practitioner* throws light on practical aspects of this important phenomenon. David Kolb argues forcefully that the process of experiential learning is what distinguishes humans from other of the species that rely on physical force or skills (Kolb 1984:1). According to this thinker, knowledge and learning do not exist only in books and mathematical formulas-they require active and engaged learners (Kolb 1984:121). This is interlinked with the notion of reflexive learning. People's experiential learning can be certified by schools and schemes of sponsored experiential learning have been flourishing. Some examples of this are internships, field placements and work assignments, like so much else (Kolb 1984:3). These considerations are very much valid in contemporary Serbia, where these schemes of 'experiential learning' are being introduced both rapidly and intensively. Kolb also introduces the notion of adaptive flexibility to depict experiential learning (Kolb 1984:213). To add to this central argument, Donald Schon's notion of reflexive practice is of key importance

for this study. To add to this stream of thinking, research findings section shows with clarity the need for adaptability in the light of the penetration of foreign companies. Schon's view is that experiential learning is all about providing responses to indeterminate situations (...). When building roads, civil engineers need to take into account financial, topographical, economic, political and environmental practice (...). This is the key distinguishing characteristic of the reflexive practitioner (...). When practitioners set a problem, they take into account all of the factors (Schon 1987:4). Linked to this, it is perceived that researchers, academics, sometimes have little useful to say about the real life, according to reflexive practitioners (Schon 1987:10). Clinical knowledge, reflexive practice, often goes beyond what is taught in classrooms in medical schools (...). Diagnosis and curing of patients can not be done until students have learned something outside of their field of expertise (...). It is sometimes all about adopting the quasi autonomous practicum (Schon 1987:16). Design professionals such as architects and urban designers, along with professionals in law, management, teaching and engineering deal with many problems, and some of these are uncertainty and uniqueness (Schon 1987:157). Psychiatrists and medical practitioners are often in the same position as they have to construct their patient's histories. This is the essence of reflexive practice and the essence of adaptability (Schon 1987:235). Reinforcing this point, Tyson (1987:1) says that most managers place a premium on experience in their practice. Commentators and followers of his work label this type of enterprise 'epistemology of practice' (Newman 1999:63). The previous section has looked at experiential learning as being a supplement for professional education in general.

New Careers for Old

Contemporary society is recognized as a knowledge society, although this concept is very much contested and is not un-equivocal. The notion of flexible workers and knowledge economy has been vigorously contested. Grugulis (2009:223) depicts this in an excellent manner by saying that there are two streams of thinking: the one, optimistic, where knowledge economy is seen as an unequivocal development, and the other, pessimistic that puts forward the argument about alienation and de-skilling. Likewise, some analysts put forward the argument about the de-skilling of bureaucracy, as a countervailing power for the knowledge-economy hypothesis (Pinchot & Pinchot 1996:45).

Nonaka argues (2004:167) that knowledge is a phenomenon that is multifaceted and has multilayered meanings. Traditional epistemology sees this phenomenon as "justified true belief". This has obvious implications for professional education. Government funds are allocated for the provision of training and skills development, and new fields are emerging as crucial. Professions are shifting from 'low skills' agenda to the development of new types of professions. Crouch, Finegold and Sako argue (2004:1) that "the acquisition of knowledge and skills is seen as the main challenge and the central opportunity for achieving full employment in a post-Keynesian economy". State-subsidized training is still seen as being crucial for the development of knowledge. It is a specific kind of Keynesianism with its traditional tendency for demand

stimulation. What goes on currently is the management of talent with most of the IT industry seeking ‘knowledge workers’ that can enhance firm’s competitiveness on the labour market. The emerging ‘knowledge economy’ has witnessed the development of links between education and industry. What employers want is knowledge work. British executives sometimes lament country’s educational standards. In Virginia, part of the offer to Rolls Royce was the state investment in education to provide a skilled workforce (...). What is needed is expertise. According to *The Economist*, the board of Rolls Royce laments the impossibility of getting top-managers, engineers, process managers and skilled workforce (Anon 2009). Crouch and Streeck (1997:8) believe that entrepreneurs as professionals need security rather than competitiveness. However, modern economy is populated by small enterprises that do not offer forty-year career paths (Goffee and Jones 2003:13). Adler argues (2004:307) that knowledge is a remarkable substance. Quite contrary to other substances, knowledge grows rather than diminishes with use. Economic development is quite dependent upon the use of knowledge. This is often in two forms, the rising level of education of the workforce as well as technical and technological innovation.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to sort ‘chaff from the wheat’ in terms of theory. I also hope that it makes a clearer link between the research findings and contemporary theoretical concepts. In so doing, the chapter represents one important piece in the jigsaw and should enable more conceptual precision and empirical clarification for the whole Phd thesis.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Methods

Most of the established methodologies argue in favour of positioning research philosophically in the first instance (cf Merriam 2009). This is the case here. Wellington, for instance, (2000:22) gives an example of the definition of methodology in *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* as the science of method or the treatise on method. What is more, methodology is sometimes the act of thinking, reflecting upon and finding justification for what you are doing. All research depends of the researcher’s epistemological, philosophical and ontological stance. As Pring (2000:87) argues there are deep distinctions among educational researchers, based primarily on their philosophical position. These are very rarely made explicit and have a profound impact on research conduct. First, there are assumptions of *ontological* kind. They concern the essence of phenomena studied. This sees phenomena as objective and imposing themselves on the consciousness of the researcher. A second position sees social scientific phenomena as being a product of individual consciousness, rather than existing objectively outside the researcher’s categorical analyses (Cohen and Manion 1980:6).

Secondly, *epistemologically*, knowledge can be conceived as hard, objective and tangible or transcendental and of a softer kind, based on experience and individual insight (Cohen and Manion 1980:7). Again, whilst not rejecting both positions and their advantages, I would argue that within this particular research I will adopt a middle position. Cohen and Manion also argue that seeing knowledge as hard, objective and tangible leads one to adopt a positivist position, whereas seeing knowledge as personal and unique leads one to adopt an interpretive position (Cohen and Manion 1980:7). My project uses chiefly qualitative methodology. The next paragraphs look at the issue of methodology in social sciences in general, and sociology of education in particular.

The generation of the research instruments

Questionnaire was generated gradually and piloted before the actual research took place. Some questions were eliminated as being arbitrary and not clear enough, for an example, *In your own view, should Serbia join the European Union?*. Some people who served as respondents in the pilot study were for an example: a former student of a Taught course/M.A. Lifelong Education at Nottingham School of Education, Phd student in Sociology/Film studies at the University of Belgrade and a former Taught Masters course student at the University of Nottingham Business School. Questions were formulated according to the most important topics raised in the literature dealing with education reform in Serbia and I also used rich methodology literature available in social sciences, as well as personal observations and statements of authorities, such as The Ministry of Education. For an example, some of these topics were: the formation of *National Qualification Framework* (NQF), the introduction of the *Bologna Declaration*, market responsiveness and cooperation between various disciplines. Questionnaire was used as a basis for the development of Interview and Focus Group discussions. Questionnaires and surveys are seen as appropriate methods for investigating post-socialist transition both by the general public and academic practitioners (cf Rose, Mischler and Haerpfer, 1998:ch.4). Questions in the questionnaire arose from statements of authorities, personal observations and public opinion.

Why Questionnaires, Interviews, Focus Groups and Documentary Method?

I felt that questionnaires were an appropriate research technique because the subject under scrutiny is qualitative in nature and I needed to find out about the narratives of professional practice. Similarly, interview is the most efficient, appropriate research technique for finding out opinions, and these are required for such an important topic as education reform. In addition to this, focus groups compensate the shortcomings of the previous two techniques by combining the opinions of a number of individuals. Documentary method is perhaps the most appropriate technique for shedding light on the phenomenon under scrutiny. The data I obtained were rich and informative, from various sources, and Serbian media are ‘inundated’ with information about education reform and that is justification in support of this view.

The Status of Methodology in the Sociology of Education

As King points out in his analysis (2007:17), the first treatise on comparative education claimed that it is a ‘positive science’ and ever since the number of students who wanted to practise it as a positive science has increased. One of the obvious trends in social science is the increasing specialisation where the development of methodology and the selection and conceptualisation of facts that establishes a separate discipline, up until the moment when professional Chairs were established and the field develops its own technical vocabulary which makes it difficult for others to comprehend fully what is being undertaken (King 2007:17). Most of the research in the field of comparative education has application. For example, a study by Morgan, Sives and Appleton (2006) into the education, labour markets and ‘brain drain’ within the Commonwealth countries has application for practice. Looking at the impact of the mobility of the educated workforce within the commonwealth countries has obvious application for the funding provision of the main bodies. DFID (Department for International Development), a branch of the British Government, allocated its funds for poverty reduction according to the findings of the research is educational, and social sciences, more broadly. However, some recent studies (Hammersley 2002:59) also highlight the fact that educational research needs to pay more attention to application. Hegarty (1997:7) argues that educational research does not have linear application. It is positioned alongside the existing corpus of knowledge. Williams’ view on the subject is that during the second half of the nineteenth century social theorists sought to fill the gaps in their knowledge of universal history by insightfully employing the ‘comparative method’ (Williams 1992:14). May (2001:9) gives a broad-brush statement that objectivity, explanation and generalization play an important role in scientific inquiry.

The status of social scientific inquiry is sometimes questioned by the general public. Outsiders often have a hostile approach to its validity, whereas those who are well-versed have divided opinions on the subject of what constitutes methodologically valid social scientific inquiry (Sayer 1992:1). The lack of thorough knowledge of what constitutes social science is often the result of outsiders’ derogatory comments. The methods are considered to be under-elaborated compared to those used in physical and hard sciences. ‘Standpoint methodologies’ are another stream of thinking in social science that advocates methodology for the people or for the subject of research (Harding 2010:173). This uncertainty has been heightened by the doubts concerning scientific objectivity and progress. Common discussions whether social science should adhere to the methods of natural science have progressed. Realist philosophy of science offers a new and productive view which changes the whole basis of discussion (Sayer 1992:1). New perspectives on the unification of methods within the context of sciences take place, and most of the positivism vs interpretive social science discussions are updated with new additions.

Why not positivism in this context?

This thesis is more strictly qualitative in nature. Change in professional education patterns requires opinions, narratives and ideas of people that are involved in the creation of the system of professional education and that are the subjects of this important change, as well as students. This was the journey through my thought processes from the beginning of the research project until the survey was conducted in Serbia.

The Status of Quantitative Methodology

The positivist movement has witnessed a genuine progress with works of such scholars as Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim (Durkheim 1964; Durkheim 1982; Comte 1988). Those who distrust positivist stance should remember the spirit and motives that drove this philosophical tradition. There was a deep suspicion of the explanations without actual evidence to support them and that was not open to counter argument (cf Pring 2000). Modern positivists are of the opinion that researchers should remain emotionally detached (Burke-Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004:14). As Pring (2000:31) depicts, educational research should answer the question on how certain goals can be achieved. For an example, how X% of the 16 year olds can achieve grades from A to C. Valid educational research should be able to answer on what schools should do in order to meet this end. Some areas of educational research are ideally-suited to the application of the quantitative methodology. As Brown observes (1997:87) school effectiveness research has been dominated by quantitative methodology. Although the situation is as described, Brown still believes that this needs to be supplemented by qualitative research. The set of hard variables is clearly in the need of assistance by the teachers' own perception of the developments within the areas of school effectiveness. The contemporary form of positivism is often labelled as post-positivism. Creswell, for an example, argues: "Post-positivism reflects a deterministic philosophy in which causes determine effects and outcomes" (Creswell 2003:7). The thesis is not ideally suited for the application of positivist methodology, because the subject under scrutiny is not deterministic and would benefit greatly from the application of qualitative methodology. In addition to this, the use of questionnaires, interviews and focus groups proved to be very fruitful and useful to find out about the subject under scrutiny. Roy Bhaskar, a contemporary philosopher of the social sciences, makes the distinction between naturalist and anti-naturalist position in the philosophy of social sciences. The naturalist position is based on a very different conception of the social science. It was a science that was concerned with empirical invariances of discrete events (Bhaskar 2000:17). The well-thought and innovative study of Law and Lodge (1984:3) argues succinctly that: "Thus as C.Wright Mills observed, there are those who observe the paraphernalia of statistics and 'unprejudiced' observation because this looks 'scientific' and they would like social science to emulate the natural sciences". In relation to the point above Hollis (1994:212) believes that

social scientists would like to view the social world with Olympian detachment. Post positivism is an attempt to sustain this orientation (Kelemen and Rumens 2008:27).

Anti-naturalist and anti positivists argue that (Bhaskar 2000:17) the natural world is much more simple, and social world comes as being much more complex. Bhaskar further argues (2000:47) that social sciences are part of their own field of inquiry, and they are susceptible to the explanation in terms of the concepts, laws and theories that they employ. They are essentially *internal* to their subject matter in the sense that natural sciences are not. It should be noted that social sciences are essentially self-sufficient in terms of explanation. They have their own theories that they elaborate for the explanation of reality. The phenomena under scrutiny are often very abstract. This has often been the case with ‘classical’ theory and research done from the very beginnings of organized social science.

However, current research has more similarities with positivistic precepts and often has concrete implications in terms of policy making and societal organization. To reinforce this point Law and Lodge (1984:7) argue that the belief that quantification as such confers scientific status is very much erroneous. Scientific claims are falsifiable and can be verified easily. Importantly, the claim ‘when zinc is added to the sulphuric acid, then hydrogen is given off’ is easily testable against empirical evidence. Empirical realism is a position that sees reality as being productive of mechanisms and causal structures. When writers such as Roy Bhaskar use this term, they invariably have this in mind (Bryman 2001:13). Although positivism has advantages over the qualitative research methods, the use of interviews with lawyers and university teachers allowed me to find out their opinions and all of the nuances of their thinking on the professional education reform in contemporary Serbia. These were recorded on a Dictaphone and the answers are presented in the Data presentation chapters. Having said that, main funding bodies such as the ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council) also prioritize quantitative over qualitative research methods. The website of this funding body acknowledges the advantages of qualitative stance, but that said, quantitative methods are seen as being more valuable (ESRC 2000, quoted in, Hammersley 2002:83). As opposed to quantitative stance, qualitative methodology is more concerned with interpretation and that will be the focus of the next section.

Why Interpretive Methodology in this context?

Interpretive methodology proved to be very appropriate here as many survey respondents gave their nuanced views and analyses on the change in professional education patterns. Even more so, the interviews were useful in finding out about the crucial aspects of the phenomena studied. Textual analysis contributed greatly in shedding additional light on the questions under scrutiny, and focus groups were greatly helpful in finding out the ideas of students on professional education reform.

A Critical Overview of Qualitative Methodological Stance

This particular research project uses chiefly qualitative methodology, interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions. Some authors (Pring 2000:43) give a word of caution and argue that a distinction on qualitative and quantitative stance is a false dualism. This distinction is often institutionalized in so many textbooks and educational institutions (...). Quantitative researchers have a view about the nature of knowledge in the social world and physical sciences. Qualitative researchers often see their project as being epistemologically flawed. My belief is that qualitative methodology sometimes does not have clearly defined standards and there is lack of clarity in making the central methodological storyline clearer. As McGaw (1997:66) believes in his analysis, research in the interpretative tradition reflects new ways of thinking about knowledge. This tradition sees knowledge as actively constructed by individuals, and not as being in isolation in the communities within which it is constructed. Interpretive approaches have been more heavily influenced by anthropology, in its aim to describe, explain and analyze indigenous societies (Pollard 2008:78). Interviews were particularly important in finding out about the ideas of respondents on the Bologna Declaration and qualitative analysis of interviews was particularly useful as respondents were important for the survey. This methodology is criticized on the grounds of being a response to the descriptive challenges of colourful empirical world (cf Gubrium and Holstein 1997). Some of their problems, among many others, are the fact that they lament that their skills are not sufficiently appreciated (e.g. Willis 2005:16). Qualitative research requires a mix of tools and data collection, such as observation, surveys, documentation (including letters, curricula and policies), interviews and transcripts (cf Webster and Mertova 2007:96). Qualitative methodological approach involves many approaches, but apparently none of these rely on quantitative measurements (King, Keohane and Verba 1994:4). Within the British context, this type of methodology developed during the 1960s and 1970s (cf Atkinson, Delamont and Hammersley 2002:16). In addition to this, qualitative research has been criticized from within the movement of qualitative researchers (...). The diatribe goes on that this research is anti-methodological, “anything goes” stream of thinking. Consequently, it is depicted as romantic postmodernism and low quality stereotypical research (cf Denzin 2009:19). These issues are further complicated, as social research is challenged and has to show exactness, usefulness and applicability (Bywaters and Leatherby 2002:3). Some recent efforts to make the nature of qualitative inquiry better is the introduction of ICT to make it more cost-effective (c.f. Fisher 1997:6). Qualitative research is based on the belief that thorough knowledge can only be attained through the eyes of someone else (c.f. Jonker and Pennink 2010:80). Some analysts also opine that quantitative methods obscure the relationships between the researchers and their participants (Woolgar 1996:23). Qualitative researchers point out to the ‘richness’ of their data (Hammersley 1996:162).

However, criticism says that qualitative methods are subjective, unsystematic, lack adequate checks and are in general terms unscientific (Walker 1985:88). Qualitative methodology was introduced by the neo-Kantian philosophers, such as Dilthey, Windelband and Rickert. In particular, Dilthey's influential book *Introduction*

to the Human Sciences (1988) sees the understanding of historical and social world as being fundamentally different from that in hard sciences. Intuition, empathy, understanding play a much greater role within the context of social sciences and humanities. In essence, these ideas were further elaborated by Max Weber. The German sociologist tried to establish qualitative research methodology as a foundation upon which social sciences would be based. Indeed, social world is quite different and more complex. The phenomena I studied were very difficult to define and research.

As Flick argues, the traditional period of qualitative methodology ranges from the beginning of the twentieth century up until the Second World War. It is connected with the research of Bronislaw Malinowski, first published in 1916 in ethnography, as well as with the Chicago School in Sociology. During this period, qualitative research was interested in foreign cultures (Flick 2002:9). The modernist phase lasted until 1970s and was characterized by increasing attempts to formalize research for the purpose of this shift there are more and more attempts to publicize textbooks, in the U.S. for example. This tradition is apparent in the work of many authors, such as Glasser and Strauss (1967), Strauss (1987), Strauss and Corbin (1990), Miles and Huberman (1994) (Flick 2002:9). Flick labels the period up until mid-eighties as *blurred genres*. Various understanding of methods and objects exist side by side. Some of these are phenomenology, ethnomethodology, feminism and semiotics (Flick 2002:9). David Thomas, a specialist in social scientific methodology, puts forward the argument that Peter Winch is the key person in the history of sociological thought that represents the stream of thinking which advocates that social science should be based on common sense (Thomas 1979:57). Traditional notions of qualitative and quantitative methodologies imply that they are different in almost all aspects. They are different according to the conceptualisation of reality, according to the approach to reality. This is essentially the distinction between subjective and objective. Moreover there is a distinction between active and engaged researcher as opposed to the passive and distanced of the quantitative research. Contemporary authors stress that these are just ideal types of research, whereas the actual research projects use mixed methodology (Malešević 2004:19). Mixing methods proved to be particularly useful as the answers on questionnaires, interviews and focus groups as well as the other data corresponded clearly with the issues elaborated in documents that were used for writing up the documentary analysis.

What is peculiar of qualitative research perspectives, phenomenological, symbolic-interactive and ethnomethodology is that they are ideally-suited to the educational perspectives and the explanation of educational phenomena (Cohen and Manion 1980:36). Recent attempts to conceptualize this position see qualitative orientation as involving similarities and differences with others. Indeed, how these differences are recognized and reported involves the key to processing that reality (Simmons, Gates and Thompson 2000:83). Interpretive methodology recognizes that phenomena have idiosyncratic value, and should be perceived as such. Social scientists should therefore approach them with open-mindedness. Some authors see society as

being productive of texts, readings and writings. This is the essence of narrative methodology (Schostak and Schostak 2000:47).

There are also attempts to ‘modernize’ the qualitative approach. Importantly, Critical Incidents Technique (CIT), is an attempt to identify critical events in the history of an organisation or enterprise, that incite either a positive response that drives the organisation forward, or negative that hinders its full development (c.f. Chell 2005:45). These are just some examples to make the qualitative inquiry look more exact, innovative and scientific. The role of theory is particularly important in guiding the conduct of research (cf Yin 2012:27). Some analysts highlight that the key insight that the qualitative research should offer is the ‘thick description’, scanning the key characteristics of the social world and offering good analysis (Holliday 2002:80).

To make the overview of qualitative inquiry more critical, thematic analysis, the process of coding and analyzing qualitative information (cf Boyatzis 1998:vi) has been of particular importance here. Bryman (2004:264) argues that interpretive research implies an inductive relationship between theory and research, whereby theory stems from the research. Moreover, interpretive position implies, quite contrary to the positivist view of science, that the stress is on understanding the social world from the position of the participants. Constructivism is an intrinsic part of the qualitative position whereas the phenomena are results of the interaction, rather than something that is given and awaiting to be ‘found out’. As mentioned earlier, education and to even a greater extent education in the professions are phenomena that are under-researched within the context of post-socialist Serbian society. Narrative methodology is thus ideally-suited to the understanding of these phenomena. Jeffery (1979) gives a powerful argument in support of qualitative methodology. Qualitative methodology is often about finding out the hidden practices and informal behaviour.

A Mixed Methods approach

The single method approach implies more risk. The distinction can be depicted with a colourful metaphor: lone entrepreneurs that put all of their investments into a single product have more chance of losing than large companies with a diversified portfolio of products. Similarly, a mixed methods approach makes the conclusions more valid and contributes to the betterment of scientific validity. In many projects, the most significant findings have emerged from points at which different methods have complemented each other (Walker 1985:79). The study of bilingual education, for example was made to study issues one school with the aid of the participant observation, whereas city politics and educational administration have been studied with a series of interviews (MacDonald and Kushner, 1983, quoted in, Walker 1985:79). Lawyers and university teachers had a number of themes they re-invoked from time to time, and newspaper articles and press releases kept elaborating the issues of the emergence of private professional education institutions, as well as the emergence of companies and on the job training. In addition to this, charging high fees has been a recurrent theme for the professional education reform and this justified the use of mixed methodology in the project. Quite similarly many authorities argue (National Research Council 2002, quoted in, Gorard and

Taylor 2004:7) that combined methods are essentially much better than either quantitative or qualitative because they improve the quality and validity of the research. British Educational Research Association, for example, exclaims that there is not a single method that is universally appropriate for every piece of work. It is more about fitting the method to what is actually under scrutiny in a certain situation (Campbell et al, 2003:5, quoted in, Gorard and Taylor 2004:9). The data in my project would simply fall into place as it was possible to check and compare the opinions of individuals, lawyers and university teachers, with institutional outputs and the press articles on this important topic. In addition to this, mixed methods approach benefited immensely from the comparison with other Eastern European states, such as Russia, for an example.

Biographical Method

The view that mixed methods is a dominant paradigm is one way of looking at the issue of social scientific methodology. Chamberlayne *et al* back up with evidence the view that biographic method has become the dominant paradigm in their excellent volume *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science*. They, for example, argue that the turn to biographical methods is specific for Britain (cf Chamberlayne, Bornat and Wengraf 2000). Biographical research deals with individual experience, and how externalities and social structures shape individual experiences and individual destiny (Chamberlayne, Bornat and Wengraf 2000:17). In that sense, this retrospective turn to biographical method proves useful for this research-some sections, such as *Institutional Sustainability and Graduate Employment* deal precisely with these important issues-how individual experiences are shaped. Biographical work is often used to make stronger links between individuals and institutions and to facilitate social integration (...). Biographical work is the intermediary between individual's life and social change (Fischer-Rosenthal 2000:115). Some research projects, such as SOSTRIS (Social Strategies in Risk Society) used biographical methods (Chamberlayne and Spano 2010:321). A number of interesting publications also highlight the clear advantages of biographical research (e.g. Gubrium and Holstein 1997:156). All of the three categories represent intermediaries between individual life, individual 'biography' and social change.

Why Mixed Methods?

Mixing methods proved to be very useful. It eliminated many drawbacks of the research project and enabled me to obtain succinct conclusions. There was also a general jigsawing of the analysis of questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions.

Methodological Implications/Analysis Stage/Reflections on Being a Researcher

A number of social scientists argue forcefully that analysis stage should answer the difficult question on why a particular research project is important and how it relates to the existing body of knowledge (cf Esterberg 2002:79). What is more, analysis should answer the burdensome question on how to make sense of the data (Ibidem:151). To depict this in a more colourful manner, this means getting more intimate with the data (e.g. Esterberg 2002:157). Dane (1990:138) opines that the three stages of analysis are description, association and elaboration. Some analysts think that the process of preparation of the data always involves exploration of their characteristics and structure (e.g. Swift 2006:153).

This is further complicated, because researchers should simply accept that the data that they have are not the true, raw, representation of reality (Holliday 2002:101). Some sociologists think that data are ephemeral and elusive (Walliman 2006:50). Analysis stage is not just about applying labels to text segments (Fisher 1997:67). Researcher's thoughts still represent the major fuel of qualitative analysis (Fisher 1997:96).

The analysis stage was particularly interesting, particularly when I had to decide which quotes to use, how larger quotes should be indented. In addition to this, many survey participants in the discussions raised the same problem facing contemporary Serbia and the system of professional education and this testifies additionally to the social scientific validity of the research project. In addition to this, non-response problems as well as many other typical problems were challenging for me as a researcher. The analysis stage meant shortening quotes, making choices which quotes to use, how accurate or 'punchy' the translation of these should be. In addition to this, there was a challenge to be inundated with documentary data, and it was important to screen the most important parts during the analysis stage.

These 'reflections on being a researcher' are particularly important, as many analysts often forget to add a brief discussion of these issues. This is because analysts are often pre-occupied with doing justice to the data, and with trying to make sense of piles and piles of scripts that are gathered from surveys (e.g. Margot 1991:227). Some challenges I faced were, for an example, to decide how much time to dedicate to focus group discussions, how long the interviews should be, or how to present the research findings to a non-indigenous audience.

Problems and issues encountered during the research are many. For an example, documents as sources of knowledge can be dubious because they are biased by the world-views and ideological content of the organizations that issue them. For an example, private universities, schools and colleges have their own views on the quality of teaching and learning in their institutions that essentially collide with the views expressed in the official publications of the Serbian Ministry of Education. In addition to this, many newspapers and media outputs also do have negative views about the emergence of the Bologna Declaration. On the positive side,

these two overall 'streams of thinking' can be tested against each other to give a better and a more coherent picture of the system of professional education.

Following the central storyline, research methods used in this particular project such as survey, and research techniques (Interviews, Questionnaires and Focus Groups) have their own limitations. Survey as a general technique is intrinsically problematic given that it implies intruding people's daily lives and practices and that people might be prompted to give only socially acceptable answers. Memories often fade, written responses on questionnaires can be misanalysed and misinterpreted, and focus groups discussants can be disturbed and biased in their answers by the 'group situation'. The limitations of this particular research project are cancelled out by some of the advantages. Survey enables researchers to explore the wonderful nuances of the human behaviour and questionnaires enable one to find out the hidden practices. Interviews are positive because they allow face-to-face human interaction. Triangulation also helps greatly to cancel out the biases present in any of the research techniques that are used and enumerated in this particular project.

To add further to this stream of thinking, a great many of books and publications during state-socialism are intrinsically biased in character, given that they tried to embellish the overall picture of the state-socialist system. Having given such a broad statement, it is crucial to mention that I found very valuable sources that deviate from this general rule. Volumes on professional education under state-socialism and international cooperation in education under state-socialism shed light on an important and yet neglected aspect of poverty, enduring inequalities and closed-mindedness during the period of state-socialism and how this problematic situation has impacted all of the societal subsystems in general, and professional education in particular.

Research Methods

Social Scientific Survey

Survey has been distinguished by eclecticism. The survey for this research lasted for five months and was initially planned for only two months which shows the genuine unpredictability of this exercise. In addition to this, many non-response problems were experienced initially as I found a number of disinterested individuals, many of whom did not take interest in the research project or found that the exercise interfered with their daily practices and routines. With prolonged survey and perseverance, additional information was obtained and the rich and valuable data was obtained. Snowballing also facilitated the whole project. Survey is sometimes interlinked with taking notes or 'backstage scribbling' (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 1995). Survey makes the understanding of the other much more profound (Peacock 1986:7). It is particularly important to allocate sufficient time for conducting survey. Otherwise, the quality of the research findings can be at risk. Hammersley (2002:32), for instance, gives an example that the quality of data gathered by OFSTED is often

very poor. Technically, the survey meant visiting the offices of the university academics and lawyers. The questionnaire would be pre-elaborated in accordance with the strict methodological rules of social scientific research. For example, this research required interviews with key informants on the nature of their professional education and work practices. Therefore, the research was overt and raised the issues of consent and confidentiality. The process of gaining access to the prospective participants is vital, requiring as it does access to people, organizations and documents (Wellington 2000:63). Professional education in contemporary Serbia is a topic that is under-researched and that is not familiar to either researchers or the general public. Therefore, it is crucial to understand that survey implies a tacit assumption that we have very little or no knowledge about the phenomenon under scrutiny. Sayer argues (1992:219) that social scientists should not enter survey with established hypotheses to be tested. What is more, researchers are there to learn about the situation. The longer the survey lasts, the greater are the chances that more will be found out about the phenomenon under scrutiny. Hence, considerable time should be dedicated to the study of the modes of professional education. From a researcher perspective, covert research sometimes raises questions of exploiting the respondents, and a commitment to doing research. Survey took place during the period February to June 2010 and implied interviewing academics, university teachers, and lawyers as well as conducting documentary analysis.

The Interview

Interviews are used primarily to find out what people think and do, and why they do so (Pollard et al, 2008:72). I used twelve (n=12) semi-structured interviews, and my belief was that this would allow me to obtain some in depth information. Interviews were designed with the aid of the questionnaire used in this particular research. Questionnaires were tested (pilot questionnaires) to avoid unclear questions and respondents were academics and researchers. Non-response problem was also overcome. This method is widely used for various purposes: promoting an employee, gathering data on a certain subject, curing patients, for testing and developing hypotheses (Cohen and Manion 1980:291). Interviews were particularly rich and I found the individuals I surveyed very opinionated and interested in taking part in the discussions and finding out more about the research project. In addition to this, interviewees enabled valuable contacts and resources for the completion of the project. Some interviewees also gave sources such as books and other resources. The interview relies on the fact that people are able to offer *accounts* of their behaviour, practice for those who ask them about these issues. As such, it is a specific technique in the human sciences (Walker 1985:90-91). Walker, for an example, believes that interview opens up a dialogue in taken for granted areas of your life and fails to offer a sense of closure (Walker 1985:117). This implies much more than just actual interview interaction. It involves the selection of participants and ending the interview encounter (Darlington and Scott 2002:51). This type of interview has become increasingly used in Western sociology and are based on the idea that respondents should be allowed to talk at length on a number of topics interlinked with them, and not limited to the number of specific research questions (Flick 2002:74). Semi-structured interviews, still limit the

respondent to the sufficiently narrow range of research questions that represent the central idea of the research. The range is important here. For an example, as Flick believes, range implies that interviewee is allowed to cover all of the aspects covered by the research , but also lets him introduce new ones that had not been foreseen with the initial research design (Flick 2002:76). More specifically, this technique should be used with the university teachers and lawyers involved in political and social movements that contributed to the overthrow of state-socialism. Using this technique should also help me focus the research on professional education with a limited number of enquiries. What is more, as Flick argues (2002:102) this technique should be responsive to the shape of how experiences are made. As a researcher, I should make the project complete with the knowledge of the context as well as historical and sociological base, because respondents' view on the subject is always partial. As Giddens observed in his analysis, individuals do not have more than the knowledge of the partial context in which they operate (Cohen and Manion 1980:37). Professional education patterns are a subject ideally suited to this technique. In-depth interviews are the most appropriate technique for the topic of current and past experiences. What is more, they are particularly useful for the dynamics operating in organizations and communities (Darlington and Scott 2002:3).

Possible limitations of this technique are that interview situations which might prevent the respondents from settling down into the role of interviewees as well as problems of encountering reticent, shy or uncommunicative individuals (cf Flick 2002). Within the project, I particularly expected to find out the strong, opinionated individuals who have in-depth knowledge about the subject under scrutiny. Memos and fieldnotes were used during the interviews in order to find out about the opinion of the individuals on the subject under scrutiny. In addition to this, informal discussions were held with respondents. Flick believes (2002:166) that documenting actions and interactions is an essential part of conducting social scientific research. Relevant research literature clearly shows that editing research interviews is an important part of the project and is aimed at eliminating the possible mistakes by checking that answers are complete, that there are not missing items and that answers are uniform and accurate (Cohen and Manion 1980:113-114). What is more, this type of research techniques still allows me to narrow down the number of topics that are under scrutiny in the project, especially in the case when my research is time-limited. Twelve interviews were held mainly with academics and lawyers. They were long and informative and recorded on a Dictaphone as well as subsequently transcribed.

Questionnaires

The questionnaire format is the same as in the face-to-face interview, but in order to remove the interviewer, the subject is presented with a transcript of the questions (Walker 1985:91). Questionnaires are normally given to respondents to fill in, so that they therefore require a certain level of literacy and writing skills (Pollard et al 2008:73). I distributed 200 (n=200) questionnaires and only those 100 (n=100) that were of absolutely highest quality were used in the 'writing up' phase. I also used the websites of the University of

Belgrade Faculties and Departments to find out prospective respondents as well as the Registry of the Serbian Bar of Lawyers for the other part of the sample. Questionnaires were generated by narrowing down the number of questions to include only the most important ones and piloting the questionnaire in England and Serbia before the actual research took place. Those that were not used were considered to be completed hastily and carelessly. Most social science practitioners agree that constructing a questionnaire is a relatively easy task. During the survey, I found out that this is by no means an easy task, as a number of respondents gave opinions that they did not have thorough knowledge of the subject under scrutiny. In addition to this, many respondents thought that formulation of questions is not clear enough or is not straightforward enough. By doing so, I was able to find out that in practice of developing a questionnaire is not an easy task. The broad aims of research were clear to the respondents. Gillham (2000:15) believes that the best idea when developing a questionnaire is to ask what the broad aims are. What is that we are actually trying to find out? What are the specific research questions? (...). Although the sequence of these steps seems to be quite easy and understandable, it is worth pointing out that developing a questionnaire is much more difficult (...). But even hard science experiments follow after many dead ends are met and this is a point when many ideas are tidied up and many discoveries are made. Perhaps a good way to start thinking about a questionnaire is to think about the key topics and the layout of the questions. What should follow from this is the whether the questions proceed logically from one another. Clustering and progression will certainly help the respondent to orient himself (Gillham 2000:25). In addition to this, many non-response problems were encountered initially and additional questionnaires needed to be distributed to ensure success of the survey. Questionnaires that were completed with lack of thoroughness were not used in writing up thesis chapters so that the quality of data is not jeopardized. Poor motivation (Gillham 2009:9) is another problem. Very few respondents see any direct benefit in completing these research tools if these do not deal with the issues of salary increase or interpersonal relations of the organization concerned (...). There is also a strong need for brevity in formulating questions (...). What is more the situation comes even more complicated because of the fact that some questions are misunderstood (Gillham 2009:10).

Questionnaires were used as a way of supplementing semi-structured interviews within my research project. First some of the reasons for this are ontological, because they make the research project better. As Flick (2002:11) argues in his analysis qualitative research has to do with text, and questionnaires produce text which represents an end point of the qualitative analysis. Flick further believes (2002:11) that qualitative research is a research from theory to text and from text to theory. Practically speaking, most of the respondents are highly qualified professionals and not all of them would be able to take time to participate in semi structured interviews and focus groups. As Cohen and Manion (1980:14) believe this is also in accordance with the principle of parsimony, that is to say that phenomena should be explained in the way that is most economical. Questionnaires were used as a method of supplementing the findings of the research and allow more standardized answers to the questions under scrutiny. What is more, this would also allow a comparison of the

answers of the interviewees and questionnaire respondents and thus improve the initial research design. These were very rich and informative and are presented in the research findings chapter.

Focus groups

Focus groups are an attempt to conduct a focused conversation on a topic with a range of individuals (Wellington 2000:124). I held three (n=3) focus groups with one meeting and an in-depth interview with a student from the Faculty of Organisational Sciences. I held only one meeting with each of the three focus groups, so the frequency equals one per group and the duration was approximately 45 minutes. The questions in the questionnaire for this particular research were used as a basis for the focus group conversation. These groups (Wellington 2000:125) can be carefully planned and chosen with the best aims of research in mind. Some agenda needs to be set although the degree of standardization may vary. The group also requires a skilled moderator and that individual members are at ease. This type of research is increasingly becoming adopted in market research and social science research from the 1980s onwards. This is still a developing area of the research in social science (Darlington and Scott 2002:61). As methodological discussions indicate, focus groups are often used for media attitudes, brand attitudes, packaging aesthetics, financial services, utilities, to mention only a small number of them. Academic practitioners often use focus groups as a means of gaining insights into consumer behaviour or researching attitudes (Fern 2001:112). Focus groups are particularly useful for theory testing and theory development. Theoretical concepts can be generalized from discussion transcripts. Through a process of aggregation, what respondents say can be creatively structured into higher-order theoretical constructs (Fern 2001:153). The moderator of the focus group plays a crucial role in the process (...). He or she must have appropriate personal characteristics, professional qualifications and training needs (...). Qualifications often involve business experience of university degrees (Fern 2001:73).

A question on how directive the moderators should be also plays an important role in the research conduct. Non-directive moderators ask very few questions and do not actively participate in the research interview. Directive moderators actively participate by asking questions from the structured interview (Frey & Fontana, quoted in, Fern 1991:85). Getting other members to be responsive to other members and not only to the moderator will probably give incentive to discussion and contribute to the betterment of the validity of the research. This can be done either verbally or non-verbally. Putting emphasis on the positive aspects of their experience is also important (Fern 2001:90). I found using focus groups as very useful for this particular research project. The students of Mechanical Engineering were particularly keen to take part in the discussion in a hub and allowed me to obtain very rich and useful data. In addition to this, students of the Faculty of Political Sciences were very keen to answer questions on the change in professional education patterns and have given their own perspective. What is more, the students of the Faculty of Organisational Sciences covered aspect that the former two groups could not. Likewise, the number of groups can vary, depending on the scope of the research project. The number of groups required for a focus group project can vary from 1-30.

One focus group may be required to test the validity of the research tools, but probably 50 would suffice if we need to draw any conclusions in a project that examines cross-cultural patterns on a health related issue (Fern 2001:11). Flick believes (2002:113) that this research tool is information-rich and low cost, that they stimulate answers and are sharp in memory. What is more they can lead beyond the answers of a single interviewee. Herbert Blumer (Blumer 1969:41, quoted in, Flick 2002:114) argued strongly than a small number of individuals put together proved to be a much more useful device than any other representative sample. The passages below look at the central issue of documentary analysis. Focus groups were held with students of the Faculty of Political Sciences, Faculty of Organisational Sciences, and The Faculty of Mechanical Engineering. These were very thorough and informative.

Documentary Method

Primary sources are questionnaires, interviews, focus groups and many more. Secondary sources are documents such as letters, syllabuses, prospectuses, annual reports, examination papers, schemes of work, curriculum documents and many more (Wellington 2000:108-110). However, this system has been underused. For an example Glaser and Strauss (1967, quoted in, Merriam 2009:153) believe that this is the case primarily because people expect to do real research with alive individuals rather than limit themselves to the documentary method that is too often equated with historical research. What is more, this method is sometimes biased (Merriam 2009 154). For an example, crime statistics might be made shiny in order to present the agency of the police in a more positive light. Merriam believes (2009:139-149) that documents have this drawback that they are produced for purposes other than pure research. However, they have the advantage that the human factor has little or no influence over it. They are ready made sources for an investigator that is thoughtful and imaginative. These include: official records, letters, newspaper accounts, poems, songs, corporate records diaries and autobiographies. What is more, they are quite accessible, free and do not consume time (Merriam 2009:155). Recent educational research stresses the fact that the most useful documents of this type are: official policy documents, press reports on educational activities, reports of the broadcasting media and the research papers by the academic bodies (Scott 2000:2). However these documents are only a part of the mosaic of ideas that practitioners confront in their daily routine (Scott 2000:8). I used the official publications by the Ministries and NGOs, as well as to benefit from books, online sources and newspaper articles written on the subject. I also expect to benefit from texts with wide focus (Scott 2000:19) that deal with educational policy on macro-level. The academia, government agencies, and most of the social actors have their attitudes towards this change and this might help in conducting documentary method successfully as well as triangulating with other research techniques. For an example, within the U.K. context,

quasi governmental bodies such as OFSTED (Office for Standards in Education) and LEA (Local Educational Authorities) have their official statements on educational issues and imaginative researchers benefit from these (Scott 2000:18). Importantly, a qualitative research project might have as its aim to compare online and offline manifestations of a certain phenomenon (Orgad 2008:48). The documents used very daily newspapers, media outputs and publications of non-governmental organisations. These were very rich and informative and helped the data presentation chapter.

Researched Professional Education Patterns using Documentary Method

A great many of organisations issued documents that were useful for my research project. For an example, The Centre for Education Policy, an NGO, issued documents regarding the education of Engineers according to the Bologna model or the books on the Financing of Professional Education in contemporary Serbia. In addition to this, newspapers such as *Novosti (Evening News)*, *Politika (Politics)*, and *Blic (Flash)* issue articles on a daily basis that deal with the issue of professional education reform, financing of education, emergence of private universities as well as a number of topics that are interesting from the standpoint of my research. In conclusion, libraries as the Belgrade City Library, the Goethe Institute Belgrade as well as other libraries have their resources that are useful for the documentary analysis.

Researching professional education-sample

Many social scientists believe that valid and well-grounded generalizations can be “firmed up” and become laws that can be likened to those in physical and natural sciences (Sayer 1992:100). Consequently, the research aims to find these hidden regularities, as well as enable guidance for the future. The sample is mainly Belgrade-based and consists of approximately 50 lawyers and 50 university teachers from Belgrade University. The conclusions would be based on inductive reasoning. Inductive reasoning is a mode of reaching conclusion by which the social scientists extrapolate the characteristics of the sample to the entire population. Practically speaking, these methods are useful for hypothesis testing, prediction and estimation (Sayer 1992:191). The sample theory within the context of social sciences raises questions that are mutually interlinked with the philosophy of humanities. More specifically, it is connected with the problem of induction, and the issues whether analysts can extrapolate from the sample onto the entire population of lawyers and university teachers, or to the professional education in Serbia as a country. This is a classic debate within the sample theory and the philosophy of science, which remains relevant up until the present date (see for example Potter, *The Philosophy of Social Science*). The random representative sample would not be suitable in this particular case and would be combined with snowball sampling as well as purposive sampling. This mode of obtaining

respondents is often done by finding new interviewees by asking the previous ones. It represents a certain deviation from the random sample, and is often labelled as being ‘convenient’. Purposive sampling is applied in the situations when the sample is hand picked for research. This notion is applied to those situations when researchers already have foreknowledge about events or people and chose them on purpose. These instances are often picked when researchers believe that they are the most trustworthy for the project (Denscombe 1998:17). The next section discusses ethical issues.

Ethical Issues

As Wellington points out (2000:54-55) ethical issues are playing an important part in educational research. Ethical issues are important in physical sciences and biology for example. If central to the study of plants and animals, we can conclude that these are even more important for the study of humans and human society (...). Within the context of research project, this often implies the fact that moral principles should guide research. (...). Some examples of unethical treatment are filtering out data from survey that do not conform to my hypothesis, gaining access by violent means, and the design of the project can be unethical as well. Richard Pring, a well known educationist, also points to the fact that some comment on ethical implications is often required by those who sponsor research. Most doctoral theses require a short section in order to comment on ethical issues (Pring 2000:140). The British Educational Research Association’s concept of ethics states that educational researchers should not conduct research that jeopardizes academic freedom, nor should they exercise undue pressure on the funding bodies. Examples of such influence include attempts to interfere with the research conduct or to model research findings according to a pre-conceived set of goals. Also, social scientists should report to BERA any such attempts made by the funding agencies (BERA, Guideline 16, quoted in, Pring 2000:153-154). My particular research raises questions of privacy, consent and confidentiality of the research participants, such as lawyers and university teachers. I have learned that undue pressure should not be exercised on study participants to take part in this particular research. Following the consultation with the supervisor, I have obtained ethical approval for this particular research project from The School of Education, University of Nottingham.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to give an overview of methodology in social sciences in general, and sociology of education in particular. As such it has not restricted itself to presenting this only and has tried to give an account on what methodology was used in this thesis. In addition to this, the chapter has attempted to give an account of how many questionnaires, interviews and focus groups were used, why I preferred these to other research methods, and how these instruments were generated. This chapter also tries to point out more clearly that this research is not anthropological. More importantly, it has tried to depict difficulties in this research and explain how these were overcome.

Chapter 5: Documentary Data

The categories, democratization, governance and civil society, institutional sustainability and graduate employment and democratization and the European Union are a helpful way of organizing the data obtained during the sociological survey. In addition to this, there is a general jigsawing of the documentary data, the analysis of interviews, questionnaires and focus groups in this aspect. Documentary method is a *research technique* within modern social sciences, and to the best of my knowledge, it is yet unclear if it has the status of the method. Most of the researchers see it as an *ad hoc* technique, but they see it as useful for shedding light on the phenomenon under scrutiny. Finnegan (2006:139) thinks that proliferation of the written records is one of the most important characteristics of the modern society, and this is one argument in support of the use of documentary method. Boulton and Hammersley (2006:243) liken documentary method to the analysis of unstructured data. In accordance with methodological precepts (e.g. Jupp 2006:276), I used government papers that are forerunners for legislation in my analysis.

Within the context of social sciences, it is believed that it has associated techniques of data collection. There are a number of criteria that are used to focus the treatment of the data and these are: the most salient topics in the press, media outputs and releases that are published by the government, enterprises and NGOs. The frequency of topics and problematic phenomena are then used as a basis for doing the analysis so that the process of data collection is not random, but, on the other hand, it is not entirely deterministic either. The best would be to say that there is a freedom of argumentation within the ‘intellectual syllogism’ of documentary method, but there are signs of ‘strict’ and determined process. If I am tempted to compare this research technique to some other method within social sciences, I would argue that it can be likened to *content analysis*.

Democratization, Governance and Civil Society

Discussion of Key Concepts

Democratization, governance and civil society are understood here in their neoliberal manifestations. When authors such as Popper speak of the democracy and open society, they speak as though society consisted of an aggregation of individuals whose affairs are regulated by people who hold government (Cornforth 1968:290). Equality and freedom are key characteristics of democracy (cf Cornforth 1968:292). Popper’s main assumption was that to achieve the Open Society we must go into unknown, to uncertain and insecure, using what reason we have to plan as well as achieve security and freedom (e.g. Cornforth 1968:327). However, some analysts accuse Popper of vagueness when defining the concept of the Open Society (c.f. Cornforth 1968:327). Within closed society, institutions are not perceived as man-made, but as inviolable parts of the

order of the universe (Cornforth 1968:329). The development of technology is what causes the closed society to break down (Cornforth 1968:32).

To be more precise on the issue, democratization, governance and civil society are seen as bringing increased competition for places, growing insecurity and deregulation. Democratization and financial decentralization are the issues of key importance in Serbian professional education. Turajlić argues that the Serbian state introduced a number of organizational reforms from time to time. It is difficult to say whether or not these reforms served well to enhance the efficiency of the University. However, this kept the Universities busy and side tracked them from financial issues (cf Turajlić 2005). The authors further argue that the key challenge is to reconcile the tradition, corporate culture and democracy (...). There are also tensions on whether higher education should be perceived as expenditure or investment (*Ibidem*). This situation was caused by the profound social change, as well as by the intersection of change in economics, social issues as well as international mandates. From 1999 onwards, the most recognizable expression of the process of internationalization is the Bologna process. Partially, this was a response to the internal challenges of the nineties, as well as convergence of incompatible national systems and the challenges of globalization. This was also a response to the challenge of competitiveness on the global level (Pantić 2008:13). There have been two waves of educational change from ²2001-2004 and from 2004-2008. To link this more clearly to sociological theory Gramsci's notion of hegemony provides a useful analytical tool for the hypothesized inevitable arrival of knowledge society and the subjection of educational system to the demands of the knowledge economy. Importantly, hegemony, civil society and the war of position, *direzione/dominio* are concepts that forcefully emphasize resilience of a political order. Gramsci developed these notions by employing cultural, historical and political investigation (cf Fontana 2009:80). The inevitability of knowledge economy intrinsically implies hegemony, and Gramsci's theoretical armoury is a powerful analytical tool for the explanation of the lack of resilience of the Serbian state and education to the advent of this. These considerations are valid to even a greater extent for globalization. Gramsci's concept of hegemony challenges globalization as a concept because class reproduction and hegemony are constituted at a national level (e.g. Ruccio 2009:155).

Some of the key changes in the first period are the changes in education based on legislation in particular the *Law on the Foundations of the Educational System* (2003); new institutions providing educational development; initial teacher training; increased school autonomy and liberalized publishing policy. The second period (2004-2008) was marked by the adoption of the *Law on Higher Education in 2005* which marked the reforms in line with the Bologna process; new curricula; decreased average time for studying from 11 years in 2001 to 7 in 2007 (Ministry of Education 2008:7). Kostić also gives evidence that educational programmes are often outdated. Student services do not function properly, there are problems with financial means, among much else (Kostić 2005:309). More needs to be done to make the system more modern. Curriculum reform

means that more high quality publications need to be produced, and that requires coordinated efforts from the academia and many other agents. Serbian Law on higher education that was adopted in August 2005, states that the goals of higher education are: transmission of scientific, professional and artistic knowledge and skills; development of science and arts; provision of scientific and artistic offspring; provision of lifelong learning and the increase in the number of people with higher education degrees (Vukasović 2009:35). The Faculty of Architecture, which is the oldest institution for this subject in Serbia, is one of the first educational institutions that implemented the Bologna Declaration. This shift had been coordinated by the scheme TEMPUS (Trans-European-Mobility-Scheme for University Students) and the institution credited with bringing about this change was the Higher Technical School in Achen, Germany. This radical change has brought about a change at all levels: teaching, learning, infrastructure (cf Vuković Nikolić 2009).

One important development is the financial decentralization that has its flaws, in the light of the weak pro-poor strategies. In the words of Belfield and Lewin (2002), privatization is the transfer of assets, activities and responsibilities from governments/public institutions to individuals and agencies. Importantly, privatization is often seen as 'liberalization' where agents are freed from the constraints of the government, or 'marketization', where new markets are created as an alternative to the state allocation systems. Caillods echoes McGinn and Welsh who (1999) use another system to describe this type of developments. In their words, 'decentralization' is all about who should bear the burden of the cost of education and schooling (...). In addition to say that financial decentralization equals involution, does not do proper justice to the understanding of this phenomenon. What is more, people want to take part in decision-making and know what are they paying for. This is essentially the development within Serbian professional education, which is the devolution of authority with regard to financing and the increased sovereignty of the stakeholders, or those who have stake in educational affairs. Gudmand Hernes, former director of IIEP (International Institute of Educational Planning), says that privatization is a key development within the educational sector. It relieves governments from burden and enables them to wash their hands of excessive costs for the financing of education (Hernes, quoted in, Belfield and Lewin 2002:7). Within contemporary Russia, as pointed out by Morgan, Geroimenko and Kliucharev (2012:88) the period of post-socialism saw the development of several hundreds of private professional education institutions. Gramsci's hegemony again explains the 'inevitability' of educational inequalities. These inequalities can be perceived as constraints put on our practical and moral reasoning by the capitalist system itself (Hill 2007:5). Gramsci's thought is particularly relevant, as it explains how certain ideas and practices are relevant and perceived as 'given out' by the population and the putative subjected classes (cf Hill 2007:51). This theoretical link somehow explains how easily the lack of pro-poor initiatives is being accepted within professional education affairs.

Jelena Teodorović, for an example, says that any education reform passes through many stages and some of these are: (a) identification of policy problems (b) agenda setting (c) development of policy proposals (d) adoption of policy proposals (e) implementation of policies (f) evaluation of policies (Teodorović 2008:22).

From the 1990s onwards, universities rejected any state-initiated changes in professional education as an attack on their autonomy (Kovač-Cerović 2006:494). Within the context of state-socialism the state was entrusted with providing lodging, food and free education for pupils and students (Bondžić 2008:409). Some elements of welfarism existed as an alternative to privatization. The state apparatus was entrusted with providing basic security and not all educational affairs were left to the mercy of the market. Within state socialism, universities brought the relevant legislation to enhance the quality of studies and reduce wastage. These measures were centrally geared to increase the efficiency of studying, change the curricula and increase international cooperation (cf Bondžić 2008). In other words there were strong efforts to enhance the funding for professional education by supporting it from the income of individuals, taxes of enterprises and make stronger education-economy links. These developments have anticipated complete financial privatization/decentralization that occurred during the period of post-socialism *in nuce*. The need for this has been founded much earlier. Tensions about financial decentralization intersect disciplines such as economics/sociology of education. The Law on Fundamentals of Educational system regulates all of the issues involved in the planning of finance for education (Ministry of Education 2008:21). The levels of employment and GDP witnessed something of a similar development. This caused many problems (Ivanović 2000:155). In the light of the recent developments, my belief is that Serbian society is not ready for the change of professional education patterns. Even in the countries of the developed capitalism, there is a very strong need for state-involvement.

Fee subsidies for students who achieve were a trademark of the Serbian system of professional and higher education, and enrollees were divided into the groups of those who co-finance their study with the state, those who fully finance and those who are fully funded by the state. There is a diminishing pool of talent on the University, fewer and fewer students will be able to learn their professional skills from their talented peers. People from industry will not be able to distinguish those who are well-versed in professional matters from those that are not so well-educated. Carnoy, for an example, observes (1999) that “structural adjustment loans require the reduction in public spending, and every government considers educational expenditures to be a part of that package”. Again, here I should underscore the theory mentioned in the literature review, most importantly, the socialist. The central storyline of the empirical part of this thesis is the worsening of the conditions within tertiary education. Quite similarly, many observers (cf Hill 2007:184) have depicted Gramsci’s theory as being essentially about the worsening of the human affairs within the condition of the capital. Therefore, I might use it as a powerful explanatory tool for the worsening condition of higher education in Serbia with the emergence of private universities under the condition of capital and marketization.

The current economic constellation probably supports this policy towards fees and subsidies for education, in the sense that public funds for education, culture and health will reduce in the future. A thought-provoking article in a daily *Politika* argues insightfully that MMF is an organization of countries that mismanaged their economic policy, that spent money relentlessly, and scarcely did any work on the improvement of the business

environment (Stevanović 2010:16). Importantly, there should be scholarships allocated on a competitive basis for those who achieve on the faculties of economics, business and finance. Lawyers should be funded for their professional education from legal offices and international firms. Likewise, there should also be places for people that are not trained in specifically lucrative and marketable professions. These might be professional schemes in literacy, philosophy, sociology and literature, for an example. OECD document also says that the material situation of the university should be radically improved and cooperation with the outside world should be enhanced (OECD 2001:50).

Accreditation is also an important issue on the agenda. It is a reflection of the need for quality assurance in the light of the increased marketization. Srbijanka Turajlić, for an example, is of the opinion that bodies of experts should be involved in work in the regulation of accreditation of new institutions, and financing of professional and higher education (Turajlić 2001:3). Recent research on poverty reduction strategies in contemporary Serbia says that the fruits of professional education are normally enjoyed by the people who belong to the higher strata of society. Positive educational outcomes are intrinsically interconnected with material assistance and high quality professional education is impossible without financial aid (Babin, Pantić and Vukasović 2009:37). Another interesting study by Vukasović and Pantić (2009) makes a clear point that fees are far too high and that the state did not recognize the need to help these students. The amount charged for fees is far too high on the Faculty of Philosophy and there are few chances to get a fee waiver. In the words of Belfield and Lewin (2002) privatization of education can be done with (a) higher education being intrinsically privately funded, or (b) students enroling at private institutions for professional education. Some analysts simply assume that financing of education should be regulated normatively, so that the exact amount of financial participation of the student/state is known (Karavidić, Karavidić and Cogoljević 2008:49). Policy makers and education planners are clearly making strong efforts to enable equity within professional education. A very thought provoking and timely analysis in a daily newspaper *Novosti* makes a strong point that the Oil Industry of Serbia (OIS) has signed a strategic partnership with the University of Belgrade. Rector of the Belgrade University, Branko Kovačević, has said that the Oil Industry of Serbia will offer scholarships for a number of students on professional education schemes, mainly within technical/natural sciences (Bulatović 2010:4). These partnerships might well ease the financial burden from the Serbian state budget. Consequently, these partnerships should be further encouraged with foreign firms and enterprises. Amendment of the Law on Higher Education is an important issue on the agenda and helps immensely in improving financial sustainability. The first cycle of B.A.s (Bachelors) was maladjusted to the needs of the labour market, because many employers thought their degree was a second-class one and needed to be supplemented with a Masters degree. This caused unemployability. Perhaps the most salient problem causing this discontinuity was the fact that financing schemes for Masters degrees have not been formed. The Amendment of the Law presupposes elegant solutions to this problem (Gucijan 2010b:7). An interesting newspaper piece in *Danas* argues insightfully that everybody is talking about accreditation and very few

professionals are genuinely interested in what happens once teaching and research within private universities begins (...). Professionals argue forcefully that exactly the public institutions have a very poor quality of teaching and research, dominated by factography and most of the curricula are divorced from practice (Anon 2010). Private educational institutions use positive PR strategies for the relations with the general public and to attract future enrolees. Their activities can be likened to small-minded pursuit of pecuniary advantage. Rector of Singidunum University, a private educational institution, an economist by vocation, argues forcefully that it is exactly public universities that devour funds from the budget by producing a chimera of factual and underused knowledge (Anon 2010). However, some institutions constantly oppose this public criticism by passing accreditation examinations quite successfully. Further argumentation also says that most of the private educational institutions pass the process of accreditation without any problems whatsoever. Importantly, an interesting piece within *Danas Education Supplement Enrolment 2010* says clearly that Megatrend University passed this process. This was agreed on the session of the Commission for Accreditation on 11th of June 2010. It fulfills all of the conditions in terms of curricula, technical conditions, and many more. According to this source all of the faculties have a long standing record of academic excellence and scholarly achievement (Anon 2010:7). High flyers and excellent students are able to get scholarships for their studies and most of these opportunities are merit-based (Anon 2010). Consequently, most of the private educational institutions might try to off-load their unsold university vacant posts during the autumn, in light of their constant need to improve their balance sheets. Private universities are dependent upon the funding given by a large pool of under-achievers, unable to pass entrance examinations on public university. The emergence of private universities in Serbia and the fees that they charge is no more than gambling with livelihood and living standards of the students and their families in exchange for an uncertain projection for the future and ideal whose implication for practice is dubious and not known at the present moment.

Within the Serbian context, my opinion is that the simple causal relationship more education/more diversified skills/creative jobs/higher earnings simply does not work, because a great many 'professionals' have to reskill and re-qualify. In addition to this, a great many people need to work in professions that have nothing to do with the curriculum content of their professional education. Recent OECD report on Serbia informs that the restructuring of the country in line with democratization and the hypothesized EU accession will awaken the interest of donors and other parties. When fragmented proposals enter ill prepared education system, the normal outcome is not more than bureaucratic regulation (OECD 2001:45). Within some professional education schemes the funds are clearly lacking, and there are problems to introduce some of the key changes. Rosandić *et al* (2001) argue that teacher professional education suffered within the country because there were no funds during the nineties to finance ICT (Information and Communication Technology) literacy as well as the import of foreign peer reviewed journals to inform policy and practice (...). What is more, the present system where only the meritorious few can earn their place on university professional

education, and all of the others need to subsidise their professional education, will divert many from pursuing teaching as a career option. These changes at the macro-level are often softened by some of the policy issues. The Law of the Foundations of the Education System (2003, 2004) presupposes the inclusion of the poor and marginalized into the professional and, to even a greater extent, education programmes in general (Ministry of Education 2008:7). There is a strong vacuum created by the creation of private universities and the government slashing of the number of students studying supported by the state budget. Jelinčić, for an example, argues strongly that the reform of education in Serbia will have to count on a number of independent variables. In essence these are: Globalization of the capital and workforce and the free flow of intangible knowledge and ideas that is interlinked with this (...). Withering away of the prerogatives of the welfare state that gives incentive to the University to rationalize its resources in the best possible way, as well as to seek assistance from abroad (...). The emergence of the knowledge society that is based upon fundamentally different modes of professional education (Jelinčić 2005:14). Importantly, a publication of the Russian Academy of Sciences on Modernization of Education in Russia stresses the fact that the foundation of the innovative knowledge economy requires that the percentage of Gross-Domestic-Product allocated for education purposes should grow from 4.8% in 2007-2008 to 7% in 2020 (IoS 2010:76).

Universities generate their income from state- subsidies and from still modest fees from the students, and do not behave as market agents at the time of writing. In Serbia, most of the institutions are still semi-autonomous as they receive funds from the state. Dejan Popović gives evidence that the Ministry of Education sketched the Law on Higher Education that has still left a significant mark. It is one consistent attempt to integrate Serbian Universities into the European common sphere and offered a first attempt towards a thorough reform (2005:138). There is evidence that the Serbian Government has lit the new bonfire of regulations to tackle this problem. Given the overall negative state-of-affairs in the Serbian economy, it is quite difficult to heighten the level of the income of the Universities in their overall income. The amount they get at present is around 25-75%. Even those that have a higher income do well because of the state subsidies for education and the long periods of professional education, so that they benefit from rather modest fees (Popović 2005:139). The country also needs more external funding for the change in professional education patterns. EBRD, World Bank and OECD have expressed their interest to participate within the context of the Serbian transition by financing the enhancement of infrastructure. If they gave funds for the change in professional education, this would facilitate the overall state of affairs. Popović also poses some conceptual questions (2005:140). These are: Does the state budget have sufficient means for education reform? Is it possible that agents from the economy will be more interested in the research from higher education institutions? Would the World Bank be willing to sponsor this shift? Universities in Serbia have progressed in getting their autonomy. The situation is much better than in the past. For an example, for the University of Novi Sad, this was the greatest degree of autonomy since it was founded in 1960 (Stanković 2005:158). The precondition of the long term development projects is the multi year budgetary planning, which still does not exist in Serbia. This is the

reason of uncertainty when individual faculties of the university submit funding proposals (Babin and Lažetić 2009:129). Positive effects of the financially disintegrated university is the fact that they have creativity in distributing funds across faculties and departments (*Ibidem*:140). Ljubiša Rajić, believes that the process of accreditation should be applicable to public universities as well as to private ones (Rajić, quoted in, Biserko 2005:655). According to James (1987, quoted in, Belfield and Lewin, 2002:29), the mushrooming of private educational institutions is a result of the 'excess demand', which means that the supply given out by the state educational institutions is often insufficient. OECD document also says that when marketization and fragmentation enter labour market, new networks of solidarity and non-governmental organizations need to fill the gap (OECD 2001:45). Official documents reflect the need for further state involvement in reform processes. More than a half of the educational institutions in Europe agree that additional financial assistance is needed for the change in professional education. What is more, 75% of the people in charge of Universities in Serbia are of opinion that more needs to be done in this regard (Marinković Nedučin 2005:229). The lack of funds for professional education needs to be perceived as a negative situation that needs to be rectified. The potential chief problem of this policy is the fact that educationists and policy-makers might not be aware of the problems interlinked with this. To link this chapter to theoretical findings, Gramsci emphasizes that hegemony is all about the normative compliance to the structures of capitalism (Hill 2007:199).

It is also important to contextualize this provision of funding. The state needs to ensure that there is adequate funding for the requirements of a certain profession. Importantly, undergraduate studies and a small portion of Masters studies are financed from the state budget, but faculties have more of their own funding from additional student intake as well as from other income-generating activities (Kovač Cerović 2006:494). In relation to the point above, Branko Kovačević, rector of the Belgrade University, informs that all of the Faculties of the university have passed through the process of accreditation (Gucijan 2010b:7). The firm belief in the unjust nature of the present system of financing of professional education is contested by some scholars. For an example some authors (cf Stefanović, Karavidić Čukanović and Sokolović 2009) give a different view and argue forcefully that current educational reforms reinforce equality of opportunity as opposed to the state initiated reforms. More generally, marketization helps increase equality. The equality of opportunity within this context means that all of the potential participants have the chance to achieve a high level position within the competitive economy, either through financing their study through work, bank loans and debits. Another alternative is the top level achievement on the admission examinations. Vukasović and Pantić (2009) quote extensively from the sources that say that commercial logic within the Serbian education is fundamentally flawed. Belfield and Lewin are of the opinion that privatization can satisfy many purposes and the blinded rejection of education privatization is unwise and narrow-minded. This scheme can be correct if applied in a wise manner (Belfield and Lewin 2002:16-17). Recent government paper on youth policy makes this point even more apparent. There is a massive problem with poverty and youth employability (Vidanović et al 2001:3). The causes of this situation need to be explored and their relation with education more thoroughly

investigated. To expand further on the point raised above, the report of the Central Bank of Serbia informs that the gross domestic debt equals 76,5% of the gross domestic product and this places Serbia quite near to the group of the heavily indebted countries (cf Mikavica 2010).

Wastage means that students often do not complete their studies on time, or that they do not cope well with their working habits or study commitments. Branko Kovačević argues forcefully, in an article in a daily newspaper *Politika*, that there are some measures to reduce it. The bottom line for students to be funded by the state is 48 points on entrance examinations and there is an extension period for completion of the studies which runs for six months. A succinct analysis of the success rate says that on 13% of the professional education courses, success rate comes as being less than 50% and on some it is less than 30%. Arguably, the most salient reason for this is the fact that there are more commitments for a certain course than can be dealt with successfully by the students, and strong efforts on one course divert energy from concentrating on other courses (Gucijan 2010b:7). This aspect can well be enhanced with financial incentives. For an example, the state may stimulate students to complete their studies on time by giving study loans with interest rates that become grants if studies are completed successfully and on time. Some of the developed countries have already made significant efforts in this aspect. In Germany, if students complete their studies four months before the financial support requires, their debt is decreased for 2416 EUR. If they complete their studies four months before the period of financial supports ends, their debt is reduced for 917 EUR. In other countries, like the Netherlands, there are performance grants, and in Luxembourg there are incentive premiums that help complete professional education schemes successfully (European Commission 2007:112). That said, the system of student loans and grants is quite weak. In my judgment, initiatives of this kind should always be encouraged. Turajlić argues forcefully that within the particular Serbian context we have a mutual interest for a growing number of enrolees at major universities. Faculties are driven to obtain additional financial gain, and enrolees want to postpone, for as long as possible, being listed on the group of those that are unemployed (Turajlić, quoted in Bok, 2005). Growing number of enrolees is not a positive development as such. It is quite important that the initiatives for the growing number of enrolees at major Universities are combined with the measures to combat wastage. By doing that, my judgment is that the country would greatly tackle the current problems of unemployability. However, some remnants of the interventionism are clearly necessary in maintaining financially sustainable system of professional education. Likewise, there are tensions in deciding whether all funding should be given on a competitive basis, or some funding should still be given to Masters and Doctoral programmes, as assuming that appropriate strategy is provided (Turajlić 2005:15). Most of the talented individuals can not afford to pay for the training at Masters and Doctoral level and the aid from the state will contribute greatly to the maintenance of the system.

The debt accrued during the study for professional education will not be repaid easily. Most of the jobs for graduates come as highly under-paid and lack stability. There are a number of other important questions like: Should higher earning cohorts pay more funding for student loans after graduation? An interesting newspaper

piece gives a clear message that within some Serbian enterprises, salaries have not been paid to the workers for months and months (...). This situation has produced strikes of long duration and incited the agency from Ministry of Education and many state-based organs (Bukvić 2010:21). If loans are taken in a foreign currency and need to be re-paid, present oscillation of the national currency may increase this debt for 10%. Dejan Šoškić, an economic expert, argues quite strongly that this is the reflection of the country's weak competitiveness and the inability to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) (Šoškić 2010:11).

For an example, The Law on student standard regulates the rights of students to obtain support during the process of education (...). Student standard is an auxiliary service for pupils and students from economically under-developed regions and not so supportive social environments (...). Most of the enrollees are subsidized by the state (Ministry of Education 2008:75). This system is geared to provide food and lodging as well more favourable conditions for the development of professional education. It is a major success in the light of the existing inequalities, but is only a weak response to the existing societal problems. In this respect it is of use to avoid Scylla of eulogy as much as Charybdis of blank and narrow-minded rejection of all palliative measures. An interesting article in *Novosti* says that the amount charged for fees at the Faculty of Law in Belgrade for self-financing students equals the amount of money paid for each student for those who are supported from the state-budget and is at present 85.000 dinars. Importantly, all of the self-financing students have free books for each of the courses throughout the whole of the duration of their studies, and examination fees are written off for all of the students for the first three exams, oral or written (Borisavljević 2010:5). Marko Backović, Dean of the Faculty of Economics, Belgrade, says in his own words that fees have been increased in line with inflation to 100.000 per annum. Likewise, books are free of charge as well as fees to sign up for the first exam (...). This situation is pretty much the same on private universities as well (Borisavljević 2010:5). Fees for professional education need to be paid regularly, and bank loans are perhaps the only way conducive to the attainment of this goal. An insightful and information-rich article in *Politika* gives a word of caution that Serbia is a banking paradise because interest margins are perhaps the highest in the region of SouthEast Europe (...). Some banking loans are double or triple the price of these in the European Union (...). Some specialists also give a word of caution that margins will not be made lower in the foreseeable future, because loan risk comes as being very high. The only remedy are the state-based subsidies (Rabrenović 2010:12).

Importantly, most of the banks in Serbia keep their margin fixed, and devolve the risk of fluctuations in LIBOR (London Interbank Offered Rate/global benchmark for setting interest rates) and EURIBOR (European Interbank Offered Rate/referential Interest Rate) on loan consumers, which increases uncertainty substantially. In other words, for most of us that are not fluent in the financial jargon, this means that most of the enrollees at professional education programmes live in an age of uncertainty, and there are clear indicators that this situation will only be made worse in the future. Another well-informed article says that almost 80% of the citizens of Serbia have financial burden each month because they are unable to repay the loan instalments regularly (Moravčević 2010:9).

In addition to these clear inappropriacies, brain drain is a clear hindrance for the change within the context of professional education. As mentioned before, brain drain is an important issue on the agenda. It was at its best during the period 1990-1993. Specialists in chemistry, physics, mathematics, engineering were going away from the country and most of them were 30-36 years of age. Over 60% of them are below the line of 40 years of age and 40% of them got their higher degrees in Serbia (...). Most of those who left went to United States, Canada, Australia and Great Britain (Bošnjak 2005:192). In contemporary post-socialist Russia, many professionals are leaving the country to continue on with work in more prosperous environments like United Kingdom, Canada, United States, Australia and Sweden (IoS 2010:198). Among the key factors that determine this difficult situation in Russia, for an example, are low yields on educational credentials, poor working conditions, low prestige of scientific/intellectual work, suboptimal opportunities for professional growth and continual professional development (IoS 2010:203).

Importantly, Branko Milanović, in an article in a daily *Politika*, quotes an authoritative sociological survey that says clearly that two-thirds of the Serbian students on professional education programmes plan to leave the country after graduation. In author's own words, this statistics is both shocking and its results are expected (cf Milanović 2010). To reinforce this stream of thinking, an analytical article in a daily newspaper *Blic*, reports on the authoritative survey of the Ministry of Science and Technology that says that 39% of the researchers and scientists below 35 years of age would leave the country if the opportunity arose for such an undertaking. The most salient reasons for this are, arguably, low salaries, poor working conditions and existential problems (Anon 2010:4). For an example, Božidar Đelić, an economic expert, says clearly that it is highly unlikely that professionals will return if there is still economic uncertainty, jobbery and deregulation (Stojiljković 2010:7).

An article in a daily newspaper *Novosti* clearly highlights the fact that the standard of living is extremely low and an average family can not afford to pay for all of the indispensable ingredients of a decent quality of life (Bulatović 2010:9). These information are even more discouraging, given the fact that country's foreign debt is estimated at 23, 27 billion euros at the present moment (Nišavić 2010:4-5). Economic policy has put many constraints when it comes to professional education policy. For an example, a letter of intent of the Serbian Government to Dominic Strauss Kahn, IMF (International Monetary Fund) secretary general, highlights the fact that salaries within the public sector will decrease further in order to get the new loan instalment (Bulatović 2010:5). The most salient motive is the probability to get a working post abroad. 28% of the survey participants plan to leave Serbia, and the students from Niš University contribute to a great extent to this cohort. It is quite worrying that 10% of the respondents are ready to perform any work after graduation, regardless of their professional degree orientation. In addition to this, some 10,5% said that they expected to be employed by their parents, peers, friends or familial relations (Gigović 2010:8-9). Importantly, if research projects originate from abroad and are conceived by Serbian scientists, together with being linked to Serbia, they are clearly given more points on the scale, and attract more funding. In addition to this, pecuniary means

amounting to 20 million Euro from EBRD (European Bank for Re-Consturction and Development) are reserved for the return of the most successful researchers from abroad (Stojiljković 2010:7). These incentives might help to retain the most talented individuals. Božidar Đelić says that the status of young researchers has been instituted to tackle the problem of brain drain. Most of the scientists with this status will be able to have their own projects, laboratories and equipment (...). Most of the young researchers are of the opinion that this strategy is well-thought and innovative (Anon 2010:4). The key issue to be employed is to improve the working conditions.

There is no consensus on how many researchers left the country but the Ministry of Education is creating a registry of 500 of the most significant names (Stojiljković 2010:7). The Amendment of the Law on Education should institute the status of visiting lecturers in order to encourage all of the people concerned to return. Some of the examples testify for the success of this endeavour: Dejan Ilić from Varta Company who is an advisor to the president of Serbia, Miodrag Stojković, a geneticist, has opened a hospital and has brought the prestigious journal ‘Stem Cells’ with the impact factor 7 and Ljiljana Kundaković of the MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) will lead the centre for innovative activities of Serbia (Stojiljković 2010:7). In the words of Jeanpierre (2010:118) international organizations such as OECD, UNESCO, the International Organization of Migration and the European Comission have recently made strong efforts to determine the exact volume of the brain drain. In addition to this, funding has been obtained from European Bank for Reconstruction and Development/200 million euros, Bank for Development of the Council of Europe gave 35 million, and 25 million were collected from funds (Stojiljković 2010:7). Central question to be addressed, hence, is for what purpose do we need a change in the professional education patterns? How can the country retain the talented individuals? This will be dependent upon the pecuniary provision from more developed countries (Knežević et al 2002:9). For an example, the Serbian Government had a programme geared to stimulate scientific youth with funding for 1350 people involved in research work (Bošnjak 2005:579). However, it seems that a great many of the Serbian policymakers have not understood this commonsense knowledge.

However, the state-budget and its funds are very tight and this can be an obvious hindrance for development. Comparative studies in economics of higher education are primarily focused on the percentage of GDP that is allocated for education purposes. The region is lagging behind from what seems to be an internationally recommended target of 6% of GDP for education. Countries in the region spend around 4% on education, except Slovenia which seems to be spending more (Vukasović 2009:39). Social sciences and humanities are on the bottom of the table with regard to the amount of money they attract (Bošnjak 2005:183). It is also quite worrying that family income, rather than anything else, will determine who can be educated or not. Likewise, EU, UK or the Netherlands charge higher fees than Serbia (Robinson 2007:8). Quite similarly it is important to determine whether this system will enable that best faculties are given best students? To what extent can be said that this system is just? Can the country enable a more efficient and effective educational system?

(Vukasović 2007). The present system of financing higher education began in nineties, with the introduction of the cohort of people who had to co-finance their studies (Law on University 1992, quoted in, Babin and Lažetić 2009:114). When it comes to foreign aid, it is worth pointing out that from 2000 onwards the country received five billion dollars and one fifth ended up within the state budget (...). The strongest donors were European Commission, Italy, Germany among many others (...). Importantly 163 million were spent for education purposes, whereas the development of civil society attracted 331, 42 million (Mijušković 2010b:8).

This is clear evidence that education, and to even a greater extent professional education, is not a high priority on the agenda. With regard to funding and scholarships, it is important to determine on what basis should they be allocated. For an example, most of the countries allocate scholarships based on previous scholastic achievements (cf Vukasović 2009). It is also important to highlight that this scheme also depends very much on the existence of an effective system of monitoring and enforcement (e.g. Vukasović 2009). Donor agencies are increasingly playing an important role in the education reform. For an example, many foreign agencies have scholarship funds to sponsor those who achieve on professional education schemes (Turajlić 2001:7). Within the particular Serbian case, there is a dichotomous division of students on those who pay their fees and those that are sponsored by the state. Importantly, those from well to do backgrounds are over represented in the cohort of those who do not pay their fees (Vukasović 2007, quoted in, Vukasović 2009:55).

Belfield and Lewin are of the opinion that current reforms in education and in professional education amount to the increase of parental involvement within educational affairs (Belfield and Lewin, 2002, quoted in, Caillods 2002:9). In Germany, there is a fund called Bafog (an abbreviation for Bundes-Ausbildung-Forderung-Gesetz/The State Based Law for Provision of Resource for Education) , for the support of those whose parents' or partners' income do not go over a certain annual amount (Hermann and Verse Hermann 2007). Importantly, the scheme for researcher training is aimed at helping 100 talented individuals to continue with Master and Phd studies abroad. Although the funds were scarce and many problems were met, approximately 43 conferences were held with 8000 researchers, 9 summer schools and 30 monographs were published (Bošnjak 2005:178). When thinking of the development of financially sustainable professional education in Serbia, I must emphasize the fact that most of the enterprizes do not have sufficient funds to give away for research and professional education in general, the macroeconomic policy should probably be focused on the formation of Small and Medium Enterprizes (SME) geared to introduce the modern technology. This would be beneficial in terms of lowering the unemployment rate. The penetration of foreign companies should be in the form of international contracts, as well as leasing and franchising schemes (Bošnjak 2005:407). Todorović argues that Universities and Faculties in Serbia could be founded by the legal and physical entities and foreign ones, if there are necessary conditions (Todorović 1999:199).

For an example, those from the poorest families are under-represented 14% as compared to the average of 39%. This rule becomes even more apparent on the example of the least educated 19% as compared to the

average of 39%. Roma are also under-represented (Ministry of Education 2008:47). The former statelet, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, introduced the diminished funds for professional education purposes. Within the post-socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia/Serbia, there has been a sharp decline in the funds allocated for the purposes of elementary/secondary/professional-higher education. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia funding for the Serbian education declined sharply throughout the 1990s. These funds declined from \$621million/3.8% GDP in 1998 to \$201million/2.3%GDP in 2000. These funds are used for various purposes at all levels of the educational sector (OECD 2001:11). As Gornitzka says, in an article of the *European Journal of Education*, that differentiation means that education funding is recognized as an inherent part of governance (Gornitzka 2010:536). The ink on these documents on financial decentralization was scarcely dry when some of the analysts lamented the situation that the lack of financial means is a chief threat that undermines the development of human capital. In addition to this, it is not likely that this situation will change in the foreseeable future (Stefanović, Čukanović Karavidić and Cogoljević 2009:70). This view is contested by some of the official documents of the Ministries. This situation has somewhat changed in the recent years, given that the state gives more of its resources for the purposes of education. Importantly, some official sources (Ministry of Education 2008:6) say that there has been a growing investment rate for education purposes from (2,7%GDP/2001 to 3,7%GDP 2007) and there was a considerable growth in the funding of educational infrastructure. Recent data with projection for the future say that funding of education has somewhat improved. The Revised Memorandum of the Budget and Economic and Fiscal Policy 2009, with projections for 2010 and 2011 says that there is an allocation of 4% for every education year. This is still substantially below 6%, which is the official UNESCO recommendation (Ministry of Education 2008:21-22).

In addition to this, Serbian education is funded from the National Investment Plan (NIP), in particular for the years 2006-8. The exact amount is 6,75 million/EUR mainly for computers and Internet connection as well as improving the working conditions. Until today, the Ministry has spent 0.44 million/EUR for the professional development of teachers. The funds were used to develop further their professional skills as well as to incite the interest for work with vulnerable/marginalized groups. In 2008 further 56 million/dinars were approved from the NIP for the professional development of teachers (Ministry of Education 2008:22). The state leads restrictive social policy for education purposes and this is valid even when we are speaking of foreign donations and aid (Medić et al 2001:15). Some of the policy recommendations in this regard are the formation of a national fund for the development of education as well as form a national strategy to further the aim of adult education (Medić et al 2001:14). The system has been financed according to a decree from 1995 which gave a formula that the total amount of money should be allocated to each faculty. There are salaries based on the number of faculty members, grade, employment, number of students, courses, study groups. There are also teaching and material expenses (...). In theory, state is also able to provide capital investments in buildings and laboratories. This is a significant improvement, as there has been no funding for this type of activities in the previous years (OECD 2001:42).

The Serbian Government has clearly pointed to the fact that financial aid will be given to the most vulnerable groups. Importantly, this group involves students on professional education programmes. They are eligible to receive these funds until their 26th year (Stijelja 2010:5). Helping students comes as very important. Basic social security is very important for success and for further career development. A highly analytical article in a daily newspaper *Novosti* gives some interesting figures. Some sociological surveys highlight the fact that 16,3% of the enterprises plan to sack their workers. In spite of the fact that some analysts simply assume that the crisis is a matter of the past, Serbian enterprises are a 'hotbed' of low liquidity and insolvency. The most difficult situation appears within civil engineering industry, small and medium enterprises and textile (...). Latest information predict with certainty that the rate of unemployment comes to 16,6%. Official statistics give the figure of 767.418 of the unemployed, and some 45000 people have been sacked from the beginning of 2010 (...). Even large enterprises such as U.S. Steel from Pittsburgh and Norwegian Enterprise Telenor have reduced the number of employees drastically (Marinković 2010:6). Contrary to some of the obscure perspectives of the Serbian economy an interesting article in *Politika* says with certainty that the levels of industrial production are rising. The editors of the 'Macroeconomic Analyses and Trends' argue that the growth of 3,8% in the industrial production is quite conspicuous (Mikavica 2010:10). Over the transitional period, professional education schemes have suffered from the fact that teaching staff had to engage in all sorts of activities to maintain themselves like catering, smuggling etc. Student achievements suffered from this diversion (OECD 2001:44). This a specific kind of 'grey economy' geared to address educational inequality as well as to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor. However, these schemes need to be eliminated within the current state of affairs in order to enable stronger focus on changing the shape of curricula, increasing enrolment rates, as well as building stronger market responsiveness. To make clearer connections to sociological theory, some analysts have seen that Popper's account of the *Open Society and its Enemies* needs to be supplemented with the observation that the struggle for the open society is always a class struggle (Cornforth 1968:268).

Educational infrastructure is in the need of improvement as well. What is more, universities suffered from a serious lack of investment and this meant that libraries need to be re-stocked and refurbished, modern technology does not exist and material for experiments is lacking as well. The students are the agents that suffer most from these problems, and it will take some time to determine if these changes were positive or not (OECD 2001:42-43). It is worth pointing out that only the weak financial situation spared the country of the immense growth of private universities (Turajlić 2001:14). The emergence of private universities is always contested on the grounds that it diminishes quality of professional education. The Ministry of Science and Technological Development, led by Božidar Đelić, an economic expert, has succeeded in making this ideal a reality. Each professional education programme will have three reviewers, one from Serbia, and two foreign ones. Within medicine and natural sciences these developments are already far advanced, whereas humanities/social sciences as yet have meagre progress. Serbian reviewers will be nominated by the ministry,

whereas foreign ones will undergo a double procedure. The participation of Austrian, Italian, German reviewers has already been confirmed (Stojiljković 2010:7). This solution is brilliant in its clear simplicity. Contrary to the argument developed in this section, Branko Kovačević, rector of the Belgrade University, argues in a very timely analysis in a daily newspaper *Politika*, that students will be involved in ranking for those that achieve on professional education schemes, determining the allocation of funding in the last instance. Kovačević gives a powerful argument that the state funds almost 70% of the students that are subsidised from the state budget. The marketplace is dominated by public universities, they are in the majority (85%) and the rest is reserved for private educational institutions (Gucijan 2010b:7). Paradoxically, public universities have 150 contracts with professional education institutions abroad, whereas there are none with private educational institutions operating within the country (Gucijan 2010b:7). Kovačević gives a powerful argument that, within contemporary Serbia, key persons within private educational institutions extract personal profit from running of these institutions. Owners of private educational institutions greedily keep their profit margins high with very few bursaries to help the education of the deprived youngsters (Gucijan 2010b:7). A great many of these institutions serve as brass plates on a door, providing no teaching at all. Other that do so often offer inadequate courses or phoney qualifications. The rise in number of the private educational institutions might well cause a large number of the cohort of the NEET (Not-in-Employment-Education-Or-Training), a well known phenomenon in the field of sociology of education. In the light of the fact that the talent of the private universities will be annihilated by the market forces dispersant, it is apparent that private universities have too little brand-resonance and too much of faint image.

Electrical engineers get jobs straightaway, whereas lawyers and economists wait for a number of years. Importantly, most of the professional education schemes of private institutions concentrate specifically on these professions (Gucijan 2010b:7). Accusation for profit accumulation can be directed against public faculties as well. Kovačević also says that profit is the catchword for public universities as well (...). Almost 97% is spent on salaries and money for investment is clearly lacking. Costs of accreditation are paid by the budget and amount to even more than 200 million dinars. The increase in fee levels does not exceed 10%, meaning that the allowed level for increase can not exceed annual rate of inflation (Gucijan 2010b:7). A great many of newspaper articles highlight that corruption comes as one of the most important characteristics of the Serbian society (Petrović 2010:9). It diverts funds for professional education from their clear purposes, and disables the whole system. Some of the 'professionals' and 'intellectuals' have taken up the role to eradicate corruption from the educational system. An expert team led by Professor Čedomir Čupić, a sociologist, has a task to annihilate corruption within Serbian society in general, as well as in education, in particular (Stojadinović 2010:11). For an example, the director of Union University, a private educational institution, was charged for excluding three faculties from the community of this university. This caused problems with financing and enrolment rates, as well as the income from fees. Some opponents simply assume that this information is factually inaccurate. The Court for Economic Affairs in Belgrade annihilated this ill-suited decision that caused much financial damage to this private university (Anon 2010:11). In relation to these

clear accusations against private professional education institutions policy-makers have created a list of professions that can be studied only on state-based professional education institutions. Among many others, these are teachers, judges and doctors. Many people of influence say that this is by no means favouritism, but that what is at issue are the professions of public interest (Gucijan 2010b:7). Financing of education could benefit greatly from sources that are not strictly fixed, and are dependent upon the performance on the market. Ivošević and Miklavić, for an example, argue that Universities could benefit greatly from external sources of funding, research projects for an example (Ivošević and Miklavić 2009:89). Particularly within the Serbian context, there is room for improvement in making links between universities and industry much stronger. In essence, given that the country is undergoing the period of transition, there is a strong chance to improve. Most of the countries in South and Eastern Europe have criteria according to which funding is allocated. These are in the form of output criteria (...). Contracts between higher education institutions and the state are often signed where both sets of agents have rights and obligations (cf Vukasović 2009).

My own belief says that the country would benefit greatly from the contacts between professional education institutions and foreign companies, for an example. The level of Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) is diminishing, but having said that, it is not entirely forgotten. An interesting article says that mining enterprizes have formed cooperation with foreign firms, from Canada most notably, and these plan to open new sites and form new enterprizes (Trifunović 2010:7).

My own view is that faculties, institutes and professional education institutions can use this favourable situation to form contracts with these enterprizes where funding would be given to educational institutions to support those who are not from well-to-do families with the obligation to work in industry after graduation. Theoretically, some analysts, as Horace Mann, have argued that education should not be left to the whims of the private enterprise or the capriciousness of the parents (Reese 2004:148). For an example, universities and departments benefit greatly from student fees, research projects and non-budget income. The non-budget income amounts to 5-50% of the overall income and with the economic breakdown the structure of this income is reduced to fees paid by students, which means that institutions admit more students even if this trend goes contrary to the quality of teaching within professional education (Turajlić 2001:16).

Reports of a number of 'professionals', 'intellectuals' and 'policy makers' report with certainty that a high quality professional education enables better career perspectives and vertical social mobility. Importantly, high quality professional education can help achieve chequered careers (Bilbija 2010b:12). My own belief says that this a strong argument in support of the greater investment for the purposes of professional education. Another strong argument for financial investment is given below. An authoritative sociological survey says with certainty that enduring inequalities can be overcome and that a great many of the Serbian citizens opine that vertical mobility towards middle-class status is achievable (Bilbija 2010c:12-13).

Likewise, during the period of isolation, the amount of inputs of foreign governments and agencies for the development of professional education was strictly limited. What is more, professional education was affected by the slow application of information technology inputs and knowledge (Bošnjak 2005). In Serbia the number of student loans given by the banks is strictly limited (Ivošević and Miklavić 2009). The current economic crisis will probably strengthen these developments. For an example, the economic instability will probably divert many foreign investors from entering the country and the precepts of the aid agencies will need to be strictly adhered to when asking for loans for education. During the 1990s and the period of isolation, the educational sector has suffered some major funding problems. Government subsidies for education diminished sharply as well as investments and diminishing levels of real wages have demotivated those working within the education sector. In 2000 a wage for those working in the education sector was dollar a day (Knežević et al 2002:77-8).

Bošnjak is of the opinion that Serbia should find a modern conception of growth within the sphere of science and professional education that would be connected with research institutes and make the body of knowledge available to every person (Bošnjak 2005:34). Ministry of Education still says that some of the key policy issues with regard to educational development will be quality of education and effectiveness within the European Union Framework, and importantly, equity and social justice (Ministry of Education 2008:53). According to the data from 1990, post-socialist Yugoslavia had 200 institutions labeled as people's, Open and Labour Universities. These institutions were forbidden from conducting any teaching activities which meant that the subsidies from the state budget were reduced drastically, whereas some were privatized or became state owned (Medić et al 2001:25).

In addition to this, they clearly address the essence of the problem of educational inequality within contemporary Serbia and do not serve as temporary solution to many problems encountered within the Serbian professional education schemes. Market does not regulate everything when it comes to the professional education programmes. For an example, they want to sell their products on the market and equip students to sell their skills. Derek Bok (2005) thinks that companies work very hard on the efficiency of their business and universities should do pretty much the same. The section above sketches some difficulties in maintaining market driven system of professional education. What is at work is a mere imitation of what developed countries are doing. However, this can not be done in Serbia, and there are many reasons why this is the case.

Institutional Sustainability and Graduate Employment

Institutional sustainability is understood here as market responsiveness. This section follows the central storyline that within state-socialism professional education schemes were credited with thorough-going

inefficiency and lack of market-responsiveness, whereas the emergence of post-socialism on the ideological arena brings a pressing need for stronger market-responsiveness. Caillods asks, in a preface to Bertrand's insightful booklet, whether education system should be developed to match the needs of the labour market? That is a question that human resource planners have asked themselves for quite some time, without coming to a successful conclusion (Caillods 2004, quoted in Bertrand, 2004). Within Serbian education, this is perhaps the crucial question and a great many of the official documents reflect the need for further involvement of stakeholders and stronger market-responsiveness. Belfield and Lewin, educational analysts, argue that privatization is often interlinked with threatening connotations: cost cutting, making profits from the vulnerable and the breakdown of the social ethos of education (2002:15). Martin Carnoy, an economist of education, has argued (1999:15) in his booklet, that there is a strong demand for products with very high skill content. Work is becoming more and more organized around the notion of flexibility. What is more, people change jobs comparatively frequently and the nature of these tends to be multitasked. My belief is that, within contemporary Serbia, the key question is, as Ivković puts it (1990), whether knowledge can play the role that capital did, as understood by Marx and socialists. Socialism was also distinguished by the fact that educational programmes were designed to produce well rounded and educated individuals. Bolčić argues (2009:41) that the first curriculum of the Faculty of Philosophy in 1959 and 1963 was designed to produce professionals with a great breadth and depth of knowledge that could work as consultants, teachers and organizers. Essentially, this meant espousing the socialist way of thinking and making scientific inquiry adjusted to the needs of the socialist state. This trend in professional education was apparent in all of the countries of state-socialism. Although apparently egalitarian, state-socialism was intrinsically elitist in character when thinking of professional education. Only a small minority of technocrats could afford to educate themselves on universities. In addition to this, this was clearly insufficient for remaining competitive and social capital embodied in the membership of the communist party was an indispensable ingredient for advancement. The lack of entrepreneurial spirit within the period of socialism was quite conspicuous.

Professional education was centrally concerned with the maintenance of the ancien régime. Filipović says that the encyclopaedia of entrepreneurship very rarely mentions terms such as entrepreneurship, for an example (...). Management was also neglected because it intrinsically implies the existence of private ownership (Filipović 1995:126-127). Pipiya talks (2010:87) that Russian Federation is very strong in the Humanities, but for the long periods social sciences were interpreted from the angle of view of the Marxist ideology. State-socialism implied the possibility to maintain one's position on the market that was not determined by the personal initiative, and professional education schemes were not geared to develop this characteristic when individuals are concerned. Later on, the number of people attending education institutions in general, and higher education institutions in particular, has increased substantially. Importantly, during the academic year 1970/71 Yugoslavia had 2834581 enrollees in elementary schools, over 500000 in secondary schools, 282 546 students in higher education institutions and over 500000 in workers' colleges (Polić 1974:84). Dragomir

Bondžić, a historian of education, quotes authoritative sources that say that the percentage of people undergoing professional education schemes was low, 0,3% in Federal Peoples' Republic of Yugoslavia and 0,5% in Serbia (Bondžić 2008:393). Educational and scientific policies have been determined centrally by the Agitprop apparatus (Bondžić 2008:395). Moral education was centrally geared to resocialize proletariat and peasantry, develop new institutions and form the new obedient intelligentsia (cf Bondžić 2008). A resolution was issued in 1945 by the National Assembly of Serbia dealing primarily with higher education and it was requested that it should be brought in line with the legacy of the liberation of the people (Bondžić 2008:397). Higher and professional education was considered to be very important, the number of faculties increased substantially so that new Faculties were founded (Bondžić 2008:397). Self management was introduced in 1954 on Universities. This measure was introduced after vehement disputes and struggles, ideological and political (Bondžić 2008:406).

Work based learning and managers' education is an inherent characteristic of the professional education within post-socialism. However, socialist Yugoslavia has sketched these developments. Human Resource Department often uses the information they require in a creative manner, in order to obtain best possible 'professionals' to perform on the labour market. Kronošpan, a recent greenfield investment and a company dealing with the production of furniture, has created 160, 300 and 2000 vacant posts for new employees (...). These investments help narrow the gap between haves and have nots as well as help embellish the overall economical picture of the country (Tanjug 2010:10). In addition to these new professional education institutions are emerging as a response to the need for a particular type of skilled professionals. New Universities are emerging as an attempt to coordinate the system of education with the needs of the labour market. Within military purposes, these universities are sometimes formed by a group of enthusiasts. An interesting article in *Politika* argues forcefully that the Professors of Military Academy increasingly frequent seminars, lectures and conferences abroad as a means of furthering the aims of their discipline. However, to form a well-rounded system of education for military purposes, a university needs to be founded (...). This area enables a diversified portfolio of skills and recent efforts are geared to enable equation of Serbian degrees with those existing in Europe. As a latest innovation these faculties have been given the ability to perform doctoral studies (...). These reforms require a certain amount of time that puts additional pressure on the system (...). Education in this area is certainly going forward, given that what is now required are analytical skills, assertiveness and communication skills. Enrolees are attracted with the certainty of getting a job, focused work in small groups as well as many other advantages (Bilbija 2010a:8). To expand even further on the point raised above, an article in a daily newspaper *Danas* shows clearly that professionalization of the military forces within contemporary Serbia creates the demand for a particular type of people to be employed. Among many other profiles, these are people with a specific type of vocational and importantly, people with a very high skills content, professionals. The example of the former are policemen and labourers and of the latter military professionals (Cvejić 2010:4).

In essence, this system will help diversify the supply of professional education schemes as well as make it more focused and market-oriented. It is also important to coordinate many levels of education reform. In addition to this, relevant legislation needs to be formed to facilitate the formation of textbook publishing. These changes can best be described by the term vocationalization of professional education. Professional education is increasingly becoming specialized and led by the market forces. This development began during the 1980s and meant that some of the technical and vocational colleges were upgraded to the status of universities and non-university sector was allowed to take up the role of the provider of technical and vocational education (Eurydice 2000:15). The main goal of the reforms is to ensure that Serbian system of higher education and other systems have stronger compatibility, comparability and transparency. These are not goals per se, but their central aim is to ensure greater mobility on the European common market (Kleut 2006:7). Importantly there is a strong need for the *laissez-faire* system of education. The state is to ensure that changes happen without some major problems, and there should be a direct influence of the market forces on this sphere. For an example, in the terminology of Neave and Van Vught (1991) there is a general shift from the model of ‘interventionist state’, towards ‘facilitating state’ (Eurydice 2000:19). Pantić, for an example, says that curriculum reform, and the change of patterns of professional education so that they are competence based comes as one of the main goals of education reform in the Western Balkans (Pantić, quoted in, Zgaga 2008:8). In addition to this, the World Development Report says that most of the education schemes in the transition countries have not met the requirements of the labour market (WDR 2006, quoted in, Fasih 2008:3).

The whole civil engineering industry is geared to accept the new cycle of graduates studying according to the new curricula. The new draft for the Law on Civil Engineering industry pre-supposed the inclusion of many professionals and apprentices (...). By introducing these measures, the country wants to help the woeful situation within civil engineering (Vuković 2010:9). Some analysts also assume that there should be more flexibility when speaking of the reform of professional education. We need more patience with the preservation of diversity. “It is also important to highlight that the goal is not the formation of a unified and prescriptive curriculum, nor do we want to erase cultural differences or put forward a set of definite rules and procedures that would limit education. We also do not want to limit the autonomy of the university professors or damage local and national autonomy” (Tuning Educational Systems in Europe, 2003, quoted in, Kleut 2006:7). Some questions that obviously come to mind are: are the exams getting easier to pass? Exams are barely tested and can only rely on verbatim regurgitation of previous year’s answers. The Government should safeguard the development of educators within the context of Youth Policy. This cohort of people would have a multiplicative effect on the quality of education and be a genuine link between the Government and Non Government sector (Vidanović 2001:5). Curriculum reform should be done having in mind the care about core knowledge concepts in all of the above mentioned disciplines. What is more, this should also ensure that networking is made possible. These activities should be done in accordance with the Bologna follow up group as well as other agents such as EURASHE (European Association of Institutions of Higher Education) and the

Association of European Universities (Tuning Educational Structures in Europe 2003, quoted in, Kleut 2006:7-8).

At the beginning of each academic year, most of the policy makers and educationists become so obsessed with whether exams are too easy or too difficult to pass, and this would lead most of the people to think that the purpose of education is to erect a specific kind of intellectual obstacle course to separate chaff from the wheat. Importantly, in 1998 when some 200 professors were fired and the university lost its autonomy, Alternative Academic Educational Network was formed to help modernize the education system. More specifically, this organization was formed to help educate additionally the young academics and facilitate educational transition (...). Students graduating from these schemes will be able to fill in positions in local and public administration as well as business and engineering environment (OECD 2001:41-42). When speaking of the involvement of the stakeholders, what do analysts exactly mean? The main factor influencing the development of quality assurance procedures within Serbian education is the fact that we did not have any of these procedures. By doing so, the country would give the info to all of the relevant stakeholders on the quality of education provision and educational outcomes (Havelka et al 2001). This might be interpreted as the loss of educational autonomy, or the loss of educational self-reliance. To link this more clearly to educational theory, Gramsci's thought is centrally concerned with the apparent loss of educative/formative component within the sphere of education (Hill 2007:221). Popper's intellectual arguments also show clearly that every other aim of policy in neoliberal society is subordinated to the need to safeguard capitalist profit (Cornforth 1968:208-9). These are just a number of examples that show how theory informs research findings.

Official sources say that the policies of the National Ministry of Labour do not have consistent policy on educational contribution to employability, nor is there a clear vision on how education can narrow the gap between haves and have-nots. What is more, there is no vision on how education can solve the problem of disbalance between supply and demand (Medić et al 2001:17). What is more, efforts are made to change its status as non-governmental organization to that of the university (OECD 2001:42). All of the graduates should have knowledge of at least one foreign language and ICT literacy as well as the ability to think and orient themselves in the environment. Eurydice document says that in 1996, The European Commission launched a document *Learning for the Information Society*. In so doing the organization underwrote the political belief that the use of ICT comes as one of the most important developments in education (Eurydice 2001:17). Importantly, due to the crisis in the 1990s the teaching profession witnessed the loss of attractiveness. Working at a school is now seen as a job that brings low workloads, basic social and economic security as well as long breaks, but no career perspective at all (Kovač-Cerović 2006:498). A book *Modernization of Russian Education* gives a succinct message that a good education system is a prerequisite for economic success. To be more particular, the flexibility of professional education schemes and human capital play a crucial role here (IoS 2010:43).

In addition to this, it is worth highlighting that difficulty of courses is not important at all. Educationists often believe that you can set the same set of tasks to all people and then just let the brightest perform better. Some university professors opine that education reform and the conduct of education during the reform process should be supervised by an independent audit institution that would monitor quality. The Serbian Parliament already has some actions that conceived the formation of such a body (Turajlić 2001:4). Some steps have already been taken to ensure that there is a stronger compatibility with the requirements of the labour market. The National Council for Education will be formed of the independent experts, members of the Ministry of Education and evaluation (Popadić et al 2001:17).

Curriculum Reform is also very important. Curriculum development should be done according to a certain methodology. There are 30 prescribed generic competences that should be borne in mind and evaluation of students, professors and employers is useful in this respect. Core competencies are also used and professionals are consulted. What is more, ECTS (European Credit Transfer Scheme) system is used for curriculum development and the number of hours students attend classes is used as a parameter for curriculum development (Kleut 2006).

Ferrer (2010:601) believes that the impact of the Bologna Declaration is embodied in thousands of references and books that deal with this important issue. One of the most recent is the seminar held at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade with the participation of more than 40 university professors from Serbia and Macedonia. This assembly dealt with the issues of core competencies, generic skills and credit transfer system. Some of the participants were Carita Blomquist from National Education Council in Finland and a member of the committee for the execution of the Lisbon Convention; Katherine Isaacs from the University of Pisa in Italy and an expert in history, Dr Jenny Moon from Exeter University; Norman Sharpe from quality assurance agency in Scotland and Jadranka Dimov from the Serbian National Department of Employment (Kleut 2006:13). Another project was “Regional Curriculum Adjustment, Towards a European System of Higher Education”. From that moment, introductory seminar was held, as well as six network seminars to enhance the quality of professional education (Kleut 2006:14). Introductory seminar was held from 17 until the 21st of April 2006 in the hotel Norcev in Fruška Gora. It was particularly well attended, by forty-three university professors and among them were Deans, Professors and Lecturers from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia. All of the participants were from Social Sciences and Humanities departments (Kleut 2006:14). These seminars were centrally concerned with challenges in social sciences and humanities, possibilities for employability, counseling in this aspect, curriculum structure and development. These questions were answered by academics and policy makers and these are Steve Quarrie from the University of Newcastle, Ljubiša Rajić, Srbijanka Turajlić, Fuada Stanković, Jadranka Dimov, as well as young researchers Martina Vukasović, Jelena Kleut and Predrag Lažetić (Kleut 2006:14).

A list of forty core skills was made according to the European model, but with reference to the specifics of the local culture. These core skills, as identified on the seminars, were given for evaluation to university teachers, employers and graduates. What was agreed was the formation of six subject specific networks as: economics and business, law, psychology, philology, educational sciences and journalism. After this, a discussion was held involving people from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia (Kleut 2006:15). In contemporary Russia, the innovative character of education is seen as a main driver for the competition with other transitional states (IoS 2010:45). In my view, professional education beyond core competencies should also be encouraged in the form of lifelong learning initiatives and the state should ensure that these initiatives are taken seriously. For an example, the World Bank Report (2008) makes it apparent that lifelong learning can be enhanced and refined through cost-sharing schemes as well as government subsidies (...). It is also quite important that these initiatives are not applicable to poor and developing countries. The participants of thematic networks met in Belgrade, on an assembly held on 21. and 22. of October. It was well attended with over thirty five attendees from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia. The following networks were formed:

Economics and business (coordinator was professor Sasho Kjošev, Faculty of Economics, Skopje);

Law (coordinator was professor Dragan Pantić, the Faculty of Law, East Sarajevo);

Psychology (coordinator was professor Vesna Gavrilov Jerković, Faculty of Philosophy, Novi Sad);

Philology (coordinator was mr Tamara Valčić Bulić, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad);

Education (coordinator was professor Violeta Arnaudova, Faculty of Philosophy, Skopje);

Journalism (coordinator was Enes Osmančević, Faculty of Philosophy, Tuzla) (Kleut 2006:15-16). Each of the groups sketched a list of core competencies that need to be the main feature of the curricula, or the main points for the adjustment. These lists are, until the present date, incomplete and will not be presented here for consideration. Further development can only be made through networking. Given the fact that most of the people that took part in the conference here were enthusiastic, it is reasonable to expect further progress in the future (Kleut 2006:16).

According to the European project there are three groups of core competencies and these are: instrumental, interpersonal and systemic. These skills will be presented here as well as those that are specific for a certain region. Methodology will be refined further and then the main findings. These instrumental competencies are: capability for analytical thinking and synthesis; Ability for planning and organization; basic general knowledge; fundamentals of professional education; Oral and written skills in mother tongue; knowledge of a foreign language; basic ICT literacy; knowledge of management and information and the ability to combine information from various sources; problem solving; decision-making; Among interpersonal skills authors

should highlight: ability for criticism and self-criticism; team-work; interpersonal skills; ability to work in interpersonal teams; ability to communicate with non-experts from other scientific fields; understanding of cultural differences; ability to work in international environment; ethical commitment (Kleut 2006:17).

Retraining is not an efficient technique to enhance the quality of professional education. Most of the people can not be trained to become efficient and effective on the workplace once they have had long working history. In addition to this, recent research on poverty reduction within contemporary Serbia says clearly that income of the highly skilled is three times the income of those who are not (Babin, Pantić and Vukasović 2009:41). Rosandić et al (2001:4) are of the opinion that continual professional development of teachers requires to change the curricula of teacher training faculties and the establishment of training institutions within academies for teacher training. The working group is also in favour of greater autonomy and of the formation of accredited professional apprenticeship to enhance the quality of professional education. The law on continual professional development of teachers was abolished (Rosandić et al 2001:9). To quote Popper once more, the enterprises are seeking to control people and shape their social relations and they use social stresses to execute this plan to successful completion. What they plan depends on what power is exercised in institutions by conflicting social interests (Cornforth 1968:228). Apprenticeships are increasingly becoming appreciated as the way of on-the-job learning.

Some of the professional education schemes in the countries of the region are firmly grounded on the practical aspects, whereas most of the others are entirely theoretically based (Kyriacou et al 2004, quoted in, Pantić 2008:34). Competencies of the professors and teachers are a very important segment of the higher education reform. For an example, efforts have been made at the University of Novi Sad to evaluate competences of the professionals as a specific segment of quality assurance. Within the context of some professions, like doctors, these systems of evaluation are not so important, but for some they are of great importance (Pantić 2008:41). Milosavljević and Vukanović, analysts of professional education, are of the opinion that faculties are expected to produce well-rounded individuals ready to perform their tasks and compete on the labour market (Milosavljević and Vukanović 2000:7). Report on Teacher Training Faculty says that achievements are made in innovating curricula within this sphere. Cvetković says (2009:53) that efforts are made to meet European Standards of Education and the reform of the curricula is going well. Students are required to do a lot of work individually, and the new English language module has proved a massive success. This module is accredited by the Ministry of Education and lasts for five semesters. Inspirational teaching is also one of the major strengths of this programme. This is just a response to the need for the skills development.

The main line of development with the countries undergoing the transition from state-socialism is the fact that there is modification of professional education rather than abrupt change that implies overcoming the deficiencies from the past. It is in the form of restoration of some characteristics from pre-socialist period, and

the introduction of new elements (Ivanović 2000:130). Within the context of professional education in the field of medicine, new enterprises are rising to absorb the first/second cycle of graduates whose study is based on the new curricula. The private medical centre ‘Belgrade’ will witness the first heart surgery. These activities will be paid by the insurance funds, and it is expected that a thousand individuals will undergo surgeries *per annum* (Radivojević 2010:5).

The representatives of the Faculty of Architecture, for an example, say that web pages are a very useful interface between students and professionals when we speak of professional education processes (...). What is more, schemes such as Microsoft Power Point and many other tools help enhance the quality of visual presentations (Vuković Nikolić 2008:648). In developed countries, audioconferencing is increasingly becoming used for professional education purposes. Importantly, this implies the communication of a number of persons, connected with a telephone system. Within our country, the videoconferencing is used within enterprises, and the Faculty of Organizational Sciences has a pioneering role. This mode has been used by many faculties, especially for distance education (Cakeljić 2009:335). Contrary to these developments, some professions have witnessed deprofessionalization, as the case of journalism shows clearly. A great demand on the market for journalists has sometimes led the employers to hire those who have completed only secondary education (Matić 2007:15). Continual professional development is a basic need for every teacher, if he or she wishes to prepare thoroughly for the forthcoming education reform. This task can be accomplished individually or collectively. Within the contemporary Serbia, the national scheme for continual professional development has been at work for over 7 years now. This is done through the existence of accredited programs specifically geared to address this purpose. What is more, these courses are mainly in the field of psychology, pedagogy or other fields (Kundačina 2008:93). Šefer, for an example, thinks that professional schemes need to be reformed and enhanced so that they are made simpler and that more space is left for individual learning and creativity (2008:17). Some research was already done on the effectiveness of professional practice which is an indicator of high quality professional education schemes.

Research was done in both urban and rural schools, in order to determine the quality of professional practice of teachers (Šefer 2008:36). With regard to this issue, a thorough research was done on the issues of: modernity of the courses taught, ranking and esteem of educators involved in the process, adequacy of the organization, evaluation and financial support as well. 74,4% of the teachers agree that these courses are adequate and think that educators are quite accomplished as professionals (69,4%). The adequacy of organization has witnessed less esteem (64,7%) and the validity of the evaluation of educators (62,9%). Financial support for the scheme was held in quite a low regard as 39,8% evaluated it as negative and inadequate. In the light of the above, I can say that the continual professional development of teachers comes interlinked with many problems: the clear lack of financial resources, under-diversified choice of courses, poor applicability in practice, inadequate spatial organization of programs, large numbers of enrollees. In addition to that there are too many lessons per day and the equipment is lacking (...). Namely, 78,5% per cent

of the respondents think that financial resources are inadequate. 68, 6 per cent think that there are far too many classes per day. 56% think that we have too many enrolees. 26,8% think that lecturers are not well-prepared and educated (Kundačina 2008:100-101). A great many of the newspaper articles highlight the fact that it is important to choose carefully on which professional education courses to study. A succinct analysis in a daily newspaper *Blic* does so by saying that medical general practitioners (GPs), art historians, agricultural engineers, textile and mining engineers find it very difficult to find a job. The National Bureau of Employment says that the average time to get a job is 2 years in Belgrade, and 1,8 years in the rest of the country (...). Graduates of Medical School increasingly enrich the cohort of those that are unemployed (...). A great many of the highly educated are employed. Pharmacists, IT and software specialists, engineers, mathematics teachers, interpreters, professors of chemistry, civil engineering specialists, are people that find a job much easier than others (Gigović 2010:8). The emergence of corporate culture fits well with broader theoretical concepts. For an example, Gramsci's idea of domination, in the words of some analysts, represents a eulogy to corporate culture and gives support to the inevitability of social divisions based on longer processes of learning and education (cf Adamson 1980:10).

According to the latest data, boost in employability is to be expected within media industry, culture and information, design and production. To this list should be added financial specialists, medics and dentists, preventive medicine, plastic surgery, human resource development, education, distance learning, consulting, food industry (Gigović 2010:9). OECD also gives a word of caution when thinking of the market-responsiveness of the Serbian education. It has been stressed that the achievements of the Serbian students were good and comparable to the achievements of other students in Europe, there is still a stress on the fact that curricula are overburdened, outdated and heavily information-oriented and too little skills oriented. The entire education system is focused on the implementation of a set of curricula. The nature of these is excessively detailed and teaching methods are outdated and dominated by transmissive methods of teaching. Therefore, most of the education system is focused on the pointless memorisation of a set of facts. That said, there is evidence that the sector is improving. In essence, curricula need to be adjusted to the European standards. That said, it will be extremely difficult to change the entrenched system of teacher centredness and adopt a more skills oriented system. These reforms need to be combined with the retraining of the university and teaching staff. What is more, faculties offer only compulsory courses and not elective (OECD 2001:43). Overall, many professionals are satisfied with the accredited schemes (...). Dissatisfaction is mainly caused by factors such as poor financial stimulation and the fact that both enrolees and educators are sometime overburdened with working commitments as well as other problems (Kundačina 2008:103). Although changes are made in line with the Bologna Declaration, and efforts are made from teacher-centered to student-centered learning, actual practice of educational institutions can be very different (Vukasović 2009:24).

Bošnjak thinks that modern system of education should enable good general knowledge as well as in-breadth and in-depth professional education (2005:355). Filipović, a Serbian educator, thinks that the activities of

UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation) and OECD point to the fact that education needs to be interlinked with development (Bućin 1995:12). The author is of opinion that the work in organizations requires well educated professionals and that managerial role does not imply blind obedience any longer, but that managers serve as facilitators of the working process, as said by the well-known American economist John Naisbitt (Filipović 1995:103). According to pertinent research, the process of damaging of professional skills is also a problem of importance and it is estimated that it is almost 10% a year. This means that 10% of skills gained through professional education is forgotten or made less useful (Ivanović 2000:41).

Foreign agencies do play an important role in shaping professional education. Some authors, as Čorović, for example (2008:189) believe that the country needs to introduce the post-positivist view of educators as being evaluators of their own professional education and practice. This is in line with the new understanding of professions (...). This concept is derived from the assumption about intrinsic motivation, and this means that people devote more attention to some activities that are done according to their own will and initiative. In my own view, inclusive education should also be a part of the reformation of professional education patterns. This is one path that is conducive to the cooperation with the developed world, given that most of the countries have adopted official documents that deal with this problem. One of the most prominent is the Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action that was adopted on the World Conference for Special Needs Education in 1994 (Savić 2005:344). The central storyline of the reform also says that professionals also need to become more proactive and that their education should help them become engaged in their work more actively than before (Breu 2008:508). The hypothesized EU accession gives pretty much the same mandates. For an example, Melić says that the council of Lisbon gave a target for the European Union to become one of the most competitive and dynamic economies on the globe (Melić 2009:124). In addition to this many employers are actively seeking for people with the knowledge of foreign languages. Melić, for an example, says (2009:120) that the use of multiple languages helps boost self esteem and employability. Many professionals today become conscious of the fact that this cultural sensitivity plays an important role in participation within the global community. Knowledge of English comes as a must, although French for business purposes becomes important as well. Melić says (2009:122) that a great many of faculties have introduced French for business purposes as a part of their curricula and these are: Faculty of Economics, Philosophy, Engineering, Organizational Sciences, The Faculty of Teacher Training. Analysts simply assume that this helps obtain transferable skills. Not every engineer will work in a factory, lawyers might well work in foreign organizations and companies. Bojović also argues that these are the key (2009:202) developments within the Serbian postsocialism. The increased use is depicted by a number of acronyms. ESP (English for Specific Purposes) EAP (English for Academic Purposes) EBP (English for Business Purposes) and EST (English for Science and Technology) come as being of crucial importance. This clearly depicts the need for integration. In relation to the previous point, for an example, Breu (2008:512) says that self-evaluation and

external evaluation play an important role in professional education schemes in post-socialism. External evaluation is normally done using certified exams such as TOEFL, CAMBRIDGE, ZERTIFIKAT DEUTSCH, like many other schemes. Among the most needed skills in language training are the skills in spoken English. These will play a key role in the shaping of professional education. Importantly, The American Society for Engineering Education has determined that the most needed skills in professional education is precisely spoken English (Jerković 2009:320).

This linking of education with the needs of the labour market can have negative side effects. Jaspers describes this very clearly. Students study to pass this exam and then that exam and that is what their work-life cycle essentially is all about. After education, they have great expectations from the world of practice (Jaspers 2003:50). It is also important to decrease the level of public funds for scientific and research institutes to 45-50% with a trend to decrease it further to 30%. This would presumably enable the growing investment of enterprises and companies in education (Bošnjak 2005:546). Within some professions, like journalism, for instance, there is a clear devolution of authority. The key development is that the monopoly of Faculty of Political Sciences to allocate degrees was abolished. Four years after, journalism degrees could be obtained not on 1, but on 12 higher education institutions (Matić et al 2007:21). This democratization of education is a trend that is existent in many countries. The Higher Education Act in Britain (1992) that equated the status of Universities and polytechnics certainly represents an argument in support of this view (Todorović 1999:180). The Acts that implicitly or explicitly deal with professional education such as The Law on Higher Schools, the Law on University and Laws on pupils' and students' standard clearly try to introduce a number of key points into the new shape of professional education. Essentially, these are: equal rights for professional education; the need for education to develop personality and the modernization of professional education process; getting to right signals from the labour market to introduce changes in professional education; introduction of lifelong learning agenda and elevating the quality of education (Todorović 1999:191). Still, within journalism education, there is still a growing dissatisfaction with the changes in professional education. Importantly, graduates show anxiety when faced with audience, and people from the media do not have sufficient time to teach them the basics. Graduates do not feel prepared because during their studies they might have produced a couple of media outputs and mail shots (Matić et al 2007:51). In terms of economic competitiveness, for an example, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development as well as the World Bank have given a positive message about the developments within the former statelet, Serbia and Montenegro. The liberalization of prices and foreign trade, monetary and fiscal politics, interest rates give further evidence for this (Bošnjak 2005:331). Importantly, Popper's account in his study *Open Society and its Enemies* shows clearly that it is better to accept a bad policy in a democracy than to submit to a wise and benevolent tyranny (Cornforth 1968:269). In addition to this, Popper equates democracy with freedom. He speaks of general elections and representative government and equalitarian models of democratic control, as well as institutional control of power. Progress towards equality features prominently here (Cornforth 1968:281).

Linked to this, there are more and more efforts to incorporate problem-based learning in the professional education curricula. Importantly, this means learning by doing, in an interactive way. This also means dividing students into small and manageable groups, which facilitates learning (...). This mode of learning also helps bridge the gap between theory and practice and help learners engage in work on specific tasks. Gathering and presenting data is an essential part of linking theoretical level with practice (Kovačević 2009:257). The country also needs to prepare for the advent of the modern knowledge society and important steps have already been taken in this regard. The country is a member of the initiative for the electronic SouthEast Europe (eSEE) and in this capacity the country signed the Agenda for the Development of information society in the region of SouthEast Europe in 2002. By signing this document the countries in the region have accepted the initiative of the European Union to develop information society Europa 2002 and Europe 2005 (Bošnjak 2005:508).

Sudzilovski and Terzić (2008:316) argue that there are more and more seminars for teachers and editorials and journals are founded. The development of new technology is also an important scheme for the development of a knowledge society. These can be: information software, biotechnology, molecular biomedicine, nanotechnology, like so much else (Bošnjak 2005:509). Radomirović and Milovanović (2008:336) believe that 73,91% of the teachers completed the accredited courses of the Ministry of Education and that higher percentage of people used these courses rather than those provided by the teacher training faculty (...). What is more, the analysis of the results of the questionnaire says that 9 out of twelve respondents gained their computer science literacy on these courses. Likewise, an overwhelming majority of respondents in other schools also gained their knowledge in accredited courses of the Ministry (...). It is also important to highlight that self-education is playing a significant role in the continual professional development. The use of funds given by the European Union is very important for the development of ICT within contemporary Serbia. The developmental agenda of the European Union foresees that the availability of funds for the development of this sector will increase substantially in 2010. It is also highlighted that the non members will also have the chance to use these funds (Bošnjak 2005:509). Most of the documents reflect the sense that the new shape of professional education will be linked to practice. Firstly, professional education is going to be more market-responsive; Secondly, efficiency of professional education must be enhanced, so that the country no longer has enrollees who do not complete their studies quickly enough; Thirdly, international bodies are consulted when shaping professional education; Lastly, international cooperation is enhanced. Quality versus quantity debate within professional education is increasingly becoming important.

Bogdanović, for an example, believes that "With regard to the University, the beginning of the new era is marked by the signing of the Bologna Declaration, 2003, and Serbia entered European educational and scientific landscape" (2009:11). The research project has given the overall sense that there is a hostility towards the Bologna Declaration. For an example, a publication *Modernization of Russian*

Education/Problems and Perspectives says clearly that Bologna Declaration has a positive effect on the Russian system of professional education. Its precepts facilitate international cooperation and in addition to this, they help Russian system of professional education to showcase the quality it possesses (cf IoS 2010). Predrag Lažetić, a well-known Serbian educational analyst, argues in an article in *European Journal of Education* that the key distinguishing feature of the Bologna Process is its intergovernmental character and intrinsic disconnectedness from European Union bodies (Lažetić 2010:549). Bolčić believes that professional education programmes were made more simple with the requirements of the market and the pressure was alleviated (2009:46). What is more, this Serbian sociologist (2009:50) argues that the period for studying for a doctoral degree was cut to three years. The author further argues that most of the faculties have adopted strictly simplified educational curriculum with regard to the sociology education (2009:11). Cvejić, quite contrary, suggests that the educational change was a consequence of the fact that the old system was maladjusted and dysfunctional. His view was that enrollees under the old system were overwhelmed with work, uninterested, and professional education in general lacked efficiency (2009:53). Gramsci's thought pre-conceives these developments in an excellent manner. His thought is centrally concerned with democratization of education to proletarian action, democratization of culture and education with no external formula (Adamson 1980:41).

These changes obviously stand in the need of a thorough social science analysis. Formerly, the country had many problems with the inefficient curricula for professional education. Theoretically speaking, we did not have effectiveness in students passing courses successfully. Empirically speaking, there were vast problems with the coordination of the professional education with the labour market. Students were over-burdened with the theoretical material. At the Faculty of Medicine, only 3,6% of the students entered 3rd year without having any commitments left from the 2nd year. Therefore, programmes in medicine have thorough-going inefficiency (average period for completion is 8,2 years) as well as a large number of drop-outs 20% (Milićević et al 2005:111). The committee in charge of the curriculum change set out plans to cooperate with the Ministry of Health and Ministry of Education. What is more, some of the changes implied re-evaluation of the studies and compared these with those existing in Europe. Consequently, the committee members acquainted themselves with the standards of WFME (World Federation for Medical Education) (Milićević et al 2005:111-112). In contemporary Russia, the modernization of professional education should enable that Russian educational products, broadly conceived, are exported abroad (IoS 2010:49). Even developed countries have a problem that the skills obtained from the university professional education do not fit with the requirements of the labour market. Stojanović, for an example, says that a high percentage of those that are unemployed is a consequence of economic distortions (Stojanović 1997:8). At the Faculty of Biology in Belgrade, during the academic year 2002/2003 a group was formed that included students as representatives. The primary task was to examine the existing state of affairs with regard to teaching as a part of the (Q.A.A.-Quality Assurance Analysis). SWOT Analysis (Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) was the main basis for the work

on the reform. The main strength was a number of young educators, willing to work on the education reform (...). (Stamenković-Radak et al 2005:115-116). Sometimes the main problem is what change for educational development. For an example, what profile of professionals for which needs on the labour market? (Babin 2005:329). A group of professors of the Faculty of Agriculture in Belgrade, established a project “Enhancement of the lecturing and research skills in agricultural sciences”, as a means of furthering their pedagogical and scientific skills (Pekić et al 2005:121). At the Faculty of Electrical Engineering, for an example, 1st year was reformed, than second and third, respectively (...). First year consists of fourteen and second year of twelve courses, most of which are taken during one semester (...). Likewise, there is a path entitled software engineering, that is entirely new (Odžić, Protić and Kokinović 2005:129).

As a result of these changes, the success rate increased for 13,5% (*Ibid*:132). Negative effects of the reform were clearly perceived in the fact that most of the teachers were over burdened with professional education programmes and commitments (*Ibidem*). In addition to this, the author laments the current state of affairs as giving only partial knowledge that fails to satisfy the criteria set out by the well rounded professionals. Social science instituties have ceased to work on projects with colleagues from former Yugoslav Republics, and shifted their energy to working with NGOs, foreign research agencies and governments (Bogdanović 2009:18). Cvejić believes that the main obstacles for the implementation were the lack of legislative options for the new regime, and the lack of experience in reforms (Cvejić 2009:55). Vasiljević and Kovač for an example argue (2005:61) that the law on University of Belgrade was operationalized with the Faculty of Philosophy adopting a number of elective courses in all departments as a means of enhancement of professional education. Links with practice are also important for education reform. This means that professional education should be reformed in order to incorporate practical concerns. Pešić et al argue that (2005:78) teacher education should incorporate visits to other educational institutions (...). Theoretical aspects of professional education are over-emphasized at the expense of empirical. In addition to these changes, religious education also plays an important role in professional education schemes, after decades of neglect (Ivanović 2000:110). Pešić et al also argue that the content of the courses for professional education should go in-depth, rather than in-breadth. Simplification is not a correct word, because some of the courses will not just be made shorter or easier. It has more to do with linking professional education to practice, rather than anything else. Social context links professional education to practice (2005:81). This rationalization is probably the experience of many other countries as well. Steve Quarrie, a professional from the University of Newcastle, argues forcefully that changes are made to make the system of education more efficient. The Vice-Chancellor of Newcastle University has reduced the number of the Academic Staff (...). Some departments are closed to avoid duplication of courses and bring in fresh funding for research projects (Quarrie 2005:391).

Predrag Lažetić, an educational analyst, believes that most of the participating countries see the Bologna process as a forum to which all of the member states should contribute (Lažetić 2010:551). Compared with Serbia, it seems that most of the Serbian academics and policy makers do nothing but wait for the Law to be

passed (*Ibid* 392). Bojanić and Votls (2008:565), for an example think that education reform intrinsically implies lifelong learning. The need for professional development is caused by the acceleration of social change. The more the country innovates, the more it needs to invest in education. Knowledge obtained through study would not suffice any longer. In addition to this the authors firmly believe that the use of Internet remains one of the most powerful tools to enhance professional education. Importantly, they say (2009:566-7) that the use of Internet in teaching is very important (...). When using web-sites in research, it is valuable to determine, whether web site belongs to the company or an editorial entity? How accurate and valid are the information? Who publishes on the website? When finding out these, scholars can then determine which of these have relevance for teaching. Likewise, with regard to ENQA (European Agency for Quality Assurance in Education) the faculties that offer journalism study have implemented these measures only partially. Most of the educational institutions have implemented different marking schemes: there is a stress on attendance of classes and seminars, written assignments and presentations, as well as test results (Matić et al 2007:134). These changes can be linked to developments in sociological theory. For an example, Gramsci was of the opinion that education should be as much about inculcation of skills, and should also include emancipatory thrust aimed at fostering profound creativity (Adamson 1980:55). This view is in accordance with Marxist holistic view of education and the development of the individual.

Some of the faculty representatives came to the conclusion that curricula were not well-thought and innovative in some respects. Academics had to make compromises with regard to the number of classes and timing. The number of elective courses was not sufficiently well thought so that students could not choose according to their own initiative and liking. Many academics and policy makers agreed that something had to be done, in order not to jeopardize students' prerogatives (Matić et al 2007:159). New graduates will need to be able to orient themselves on the job market, and this requires that lifelong learning and training are adopted. It is of crucial importance that policy makers adopt measures to improve the state of affairs within educational contexts. Legislative framework also needs to be more adjusted with the recent developments in order to enable successful integration with the rest of the European marketplace.

The case of teacher development clearly shows what progress we need. Potkonjak, an educational analyst, says that Teacher Training Faculties must implement teacher development schemes. The term comes as very ill defined until these adjustments are made (Potkonjak 2008:15). In the light of what has already been said above, Potkonjak argues (2008:16) that Teacher Training Faculties should implement specific departmental development centers. These could be concerned with longer term planning, storing the relevant documentation and follow the teacher development in the geographical area concerned. These centers would certainly invite the teachers concerned and offer specifically designed developmental schemes, and later on follow if these training schemes had a beneficial impact on their nature of responsibilities on the workplace-in kindergartens, schools, colleges and other educational institutions. This is a substantial burden in terms of work that needs to be undertaken, and consumes quite a lot of time. It can not be performed sporadically. Đorđević, gives the

example of OECD document Teachers Matter:Attracting, Developing and Retaining Effective Teachers (2005) that needs to contribute to the retention of teachers in schools and assumes much more diversified commitments and role (Đorđević 2008:26). In contemporary Serbia, professional education processes are available only as full-time study. What makes the difference is the distinction between those who pay their fees and those that are subsidised by the state (Ivošević and Miklavić 2009). Rajić also argues that the pace of change has not been so fortunate. Some academics have shown that they do not want change, a majority is only in favour of getting more funding, and only some of them have a genuine desire for the implementation of changes (Rajić 2005:396). Budimac *et al* (2005:211) argue that international organizations played a significant role in shaping curricula for the Computer Science Department at the University of Novi Sad. Software Engineering is a course that can be likened to the one offered at Humboldt University in Berlin (...). Software systems is the course elaborated in accordance with the precepts of WUS Austria and the University of Linz. In my view professional education in contemporary Serbia should also incorporate distance education as a means of linking higher education and the world of work. Developed countries, as England, for an example, perform distance education schemes through English embassy and cultural centers such as the British Council, for instance. These schemes are distributed to the developing countries. At times, this implied the need for students to be physically present for one or more semesters, or the need for lecturers to visit overseas institutions (Milosavljević and Vukanović 2000:28). Some problems that arose as a consequence of economic stagnation and isolation are the following: only 30% of the enrolled students ever finish their university professional education. A third of the students take more exams than all of the rest together. A reason for this is that being a student was perceived as a permanent social category rather than an occupation leading to an academic degree. The university thus does not function as an academic institution producing graduates, but rather as an alternative to the labour market (OECD 2001:44).

Within the teacher profession, there are clear attempts to make the education system better. The first scheme listed implies that a graduate is supervised by an experienced professional in order to help him develop his faculties as a researcher. What is more, this means further professional development for people who did not graduate from teacher training faculties and have graduated in economics, sociology, philosophy, and many other disciplines (Suzić 2009:49). Some analysts also assume that the professional development of teachers should also assume combining working commitments and involvement in continual professional development. Thorough research was done on the relationship between the work and assessment, development and learning as well as willingness to take part in extracurricular activities (Laketa 2008:71). When it is spoken of continual professional development (CPD) in contemporary Serbia, it is important to highlight work-based CPD. This is done in line with INSET (Inservice education for teachers) that is conceived as the enhancement of professional education, and making the knowledge gained in professional education more in-breadth and in-depth (Alibabić, quoted in, Papić and Karanac, 2009:149). This also means the potential for communicative action and there is a strong role of cooperation with colleagues, as well emphasis on research

activities (Papić and Karanac 2008:149). Šefer, a psychologist and educational analyst highlights the fact (2008:16) that most of the policy documents reflect the sense that more attention needs to be paid to creativity and problem-based learning, whereas previous periods have only focused on the acquisition of knowledge prescribed by the curriculum and teaching plan. This implied that the main goal was the mere acquisition of information rather than overall personal growth of the individual (...). Continual professional development becomes a must, as many teachers still insist on the old system in their professional practice. Creators of educational policy and educational managers very rarely have the opportunity to rethink their schemes from the perspective of different regional experiences. Teacher educators and managers of institutions that educate teachers have limitations because they are constrained by the institutional boundaries. Bologna process is perceived as micro-context whereas macro context remains unchanged and needs to be enriched by interdisciplinary studies and the stronger collaboration with the world of work (Rajović 2008:26). In many transitional countries, a shift from manufacturing to research and soft-skills orientated firms is increasingly creating a skills mismatch (Fasih 2008:39). These changes in professional education should enable stronger efficiency of those who are employed, as well as compatibility of skills with the requirements of the labour market. Penetration of foreign companies, as some economists argue (Meggison et al 1994, quoted in, Matavulj, 2007:5) brings greater efficiency, productivity, and they have more and more employees. Internet education is playing an important role. For an example, the Faculty of Organizational Sciences uses Internet for electronic magazines, website building, documentary research, and for problem-solving in virtual laboratories. E-teaching and, cross-disciplinary projects as well as distance learning are becoming of importance (Cakeljić 2008:336). Linked to this, some professional education schemes in Serbia use blogs. Blogs are publications on the web, that are published by one author or a number of authors, where readers can leave their comments immediately after having had read them (...). French daily paper Liberation says that there are 70 million blogs, 120 thousand are open every day, and 400 thousand text are published daily (Milanović 2008:389). Evaluation of the reform of teacher education is very rarely done in a direct manner. Importantly, most of the times it is conducted in a different manner, by measuring the achievement of pupils, so that it can say more about the achievements or failures of the professional education of teachers. The most recognized source to be mentioned here is the PISA test. Serbian pupils have been described as below average on these tests (Institute of Pedagogical Research 2003; OECD 2003; Jerković et al 2008, quoted in, Jerković, 2008:99). School psychologists, clinical psychologists are role that are quite well-rounded and people are able to say what these professionals actually do. School psychologist is more of a counsellor than a teacher (...). It is important to note that school psychologists perceive that they do not lack skills, and that they are not in the need of further education schemes (Jerković 2008). Gramsci's view is that complete professional education needs to be done with effective leadership of organic intellectuals and leaders, but self-education and learning on one's own account are increasingly seen as factors of central importance (Adamson 1980:145). Informal learning is increasingly seen as very important in a number of official publications of some bodies, such as The Serbian Ministry of Education.

For an example, a psychology graduate is expected to compare and analyse various theoretical traditions, be thoroughly acquainted with psychological traditions, be able to understand pertinent research published in refereed journals. What is more, any graduate is expected to know very much about the various disciplines within the social sciences and humanities. Understanding ethics and ethical guidelines of one's profession comes as a segment of great importance (Department of Psychology 2005:6, quoted in, Jerković 2008:106). To be more precise, a student is expected to perceive the general epistemological assumptions as well as theoretical, methodical and practical implications and models. It is also important to perceive problems, to generalize and enable scientific investigation. Further skills imply planning, designing, and conduct research in the field of applied psychology; conceive and understand the findings of psychological research and present them in written and oral form; conduct team communication and take up a leadership role; be ethically sensitive and find solutions; understand and apply knowledge to enable the optimal development of the personality; to further the aim of the mental health of the population; to understand the construction, interpretation and evaluation of the instruments for psychological measurement; understand the personality evaluation within various branches of psychology (www.psihologija.edu.yu/download/PSO-master.pdf, quoted in, Jerković 2008:106-7). The skills to be developed for the master courses are self-criticism and professional development (the ability to critically evaluate the value system, the ability to continue on with professional and personal development as well as many more skills). Knowledge of the marking system and the ability to transmit knowledge (...). Ability to take part in public debates and discussions and the dedication to the values of education as well as tolerance towards the differences are indispensable (Arnaudova 2008:120).

The privatization has also given incentive for the development of new professions and professional education processes. For an example, bankruptcy specialists are emerging as a very important profession, particularly in the light of the creation of such developments as privatization of property and the emergence of the market centered society (Popović Knežić and Dabić 2008:39). Consequently, there is a need to involve students in the changing patterns of professional education. Šekeljić (2005:322) echoing Jaspers, believes that students are autonomous individuals capable of forming their own world view, but in need of guidance as well. Student organizations also play an important role in furthering non curricular scientific productivity, sports activities and cooperation at the international level which contributes to the enrichment of professional education. In the light of the central storyline, there is a list of desired professional educations schemes that takes into account the feedback from the market. Every seventh potential enrollee wants to study economics and management, shows an insightful article in *Politika*, a daily newspaper (...). The list of desirable professional education programmes goes in this fashion: languages, philology, medicine, dentistry and law. What is more, a great many of graduates say that the most important issue on the agenda when thinking of the professional education schemes are intrinsic interest and employability after graduation (Gucijan 2010:6). The change within professional education patterns is also challenged with macroeconomic policy and practice, so that long

term planning comes as impossible, because of the change within labour market. Recent data of the National Bureau for Employment say that the number of unemployed is 767.418, and managers and economists contribute to this number with 3.641 and 44.175, respectively (cf Gucijan 2010). Popper's account of democracy implies public control of the rulers, but does not specify how such control is divided by classes, within the context of class-divided society (Cornforth 1968:265). Class-divides are an important dimension in analyzing educational reform in contemporary Serbia.

Modernization of Russian Education/Problems and Perspectives puts forward the argument that investors should help form campuses and institutional arrangements for professional education schemes in a number of marketable/lucrative professions, such as medicine, for an example (IoS 2010:281). The case of journalism also shows how some schemes need to be made more market-responsive. Importantly, many interviewees are of the opinion that the strongest link in journalism education remains the broad theoretical basis for the labour market. The basics of the practical work in journalism also feature here (Matić et al 2007:104). Predrag Lažetić says, in an interesting article in *European Journal of Education*, that the Bologna Process is essentially about the links with the labour market and the creation of a sustainable 'stakeholder society' (Lažetić 2010:558). To link this more clearly to sociological theory, check and balance is one of the most important elements of Popper's account of democracy and open society. Check of office holders and those that are perceived as being accountable is a central element here. To add to this central storyline, the key issue is that such checks must be done without employing violence (Cornforth 1968:266). The involvement of stakeholders within the Serbian professional education helps achieve this goal.

The Department for English Studies in Novi Sad, for an example, has a problem that the curricula are not labour-market responsive. As Feldbabov and Major argue, there is not a single study that points out to the fact what exact profile of professional education will be suitable for the labour market. What professionals normally do in such situations is to follow career development of graduates and then model professional education accordingly (2005:203). The Education Reform at the Faculty of Medicine in 2001. introduced the study of English for five years of professional education, instead of the two years, which was a general rule previously. For the first two years it is elective, whereas it comes as compulsory in the next three years. These developments presuppose that professionals are taught to conduct doctor-patient interaction in English, and to critically evaluate the content of British and American professional journals. What is more, this reform of the curricula should also enable that web based resources are used more effectively (Mićić 2009:483-4). Faculty of Law implements these changes in a peculiar way. Most of the two-semester courses were converted in one semester ones. For an example, if Roman Law was taught over two semesters with four hours teaching sessions and seminars, it is now taught through 8 hours a week according to the new plan (Vasić 2005:105). ECTS system was introduced in the Faculty of Law with each of the four years leading to the L.L.B. (Bachelor of Laws) carrying a certain number of points (Ibid 2005:106). Elective courses also play an important role and some of the introduced courses include Internet Law, Constitutional Law of the European

Union, European Human Rights Association, Competition Law (Vasić 2005:107). Morgan and Kliucharev (2012:4) give interesting data on: the creation of information resource banks to create employment, the cooperation with Western educational institutions and, internal quality assurance procedures, as well as the introduction of educational loans, among much else, as key changes in educational management in contemporary Russia.

A recent study on the relationship between poverty and education says that only 2% of the population manages to gain their professional education degrees and that there is a statistically significant correlation between education and welfare (Babin, Vukasović and Pantić 2009:26). Gramsci's thought is very much relevant here, particularly the stream of thinking that reinforces the view about the 'false consciousness' and 'imposition of capitalist norms and divisions'. Teacher education comes interlinked with practice. For an example, for professional education of kindergarten teachers, there is a requirement of 30 hours of practice in a kindergarten. This segment of education is normally under the supervision of teachers, doctors and many other professionals (Pešić 2005:86). Having given a comparatively thorough analysis of the labour market responsiveness of the Serbian professional education in post-socialism, the next section explains how the issues of internationalisation and the European Union impact the development of professional education.

Internationalisation and the European Union

The key concept, internationalization, is defined as being all about leveraging resources and competencies from the domestic into the international arena (cf Hendry 1994). As Gornitzka argued in an article in *European Journal of Education* that European level involvement of University intrinsically implies recognition of professional degrees as well as the mobility of skilled manpower (Gornitzka 2010:538). This section argues that, contrary to some misconceptions, professional education within state-socialism was characterized by important level of international cooperation. The chief defect of the educational policy was that moral education on the ideological level hindered the progress towards further links with the developed world. Within post-socialism, internationalization comes as a high priority on the agenda which is supported by the current ideological shift and that is the key difference between state-socialism and post-socialism. Moral education was an inherent part of professional education, whereas marketability is the key development in post socialism. Attempts were made for international cooperation, mostly with the countries of the Eastern bloc. The corpus of knowledge to be studied was prescribed by the socialist intelligentsia. In post socialism, mobility is becoming quite common and easy to perform, although there is still room for improvement. Since the expansion of higher Education in European countries started in the beginning of 1960s, higher education policy has been the focus of interest and the subject of international comparisons with publications such as Neave and Van Vught (1991), Gellert (1993) or Goedegebuure et al (1994). Countries and institutions are

more likely to examine the experience of their peers abroad before embarking on reforms or changes to their own systems (EURYDICE 2000). There was a general suppression of original thought and creativity. Although problematic, the development of professional education in socialism had its advantages. Some scholars have obtained chances to participate in programmes of international foundations and these were (Humboldt, Fulbright, European University in Nancy) (Bogdanović 2009:18). Cooperation on seminars and work with specialists in Slavic studies has been well-developed. The country did not have strong links and the greatest step forward was made with the introduction of the summer course for foreign specialists in Slavonic studies. This course was well-attended by 39 specialists from 12 countries and many lectures were held in order to keep this initiative alive (Perišić 2008:379). Summer courses and workshops are very important aspects of continual professional development schemes under state-socialism. Cooperation with Poland had been particularly well-developed as well. For an example, folklore of the South Slavs was taught at the department of Slavonic studies (...). Academic cooperation with Poland has been tightly connected with the name of Adam Mickjevič, an intellectual figure from the University of Poznan (...). He had done substantial work on the Serbian history as well as mythology of Montenegrins, Bulgarians and many other peoples (Rekas 2008:267). These professional development schemes were particularly useful for the overall quality enhancement in professional education. However, most of the Serbian students were convinced that state-socialism as a system was under-developed. Poverty, inefficiency and backwardness were apparent. This international cooperation has increasingly become popular with some of the Polish students and educators. Morgan & Kliucharev (2012:3) argue, in an article in *European Journal of Education*, that Europeanisation and globalization are making an immediate impact on the Russian system of professional and higher education.

Rekas, for an example (2008:267) thinks that this is the case because socialist Yugoslavia was not a part of the pact of Warsaw and was perceived by most of the professionals as a western country. As argued before, some elements of private initiative and professionalism were apparent within state-socialism. Šleski University in Katovice was formed in 1968. The department of Slavonic studies was formed six years after, on the initiative of the professor Kazimjež Polanski, who formed a group of professionals in philology (...). School of Slavonic studies worked within the institute for foreign philology. In the year of 1981, professor Vlodiimjež Pjanka renamed it as a chair for Slavonic philology. Likewise, a department for theory of literature was formed, as well as Slavonic linguistics (Bonkowski 2008:276). This closed mindedness and the general lack of freedom when entering professional education processes was by no means a general rule within the European educational marketplace. Most of the enrollees were free in choosing their own professional education schemes, as well as free to continue on with their professional specialization in any of the countries abroad. Most of the countries were free to elect a structure of those who governed professional education schemes. Educational policy was quite changeable, and in my view, essentially negative in character, rather than anything else. During the first period, it had many similarities with what was going on in educational policy in

the USSR (...). The second period respected Yugoslav characteristics, and there was a certain decentralization of educational policy and practice, in particular with the development of councils (Perišić 2008:57-58).

Perišić gives some further arguments for closed mindedness. The young Yugoslav state has decided to educate professionally mainly those who were politically suitable, with a rural background or those from blue-collar workers' families. Importantly, these people were sent to study abroad without attention being paid for their previous scholastic achievement. Under the control of the socialist Party, their task was to go abroad, acquaint themselves with the body of knowledge, and return to help the betterment of their own country (Perišić 2008:12). Most of the scholars went to USSR for their professional education, followed by Czechoslovakia that offered a significant number of scholarships for professional education. For short scholar visits France was among the most popular and attractive and they used professional courses for up to one year (Perišić 2008:13). The convention about the cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, signed on 27th of April 1947, that implied student exchange only facilitated the process, because a great many of Serbian scholars have already studied in educational institutions in this country (Perišić 2008:271). Lainović Stojanović (2009) also says that little attention was paid to continual professional development in linguistics under state socialism. A symposium was held in 1977 in one of the states of the former USSR on Professional Language and Language Teaching for Non-Linguists organized by the Russian Ministry of Education and some educational organizations, where Serbian participants contributed. In addition to this, the number of professional societies increased substantially after the introduction of socialist system (...). In addition to this, historical archive was formed (Perišić 2008: 64-65). The socialist intelligentsia was expected to eulogize the system in all of its aspects. There was a widespread and utopian belief that socialism will gain predominance everywhere. Some intellectuals like Miloš Djurić, Sreten Šljivić, Sima Milivojević and Ljubiša Glišić used to delve in their spare time. This was clearly a symbolic attempt to eulogize the system (Perišić 2008:76). Societies of intellectuals clearly supported the system. For an example, towards the end of the Second World War the association of the novelists was formed to support any anti fascist cause as well as socialist ideology. Importantly, the president of the society was Isidora Sekulić, vice president was Jovan Popović, whereas secretary was Oskar Davičo (Perišić 2008:92). Internationalisation is pre-conceived by a number of authors, like Antonio Gramsci, who argued that society is inherently educational, and that political and social change is most usefully depicted with interaction of organic intellectuals and ordinary people (Adamson 1980:169). Some authors, such as Karl Popper, in his excellent study *Open Society and its Enemies* also argue that Marxism is synonymous with closed-mindedness (cf Cornforth 1968:184-5).

It is worth pointing out that most of the exchange students who travelled to Russia for further studies have had a chance to see the poverty and were aware of the fact that Russian communism was dysfunctional (...). Tito also warned the scholars travelling to Czechoslovakia and Russia not to be surprised by ugliness, poverty, hunger and ruins (Perišić 2008). Having said that, most of the students were quite successful in their academic endeavours (Perišić 2008:157). Importantly, professionals and intellectuals wanted to eradicate the socialist

Third Way. The Association of University teachers has organized a course for 400 University teachers in order to educate persons for Marxism-Leninism on higher education schools and this task was assigned to the newly founded Institute of Social Sciences (...). The communists wanted a thorough struggle for the formation of the new society. In the view of the hard-line socialists and communists there was too much of ideological thinking, too much of idealism, mysticism, anti-marxist and anti-scientific view of literature and social sciences (Perišić 2008:337-8). Exchange students in Russia could not help seeing that state socialism was a system that is inherently fallible in character. The state apparatus could hide only what was not obvious to an intelligent observer of societal affairs. Even that was too far removed from embellished picture of Russia, depicted by Yugoslav media, policy makers and like-minded people. Their scholastic visit was in the era of hunger and poverty (Perišić 2008:187-8). During 1950, attempts were made to establish links with a long list of international organizations. Yugoslavia was a member of these associations but did not cooperate actively with these. On the 31st of March the country joined the organization of the United Nations for Culture, Education and Science (...). What is more, the country also founded the decision on the formation of the National Commission as a clear link to UNESCO (Perišić 2008:351). As a result of these developments, professional education schemes were enriched with the new links (...). In 1951, a chair was formed for Yugoslav studies at Columbia University and this meant that two teaching assistants and a full professor were to take part in teaching at this university in 1952/3 (Perišić 2008:352). What is more, during this period more than 50000 books, journals and other publications entered the country, and these mainly came from Occidental countries and the United States. During this period, many scholars have continued on with their professional education schemes abroad (Perišić 2008:353). By 1958, Yugoslavia had 12 cultural agreements with countries such as Belgium, Bulgaria, USSR, Chile and attempts were made to liaise with India, Japan and Greece (Perišić 2008:362). Towards the end of 1950 it was agreed that cultural penetration was very important for Yugoslavia, especially in the era of isolation (Perišić 2008:342). Public criticism said that cultural policy was exercised without any genuine plan, that little attention had been paid at all to this aspect as well as that the potential was under used (...). What is more, the inactive relationship towards UNESCO handicapped the country. For an example, UNESCO helped most of the countries to present the work of most of their writers without any financial burden at all (Perišić 2008:345). Most of the students that continued on with their scholastic achievement in Russia were described as petty bourgeois, or from peasant and blue collar workers families. Some of the students were from poor families (Perišić 2008:209).

Perišić (2008:212) gives evidence that Yugoslav students that studied in Russia were modelled to become a mass, governed by the law of mass psychology, without the respect for individual opinion. This was perhaps of equal importance as scholastic achievement. Reports by the intellectuals convey the same message. One of them argues that bureaucracy, theft, speculation played an important role and that the remnants of capitalism still prevailed in post war Russia (Perišić 2008). What is more, there was a significant number of students who went to Prague to continue on with their professional education schemes. Contrary to what has been seen in

Russia, Prague was neither able to incite disappointment nor delight (...). In spite of their scholarly achievement, most of the Serbian professionals in Prague lived in poverty (Perišić 2008:257). Being in Prague, Yugoslav students had the impression of attending one of the best Universities of the epoch. It was grandiose, this was also the place where international students' congress was held. It had 19000 students, 5500 were women. Many of the enrollees were overseas students (...). The promotion of the President of the Serbian Academy of Sciences Aleksandar Belić, to be a honorary doctor of Karlov University, helped the students feel at home (...). The opportunities for professional associations as well as disputes with students from other countries were many (Perišić 2008:262-3). However, the data show that in 1949. 50 Yugoslav students used the Scholarship of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education (Perišić 2008:326). Some Polish students could also study on Serbian Universities but funds were clearly and strictly limited. Annually, two students from Poland could educate themselves on Serbian Universities, in Novi Sad, for an example. They got placements on the university, places to live, as well as a modest living expenses subsidy. Bearing in mind the fact that only a small number of students could participate, this was a valuable experience (...). The subsequent developments like war and democratic changes brought the overall change in professional education patterns (Bonkowski 2008:277). This limited openness has somewhat changed with Tito's Third Way and problems with Russia. The Serbian ruler was accussed of having had brought major problems and dissent in the Eastern bloc (Perišić 2008). British council also helped immensely to enrich professional education by giving scholarships for Serbian specialists on a regular basis. Yugoslavia hosted British scholars working in the field of literature, architecture, arts, and many other theoretical and applied disciplines. On the other hand, Serbian scholars attended summer courses in the United Kingdom (...). Later on the council established a scheme of 100 months of stipend. These were up to the amount of 30 pounds per month and the council for science and culture offered 10 pounds more. The fields concerned were electrical engineering, geophysics, chemistry and biology (Perišić 2008:403).

In 1953, British council funded fourteen scholarship holders for stays of up to 10 months. Various disciplines were funded and the institutions concerned were Cambridge, Oxford and London (Perišić 2008:405). What is more, Yugoslav embassy in London advised that the tutors of funds have decided to release them and help the schooling of Yugoslav students. The funds concerned were Serbian Minister Fund, British Scholarship Trust, and Serbian Fund No1 (Perišić 2008:407). Consequently, Universities in Bordeaux and Paris also offered scholarships for Yugoslav students (...). Professional education schemes were funded by the Netherlands, Belgium and Italy. Funds were given by the Freie Universität Berlin, Newham college in Cambridge, Munster, Kiel, like so many other institutions (Perišić 2008:414). The country also had widespread cooperation between member states of socialist Yugoslavia. For an example, professional education was seen as a common interest of all of the republics and what was in the need of doing was founding of a common ideology (Andjelković 1986:23). Work-based learning was quite common during the period of state socialism. Filipović also thinks that education within state socialism comes regulated by the state. The state was involved

in the regulation of the process of education, from primary and secondary to professional education (Filipović 1995).

On the level of the state and the ideological level, international cooperation is becoming a high priority on the agenda. This is reflected in press announcements and policy documents. The official announcements of the leading political parties say that the state will continue on with the policy of maintenance of state-sovereignty and integrity, but EU (European Union) integration also comes as one of the most important policy aims. New vacant post for employees and Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) also feature here (...). The new pro-european value system is also of crucial importance (Ilić 2010:3). This policy at the ideological level has clear implications for education, in the sense that increased international cooperation is becoming the issue of central importance. Many could not participate in schemes such as TEMPUS or attend conferences abroad. Teaching staff could not keep their knowledge up to date or maintain links with academics abroad. Most of the academics are faced with an audience of students that has never had any experience abroad (OECD 2001:43-44).TEMPUS project was conceived in 1989 to enhance the quality of work in laboratories. In the early phase of the project, the country experienced sanctions from the United Nations and TEMPUS1 was badly missed as a scheme for the enhancement of professional education (Turajlić 2001:9-10). Perhaps the key developments to be noted in the recent decades are the initiatives geared to promote innovation in education and some of these are TEMPUS, Socrates and many more. International cooperation is increasingly becoming important. For an example, an academic without experience in industry or any non-academic environment can hardly become a well-rounded individual. With the advent of post-socialism and market economy, this has somewhat changed. The discussion given below follows this central storyline. In the year 2000, Serbia returned to the international community, eager to catch up with the recent developments. The cooperation has been established on the government and non-governmental level. Most of the countries in the world wanted to get involved in the new democratic processes and re-ignite the links that have been lost before (Kovač Cerović 2006:518). International cooperation has been enhanced in the form of the renewed membership within organizations such as UNESCO and OSCE (Organisation of Security and Cooperation in Europe) in 2001, Council of Europe (COE) shortly afterwards, European University Association and the Stability Pact (Kovač Cerović 2006:518). Even more so, Serbia has representatives in the COE Higher and General Education Committees, participates in COE schemes for initial teacher training, cooperates with the Centre for Modern Languages in Graz, Austria. More recently, UNESCO honored AAEN (Alternative Academic Educational Network) with the establishment of the UNESCO Chair in Management and Governance in Higher Education (...). What is more, there is increasing cooperation with the establishment of EU funded schemes such as: CARDS 2002, TEMPUS 2001, CEEPUS (Central European Exchange Programme for University Students) 2004, ERASMUS (European Region Action Scheme for Mobility of University Students) MUNDUS and COPERNICUS (Cooperation Programme in Europe for Research on Nature and Industry through Coordinated University Studies) CAMPUS 2005. Aid for education is becoming

well developed as well with the participation from the World Bank, Fund for Open Society and European Agency for Reconstruction (Kovač Cerović 2006:519). Importantly, an expert group for education reform within contemporary Serbia is supported but the funds from Alternative Academic Educational Network and Swiss Government as well as OSEP SEE gave their backing by visits abroad as well as consultation with experts (Knežević et al 2002:14). In 2001 and 2002, the analyses of the World Bank, Unicef and OECD were incorporated in the official framework of action for education reform. The report can be considered to be a genuine Green Book of the Education Reform (Knežević 2002:13). Here are some of the data that give support for this development of professional education. In 2004, excluding the European mobility schemes, almost 401 124 students or 2,2% of the students spent a year abroad studying for their particular degree topic (European Commission 2007:129). The trends towards internationalisation of professional education can be identified before the period of post-socialism. Previous section has already shown that some developments have been made in this regard during the Tito era, as well as towards the end of the system of state socialism. For an example, since 1980s internationalisation of professional education took place. This often involved joint curriculum planning and curriculum development as well as advanced student mobility. The European Commission action plan for internationalisation of professional education played an important role here (Eurydice 2000:157). Internationalization of professional education is an obvious development within post-socialism. A Memorandum on Higher Education in the European Community identified some of the key points in educational development, and these are: distance and open learning, continual and adult education, and perhaps the most important line of development is the European Dimension on Learning (Eurydice 2000:13). Theoretically speaking, cultural hegemony embodied in internationalisation, as argued by Antonio Gramsci has a Janus-like face, with a positive and the negative side (Adamson 1980:174). Positive side is embodied in openness to learning while the negative side is embodied in the cultural subjection of the country's educational long terms aims to the precepts of international aid organisations.

The European Parliament and the European Commission as the bodies of the European Union with a highest rank strongly support innovative strategy aimed at the creation of a knowledge driven society and economy. The key development to be noted there is the adoption of the innovative orientation of scientific research (Bošnjak 2005:558). An article in *Politika*, a daily newspaper, makes it apparent that the municipality of Vojvodina displayed their economic potentials in the fair in Shanghai. One important aspect of this visit was the cooperation of some Institutes within the University of Novi Sad with the agricultural academy of this Chinese province (Mijušković 2010:11). It is also important to mention that the use of the English language is playing a significant role in the change of professional education patterns. An increasing number of monographs and official publications points out to this fact. Belanov, a specialist in English language, reflects on her experience (2009:151) by saying that she was faced with awkward situations when teaching English to company representatives and other important people. They expected a vocabulary full of business and commercial terms, whereas everyday spoken English was delivered. There are ongoing projects of

internationalization of professional education. There is a general European practice for adjustment or tuning of professional education schemes. This is also a direct reference for adjustment of professional education (...). Schemes for adjustment of professional education have been supported by the European Union scheme TEMPUS and Socrates and has managed to bring together more than 150 European Universities in the desire to bring the system together. For the purposes of practice, the scheme focused on nine professional education schemes and the project focused on small groupings. A specific methodology was formed and elaborated and it was a key reference point for further research (Zgaga 2008:12). The community will certainly contribute to the development of high quality education by giving incentive to the cooperation between the member states, and if necessary, by the help for their activities (The Contract of Maastricht, quoted in, Pantić, 2008:14).

Vida Zorko also points out to the fact that web resources are playing an important role in professional education. Consequently, many criteria have been developed for this evaluation in determining appropriateness of this for students and these are: purpose, authority, accuracy, relevance and design (Zorko 2009:20). Sonja Biserko is of the opinion that the university plays an important role in institution building. The largest step made by the Government of Zoran Đindić is the education reform. The Reform was appraised as liberal and contributed to the development of internationalization (2005:639). The analysis of interviews with relevant people conducted by Predrag Lažetić, an educational analyst, shows clearly that Bologna Process contributes greatly to internationalisation. Many people are able to compare and contrast and the whole of Europe is speaking the same language (Lažetić 2010:555).

During the nineties and the period of isolation and economic deprivation, most of the existing links with foreign research centres and foundations have been broken. One consequence of this was the low productivity of research work (Bošnjak 2005:132). An interesting survey of the Serbian Ministry of Science and Technology reported in a daily newspaper *Blic*, reports that a great many of young researchers opine that the most important development within professional education should be the cooperation with EU (European Union) countries. Importantly, most of the researchers are attracted to Germany as the country to establish professional links with (...). After the European Union, the most popular countries for international cooperation are China, United States and Russia (Anon 2010:4). A timely analysis in a daily newspaper *Blic* reports on the existence of a contract between the Niš University with Lugansk University from Ukraine. For 10 graduates of the music academy in Niš will be able to continue on to study in Ukraine with subsidized prices of 1500 U.S. dollars per annum, as opposed to 7.500 which is a market price. This contract has been put into operation after the invitation of the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine, state based universities, institute of culture, art and musical culture (Anon 2010:5). The introduction of the European dimension into the professional education processes is also becoming important. This scheme is, for an example, included into the teacher training programmes as a means of building European identity and consciousness (...). These developments are aimed at strengthening economical and cultural ties among the European nations (...). All of the professional education schemes should adjust to this trend and some of these are: economics, law, foreign

languages, social sciences. Importantly, even natural sciences and mathematics, religion, and art should not be limited to national cultures (Ivanović 2000:120). A working paper dealing with the Youth Policy says clearly the mobility of students and linking with foreign universities comes as one of the most important tasks (Vidanović et al 2001:7). Ljiljana Čolić, however argued: „The Bologna Declaration is a fluid text, not a holy scripture. Thus, Europe today speaks about a Bologna process. Our doubtless intention is to usher Serbia into the European Higher Education space. We shall proceed in that direction as fast as we can, but we must know that numerous universities in developed European states have not yet reached the finish line“ (Čolić, quoted in Biserko, 2005:644). The European Union also sees international cooperation as a means of enhancing professional education, competitiveness and knowledge. There are programmes specifically designed to enhance information and telecommunication technology (EUREKA). What is more, there are programmes geared to develop biotechnology, medical technology, new materials, audio and visual technology and maritime technology (EUREKA) (Bošnjak 2005:422). In contemporary Russia, there are bilateral agreements with universities, schools and colleges in Asia, for an example, professional education institutions in Korea and Japan. Concrete examples of this cooperation are joint programmes of baccalaureate (IoS 2010:258-9). Having enumerated these examples, it is useful to say that this international cooperation is only beginning and will probably witness further development. Rajović also thinks that the new shape of professional education will have to pay more attention to the EU integration processes. However, the problem with this strategy is the fact that we can not just transfer the education system that exists in European Union. If we wish to do so, we will have to be ready for more learning and adjustment than before (Rajović 2008:28). More attention needs to be paid for the EU accession of the republics of the former Yugoslavia and the marketization of education as well (Rajović 2008:28). There are also efforts to standardize professional education in contemporary Serbia with the systems existing in other countries. Importantly, the first classification of professions and occupations occurred in 1956, and the authors identified almost 5000 different professions (...). In 1990, another attempt was made for classification with 3273 professions determined (...). The latest developments include the efforts to introduce the international classification of professions ISCO (International Standard Classification of Occupations)-88, and it is also important to adjust the system with the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) (Ivanović 2000:34). The International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED 1997) is a system of classification of education according to levels given by the UNESCO. This scheme helps compare education systems and adjustment of educational policy (Ivanović 2005:139). The supremacy of politics over educational affairs can be perceived as negative, using Gramscian lenses. In a number of writings, Gramsci used the idea that politics is a distinct domain, because it has different laws and precepts to those operating in the field of economy, morality and religion (Adamson 1980:203). Education, as a distinct domain, needs its own system of regulation.

Some of the official documents reflect the sense that there is a growing cooperation with foreign departments, agencies and government bodies as well as NGOs. Social sciences as well as applied social

sciences lead the way, but in my opinion post-socialism brings greater cooperation with the professionals abroad, as well as general internationalization of professional education. Let me focus on some examples of this shift. There are efforts to adjust the system to the system that exists in developed Western countries. For an example, what policy makers strive to do is the centralization of the admission procedures. Within the UK context, there is a central institution known as UCAS (Universities and Colleges Admission Service) and candidates list first choice of six programmes in a certain area of knowledge (Vukasović and Turajlić 2007:20). The Serbian Government has a scheme for international scientific cooperation. This scheme has been hindered by the problem caused by isolation (...). Some government departments have financed 243 researchers for attendance at conferences, 10 for attendance at symposia and 15 schemes for professional development. Substantial amounts of money were spent on this in 1994 (Bošnjak 2005:179). On the general level of the university, foreign foundations and governments made their contribution to the internationalization of professional education in Serbia.

Bogdanović gives some examples (2005:27) of the French government giving subsidies for the development of the computer system, and Italian government did the same. The Spanish government furnished Cervantes Centre (...). Chinese government gave subsidies for readings in chinese (...). The computer connection has been enhanced as well as the access to 10000 foreign peer-reviewed journals. Bošnjak (2005:189) gives further evidence for this. In 1999 and 2000, the Serbian Government signed 7 contracts about cooperation with Peoples Republic of China, Romania, Russia, Belarus, Bulgaria and Macedonia. Three schemes of cooperation were signed with France, Italy and Greece. Some of the professional schemes that were developed are Socrates, a scheme for general education, Leonardo a scheme for professional education and Tempus, which is a scheme of European cooperation within high schooling (Bošnjak 2005:601). The education of engineers also witnessed a major shift with the advent of the reform in professional education. As Andžus (2003:11-12) argues, the idea has been developed about EURING, the education of engineers according to the European model (...). University based education is only the beginning, and what follows are lifelong learning processes. What is more, some other Associations increasingly play an important part in the education of engineers: Societe Europeenee pour la Formation des Ingenieur (SEFI) Conference of European Schools for Advanced Engineering Education and Research (CEASER) Consortium Linking of Science and Technology for Education and Research (CLUSTER) (Andžus 2003:45). Siemens, for an example, highlights the need for the globalization of the education of engineers and stresses the need to involve agents from industry (Andžus 2003). Most of the professionals studying at the University of Arts were able to continue on with their professional practice abroad (...). This was made possible with the formation of the Centre for Professional Development and Consulting in Culture (...). What is more, this centre organized a number of activities some of which are: seminars, training sessions, and the work on the evaluation of a number of laws (Dragićević Šešić 2005:148). TEMPUS programme was designed by the European Union in the 1990s by the member states as a means of enhancement of cooperation. Over a number of years, this programme became of

powerful means of adjutment to the changing economic circumstances (Dukiandžev and Đukić 2005:333). Council of the European Union decided to include Serbia and Montenegro into the TEMPUS programme towards the end of 2000 (...). At the very beginning Serbian academic institutions were allowed to take part in projects as well as apply for stipends for members of the staff (*Ibid*). As such, TEMPUS programmes must involve institutional integration and quality assurance (Dukiandžev and Đukić 2005). It can also be said that most of the programmes deal with the reform of undergraduate and postgraduate studies in the fields of computer science, economics and management, architecture, industrial mathematics, agriculture and many more sciences (Dukiandžev and Đukić 2005:336). The overall budget of the programme is 12 million euros, the number of projects that involve universities in Serbia is thirty six (Joint European Projects), there are two programmes of cultural and complementary measures, and around 60 stipends (Individual Mobility Grants) (Dukiandžev and Đukić 2005:336).

Professional education in the field of journalism is shaped according to the French school CELSA. Links were formed with this institution, with the aim to enable the mutual recognition of degrees in the foreseeable future. Linked to this, the curricula for the Faculty of Media and Culture involved courses such as Public Relations, Media Consulting and Human Resource (Matić et al 2007:85). Durand-Prinborgne (2002) reinforces these arguments by saying that states are no longer sole players within educational sphere and their action is co-authored with international organizations and firms. With regard to Law, the agency of DAAD (Deutsche Akademische Austausch Dienst) is increasingly helping internationalize professional education. DAAD in Bonn has many opportunities such as funding for Summer courses and professional practice abroad. DAAD also gives funding for studies in Comparative, European and International Legal Studies (Herrmann and Verse Herrmann 2007:274). The role of foreign agencies is very important for the general development of professional education. Bošnjak says that advisory bodies have strong influence on the shape and quality of professional education. Cooperation with bodies dealing with standardization, ministries, expert bodies for scientific cooperation and development such as OECD, United Nations, European Union and embassies (Bošnjak 2005:398). The country also needs to sketch a strategy of educational development that would help export know how and education globally (Bošnjak 2005). This cooperation has not always been entirely positive. For an example, there were periods when the readership of journals was not very wide, there were very few projects with foreign departments. Foreign magazines, monographs and books were not distributed (Bošnjak 2005:580). In my view, these changes in professional education will also reinforce the climate of 'brain drain'. As Stojanović has observed in his insightful book, with the advent of post socialism, there is a general reinforcement of the flow of highly educated from poor countries to prosperous ones, especially members of the EU (Stojanović 1997:107). Some of the recent projects are: Teaching Business Information Systems, Innovation of Computer Science Curriculum in Higher Education, Upgrading Undergraduate Business Studies, Development of Higher Architectural Education in Serbia, Postgraduate Programme on Food Quality and Safety and many more (Dukiandžev and Đukić 2005: 336-337). It is also quite important to

establish cooperation with specialized agencies of the United Nations. Some of these are UNCTAD as an important forum for the coordinated penetration onto the markets of other countries as well as for more profound insights on the inequalities between developed and under developed countries. Secondly, cooperation with UNDP as a body for the financing of the transition and post socialist transformation is important (Bošnjak 2005:461). Likewise, some scientific plans also reflect the sense of the increasing cooperation between various disciplines. One of these, for an example, involves people from technical and agricultural sciences, and one third of these research projects are intrinsically interdisciplinary in character (Bošnjak 2005:177). Likewise, Čemerlić Adžić et al argue (2005:173) that in the field of medicine, the key agents that determine the shape of the curricula are European Society of Cardiologists, International Federation for Medical Specialities, European Board for Accreditation; on the particular level, the criteria are set by the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education and Sport. An insightful World Bank document, (2008:17) says that almost 25% of science and engineering students at the (post) graduate level come from foreign countries. Some of the German agencies, such as: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (CDU), Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (SPD), Friedrich Neumann Stiftung (FPD), Hans Seidelung Stiftung are developing programmes of cooperation with Serbia, with a specific focus on professional education (Hermann and Verse Herrmann 2007). The negative climate of brain drain and de-skilling through this might be challenged through the agency within civil society. To use Gramscian analysis, civil society must be a distinct domain from the state, but, having said that, it still must be connected to this macro-entity in order for its conquest to have significant political implications (Adamson 1980:215). Particularly within contemporary Serbia, civil society should be a strong countervailing power to the state. Education in general and professional education in particular can play an important part in making this ideal a reality.

Professionals in the field of social sciences take part in round-tables, workshops and scholarship schemes are also developed. The problems of unemployment in contemporary Serbia clearly hinder these developments (Ivanović 2000). The changes in professional education in the Faculty of Law should enable tolerance and peace (...). What is more these should help in creating richness in political, sociological and political differences (...). Every student must benefit from these and have access to foreign scientific departments and institutions (Vasić 2005:103). As discussed above, professional education in post-socialism is distinguished by the increasing international collaboration. What is more, foreign agencies and universities are paying much more attention to what is going on in the country. After a long period of reign of state-socialism, post-socialism and the market economy clearly bring more cooperation and help in establishing joint projects. However, this is just the beginning and many actions remain un-done, and the substantial amount of work needs to be performed. For an example, mobility of the Serbian students for postgraduate studies abroad is lagging behind. It is reasonable to expect that the hypothesized path towards EU accession will probably contribute to the facilitation of this exchange. Within contemporary Serbia, as Antonio Gramsci argued, educational self reliance might be achieved through the formation of pre-figurative institutions: workers'

councils, cooperatives and cultural associations (Adamson 1980:231). On the other hand, Gramsci's belief in the interconnectedness of civil and political society forms an optimistic assumption that counter-hegemony is still possible (Adamson 1980:231). Present changes pose important challenges to the general population, enrolees, politicians, educators as well as educationists and policy-makers.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to present the documentary analysis and depict the issues of importance for professional education change. It uses informative and rich resources from government websites, books, media outputs and other sources. The most important topics regarding education in the 'public consciousness' guided the content of this chapter, as the process that guided the selection of questions for the questionnaire. The relevant literature within social sciences also helped me to screen the important material and distinguish the material that is useful from that material that is irrelevant. This chapter also attempts to make links to theory, more specifically, to the work of Antonio Gramsci and his concept of hegemony, as well as Karl Popper and his concept of the Open Society.

Chapter Six: Data Presentation for Questionnaires/Interviews/Focus Groups

The Analysis of Questionnaires

Introduction

Over 100 (n=100) (successful/completed/authors observation!)³ questionnaires were received from university departments and legal offices, while 200 were initially distributed. The analysis of responses shows that the parity is 50/50, while some University Teachers wanted to remain anonymous. This included almost all of the Faculties of the Belgrade University, namely some of them are: the Faculties of Economics, Philosophy, Modern Languages, Geography, Biology, Mathematical Sciences, Physics, Chemistry, Teacher Training, Law, Electrical Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Architecture, Organisational Sciences, Traffic Engineering, Political Sciences. Among the respondents were also people from the university's research institutes, such as the Institute of Contemporary History. From the other part of the sample, there were respondents from legal offices as well as independent lawyers. Many non-response problems were experienced initially. This was because of the fact that many university teachers were reluctant to respond because of employment security. The problems were overcome with a thorough explanation of the purposes of

³ The number of distributed questionnaires were considerably larger, but the analysis is based on those questionnaires that were of highest quality

the research project as well as by the fact that survey was prolonged for the duration of almost five months. Overall, the questionnaire exercise was considered to be a success and this is particularly because over 100 questionnaires were collected, even more than initially expected. The findings that were analyzed can be distinguished according to the following categories: democratization, governance and civil society; institutional sustainability and graduate employment; internationalisation and the European Union. The analysis of questionnaires strongly supports and converges with the analysis of interviews and the findings of the documentary analysis. In addition, this convergence between the empirical and documentary data testifies additionally to the fact that triangulation was successfully implemented. The next section looks briefly at the issues of governance, democratization and civil society.

Democratization, Governance and Civil Society

According to Popper's vision in the *Open Society and its Enemies* open society is something that is arrived at when exiting closed society. Related to this, this desired type of society is defined in opposition to closed society. A closed society can be likened to primitive tribal society (...). The attitude of the closed society is continued in the societies where the state continues to regulate all of the societal domains (...). In an open society, individuals exercise their own judgment (cf Cornforth 1968:325). In different sections of his book, Popper gives a view that enemies of the Open Society are essentially all those who want to continue exploitation under the label of anti communism (cf Cornforth 1968:374).

Many participants were of the opinion that Serbia has progressed on the path towards democratization, but there are some problematic issues that need to be addressed by educationists and policy makers. A lawyer wrote:

"Privatization in contemporary Serbia equals the primitive accumulation of riches and that is the real problem." (Lawyer) Several questionnaire respondents also believed that post-socialism brings new values: *"Post-socialism still brings new values and open-mindedness (...). It has a very positive impact on professional education."* (Lawyer) This contributes to the existing body of knowledge by suggesting the positive impact of the value change. Value change is a key notion for the development of open society, one of the key notions for this study. The application of Popper's notion of open society helps shed additional light on the data analysis.

The Ministry of Education and associated bodies do not offer sufficient funds for the purposes of professional education. For an example, a professor at the Faculty of Law said that:

“We use funds only from the State. Private foundations that help research in the field of sociology always have their special interests for doing their work.” (University Teacher) In accordance with this, Pipiya (2010:89) says that those who pay for professional education research in post-socialist Russia often control the research agenda. This might be an important implication of the findings of this research, that tertiary education might become the domain of the affluent.

“The Serbian state does not have a coherent policy for the funding of professional education”. (Lawyer) A lawyer working for a court in Serbia was of the opinion that: *“My profession receives a lot of funds from OECD, the Council of Europe and many non-governmental organizations.”* (Lawyer) In Russia, the spending for research and development is approximately 1.1% of the gross domestic product (Pipiya 2010:90). In terms of the applicability in practice, educationists and policy-makers should increase the level of funds given out for professional education purposes.

Several respondents commented on international aid organizations. For instance, a questionnaire respondent was of the opinion that:

“We receive some funding from USAID for the advancement of the legal profession.” (Lawyer) A specialist from the Faculty of Mining and Geology was of the opinion that: *“Among other sources, we receive some funds through the cooperation with agents from the economy, most notably entrepreneurs and enterprises.”* (University Teacher)

Several respondents commented in favour of the financial decentralization of the university. The Dean of the Faculty of Mining and Geology has argued for the financial disintegration of the university:

“In addition to changing financing of professional education, new procedures should be introduced.” (University Teacher)

Several respondents underscored the fact that professional education within state socialism was free of charge. For an example, a lawyer wrote that:

“Speaking personally, I was fortunate to go on professional education under state-socialism and it was on someone else’s money (...). After the transition to post-socialism the ability to undergo higher and professional education depends as much on financial sustainability as it does on willingness to learn and personal ambition.” (Lawyer) To reinforce this, a lawyer said: *“The professional education in state socialism was life changing and world-class.”* (Lawyer) Morgan & Kliucharev (2012:5) firmly believe that educational inequalities are quite salient in contemporary Russia. What is more, these begin from the period of secondary education and are aggravated when the transition to university is made.

The involvement of stakeholders is an important issue in the financial decentralization of the Serbian professional education. Several respondents commented on this issue:

“The funding of professional and tertiary education is left to a large number of non-governmental organizations.” (Questionnaire respondent) In terms of the applicability in practice, educationists and education planners should choose carefully on what are the conditions before accepting funds for professional education purposes.

Some respondents, such as a university teacher at the Faculty of Architecture opened another line of discussion by introducing the issue of brain drain: *“The enforced professional education development and the emergence of brain drain are the key problems for the achievement of the financially sustainable professional education.”* (University Teacher) A professor at the Faculty of Chemistry was of the opinion that: *“The Ministry of Science helps immensely in funding research in the field of chemistry (...). The researcher work for agents in the economy has withered away completely.”* (University Teacher) Brain drain has negative implications for economic growth, as some economists have underscored.

Several respondents commented that the emergence of private universities was seen essentially as a successful business enterprise rather than as contributing to academic and to professional quality or equity. The view about the emergence of these institutions is mostly negative:

“My view on the subject is that private universities diminish the quality of professional education. The quality of teaching diminishes significantly.” (Questionnaire respondent) Some respondents also emphasised that: Therefore, it is important to enhance the quality of teaching. A possibility is to introduce a certain number of publications as a threshold for university teachers.

In addition to this some informants gave voice to a similar concern that the graduates of private professional education institutions will have problems to find employment after graduation. For an example, a lawyer said that:

A professor at the Faculty of Geography was of the opinion that: *“The growth in the number of private universities is desirable but they need to invest in the development of infrastructure and also think through their professional education policy (...).”* (University Teacher)

Several respondents commented on the new functions of private universities. A professor wrote: *“The emergence of private universities opens up new opportunities for professors and academic staff from public educational institutions to cash in additionally (...).”* (University Teacher)

Several respondents commented that the new system brings weak appreciation of science and scientific theory. A professor at the Faculty of Mining and Geology wrote: *“The new system of professional education is distinguished by the diminishing appreciation for science and scientific theory. In the long run, this leads to the diminishing levels of applied research.”* (University Teacher)

Quality enhancement procedures are a key issue for professional development. These techniques are important for the control of educational development. For example, a professor at the Faculty of Biology wrote:

“(...) My judgment is that thorough ranking of universities, schools and departments should be performed. In doing so only the best could survive in a competitive marketplace, and we could determine the genuine value of the degree upon graduation.” (University Teacher) The findings add to the existing body of knowledge about the negative effects of privatization.

Many respondents stressed the fact that accountability to the stakeholders and other bodies was a key issue to put the emergence of private universities under control. A lawyer said that:

“My central argument is that it is good that private universities exist, but they must be answerable to the stakeholders and strong peer-review must also be introduced. The emergence of these institutions is positive, because they enable certain classes of people to undergo tertiary and professional education (...).” (Lawyer) These findings are an addition and cumulate further the burgeoning literature about the growing importance of stakeholders in all walks of life that exists in the field of management and organizational behaviour.

However, there were some respondents who displayed interesting opinions that deviated from the standard response. For example, a professor at the Faculty of Philology was of the opinion that:

“The emergence of private universities is magnificent news for enrollees and the future outlook of professional education of the country. It helps immensely to modernize the new system of professional education.” (University Teacher) Importantly, the respondents gave a more nuanced opinion:

“The key issue to be borne in mind by those who run private universities should be the fact that they must invest in students and professors alike. They collect large amounts of money from exorbitant fees and it would help immensely if they would invest in staff development (...).” (University Teacher) However, the same respondent also gives a word of caution that: *“In the domain of professional education, the country should introduce leasing and franchising schemes (...).”* (Lawyer)

To sum up, I decided not to use the *statistical method* to explore the patterns of the answers to the questionnaires, interviews and focus groups discussions, although thought was given to this technique to explore the patterns of the answers because over 100 questionnaire responses were received. If the thesis is reworked for publication and dissemination to wider academic audience, I might think of making an *a posteriori* statistical analysis. In addition to this, data matrices are a possible method (c.f. Nadin and Cassell 2005:271).

For this occasion I used qualitative analysis. To link this more clearly to theory some analysts are of the opinion that statistical summaries on some occasions may not communicate sufficiently because numbers may not tell the story people may easily understand (cf Rubin and Rubin 2005:2). There were situations where

unpredicted issues arose, as is preconceived by inductive method, for example in cases where respondents gave answers in support of the growth of private universities. I decided to present this qualitatively and analyze, while some of the quotes that were too long were indented, and the analysis was cut short where repetition occurred.

Institutional Sustainability and Graduate Employment

A great many respondents were of the opinion that amendments need to be made to the Bologna Process and by doing so, enhance the quality of teaching and learning in higher education. Education should be seen as an investment and not as consumption expenditure. As far as the future of professional education is concerned, many were pessimistic and of the opinion that changes need to be made. Several respondents were of the opinion that:

“Profession implies the set of skills and knowledge obtained during the lifetime, implies lifelong learning and is a source of identity for those who practice it.” (Questionnaire respondent) Some respondents believe that the market economy provides a basis for competition in education. This set of findings is in strong accordance with developments in literature, as shown in the literature review.

In addition many respondents highlight the effects of the Bologna Declaration. The declaration is seen by many as bringing diminished quality of professional education and many associated problems:

“Bologna Declaration certainly forces students to work more.” (University Teacher) Several respondents commented that the new system of professional education will be made apparent in the distant future: *“A lot of time needs to pass in order to see the effects of the education reform, but there is significant success with the application of Western standards.”* (University Teacher)

The overall stream of thinking goes strongly against the Bologna Declaration. Its precepts are seen as artificial and equivocal. A professor at the Faculty of Chemistry wrote:

“The Bologna Declaration does not bring much progress for international cooperation because of the administration, linguistic barriers. It only reduces wastage, but wastage does not help much because the levels of knowledge diminish.” (University Teacher) Some questionnaire respondents were of the opinion that the country needs more educational self-reliance and the application of the Bologna Declaration should not be perceived as an unequivocal policy precept: *“We have seen some initial development in the creation of the market responsive system of professional education, but much more attention needs to be paid in order to fully develop the new system of professional education.”* (University Teacher) Morgan and Kliucharev (2012:6) believe that The Implementation of the Bologna Declaration in Contemporary Russia has been an arduous

process. The findings add to the knowledge base in social sciences in particularly the body that relates to efficiency and effectiveness in the field of management and organizational behavior.

A questionnaire respondent, for an example, gives a very similar response that was negative: “*(...) Bologna Declaration has a very weak influence on the system of tertiary education. Here are some examples to testify to this: Within contemporary Serbia, there are five Schools of Law, and these enrol approximately 5000 students each year. If we applied the precepts of the Bologna Declaration and took the information from the market, one School of Law that would enrol 500 students and that would suffice.*” (Questionnaire respondent) He added: “*The Bologna Declaration cannot be applied in the field of history. At the Faculty of Philosophy the methods of teaching history have remained the same since 1905, and this subject is certainly aversive to modernization as it is conceived by many education leaders.*” (Researcher)

Many respondents commented that the credit transfer system and standardization are the most important breakthroughs. A Lawyer wrote that: “*The implementation of the Bologna Declaration has certainly enhanced the introduction of the formal criteria, as the ECTS (European Credit Transfer Scheme) system, for an example.*” (Lawyer) An independent lawyer, for an example says: “*Undergraduate studies are a platform for the subsequent career in law in the new system. The key competences and skills are learned during the two-year apprenticeship scheme. I do not think the Bologna Declaration has any impact on that, the key issue is the transition from state-socialism (...).*” (Lawyer)

Several respondents commented that the substance is lacking when the new bonfire of regulations is introduced: “*(...) The new policy is reduced to the meetings and consultations that do not represent significant progress (...).*” (University Teacher) A professor at the Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade, was of the opinion that: “*We need to wait for the first cycle of graduates according to the Bologna Declaration to complete their studies. That is the period when real effects of the system will be known.*” (University Teacher) A university teacher commented: “*The Bologna Declaration certainly has positive effects on the development of the system of professional education. Specialization of knowledge is result of globalization, and not a consequence of post-socialism. The real developments in the domain of professional education will be perceived once the economic crisis has been concluded.*” (University Teacher)

Several respondents wrote that the key development is to match the skills with the world of work. A lawyer commented that: “*The Bologna Declaration equals standardization. This standardization is a result of the process of globalization and the central storyline is that the most able students should take the most competitive vacant posts after graduation ceremonies are concluded.*” (Lawyer) A lawyer, working in the courts, was of the opinion: “*Professional education in particular is a matter of personal initiative as it is a matter of institutional and legislative arrangement. The introduction of the Bologna Declaration would not change much, if young people are not ready to enter the process of lifelong learning and be sufficiently committed to educate themselves.*” (Lawyer) A teacher at the Faculty of Geography was of the opinion that:

“The Bologna Declaration brings the pressing need for the introduction of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and the quicker flow of ideas.” (University Teacher) Several respondents commented that reducing wastage is a key idea of the Bologna Declaration. A professional from the Faculty of Mining and Geology was of the opinion that: *“In addition to reducing wastage, the Bologna Declaration helps professionals transfer from one professional education scheme to the other.”* (University Teacher) Several respondents commented that the individual motivation is a key issue for education reform. A professor at the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, was of the opinion that: *“Bologna Declaration and the interlinked precepts are not the key issues for the new shape of professional education. The main problem is that professors should be motivated to engage in teaching and students should be motivated to learn and develop their skills (...).”* (University Teacher)

Several respondents commented that the new bonfire of regulations is not sufficiently well applied in practice. Independent bodies of experts should guide the implementation of the Declaration. The Dean of the Faculty of Mining and Geology wrote in response to the questionnaire:

“We still cannot fully appreciate the significance of the Bologna Declaration and the recent legislation that impacts professional education. Frankly speaking, the whole set of precepts is well-thought out and innovative, but its applicability in practice has been very poor so far (...).” (University Teacher) A professor at the Faculty of Economics said: *“The market economy has annihilated the need for the education of a specific type of professionals. The demand side for a number of educational profiles has withered away.”* (University Teacher) Several respondents commented that the introduction of the Bologna Declaration did not change the shape of the undergraduate studies. A lawyer said that: *“The new system of professional education has not changed much the shape of undergraduate studies. The key changes introduced by the application of the Bologna Declaration can be perceived on masters and doctoral studies.”* (Lawyer)

Several respondents commented that I should distinguish more clearly between two eras, pre-Milošević and post-Milošević, when I speak of the period of post-socialism. The Dean of the Faculty of Mining and Geology emphasized that: *“The Bologna Declaration certainly impacts professional education positively, but it is still difficult to quote concrete examples. The key issue to be noted is that Serbia had two completely different decades, before the fall of Milošević and after (...).”* (University Teacher)

A great many of the questionnaire respondents argued that: *“These developments are fairly recent, and it is difficult to say what the future holds in store. The future of professional education as such is very difficult to predict.”* (Questionnaire respondent) A lawyer working for one of the foreign enterprises, for an example, argues that the market economy has a significant impact on professional education in general: *“I am absolutely in agreement with this supposition (...).”* (Lawyer) A professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade says: *“There are real problems because the quality of tertiary and professional education is much weaker in post-socialism. However, significant progress has been made with the introduction of technological*

base and Information and Communication Technologies (ICT)." (University Teacher) Wyatt (2010:303) is of the opinion that ICT will remove boring and tedious work in the domain of professional education.

Several respondents commented that the new system brings something that is qualitatively new: "*The emerging markets certainly should have an important impact on the shape of the curricula, but in reality they do not. The key problem with professional education policy is that the country does not have an appropriate National Qualification Framework, and when it is elaborated, we can have much more concrete judgments.*"

(Lawyer) A researcher employed at the Institute of Contemporary History commented: "*Professional, higher and tertiary education in the field of history is of much higher quality with the transition from state-socialism.*

The key development to be mentioned is that it is freed from the ideological content that was existent in state-socialism." (Researcher) The overall stream of thinking is plagued by counterexamples, because some lawyers said that: "*Before the transition to post-socialism was successfully accomplished, large firms and enterprises invested heavily in professional specialization and professional development. This new regime of apprentices has been harsh towards the more experienced generation, and there are not educators to teach the younger generation.*" (Lawyer)

A professor teaching at the Faculty for Electrical Engineering was of the opinion that: "*Before the transition to post-socialism, the state used to invest more heavily in higher, tertiary and professional education. Exams were very much more difficult to pass, wastage was very strong (...).*" (University Teacher) To reinforce these points the respondent added that: "*Educational progress and educational development does not have much to do with the transition to post-socialism. The key issues on the agenda are globalization, the creation of the knowledge society and the technological development. The development of 'soft skills' is probably the most important breakthrough.*" (University Teacher) In addition, some respondents wrote that: "*The positive to the recent developments is that specific modules are conceived and designed for people who do not want to continue on to Masters' degree studies and PhD degrees, but are keen to go straight onto the market.*"

(Questionnaire respondent)

Several respondents commented that there are fundamentally different educational outcomes in periods of state-socialism and post-socialism. An independent lawyer, for example, wrote that: "*My view is that comparing professional and tertiary education in state-socialism and after the transition to post-socialism has been accomplished is a very difficult task. Education systems in these two eras are distinguished by fundamentally different (desired/observation mine) educational outcomes.*" (Lawyer) Several respondents commented on the increasing need for cross-pollination in post-socialism. Cross-pollination as such contributes greatly to professional development.

A professor at the University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philology argued that: "*The emerging markets are on the demand-side of the system of professional education and talented young graduates. The markets, literally speaking, dictate what is studied on faculties and departments, from natural to social sciences and humanities.*

Markets as such are highly selective and my view on the subject is that these developments are essentially positive and desirable." (University Teacher) A number of university professors have highlighted the fact that the progress towards market-responsive professional education is quite weak. A professor at the Faculty of Geography has said that: "*There is a significant number of Faculties and Departments that have not made any progress from the socialist mode of thinking. However, progressive education policy in some faculties and departments has created more developments and the new shape of the curricula.*" (University Teacher) Several respondents commented on the problems interlinked with the lowering quality of professional education provision. A lawyer stated: "*Professional education in general, and professional specialization in particular, amount to making a significant number of enrollees and students ignorant of their discipline. This is a process that goes on for far too long. My judgment on the subject is that these developments are exclusive to post-socialism.*" (Lawyer) A professor at the Faculty of Chemistry, involved in several research projects in Europe, stated that: "*Higher and professional education is at a much higher level than before, because educationists and policy-makers increasingly appreciate the role of fundamental research in academe. The greatest progress has been made in the domain of social sciences and humanities.*" (University Teacher) Several respondents introduced the idea of the brain drain into the analysis. A university teacher added: "*Hard sciences and technological sciences have progressed, but much less than their actual potential would suggest. The key driver for this under-development is the brain-drain, as we lost many young and talented researchers. The Ministry of Science has helped immensely by sponsoring the research work in academe.*" (University Teacher)

Unemployment is a significant problem and many questionnaire respondents are aware of its implication for the future outlook of professional education. A Lawyer said:

"When we speak of market responsiveness, the key issue for educationists and education planners is that curricula are much more difficult to change. Business environment changes very quickly (...)." (Lawyer) A lawyer working for an NGO commented that: "*In the era of post-socialism some of the professions are being created, whereas some of the professions are withering away. In any case, my view is that we have many more professions than the emerging markets require at the present moment.*" (Questionnaire respondent) A professor at the Faculty of Law said: "*The profession of a sociologist was considered subversive during the period of state-socialism and in post-socialism it is witnessing genuine devaluation.*" (University Teacher) An important implication for practice is the issue that stronger check and balance should be introduced in the domain of professional education.

Many respondents were of the opinion that undergraduate studies should be focused on the creation of a broad intellectual outlook and specialization should come later as in the career at post-graduate level. For some of the lawyers the key changes are the following:

“Some branches of my profession such as international law or the human rights law are far advanced. The typical development for post-socialism is that almost every profession, law very much included in this domain, becomes subjected to the market and implies commercial transaction (...).” (Lawyer) Some respondents were quite unhappy about the level of change in professional and tertiary education: *“My personal judgment on the subject is that the system of professional and tertiary education in Serbia is not changing at all. To make the matters even worse, the employment strategies of those working in the field of economy are not changing.”* (Lawyer) Several respondents have mentioned the idea of deregulation as crucial. A professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade said: *“The emerging markets in contemporary Serbia are chaotic, and that is the central problem to be addressed by education planners.”* (University Teacher) The analysis of questionnaires strongly suggests that what is at issue in contemporary Serbia is a ‘learning to compete’ strategy.

Several respondents commented that the central idea of companies and enterprises is to form people with very narrow skills base. People of narrow intellectual outlook are easier to control and replace:

“People with a wide skills base and those that are multi-skilled can rotate their positions during the lifetime, and with the passage of time, companies are becoming dependent upon such people (...).” (Lawyer)

Several respondents commented on the issue of increased quality for professional and tertiary education. A lawyer, for an example, is of the opinion that: *“We have had a significant educational development over a number of recent years and the quality of postgraduate studies is increasing substantially.”* (Lawyer) A professor at the Faculty of Geography was of the opinion that: *“The profession of geographers is certainly witnessing further developments. There are now many profiles of geographers that compete for their position on the emerging markets.”* (University Teacher) To further this argument it was argued that: *“Systems of professional education are increasingly becoming open to new ideas and programmes. The positive of the whole experience of the transition from state-socialism to post socialism is that the quality of professional education has remained the same in both eras.”* (Lawyer) A number of respondents give a more nuanced analysis. For example, one reply said: *“The emerging markets influence professional education. We have the National Bureau of Employment that helps significantly in monitoring if the system of professional education is compatible with the requirements of the labour market (...).”* (Questionnaire respondent)

Several respondents commented that lifelong learning is a sufficient response to the pressing need for competitiveness. A lawyer said:

“Lifelong learning and the lifetime insecurity of jobs go hand in hand. That is the central lesson that the experience of post-socialism has taught us over a number of recent years. The key issue to be mentioned is that competition forces individuals to behave so.” (Lawyer)

Several respondents commented on the education-economy links. A lawyer introduced the argument that: “*The key issue in post-socialism is on how to attract the growing number of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and by doing so to enhance the economic outlook of the country. This will certainly impact professional education in a positive manner.*” (Lawyer)

Many questionnaire respondents were of the opinion that the situation concerning professional education was very negative and the future outlook problematic as well. Importantly, a lawyer said:

“*The future is very uncertain and many years will have to pass to sort chaff from the wheat in the domain of professional and tertiary education. The victims of this important social change will be many generations of students that will serve to try out the effectiveness and market responsiveness of the new system.*” (Lawyer)

An independent lawyer was also pessimistic about the future of professional education: “*The competition is certainly introduced in the domain of professional education. The key issue to be borne in mind by educationists and education leaders in the future is to further the aim of quality enhancement (...).*” (Lawyer)

A number of respondents commented on the importance of interpersonal relations in creating the new shape of professional education. Another lawyer wrote that: “*We need close work with supervisors, more conferences and seminars. The relationships between students and professors should be much more intimate than before. In my opinion, these are the key ingredients for the formation of the new system of professional education.*”

(Lawyer) A professor from the Faculty of Electrical Engineering commented that: “*The country needs to make the system of professional education available to everybody, and it needs to be made efficient. My view is that this will certainly happen in the foreseeable future.*” (University Teacher) Several respondents gave very upbeat comments. A professor at the Faculty of Philology was of the opinion that: “*Higher Education in Serbia will certainly enter the system of European Higher Education. Although the outlook might look downbeat at the present moment, the system of professional and tertiary education will satisfy all of the criteria (...).*” (University Teacher) An independent lawyer was of the opinion that: “*The future outlook is very upbeat if the chances for cooperation and professional development continue into the future.*” (Lawyer)

A great many of the respondents were pessimistic about the future outlook of professional education in the country. Further problems mentioned were a very high unemployment rate and the need for state and society to work towards overcoming it. In addition to these important arguments, one of the central findings of the questionnaire analysis was the fact that lifelong learning and a lifetime of job insecurity go hand in hand. The next section considers the responses of those encountered during this sociological survey on the issue of internationalisation of professional education.

Internationalisation and the European Union

Almost all of the respondents, apart from very few, were of the opinion that international cooperation was becoming a reality for Serbian professional education, while some respondents highlighted that international cooperation existed before.

“We have had strong collaboration during the period of state-socialism.” (Lawyer) A great many commented that post-socialism brings stronger internationalisation and of a different kind. A questionnaire respondent said that:

“Post-socialism brings stronger internationalisation and chances to become involved in international projects such as TEMPUS. We also cooperate with Business Schools in Portugal and Nice, France.” (University Teacher) This is in accordance with some of the key findings of the literature review and historical review sketches these developments. In terms of the applicability for practice, new contracts of this kind are very much welcome.

Some lawyers also highlighted the fact that: *“We cooperate internationally with such bodies as The World Bank, OEBS and the European Commission. In addition to this, in the field of law we have had guest lecturers from the Netherlands.”* (Lawyer) Several respondents commented different modes of cooperation existed before. A professor at the Faculty of Chemistry said that: *“Post-socialism does not bring increased international cooperation. Symposia, conferences and other modes of cooperation have existed before. Cooperation is dependent on the available funding. If nothing else, the new system of professional education brings increased potential for international cooperation.”* (University Teacher) To add to this a professor said that: *“Most of the examples of international cooperation are enforced. We need spontaneous cooperation.”* (University Teacher)

Multilateral agreements fit well with the existing body of knowledge. The Dean of the Faculty of Mining and Geology, referred to earlier, commented that:

“In the Faculty of Mining and Geology we have multilateral international projects, FP7 (Seventh-Framework Programme), co-operation with foreign countries. In addition to this, we have specialized schemes for international cooperation such as CEEPUS (Central European Exchange Programme for University Studies) and TEMPUS.” (University Teacher) Several respondents commented on the importance of individual initiative in international cooperation. A lawyer was of the opinion that: *“International cooperation in the field of law does not depend upon the political system. It is certainly dependent upon the willingness of individuals and professional associations.”* (Lawyer) An independent lawyer said that: *“The adoption of a*

number of laws standardized in the EU in contemporary Serbia is an example of international cooperation. In addition to this, many young lawyers get opportunities for internships in European Courts (...).” (Lawyer)

Several respondents commented that the increased international cooperation is a result of the Balkanization of the states of the former Yugoslavia:

“Generally speaking, the increased international cooperation in my profession is a result of the political processes and the increased number of states in the Balkans. We cooperate with Croatia, Slovenia and Montenegro.” (Questionnaire respondent) A number of respondents commented on scientific cooperation. A professor at the Faculty of Geography was of the opinion that: *“We cooperate internationally in order to enhance the publishing activity in peer-reviewed journals.”* (University Teacher) This respondent gives further arguments to develop his stream of thinking: *“The examples of international cooperation I can quote are the international legal aid and the formation of international agreements in the field of law. In addition to this, many mutual funds are created to support professional education in the field of law.”* (Lawyer)

Several respondents commented that there are strong education-industry links, as the most salient example of international cooperation. A lawyer said: *“We cooperate with small and medium enterprises in The Hague.”* (Lawyer) However, a lawyer said that: *“The level of international cooperation in post-socialism is diminishing.”* (Lawyer) This response needs further comment, and some respondents were driven to comment by saying that the international cooperation is diminishing. Their views are derived from the belief that good part of the post-socialist period was spent under the sanctions from the European Community.

A number of respondents are of the opinion that knowledge economy and the introduction of ICT are the key drivers of international cooperation. A professor at the Faculty of Philology is of the opinion that: *“The quicker flow of information is the key to the success of internationalisation of professional education in contemporary Serbia. Some scholars from Japan held visiting lectures in my Department and we constantly cooperate with the Applied Linguistics Departments from Lund, Sweden.”* (University Teacher) A professor from the Faculty of Civil Engineering wrote that: *“The transition from state-socialism has brought the diminishing levels of international cooperation. In the era of state-socialism, our professionals had much stronger involvement on all continents. In the era of post-socialism, this positive situation has reversed.”* (University Teacher)

Some questionnaire respondents were of the opinion that: *“International cooperation is actually nothing new. Some of my colleagues that work in the field of electrical engineering went on short visits for continuing professional development in the Soviet Union during the period of Communism (...).”* (Questionnaire respondent)

Another respondent said that: *“The positive of the experience of internationalization is that the country receives foreign aid in order to introduce Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in the domain of*

professional education which facilitates learning and work in practice.” (Questionnaire respondent) “*The international cooperation equals Westernization. That is very interesting, because their projects are very expensive and are funded by foreign governments and departments.*” (Questionnaire respondent) Several respondents gave concrete examples of international cooperation. A professor at the Faculty of Chemistry is of the opinion that: “*In the field of chemistry, we participate in a number of projects, such as the participation with CERN (European Organisation for Nuclear Research), and the involvement with TEMPUS and REGPOT (A European Union 7th Framework Regional Potential Project) projects.*” (University Teacher)

Several respondents commented that continuing development schemes are key for the understanding of international cooperation. A professor at the Faculty of Theology is of the opinion that: “*In my particular profession internationalisation is accomplished through the involvement in Professional Associations (PAs), short professional development schemes, and the existence of international peer-reviewed journals. My belief is that all of these schemes existed before.*” (University Teacher) To expand on this central storyline: “*There is the increased cross-pollination of competences. Specialists in Modern Languages cooperate with people trained in Theology, new amoeba-like disciplines such as Theolinguistics⁴ are being created (...).*” (University Teacher)

An independent lawyer reinforced this stream of thinking: “*The real future of the legal profession lies in the increased international cooperation. As lawyers the Bar of Lawyers keeps us informed about the instances and details of international cooperation in this era of post-socialism.*” (Lawyer) In the words of this respondent, disciplinary cross-pollination accompanied this development: “*Lawyers increasingly cooperate with medical workers on joint projects in contemporary Serbia to alleviate the effects of armed conflicts. The chances and perspectives to cooperate in other societal domains are increasingly becoming available. As the road towards the European Union is becoming reality, new chances to cooperate are opening up.*” (Lawyer) A professor at the Faculty of Mining and Geology writes: “*In my particular field, we have had conferences in Belgrade, Slovenia, Moscow and Kosice. In addition to this, we edit an international journal with some colleagues operating abroad. Further examples of international cooperation are bilateral agreements on cooperation with Slovenia as well as invited lectures in many foreign countries.*” (University Teacher) This set of findings adds to the existing body of knowledge which point out to the fact that there are contracts for international cooperation and educational joint ventures within the context of post-socialism.

Several questionnaire respondents highlighted that the growth of private universities hinders the progress towards international cooperation. A professor at the Faculty of Economics wrote: “*The system of professional education in Serbia suffers from many inherent problems. The growth in number of private universities will hinder the chances of further international cooperation.*” (University Teacher) A lawyer was of the opinion that: “*International cooperation is a key driver for social and political development. It has existed before.*”

⁴ Theolinguistics is a discipline that tries to explain relationships between religion and language. In addition to this, this field of scientific inquiry tries to explain how religious phenomena become embodied in language

(Lawyer) A professor at the Faculty of Architecture raised an interesting point when he said: “*Internationalisation enhances professional development. By attending seminars and conferences abroad, our knowledge is updated with new additions. Internationalisation does not have much to do with the transition to post-socialism. The modern era introduces the pressing need for internationalisation.*” (University Teacher)

Several respondents highlighted the fact that the state plays a crucial role in enabling stronger international cooperation. A lawyer gave some further examples saying: “*If the country progresses on its path towards the European Union, the system of professional education will certainly benefit from this and there will be further internationalisation.*” (Lawyer) This finding adds to the existing body of knowledge highlighting the importance of the EU accession.

Many respondents also highlighted the impact of the Bologna Declaration and the associated legislation for educational development and internationalisation, which were considered in the previous section. A professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade has said:

“*The Bologna Declaration helps immensely to maintain informal contacts with foreign educational institutions in developed Occidental countries as well as with the states of the former socialist bloc.*” (University Teacher) Many respondents highlighted that there were many examples of international cooperation in the domain of professional education. For example, a university teacher in the Department of Art History said that: “*The members of the History of Art Department have made short scholar visits to Vienna (Austria), Athens (Greece) and Skopje (Macedonia). Some of these were funded and organized under the programme of internationalization known as “TEMPUS”.*” (University Teacher)

Several respondents mentioned interdisciplinary projects as key drivers of international cooperation: “*We have had many multi-disciplinary projects over a number of recent years. Importantly, a scientific assembly in 2010 entitled ‘Serbian Theology Today’ brought together many professors, academics and researchers working in the field of humanities and social sciences (...).*” (Researcher) A professor from the Faculty of Electrical Engineering is of the opinion that: “*At the University of Belgrade, interdisciplinary projects are being introduced. At the present moment we have four projects. There are numerous projects with foreign educational institutions as well as FP6/FP7 projects that are excellent examples of international cooperation.*” (University Teacher) A professor from the Faculty of Philology and the person in charge of international cooperation writes as a response to the questionnaire: “*International cooperation is increasing exponentially and we have signed contracts with over forty faculties, departments and educational institutions in other European countries.*” (University Teacher) Some lawyers were negative about the introduction of this social change: “*Internationalisation is a very negative development. Almost all of the schemes are essentially about some foreign lecturers and professors who impose their value system in our country. To expand on this point further, I would not say that the international cooperation has increased with the transition from state-socialism.*” (Lawyer) “*Internationalisation is a key driver for the competitiveness. By going for short*

scholarship visits, we increase our chances of success on the market.” (Questionnaire respondent) Several respondents commented on the lack of practical experience that hinders cooperation “*Our students are certainly lacking practical experiences during their professional education schemes.*” (Questionnaire respondent) Some respondents argued that the recent examples of international cooperation were from international organizations that fund research and professional education: “*We receive some funds from the European Union and cooperate on the formation of new laws and regulations. That are the only examples of international cooperation that I can highlight.*” (Lawyer)

A great many of the questionnaire respondents highlighted the fact that Bologna Declaration brought greater opportunities for researchers and students to travel. A professor at the Faculty of Law said that: “*The Bologna Declaration brings stronger chances for students and academics to travel abroad (...). I can quote examples of students of law who have participated in conferences, competitions and seminars abroad.*” (University Teacher)

Internationalisation is becoming an important issue on the agenda in Serbian professional education. The key drivers for this important social change are the Bologna Declaration as well as many other international bodies.

The Analysis of Interviews

Introduction

The purpose of this section is to analyze the interviews conducted during this sociological survey. Twelve interviews ($n=12$) were held with academics mainly professors at the University of Belgrade and lawyers that own legal offices. Some of the interviews were written down and some of these were recorded on dictaphone. The interviews that were recorded are those where participants gave consent for this. The average length of the interviews goes well over an hour and this is the real strength of the exercise. Initial assessment suggests that the people who responded to the interviews were highly relevant for the subject under scrutiny. For an example, among the respondents were: person in charge of international cooperation at the University and a professor at the Faculty of Philology, professors of Russian and of French from the Faculty of Teacher Training, University of Belgrade. In addition to this, some respondents were lawyers who own legal offices, as well as independent lawyers. There were also respondents who combined academic research and practical work. For example, there were lawyers who owned legal offices, but who had studied to obtain doctorates in the past, so that they combined involvement in research with thorough knowledge of the world of practice. Importantly some of the respondents were apprentices in legal offices and they had better knowledge of the implementation of the Bologna Declaration, because they studied for undergraduate degrees when the precepts of the Bologna Declaration were implemented. In addition to this, short conversations were held with

a research worker from the Faculty of Geography and they provided additional insights. There are possible limitations to the conduct of the research as such. Some respondents were far too young to have a thorough knowledge about the state of affairs in professional education during state-socialism. The advantage of interviewing them was that they were thoroughly acquainted with the state of affairs in professional education during post-socialism, and know more about the exact precepts of the Bologna Declaration, because they studied when it was implemented. In addition, lawyers who have not been connected with research work for a number of years certainly have gaps in their knowledge about some topics concerning professional education and research work. The positive is that they are more linked to the world of practice and know how a new cycle of graduates studying according to the new curricula and study programmes fare in the labour market. The passages below present the data according to three categories and these are: democratization, governance and civil society; institutional sustainability and graduate employment and finally, internationalisation and the European Union.

Democratization, Governance and Civil Society

Many interviewees encountered during the survey exercise were of the opinion that understanding the economics of education and the reform of professional education of Serbia is a difficult thing to do. Geroimenko, Kliucharev and Morgan (2012:77) firmly believe that private professional education in general and in Russia, in particular, has many advantages, as independence from rigid state control and assurance of commercial controls.

Theoretically speaking, fully-state funded systems do no provide challenges to break out of the state-controlled mechanism as systems with diversified funding do (Shattock 2009:7). This shows that my criticism/argument is one way of describing/explaining events.

Some interviewees also underscored the fact that financial support for professional education was clearly insufficient: “*We get some funds from the Serbian Bar of Lawyers. In addition to this, the Ministry of Education and Associated Departments also help allocate funds for projects for lawyers. The only genuine problem is that these funds are clearly insufficient.*” (Lawyer)

Some university teachers underscored the fact that post-socialism is centrally distinguished by the fact that value system of the country witnessed a genuine breakdown, and this is in accordance with some of the theoretical findings within the context of social sciences. As such, they emphasized that the governance of the country and professional education were interlinked. For example, professors of Russian and French, from the Teacher Training Faculty at Belgrade University said that:

“Post-socialism certainly affects the patterns of professional education quite significantly. It amounts to the general breakdown of values. The malaise of corruption is certainly spreading across the system (...).”
(University Teacher)

Other respondents reinforced these points by saying that some professions have witnessed genuine problems. A professor of the Teacher Training Faculty, for example, highlighted the fact that the profession of university professor witnessed a genuine devaluation both in public esteem and in market worth:

“I firmly believe that the profession of a university teacher witnessed a genuine devaluation and there were problems with restoring dignity and pride. There are many reasons why this is the case (...). Very few university professors now have a broad intellectual outlook and this is a real problem.” (University Teacher)

Adelman (2010:616) comments on these developments theoretically, in an article in *European Journal of Education*, by saying that institutional financial stress/individual financial stress are by products of the introduction of high fees in schools, colleges and universities. To add to this stream of thinking, a lawyer argued that:

“(...) Professional education in state socialism was funded from foreign loans, so no genuine surplus was ensured. That is the negative connotation to this line of argument.” (Lawyer)

The emergence of private universities is seen as an important ‘roadblock’ to the creation of a high quality professional and tertiary education, and this is an implication for practice. For example, a professor at the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, and the person in charge of the international cooperation, said:

“(...) Within the context of state-socialism, the situation has been very much different and enrollees had many more opportunities to learn and continue on working. We need to say this in a low voice, but today you are able to undergo higher, professional and tertiary education if you are young and not so intelligent.”
(University Teacher) Present problems and situation with regard to funding is something that is perceived as given. Gramsci’s view was that lower strata need to accept the state of affairs as it is, and the negative connotation to this is that the possibility of a radical change is very much undermined (Clark 1977:6).

To add more to the significance of these findings to the body of knowledge, some professors highlighted the fact that even professors with a long history of work in tertiary and higher education within state-socialism look for a chance to teach at private universities, because profit is alluring:

“Well, some of the colleagues from state-based institutions have accepted the offer to work on private professional education institutions because they received considerable payment (...).” (University Teacher)

Some legal offices get funds from the Ministries for particular projects connected with the restoration of justice. Some lawyers also said that: *“Professional education is increasingly becoming a costly indulgence.*

My professional education degree was accomplished in 2003 and some of my colleagues on public universities who needed to pay their fees regularly, were obliged to pay very small sums, that were not a significant problem.” (Lawyer) Importantly, he said that:

“Imagine the situation where your primary concern is how to pay the fee instalments and the preparation for exams and learning come second. Such a student is not able to prepare for the exams thoroughly (...).” (Lawyer)

However, some interviewees argued that there were positive developments as well: “*The positive of the present bonfire of regulations is the fact that the privatization of professional education gives incentive to people to work harder on their own, and increase their skills-base by personal initiative.*” (Lawyer)

These points were reinforced by some lawyers. For example one independent lawyer said that: “*(...) Some professors working in state universities are working also in private professional education institutions. They are conscious of the fact that they need to lower the criteria. Within the context of state-socialism, curricula were overburdened, exams were very heavy to pass, but this policy was meaningful.*” (Lawyer) These findings relate positively to the existing body of knowledge, as a study by Alam (2007) makes a clear distinction between non-for-profit private educational institutions, and for-profit private educational institutions in contemporary Bangladesh. Comparisons with these countries are useful, given that Serbia is a post-socialist country as well. Importantly, the author listed semi-government private schools, schools managed by religious group, trustee, NGO and internationally managed schools as not for profit organizations. In addition to this, on the other side of the divide, for-profit organizations are: private ownership, company ownership, franchise basis and distance education.

A lawyer who owns a legal office in Belgrade expressed similar concerns and the lack of quality assurance procedures is key problem to be tackled in practice: “*(...) My experience tells me that there were people who were unable to pass a single exam in a state university, who nevertheless finished their degree in a private educational institution within three years without any problems whatsoever (...).*” (Lawyer)

Stensaker *et al* write in an article in *European Journal of Education* (2010:579) that recent developments in higher education in Europe are centrally concerned with introducing Quality Assurance procedures on international level. Given that Serbia is undergoing an educational transition, the country would benefit greatly from such developments, and this is how this set of findings informs practice. Li and Morgan, educational analysts, argue in their insightful article (2008:27) that private universities in China are very much surrounded by distrust from many social agents and real concerns are raised on how the qualifications obtained on these schools and colleges will fare on the emerging markets. In Vietnam (Lam 2009:11) the establishment of private universities was forbidden under the system of Marxism-Leninism.

The documentary analysis and some questionnaire respondents highlighted that private universities increase the supply of graduates from professional education, thus enhancing competition, that may have quality enhancement as the ultimate consequence. Contrary to this, interviewees display different opinion:

“The privatization of education has a negative impact on education in general, because professors at public educational institutions are not motivated to work (...).” (Lawyer)

In a recent and valuable contribution to the knowledge-base in educational sciences, Chau Lam's (2009:6) findings suggest that private universities in Vietnam face many problems. Among these are: lack of financial resources, poor staff management, inefficient training, programmes, facilities. Further list of problems includes the lack of unified standards for evaluation and accreditation. They need to enhance all of the above characteristics in order to compete with other institutions, both home and overseas. This is how the findings of research within contemporary Serbia relate to the existing body of knowledge within education sciences. The analysis of the interviews also suggests that privatization of professional education affects graduates of public professional education institutions negatively.

Many respondents were of the opinion that privatization as such was intrinsically negative in character, but it had to be accomplished in order to enable better professional, higher and tertiary education. The views of the respondents are also strongly against the emergence of private universities.

In spite of the fact that many interviewees were of the opinion that the process of democratization was far advanced, the importance of personal contacts or networks is still important for post-graduation employment opportunities. A lawyer owning a legal office said that:

“Contacts are equally important for political advancement in both political eras. Having political contacts, being able to know the right people at the right time, is still of crucial importance for the post-graduation success.” (Lawyer)

Having given a comparatively thorough analysis of the process of democratization, governance and civil society, the next section looks briefly at the aspect of institutional sustainability and graduate employment.

Institutional Sustainability and Graduate Employment

A great many of interviewees highlighted the fact that professional education schemes had been made simpler, and that the emerging markets played a crucial role. Professor of Russian, for example, argued strongly that:

“Well, certainly what distinguishes professional education schemes within the context of post-socialism is the subjection of education to market forces. Markets determine what is to be studied and curricula and professional education schemes will have to be subjected to this trend.” (University Teacher)

In contemporary Russia, key changes in professional education are geared to introduce *modular system* of studying and to enhance various aspects of the curricula and syllabi so that there is more educational flexibility (...). Some of the key changes are to involve academics in the process of monitoring and work in national projects (IoS 2010:73). A professor at the Faculty of Teacher Training, Belgrade University said:

“Some Faculties at the University of Belgrade need eighty more teaching assistants, professors, and scholars to pass through the process of accreditation in an appropriate manner. This is the central characteristic of the professional education reform.” (University Teacher)

Solbrekke and Karseth, in an interesting article in *European Journal of Education*, talk that Bologna Declaration wants to put together elements such as qualification framework, lifelong learning, credits among many other elements in order to achieve measurability and transparency (Solbrekke and Karseth 2010:563).

Theoretically speaking, as Barbara Kehm argues in an editorial to *European Journal of Education* the Ministers of the 47 countries who signed the Bologna Declaration and committed to its reform have launched the European Higher Education Area (...). In addition to this, there is resistance to its precepts from both professors and students (Kehm 2010:529). In line with this stream of thinking, some lawyers also emphasized that there were problems with the application of Western European standards. One commented: *“Well, I would argue that there will be problems with the application of the Bologna Declaration in contemporary Serbia. Myself being a specialist in law, I am of the opinion that law is a very wide subject, and cannot be done thoroughly if undergraduate studies are organized across one semester courses.”* (Lawyer)

In addition, some arrangements were not institutionally sustainable and one interviewee commented: *“(...) For an example, one of my colleagues could not pass the exam on state-based university precisely because the assessment depended upon the subjective evaluation of the professor rather than anything else (...).”* (Lawyer) Although some respondents are critical, some analysts see the Bologna Declaration as one of the most important breakthroughs in the sphere of education since the World War 2 (Kehm 2010:530).

Importantly, some respondents argued that there were strong and insurmountable obstacles to the implementation of the Bologna Declaration in Serbia. For example, a young lawyer from Belgrade was of the opinion that:

“(...) As far as I understand, the Bologna Declaration intrinsically implies work in small groups of individuals that are careful with attention to detail. What is more, it implies that professors have sufficient time to allocate to each student. Myself having accomplished an undergraduate degree in law, I know exactly

that approximately 3000 people enrol at the Faculty of Law each academic year, and that at one specific point there are 10000 people studying law(...).” (Lawyer) To add to these ongoing concerns, Solbrekke and Karseth (2010:563) opine strongly that the meeting in Louven Louvain-la-Neuve in 2009 concluded that the objectives of the Bologna Declaration were not fully achieved. A professor from the Faculty of Philology highlighted the fact that Bologna Declaration needed to be implemented according to the particular type of subjects across Faculties and Departments:

“(...) I have been tempted to teach courses in very difficult circumstances, and empirical and conceptual care needs to be taken on how we apply precepts of the Bologna Declaration. It is very difficult to teach Hispanic literature over one-semester courses with a large number of students.” (University Teacher)

A lawyer who owned a legal office was of the opinion that the impact of the Bologna Declaration was negative. He said that: *“With its pressing need for simplification and making the curricula much less burdened with theoretical knowledge, the Bologna Declaration creates professionals that are narrow-minded.”* (Lawyer) Interestingly enough, a trainee lawyer was of the opinion that it was difficult to predict the future state of affairs in professional education, saying that: *“The developments underpinning the Bologna Declaration are new to the Serbian context (...). The new generations of students that study according to the new system are only starting to undergo tertiary and professional education (...).”* (Lawyer)

Some respondents believe that if tertiary and professional education is shaped according to the Bologna Declaration and its precepts, the problems that emerge from this constellation will be manifold. One argued that:

“(...) On the subject of professional education, I am a genuine nationalist, because I think that Serbia should have its own say in shaping professional and tertiary education. My view is that we should simply exit the Bologna Declaration (...).” (Lawyer)

Some respondents were in favour of stronger educational self-reliance. In essence this meant that remnants from the socialist past should be appreciated much more strongly. For an example, a lawyer who owned a legal office in Belgrade argued that: *“We certainly stand in the need of more educational self-reliance, as the path conducive to the better chances of institutional sustainability. Bologna Declaration should not be perceived as a Holy Scripture, but as a fluid text (...).”* (Lawyer)

A trainee lawyer, for example said that: *“The market economy certainly has some impact on what is studied in faculties, colleges, schools and academic departments. For example, within the context of the legal profession, corporate law is an important sub-discipline that lawyers concern themselves with in the present circumstances (...).”* (Lawyer)

To point out the limitations of direct interviewing, one lawyer argued that: “*I am not thoroughly acquainted with the state of affairs of professional education during state-socialism.*” (Lawyer) However, other respondents argued that post-socialism necessarily brought with it the need for ‘lifelong learning’ and ‘continual professional development’. Importantly, a lawyer owning a legal office in Belgrade said:

“*My view is that post-socialism necessarily brings the need for ‘lifelong learning’ and ‘on the job training’ with associated requirements for skills development. For an example, as a lawyer, I am keen to read many documents, including books, newspaper articles and media outputs that help me immensely in my practice as a lawyer (...).*” (Lawyer) Another lawyer said that: “*The key problem is that skills obtained in universities, schools and colleges are not compatible with the requirements of the labour market. Some lawyers are not equipped to start working after graduation and educationists and policy-makers will need to bear this in mind.*” (Lawyer) *Modernization of the Russian Education/Problems and Perspectives*, argues insightfully that on the example *Japan Tobacco Int.* it becomes apparent that ‘on the job learning’ and ‘lifelong training’ are very much alive in contemporary Russia, and these intrinsically positive developments will continue on in the future (IoS 2010:118).

Some lawyers also argued that the market economy negatively affects some professions and professional education programmes. Importantly a young lawyer said that:

“*The emergence of the market economy affects the professional education of lawyers quite negatively. I would not argue that curricula have changed much. The central issue is the mindset and values (...). In addition, professional solidarity is very much undermined, as lawyers see themselves as competitors and that undermines the very essence of the profession (...).*” (Lawyer)

Some respondents highlighted the fact that there were no genuine patterns in the change of professional education within the context of contemporary Serbia; but that the change itself comes as being determined by the nature of professions under the scrutiny of analysts and educationists. One said:

“*My personal view is that ideologically-laden professions are witnessing a genuine change in patterns. These considerations are not valid for some professions that are ‘value neutral’ and are standardized across countries and departments (...).*” (University Teacher)

An independent lawyer for an example, was of this view: “*(...) Strong market economy implies that people have more funds to give away for professional education and to shape their future. In addition to this, if the market economy is strong, that substantially means that individuals and groups will have more chance for employment after graduation*”. (Lawyer)

He argued further that: “*A weak market economy signifies that people do not have sufficient funds for their professional education and the uncertainty for the projected future is also substantially increased for many*

agents. That is the downside of the situation in post-socialist Serbia, rather than anything else (...).” (Lawyer) Another lawyer also highlighted the fact that: “*We have more opportunities to engage in continuing professional development (...).*” (Lawyer) Interestingly, some respondents thought that markets did not make sufficient impact on the change of professional education patterns. For example, the owner of a legal office said: “*The emerging markets in contemporary Serbia still do not have a strong impact on professional education. Their influence is still quite weak.*” (Lawyer)

A further example comes from a trainee lawyer who believed that: “*There is a real problem with the new market-responsive system of professional education, and there are positive and negative elements to it. In my view the tertiary education programmes are much easier to pass. The reading lists and syllabuses are much simpler (...).*” (Lawyer) Some respondents also highlight the fact that the quality of professional education is diminishing: “*My view is that the quality of professional education in post-socialism is diminishing.*” (Lawyer) Implications for practice are many: enterprises will become involved in the creation of the educational system.

With regard to the future of professional education in contemporary Serbia, some respondents gave very pessimistic comments. For an example, a lawyer who owned a legal office was of the opinion that:

To add to this a trainee lawyer said that: “*I am not optimistic either when it comes to the future of professional and tertiary education. The outlook for the future of professional education is very downbeat and we stand in the need of well thought and innovative policy precepts to solve these problems.*” (Trainee Lawyer) Yet again, a young lawyer argued that: “*My spouse is involved in work in higher and professional education and is thoroughly acquainted with the developments in this domain. I would not be able to give any upbeat comments and that is precisely because the knowledge-base of graduates is largely inferior if we compare it with the one that existed during state socialism (...).*” (Lawyer) Solbrekke and Karseth (2010:565) are of the opinion, in an article in *European Journal of Education* that the only way to respond to social and cultural challenges is to make the system of higher education more responsive to the requirements of the labour market. To add to this argument even further, the same interviewee argued that: “*When we speak of professional education in post-socialism and associated problems, I do think that we do not have the wider, social incentive for young graduates to increase their knowledge base (...).*” (Lawyer) In terms of the implications for practice, vocational education will not be perceived as a ‘tired political drum’ any more, and parents might prefer it to higher and tertiary education. This finding also does not sit in concordance with the existing body of knowledge.

The section above argues strongly that there are significant problems with the creation of market-responsive system of professional education, but progress has been made. Consequently, the next section looks briefly at what the interviewees during the survey said about the internationalisation of professional education.

Internationalisation and the European Union

A great many of interviewees emphasized that post-socialism brought increased international cooperation, although state-socialism was also distinguished by a significant level of international cooperation. For example, a professor at the Faculty of Teacher Training, University of Belgrade said that:

"We have certainly more opportunities to engage in continual professional education schemes abroad over the number of recent years. My view is that these developments are peculiar to post-socialism, rather than any other social change." (University Teacher) Younger respondents are much better acquainted with the process of internationalisation, because it is the central feature of the system of professional education in post-socialism. For example, a trainee lawyer was of the opinion that: "*Professional education schemes in post-socialism are certainly characterized by stronger open mindedness. This means that young graduates, students and professors have many more opportunities to engage in research work abroad. In addition to this, the opportunities to visit summer schools, seminars as well as short scholar visits are becoming many and a great many of my fellow students could take advantage of these opportunities.*" (Lawyer) Jeanpierre (2010:119) believes that the mobility of students is one of the most important characteristics of the international competition for human capital.

Some respondents argued that these developments were not unequivocally positive, as the institutional sustainability for these schemes was lacking: "*(...) On a personal note, I got invited to attend a conference in applied linguistics in Canberra, Australia. This obviously sounds very appealing, but neither my Faculty nor the Ministries could support me financially to attend this conference (...).*" (University Teacher) Theoretically speaking, many social scientists believe that social sciences are becoming international or even global (Gingras and Mosbah-Natanson 2010:149).

It is very positive to find out that international cooperation is not restricted to professors only, and continuing professional development schemes are increasingly becoming available to students, which is an important implication for practice of this group of research findings. Related to this, another interviewee added:

"Within the context of post-socialism, continuing professional development schemes are increasingly becoming available to students. As a professor of foreign languages, I can modestly say that some of my students have gone for conferences and short scholar visits to Brussels (...)." (University Teacher) Professor at the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, emphasized an important fact that is in accordance with the findings of the documentary analysis when he said: "*To begin on a personal note, I am in charge of the international cooperation at the Faculty of Philology. Within the context of post-socialism, we have had many difficult obstacles to surmount, and the professional education is centrally distinguished by the increased level of international cooperation (...).*" (University Teacher)

I used the volumes on international cooperation in my analysis even before I encountered this suggestion by the professor. Some respondents argued strongly that post-socialism brought stronger international cooperation. A lawyer said:

“The profession of lawyers intrinsically implies cooperation with legal offices operating abroad as well as with professionals resident in different countries. Some of my colleagues attended workshops in the United States and these workshops and schemes are funded by the Non-Governmental-Organizations as well as Ministries (...).” (Lawyer) In some countries the implementation of the Bologna Declaration is closely interlinked with becoming European (Yagci 2010:589).

Other lawyers interviewed confirmed that international cooperation was very important. One said: “*I would argue strongly that the Association of Young Lawyers should join the European Association of Lawyers. This is the only genuine example I can quote, but there may be many more (...).*” (Lawyer) To reinforce these points some lawyers also argued that: “*We have had some examples of international cooperation and that was in the period 1998-2003. Having said that, it is not easy at all to establish international cooperation in the field of modern law. Legal systems normally differ from one country to another, and there are no clearly defined standards so that some scholars can work independently with experts from the same region (...).*” (Lawyer) The respondent also tried to highlight the fact that it was quite difficult to establish international cooperation in the field of law. These considerations are valid to even a greater extent for disciplinary cross-pollination. Thus, the respondent said that: “*There are some developments in contemporary law that are a real hindrance for international cooperation. For an example, we do not have disciplinary cross-fertilization. Within the context of criminology and law, we still use the outdated theoretical concepts by 18th and 19th century theorists that are becoming forgotten in departments in developed countries (...).*” (Lawyer) To add to this the respondent argued that: “*Foreign departments and research institutes have much stronger resources for the creation of new theories and streams of thinking than our country and our departments (...).*” (Lawyer)

A great many respondents were able to read in newspapers, media outputs and learn from the conversations their colleagues about multidisciplinary projects with legal offices and departments abroad, but their knowledge came across as second-hand and out of date. For example, a lawyer said:

“I am acquainted with the fact that disciplinary cross-pollination is growing exponentially, because I read media outputs, newspapers and official publications. However, I have ceased working in academe for a decade now and am not involved in the research work any more (...).” (Lawyer)

The findings of the interview exercise are in accordance with the documentary analysis and questionnaires as well as the existing body of knowledge within social sciences. They almost unequivocally suggest that professional education in post-socialism is increasingly becoming distinguished by the increased international

cooperation. The views of lawyers and university teachers converge strongly on the subject under scrutiny and in accordance with the categories. Lawyers and university teachers have similar views, some distinctions may be seen because lawyers are much more interlinked with the world of practice, whereas university teachers are much more coned to the academe, that has been comparatively independent of the market mechanisms in relation to other societal subsystems.

The Analysis of Focus Groups

Introduction

Three focus groups (n=3) were used with 8 participants on average as part of the mixed methods approach. Focus group is a technique in the context of modern social sciences, where researchers assemble a number of participants to organize a discussion on a certain topic and is used in qualitative research (Crocker 2001:15). The number of participants in a focus groups varies from 2-10, and the number of focus groups used in the project also varies depending on the complexity of the subject examined. The key objective is to enable succinct conclusions on the subject under scrutiny. In addition to this, they are increasingly becoming useful for triangulating the information gained by the analysis of the relevant documents: books, government publications, media outputs, and newspaper articles. In addition to this, they were used to ensure the appropriate check and balance of the information about professional education obtained through the analysis of questionnaires and interviews with relevant people. Initial analysis clearly points to the fact that these focus groups strongly converge with the data obtained in documentary analysis, questionnaires and interviews.

It was desirable to hold focus groups because of the need to hear the alternative views of the students and as a way of triangulating research techniques. They were sufficiently long, varying from half an hour to hour long, and informative and many participants were quite keen to answer the questions that were of relevance for the research project. One of the groups was held at the Faculty of Organizational Sciences, where students were quite keen to participate in the project before their exam. A second focus group was held in a nearby Faculty, the School of Political Sciences, with first year students. A third and final focus group was held at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, where a number of students were quite keen to participate in a discussion in a hub, before the examination in this Faculty took place. In addition to this, a detailed conversation was held with a student in the hub of the Faculty of Organisational Sciences. Possible limitations are that the students of the Faculty of Political Sciences were very young, inexperienced and their knowledge of the professional education system under state-socialism is not thorough at all. The next section looks at the opinion of focus group discussants at the issue of democratization, governance and civil society.

Democratization, Governance and Civil Society

According to Popper, the way towards an Open Society is the way of democratic management. In essence, this entails class struggle. The class interests of the lower classes do not necessarily harmonize with the rest of the society (...). Still Popper's view is that classes are on the right track to disappear and capitalism is an embodiment of the open society (Cornforth 1968:373). Ideologies that are inimical to the emergence of the Open Society are those that regard human institutions as other than being man-made (Cornforth 1968:373).

The financing of professional education was seen by many research participants as the weakest point in the system of professional education. To assert this point even more, respondents said:

"In the field of mechanical engineering we receive a lot of funds from the State and Ministries. In addition to this, individual Departments have their own funds and there is a strong support from the individual research projects." (Focus Group Discussant/Faculty of Mechanical Engineering/June 2010) Several focus groups discussants believed that the government helps greatly in funding professional education. Some of those studying organisational sciences argued that: "*Our profession receives a lot of funds from companies and the Government Economic Departments.*" (Focus Groups Discussant/Faculty of Organisational Sciences/June 2010) A student at the Faculty of Organisational Sciences was of the opinion that: "*Student organisations are investing in Continuing Professional Development. This is not a matter of institutional arrangements and is left entirely to the initiative of students and student organizations.*" (Student/Faculty of Organisational Sciences/June 2010) This statement may sound contradictory, but in respondent's own words, many students of the Faculty of Organisational Sciences are members of AIESEC, a student organisation that organises travels, conferences and seminars abroad, that are an essential part of continual professional development.

The issue of political contacts emerges as very important during the survey. The central storyline is that they are equally, if not more important for professional advancement than in the era of post-socialism: "*Political contacts are more important for professional advancement now than in the era of state-socialism. One needs to know the right people in order to progress professionally.*" (Focus Group Discussant/Faculty of Mechanical Engineering/June 2010) Students of other faculties likewise share the view about the importance of political contacts after the transition. The next section looks at what focus group discussants have said about the issue of institutional sustainability and graduate employment.

Institutional Sustainability and Graduate Employment

Contrary to the findings of questionnaires and interviews, many focus groups discussants were of the opinion that the influence of markets on the world of professional education was very weak and essentially insufficient. Theoretically speaking (Auriol 2010:295), many bodies such as UNESCO Institute of Statistics and Eurostat concern themselves with the employability of graduates.

“The Bologna Declaration introduces an entirely different system of professional education and makes it much richer. The impact of the markets is much more salient and it is much easier to study for a Masters’ degree in educational institutions in other European countries.” (Student/Faculty of Organisational Sciences/June 2010) The students of the Faculty of Political Sciences argued that: “*The Bologna Declaration necessarily brings simplification. In addition to this, the impact of this Declaration is negative because it causes segregation and allows only those from well-to-do families to obtain excellent education (...).*” (Focus Group Discussant/Faculty of Political Sciences/June 2010)

The focus group held at the Faculty of Organisational Sciences did put forward the argument that: “*The Bologna Declaration undoubtedly hinders professional and higher education development.*” (Focus Groups Discussion/Faculty of Organisational Sciences/June 2010) Discussants continued to focus on the introduction of the Bologna Declaration: “*In the field of Mechanical Engineering, some exams are difficult to pass and in some instances the curricula are simplified. Broadly discussing, the Bologna Declaration brings further problems and it is imposed on the country by the people from the West. The labour market does not have a strong influence on the shape of the curricula.*” (Focus Group Discussants/Faculty of Mechanical Engineering/June 2010) It is also important to highlight that hostility towards the Bologna Declaration is not exclusive to Serbia as some survey respondents highlight the fact that many countries that have undergone the transition to post-socialism have voiced similar concerns. My view is that the reluctance to accept the precepts of the Bologna Declaration is more a result of traditionalist values and reluctance to change, rather than a consequence of social distortions, such as the Civil War in former Yugoslavia.

In terms of the change in the curricula the discussants share the opinion that: “*In the field of mechanical engineering, the nature of the subject studied has not changed much with the transition to post-socialism. There might have been changes in the professions that are ideologically burdened, but in the field of mechanical engineering there is a corpus of knowledge to be studied by all enrollees that does not change as the societal system changes.*” (Focus Groups Discussants/Faculty of Mechanical Engineering/June 2010) During the survey, some respondents have given answers that the profession of a sociologist, for an example, is ideologically burdened. This is even more so because professionals in these domains are supposed to take part in political movements to change the social system and the social system impacts significantly the nature

of knowledge studied in schools, colleges and universities. Following this central storyline, professions such as engineering, chemistry or biology are freed from ideological content, and the curricula do not change, as the social and political context changes. There have been some changes in the field of professional education. Importantly: “*In the field of Mechanical Engineering, with the transition to post-socialism arrived a division on many modules and areas of professional specialization. The nature of professional education is increasingly becoming more diversified.*” (Focus Group Discussant/Faculty of Mechanical Engineering/June 2010)

Several discussants gave a nuanced opinion that: “*In the developed countries of the Occidental culture, the emerging markets have a strong influence on the world of professional education. In contemporary Serbia, the situation was very much different. A lot of time will need to pass in order to have a genuinely market-responsive system of professional education.*” (Focus group discussants/Faculty of Mechanical Engineering/June 2010)

There have been some changes in the field of professional education. Importantly: The students of the Faculty of Political Sciences were of the same view saying: “*There have been important changes in the field of professional education of people specializing in social and political sciences. For an example, reading lists are much shorter and we sometimes read only passages from classical works of political sciences, sociology, law and philosophy (...).*” (Focus Group Discussant/Faculty of Political Sciences/June 2010)

As a part of focus groups discussions, respondents were asked to comment on the future of professional education in the country. Although some of their comments on professional education reform were downbeat, a great many of discussants gave positive comments. They also emphasised that: “*The future outlook for professional and tertiary education is not perfect. Many amendments need to be made and many policy-precepts need to be changed.*” (Focus Groups Discussants/Faculty of Mechanical Engineering/June 2010) In spite of the fact that their views on the emergence of private universities and international cooperation have been essentially negative in character, the growing international cooperation has prompted the participants to give some upbeat comments on the future of professional education in the country. The next section looks briefly on what the focus group discussants have said about the issue of internationalisation of professional education.

Internationalisation and the European Union

It is important to highlight that internationalisation as a process should be distinguished more clearly from the introduction of the Bologna Declaration. The focus groups discussants gave also their opinion on the general issue of internationalization:

“The transition to post-socialism has certainly revitalized the international outlook of professional education in the country. There are many more invited lectures, discussion forums, joint-projects. During our undergraduate studies, we have had a vast number of seminars with international participants.” (Focus Group Discussants/Faculty of Mechanical Engineering/June 2010)

The students of the Faculty of Political Sciences said that: *“From the beginning of our undergraduate study, many foreign lecturers came to hold presentations, and in addition to this, as students we can take part in seminars.”* (Focus Groups Discussants/Faculty of Political Sciences/June 2010) The discussants from the School of Social and Political Sciences were of the opinion that: *“With the transition to post-socialism, there are many more bilateral agreements and contracts. There are also professional education schemes jointly coordinated with institutions from other countries.”* (Focus Groups Discussants/Faculty of Political Sciences/June 2010) The students of undergraduate studies at the Faculty of Organisational Sciences in Belgrade argued that:

“We can say unequivocally that international cooperation is crucial for those studying Organisational Sciences (...). We have more foreign professors lecturing at our Faculty and have bilateral agreements with many institutions in Europe.” (Focus Groups Discussant/Faculty of Organisational Sciences/June 2010)

It was emphasized again that: *“There is also a much stronger disciplinary cross-pollination. Economics as a science is unthinkable without the influence and cooperation with psychology. For an example human resource development is important for many firms and enterprises.”* (Focus Groups Discussant/Faculty of Organisational Sciences/June 2010) Importantly, a discussion with a student allows me to quote this passage: *“Internationalisation certainly helps to achieve stronger comparability of the education credentials and diplomas. At my institution, the Faculty of Organisational Sciences, we have had many guest lectures (...).”* (Student/Faculty of Organisational Sciences/June 2010)

To conclude, the focus groups were used in this research project both as a part of triangulating methods and as a part of mixing methods, seen as appropriate strategies in the context of modern social sciences. Most of the focus groups discussants confirm the earlier concerns about the economics of education in the country. Hostility towards the Bologna Declaration and private universities is also reinforced. In addition to this, internationalisation is seen as a key development in education in general and professional education in

particular. As such, they confirm the findings of the documentary part of the research project and also the analysis of questionnaires and interviews with relevant people.

Summary

This chapter gives an overview of the data obtained by sociological survey. It outlines how many questionnaires were sent and returned, how many interviews were held, and how many focus groups have taken place. In addition to this, it allowed me to give my opinion as a researcher on the topic under scrutiny. The next section tries to present the data obtained by sociological survey by presenting the combined data analysis.

Chapter Seven:Combined Data Analysis

The idea of this chapter is that using combined data analysis would persuade the reader that this project is more coherent and scientifically convincing, as well as giving the reader the chance to check the data gained from various sources. I believe that if various sources show that respondents re invoke certain topics independently of each other, as well as the documentary analysis reinvokes these same topics, then this gives support to the argument that appropriate methodology was used in this thesis, and this is how combined data analysis relates to previous approaches. The idea put forward by Onwuegbuzie and Burke-Johnson (2004:17) in an insightful article in *Educational Researcher* is essentially that mixed methods is all about applying multiple approaches to answering the research questions and the rejection of dogmatism.

Democratization, Governance and Civil Society

In contemporary Russia President Medvedev said that the financing of education is a key to overall societal development (IoS 2010:148). In Serbia, these developments are likewise of central importance. Democratization in Central and Eastern Europe and the emergence of the knowledge society comes as a main ingredient causing the change in professional education. The knowledge society implies that changes need to be performed. Vilotijević and Vilotijević, give the example of Peter Drucker (2009:33) who argued that the production of a specific device in computer industry requires 70% of knowledge, know how and creativity and no more than 12% of work. It is important to highlight the fact that reforming professional education is by no means an easy task, and there are contesting views about the validity of this change. Durand Prinborgne (2002:19) argues forcefully that overwhelming national systems of education with innumerable aims can have both advantages and risks. There is a widespread belief among academics and policy makers that our

educational system produces well rounded individuals with in-breadth and in-depth knowledge. However, this view is divorced from practice and collides with the statistical data. Turaljić, for an example is of the opinion that most of the policy makers quote extensively from the examples of Serbians undertaking doctoral studies abroad as an example of the success of the Serbian educational system (Turajlić 2005:287). Isolation was another problem and a cause for further reform. Chances for cooperation with Western academics were rare and minor. This made scientific endeavours much poorer, as well as hindered further progress. Serbia had integrated university from 1905 until 1954, and a decentralized system from 1954 until the present date. From the foundation until the Second World War, Professors were treated as state controlled workers and the governance was given to the people specifically trained for this purpose. As a result of these developments, the system was centralized until the 1960 and the self management, and brought back to the idea of centralism afterwards (Turajlić 2005:289).

On this example, I tried to show how various educational systems interact in creating a genuine intradependent whole. To expand with another main point given below, the system of funding of professional and higher education in Serbia is quite inadequate. People from well-to-do families can study for their professional degrees, and pro-poor strategies are quite weak, and there is no clear system in spreading education to have-nots. These points are very much reinforced by some relevant data from the analysis of questionnaires: A great many of the respondents argued that professional education was under-funded.

Several respondents believed that funding should not be left to the whims of the market forces. A professor at the Faculty of Chemistry said: “*The funding of fundamental research in professional education should not be left to the market.*” (Lawyer) Professor at the Faculty of Geography said: “*The key issue when seeking funding is the personal initiative of professors and researchers.*” (University Teacher) In addition to this, the analysis of questionnaires allowed me to conclude that the important characteristic of professional education under state-socialism was that it was free of charge.

Documentary analysis also explores these tensions in further detail. Kostić also gives evidence that the exact amount for the fees is far too high for the present day circumstances in contemporary Serbia. The author also argues that most of the courses are of unsatisfactory quality, and that there are no clear methods to determine for what purpose faculties use the funds from tuition fee payments (Kostić 2005:309).

Several questionnaire respondents during the survey commented on the agencies that fund professional education in contemporary Serbia. A professor at the Faculty of Philosophy said: “*(...) History of Art Departments also attract significant funds from the Serbian Orthodox Church. In my particular profession, there is a strong continuity in professional education funding.*” (University Teacher)

The problem with financing of professional education is reinforced by interviewee informants. A teacher of Russian from the Faculty of Teacher Training, University of Belgrade said that funds were clearly lacking, but

the profession of teachers of foreign languages still received significant financial support: “(...) *There are also departmental resources that we can use for the purposes of enhancing professional education.*” (University Teacher)

Her colleague, a teacher of French from the same Faculty said that: “*The malaise lingers on and post-socialism is not to be blamed for all of the societal ills. That is my central argument on the subject under scrutiny. The key issue is that the present reform of professional education is not financially sustainable (...).*” (University Teacher) In developed countries, private foundations play a very important role in professional education funding as is the case with Volkswagen in Germany, Rownthree and Leverhulme in the United Kingdom (van Langehove 2010:83).

Likewise, some faculties integrate the functions of teaching, research, employer providers which is a substantial burden and the drawbacks of this policy are manifold (...). Firstly, there is an overemphasis on infrastructure, bureaucracy, which creates further difficulties financially (...). In a monodisciplinary culture, this may well work, but bearing in mind the present culture of interdisciplinarity, we see that this system is no longer sustainable (Turajlić 2005:289-290). An insightful OECD document on contemporary Serbia also makes the following recommendation for changes in higher and professional education: It is useful to use national and international cooperation to rethink the role of the universities. A thorough analysis should form the basis of any decision. Experienced advice can form a good basis for educational reform (OECD 2001:50). In addition to these infrastructural and other reasons, time seems to be running out, as most of the goals for the change in professional and higher education patterns are set for 2010 (...). The goal is clearly to form one of the most competitive knowledge-based economies in the world. The European Higher Education Area (EHEA), the end point and purpose of the Bologna Process, should be fully established by 2010 (European Commission 2007:3). More needs to be done in this regard. Turajlić also believes that (2005:291) some academics are aversive towards change, because they deliver the same lessons for years, and do not pay attention to what the market actually says. What companies need are the soft skills. In developed countries, the economy is entirely dependent upon the development of this sector. In my judgment, Serbia should also make efforts to improve this sector and continue on to the path of development. Although there is a pressure to change, changes need to be introduced gradually, with a strong emphasis on the development of various societal sectors. There should be two key factors for the change in professional education and these are the Serbian Government through the ministries for: science, sport, technology, culture, health and finances and the Association of Faculties and Higher Education Institutions in Serbia (...). The Government gives general directions for the change in professional education and provides material assistance. The Association gives expert opinion on the overall shape of the change and evaluates whether or not material assistance is sufficient (Novak 2005:300). In my view, a great many of agents should be involved in this process. These are not just policy-makers or educationists. There should be constant and ongoing links with employers and association of employers. Students should also be contacted, because they are the ones that will go to perform on the

changeable labour market. Likewise, the influence of student organizations is weak. Student organizations do not play a significant role in either the Law on University or any higher education institutions (2005:301). In the light of the criticism that says that theory is overemphasized in the curricula, a great deal of research needs to be done on the needs of the students. Students' Union has commenced a thorough research on some of the issues as the needs of the students, participation and chances of positioning themselves on the labour market (...). This is quite important because this is exactly the cohort of population that will constitute elite of the society (Kostić 2005:307). Most of the students enter professional education programmes because they see this as a means of getting a well paid job (*Ibidem*). Most of the politicians see this as the pressing need for the development, and education comes second. Bogdanović, for an example, is of opinion (2005:25) that Serbia has passed four years since the democratic processes began. They influenced the university as well. Political and economic instability also had a significant impact on the overall change in society. Within the academic community, 2005 is the year of Bergen. In this city in Norway, thirty nine ministers of states will meet in order to report on what has been done to adjust the educational system towards the European system of higher education. Importantly, one issue on the agenda is the question to what extent the precepts of the meeting in Berlin were adhered to (Turajlić 2005:11). There are three main pillars underpinning the education reform within contemporary Serbia and these are (a) private and public institutions should work jointly to ensure that educational reform occurs by sketching the law on higher education (b) a law on higher education institutions should be formed in order to ensure accurate and just financing of education (c) a statute should be found in order to govern students, universities and professors. Curricula must be enhanced as well as basic needs such as salaries, educational infrastructure (Knežević 2002:52-3). There has been a certain level of 'opening up' in other post-socialist countries such as China (Li 2010:269).

A number of questionnaire respondents gave interesting views on the subjects mentioned above, that collide with the existing body of knowledge: professor at the Faculty of Philology and the person in charge of the international cooperation, who also took part in the interview, writes as a response to the questionnaire:

To continue on with this argument some interviewee informants give similar views. In addition to this some interviewees highlighted that even graduates of public universities had a problem with resilience:

"For example, during state-socialism, we had one public university and those who graduated from its Schools had much stronger knowledge base and were prepared to match the needs of the world of work in a much more appropriate manner (...)." (Lawyer) This sometimes collides with the existing body of knowledge, as Breznitz and Feldman (2009:162) believe that private universities are freed from the constraints of the government and are free to experiment with the introduction of new programmes.

However, some questionnaire respondents give a very different view on the subject: "*The emergence of private universities on the educational arena is magnificent news. My opinion is that Serbia as a country should aim to form an assembly of free governing and autonomous institutions in all walks of life and the*

creating of autonomous institutions in the domain of professional education is undoubtedly positive and desirable.” (Lawyer)

Some highlighted the fact that the key issue was the quality of education, and whether the type of ownership was public or private was of secondary importance: “*Personally I do not have much against the emergence of private universities. Key issues to be noted are well-thought and innovative education policy, and the type of ownership certainly comes second.*” (University Teacher) Several respondents argued that the process of accreditation should be facilitated. A professor wrote: “*There is much rigidity surrounding the process of accreditation of schools and colleges. The process should be much softer and new competitors should be involved in the game.*” (University Teacher) The documentary analysis also talks of the need for the stronger accountability. Importantly, the sphere of higher and professional education is regulated by two laws. Many private educational institutions were developed subsequently. The framework for qualifications was thus enhanced and a new system was created (Turajlić 2001:3). Arguing broadly, there is a general jig-sawing of the analysis of questionnaires, interviews and focus groups and the combined data analysis chapter shows this to a certain extent. The next section looks briefly at the issue of institutional sustainability and graduate employment, by combining documentary and empirical method.

Institutional Sustainability and Graduate Employment

In contemporary Serbia, degrees only serve as a proof for individuals' validity for the employers, and what follows are on-the-job learning schemes that need to be developed. This weak relationship between education and the labour market was perhaps the reason for the economic under-development under-state-socialism. For an example, Polić gives some arguments (1974:102) in support of this view: „The analysis clearly shows that scientific work in industry, which is our strongest point, has not progressed much. It is no wonder then that we are on the bottom of the table with regard to the number of innovations. Relying on foreign technique, technology and costly franchising schemes, we imported 47% of infrastructure for industry in the period of 1966 to 1999“. Polić also believes that (1974:109) very few educated professionals are keen on working within industry and therefore choose academic contexts. The Act of the Parliament (1960) reinforced these developments. Efforts were made for a more in-depth study of these problems, and the relationship of industry with education witnessed something of a similar development (Polić 1974:117). Quite expectedly, though, some analysts criticise the overall state of affairs within state-socialism as far as education is concerned.

Most of the debates on continual professional development were driven by the state apparatus and socialist politicians, rather than the labour market or intrinsic motivation for success. Suzić says that there was an inefficient professional education scheme that can be depicted as: teach everybody everything, rather than specialize (Suzić 2008:43). To be more precise, there was an incentive to develop a person with breadth rather than depth of knowledge. Education within state socialism was inefficient. As Polić argues strongly (1974:160)

inefficient regime of study was perhaps the most important characteristic. Importantly, in terms of professional education, socialist Yugoslavia had to choose between two extreme options, a free regime of study or the more efficient year by year scheme. Wastage is understood within sociological and educational theory as the tendency of enrollees to stay for too long within higher education institutions as well as to postpone their entrance to the world of work. This was clearly a major drawback, given the fact that professional education within state-socialism was free of charge and was not in the need of improvement in this regard. Negative consequences of this policy are manifold.

First and foremost, there was a diminished pool of talent on Serbian universities. The growing number of those who go through professional education schemes can hinder talented individuals to achieve their full potential. In addition to this, resources are used in an inappropriate manner. Within post-socialism, the overall need for stronger effectiveness puts a lot of pressure on the higher education system and the state to combat wastage. What is more, the General Law on financial means for education and development in 1966 was based on the system of self-management and has introduced a new system of financing of higher education. What is more, stronger link of education and the world of work have been formed (Polić 1974:174). Within socialist Yugoslavia, adult education and lifelong education, as a useful supplement of professional education, has been very much alive. In 1957., a conference was held on this issue, organized by UNESCO and the association of trade unions (Langran 1971:7). Professionals as such, did not even exist. One of the most important characteristics was the principle of the negative selection of workers. This means that obedience to the leader was more important than acquired skills and knowledge for employability (...). The suppression of innovative thinking, lack of entrepreneurship and the suppression of market forces played an important role in the overall world view of the population (Filipović 1990). Associated labour was a necessary prerequisite of socialist modernization. Professional education was aimed at producing people who could take part in this activity (Filipović 1995). Socialist Yugoslavia did not achieve major success in the sphere of science and technology and this has been the case in particular because the country did not have high quality teaching and research, or application of technology (...). Processes of professional education lasted for even longer than 7 or 8 years (Bošnjak 2005:127-128).

Socialist Yugoslavia was one of the most prosperous countries of the Eastern bloc with regard to higher education institutions. There were nineteen Universities, with approximately 425.000 students. These institutions gave various kinds of degrees from B.A. to doctoral degree. Undergraduate professional education programmes lasted for 4 to 5 years, and postgraduate studies for two years. There were no temporal limitations for doctoral degree (Mandić and Perrera 1989:115). The Act of the Parliament about the development of the self-management system says that societal organizations like the associations of labour and socio-political communities are invited to develop work-based learning as a way of enhancement of professional education (Filipović 1995:182). During the period of state-socialism most of the policy makers have highlighted the need to translate all of the major Yugoslav publications into the official foreign

languages, English, French and German so that our scholastic achievements are available to the people across Europe (Perišić 2008:346). Within socialist Yugoslavia, there was an expansion of professional education in general. It is made apparent in the development of educational institutions, and the number of those that are involved in education processes (Ivković 1990:9).

The economic development of socialist Yugoslavia was partly achieved by the industrialization that facilitated the general growth, the growth of the population and education, and professional education in particular (Ivanović 2000:155). Not all professional education programmes incited widespread interest during the period of state socialism. For an example, faculties with a focus on teaching (philosophy, mathematics and natural sciences, philology) do not attract a sufficient number of enrollees whereas schools of medicine, law, economics attract a vast number of students (Andjelković 1986:66). Professional education of teachers within socialist Serbia comes as a main characteristic of the maintenance and enhancement of the system (...). Scientific and technological revolution played an important role in professional education, with the advent of information rich, high skills society (Andjelković 1986). Professional education and development was determined by the interests of the socialist party. Personal advancement depended upon the connections with the party officials and factors different from the mechanism of market and competitiveness (Filipović 1995:108). Towards the end of the socialist period an attempt was made towards the more intensive introduction of ICT in professional education programmes in Yugoslav Republics (...). Slovenia led the way, but an attempt was made to introduce these in Serbia more thoroughly (...). There was also a significant increase in the application of ICT in scientific work (Bošnjak 2005).

Importantly, as the World Bank document stresses, some of the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe had enviable educational levels and a pathbreaking research output (World Bank 2008:112). Towards the end of the eighties, the intensity of the research work was very low, and most of the projects were executed only on a short-term basis (Bošnjak 2005:155). Professional schools had a lower prestige than faculties throughout the socialist period. They could not benefit from research funding that was available to faculties (Perić, Martinović and Obradović 2005:88). At the Faculty for Electrical Engineering, for an example, success rate for some courses was as little as 15% (Odžić, Protić and Kokinović 2005:129). Technical Faculty in Bor, a member of the Belgrade University, was likewise in a woeful state (...). For an example, it produced 1500 engineers, 200 masters of engineering and 100 Phds throughout the socialist period. However, in 2001, it had only 60 enrollees, which meant that something had to be done (Stanković 2005:134). One of the most important steps towards education reform happened in 1981, was the agreement between the republics on the basics of the system of education. Main principles were founded and in essence these were: links with organized labour, forming a socialist *uomo novo*, brotherhood and unity, systematic Marxist thinking, among much else (Bondžić 2008:428).

The National Council for Higher Education should be a body to give initial incentive for the education reform. It should analyze and give genuine information for the change in education. However, when thinking of professional education, as Fasih (2008) says, good education needs to be supplemented with an effective labour market, macroeconomic stability and strong opportunities. Carnoy (1999) is of the opinion that globalization can promote competitiveness-driven reforms. Some analyses simply assume that developing and transition countries are not prepared for the competition within the global knowledge economy, because their education systems are not prepared to support acquisition and application of knowledge (World Bank 2008:101). Kovač Cerović reinforces these arguments by saying that the main problem in Serbia is inefficiency and disconnectedness from the labour market. Reason for this, essentially, is the fact that the unified database of the students is lacking, and that average completion rate is 7-8 years, rather than 4 or five. This is the result of inefficient teaching methods, overwhelmed and factual curricula, lack of the students impact on the teaching process (Kovač Cerović 2006:494). Stensaker *et al* (2010:578) write in an article in *European Journal of Education* that standards in education can be a vehicle of isomorphism, where structures and practices become strongly interlinked. The research on poverty reduction strategies within contemporary Serbia also highlights that highly skilled are less vulnerable to the risk of being unemployed. The number of new vacancies for this cohort is three times the number of unemployed, whereas for de-skilled the number of new unemployed exceeds the number of new vacancies (Babin, Pantić and Vukasović 2009:41). Medić *et al* argue strongly that within contemporary Serbia, adult education is not treated as an important component of the societal and economic prosperity and well-being (...). What is more, it should not be treated as expenditure, but rather as an investment and supported by laws, networks and social conceptions. Some of the policy recommendations should be the formation of the National Council for The Education of Adults (Medić *et al* 2001:13-14). The formation of Business Innovation Centers (BICs) for people undergoing higher and professional education is becoming a reality. BICs are formed by students and are essentially geared for cooperation with enterprises, the organization of conferences and seminars aimed at the improvement of employability (Kartalović 2010:18).

Several questionnaire respondents commented that the introduction of the Bologna Declaration is centrally concerned with the need for efficiency and competitiveness. Professor at the Faculty of Geography was of the opinion that: "*The Bologna Declaration is a reflection of imperialistic emerging markets. The new legislation will certainly help create the new system of professional education.*" (University Teacher) Professor at the Faculty of Theology wrote: "*The lifelong learning and the need to introduce the efficiency of studying existed much before the idea of the implementation of the Bologna Declaration became alive. At the present moment, the introduction of these precepts means that intensity of knowledge obtained through undergraduate studies is diminishing.*" (University Teacher)

The Bologna Declaration certainly brings stronger standardization. For an example, a lawyer stated that: “*Professional education in post-socialism is standardized with the system that is existent in Europe and that is the real strength and advantage of the implementation of the new system.*” (Lawyer)

Documentary analysis talks about the need to match the system of professional education and the world of work. Most of the developed countries are looking for outsourcing and Serbia can become a fruitful location for this activity. Traditionally, outsourcing/offshoring was interconnected with labour force arbitrage. In broader sense it is now considered to be connected with the transfer of assets of a company abroad in order to enable cheaper labour force, and lift the productivity bottom line. This will be an obvious trend as in developed countries, in light of the fact that austerity budgets are adopted to deflect the course of the financial crisis. Another article in *Politika* gives a clear message that the scientific/educational centre of Serbian engineering enterprise started the education of 153 apprentices who hold a university degree. They were welcomed by the chairman and will continue on to take their working posts (...). Many people responded to the public call and these were engineers, lawyers and economists. Professionals were admitted according to a transparent procedure and the key criteria for selection were average of grades and references for people who worked on professional projects (Mijušković 2010b:10).

The analysis of interviews also suggests that there are changing relationships of education and markets. Some respondents also highlighted that post-socialism brings with it a changing relationship between markets and education:

“*Post-socialism was certainly distinguished by the fact that many agents on the market had ‘lifelong jobs’, and working posts were secure. My judgment is that this is a real problem because it does not give incentive for skills development (...).*” (Lawyer) There are rich implications of this finding for practice, as the value system will be/needs to be changed with a view to accepting competition as the basic principle.

Several questionnaire respondents commented that the new system brings the need for skills to be used the many emerging companies and enterprises:

“*The state needs to ensure that there are appropriate rules of the game. That is the central prerequisite for the formation of lifelong learning, as well as a sustainable, market-responsive, system of professional education (...).*” (Lawyer)

Increasing importance of company and on-the-job training is also forcefully emphasized in a number of press releases, media outputs and newspaper articles. EPS (Elektroprivreda Srbije) is an old enterprise with employees 50 years of age or over. The number of young professionals is quite scarce, contrary to many general assumptions (...). On the job training was conceived on the Human Resources Department of the Enterprise, and every single of the apprentices will go through the whole organizational structure of the

enterprise. In so doing, they will get the best possible preparation for the exam that they will undergo at the end of the whole exercise (Mijušković 2010b:10).

Several questionnaire respondents commented on the need to introduce the new system of professional education: “*The key issue for the new system of professional education in Serbia is the development of capabilities and ‘achievable functionings’ as some analysts would suggest.*” (University Teacher)

Professor at the Faculty of Chemistry and a person engaged in work in international cooperation is of the opinion that: “*It is quite natural that the emerging markets have an important role to play in the formation of the new system of professional education. However, it is quite important to highlight that academe should still play the crucial role in forming the new shape of professional education and not the emerging markets.*” (University Teacher)

To expand further on the points raised above, an independent lawyer said that: “*In post-socialism, there is a strong polarization of the legal profession. By that I refer to the fact that graduates of law specialize in a very narrow manner to practise in a specific area of law, such as corporate law or maritime law, so that there are as many types of lawyers as there are branches of law (...).*” (Lawyer)

To add to this stream of thinking even further, a lawyer, with experience of working with well-known foreign companies, commented: “*(...) Among many other factors, I would underscore the influence of globalization and that is the key driving factor. Companies and enterprises want to keep people for their own use, and if their skills-base is narrow, it is reasonably easy to replace them.*” (Lawyer) His view is essentially negative and supporting the creation of a new Transnational Capitalist Class (TCC).

In the light of the changing circumstances, outsourcing/onshoring can be an obvious development in the Serbian economy. The purpose of this section was to shed light on the new relationships between professional education and the labour market. The section below combines empirical and documentary data by looking at the issue of internationalisation and the European Union.

Internationalisation and the European Union

The examples in support of the internationalization of professional education in contemporary Serbia are many. The higher professional school for electric engineers introduced courses such as New Computer Technologies (NCT) in accordance with the British model (cf Perić, Martinović and Obradović 2005). Due to the fact that this witnessed a major success, other paths of professional education were formed such as Management in Electric Engineering (1999) Audio and TV Technologies (2000) and Electronic

Entrepreneurship (2002) (Ibid:90). The Technical Faculty in Bor, reform meant that English language was made compulsory, most of the courses were modernized, and some paths were introduced like industrial management, industrial informatics etc (...). The effects were clearly positive as the number of enrollees increased from 67 to 175 in from 2001 to 2002, while it skyrocketed to 500 in the next few years (Stanković 2005:135-136). Within the faculty of political sciences in Belgrade, for an example, academics think that Bologna Declaration brings continual work and assiduity from the students, and in that way, it is a contribution to professional education (Vujačić and Komnenović 2005:99). Cvejić argues (2009:57) that it is too early for any succinct evaluation of the change. An incentive is the fact that the number of enrollees for all of the three levels has increased as well as that there is increased mobility towards European and American Universities.

Several questionnaire respondents commented on the issue of international cooperation and the need for the introduction of innovative policy precepts:

“International cooperation in education in contemporary Serbia is more heavily dependent upon the aid that the state invests for the purposes of professional education. (...). To quote a number of examples, I have heard of a number of World Congresses in the field of medicine that were held in Belgrade.” (Lawyer) The implications for practice of this finding are many, as the need to reinforce internationalization, and this will/should be the key set of tasks for educationists in the foreseeable future.

To reinforce this stream of thinking several survey participants contrasted the present context of internationalization with the situation under state-socialism by saying: *“Internationalisation of professional education is a significant breakthrough. This is true even more so if we compare this situation with a complete isolation that existed during state-socialism. The transition from state-socialism implies an open society that is in the process of constant shaping and reshaping during its lifespan.”* (Lawyer)

An independent lawyer is of the opinion that: *“The legal profession is at the forefront of the initiatives to foment the spirit of international cooperation. Some of the examples I can quote by heart is the representation of lawyers in other countries (...).”* (Lawyer)

Some Serbian sociologists reinforce this argument. Stanojević argues (2009:118-119) that 20 out of 33 collaborators of the institute of sociology have gone outside of the country to continue on with the professional education (...). What is more, some of the Universities are CEU (Central European University), University of Pittsburgh, Oxford, London, New York, Paris, Berlin, Durham and many more. Dragan Stanojević gives further evidence for this in his excellent chapter on social scientific institutes. With the advent of the market economy and the social change, the position of social scientific institutes has somewhat changed (2009:108). There is a strong need to commercialize the social scientific system and involve actors from industry, foreign foundations, and local government.

A professor at the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, said that: “*There will be stronger cooperation with Departments abroad. International governing bodies and mutual trusts will be formed and that will help greatly that the Belgrade University enters the list of the most prestigious and successful universities world-wide.*” (University Teacher)

Stanojević also argues that (2009:113) most of the people are involved in international projects, so that professionals published 71 articles in international peer-reviewed journals and 31 editorials. There are also approximately 67 conference proceedings. In addition to this, many Serbian enterprises will establish international contracts, highlighting the fact they will be able to absorb the new cycle of graduates studying according to the new curricula. Energoprojekt, civil engineering enterprise, has signed contract to conduct projects in Peru (Beta 2009:11). Curriculum reform also took place. For an example Bogdanović argues (2005:32) that there has been progress in external examination system as well as autoevaluation. Mitrović is of the opinion that the new reforms brought the overall marketization of education (2009:63). Some topics were literally erased from the curriculum and do not appear as relevant topics of doctorates and masters theses: Lenin work, Marx and Engels, philosophy, historical materialism, methodology, statistics, social ecology (Mitrović 2009:71). Babić and Vasiljević, for an example argue that within the archaeology education, some of the courses included in professional education are taught by specialists outside the department (2005:74). Although progress has been made, the authors lament the situation that the Faculty of Philosophy has a vast potential for cooperation that has been under-used throughout the years (2005:74). Several survey respondents commented on the existence of a number of projects in the field of professional education. A specialist from the Faculty of Mining and Civil Engineering, for an example, said: “*I would not say that the level of international cooperation increased. The change happened with the type of countries we are cooperating with, educationally. (...) In addition to this, we cooperate on TEMPUS and FP7 projects. Internationalisation has a positive effect on the quality of education in general.*” (University Teacher)

A University Teacher wrote: “*There is a very strong tendency of cooperation between ‘general educators’, specialists in psychology, sociology, pedagogy and those who represent the ‘pillars’ of the system of professional education: social scientists, mathematicians, natural scientists, language teachers and teachers in computer science (...).*” (University Teacher)

Several respondents commented that internationalization is a key driver of educational modernization. A lawyer argues that: “*The quicker flow of information in this information-rich, knowledge economy implies the fact that international cooperation is a key issue on the agenda. Bearing in mind that the transition from state-socialism brings stronger drive for profit accumulation, international agents in education come together more intensively than in the period of state socialism (...).*” (Lawyer)

A professor at the Faculty of Philology was of the opinion that: “*There are more and more conferences that we as scholars can take part in, and in addition to this, there are new universities abroad we can visit. The Faculty of Philology runs a joint Masters degree with some Faculties in France.*” (University Teacher)

However, a significant number of the questionnaire respondents was of the opinion that internationalisation was negative, in the sense that it intrinsically implies the application of Western standards to the Serbian system of professional education. Importantly, a lawyer argued that: “*Many foreign law offices have aggressively penetrated the Serbian market. I would not call that the internationalisation of higher and tertiary education. My attitude is strongly opposed to the current trends.*” (Lawyer) As with other sections, empirical and documentary data fall into place to form a coherent picture of the internationalization of professional education in contemporary Serbia.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to give a combined data analysis and cancel out the biases of each of the three research techniques. Interestingly, the idea of combined data analysis is explained at the outset to the reader. As such, this chapter has tried to offer a more intensive scrutiny of the phenomenon of educational change within the context of contemporary Serbia. Many of the quotes from the research participants are indented, they were too long and would not easily capture the attention of the reader, but I still firmly believe that they convey the essence of what I wanted to say by undertaking this research.

Chapter 8:Conclusions

Broadly speaking, the system of professional education in contemporary Serbia is changing with the advent of post-socialism, and the emergence of the new shape of professional education is caused by the emergence of the market economy.

Researching one’s own society

This project has been an interesting one to be involved in. It was particularly challenging to research one’s own society, with all of the difficulties that are involved in this process. It was particularly difficult/challenging to try to perceive the changes that were unfolding as an intellectual outsider. Linked to this, and drawing on the comments by Dr John Wallis and Dr Barbara Merrill it is particularly important to highlight how challenging it was to explain to non-native audience the different state structures and how these make an immediate impact on the development of the curricula and education funding. Hence the importance of various diagrams and explanations used throughout the thesis. Popper believes, in his *Open Society and its*

Enemies that piecemeal engineering is the key to start social change. Importantly, it is important to discover how institutions work badly, causing preventable human inconvenience and then introducing reforms to make them work better (Cornforth 1968:22). This process advances by trial and error and becomes more effective as the practical experience becomes greater (Cornforth 1968:222).

The key changes in developing the new system of higher education certainly impact many social groups and cohorts. Parental expectations are particularly important here as well as the aspirations and expectations of those undergoing higher and tertiary education. The topic that was under scrutiny was covered by the media including newspapers, television and many press releases also dealt with this important topic. That said, it was challenging to be involved in this process and see different and colliding viewpoints on this important topic that will probably shape the minds and behaviour of the generations to come.

Sociological survey in contemporary Serbia was also an important part of the project and this involved issues of consent and confidentiality. In addition to this, ethical concerns were particularly challenging for the project from its inception to successful conclusion.

The Research Findings

In terms of policy implications of the thesis findings, the analysis of questionnaires, interviews and focus groups and the information gathered by the analysis of the relevant documents also strongly suggests that Serbia is not fully democratic as a country and society and this has clear repercussions on the system of professional education and the convergence with the requirements of the labour market. Policy implications were also important. A number of authors well-versed in the work of Antonio Gramsci, believe that the Italian Communist opined that bourgeoisie transmits the ideology through media and the lower strata are being perpetually subjected (Clark 1977:225). These considerations relate theory and empirical findings quite well.

To remedy this situation many key players are entering education arena on an ideological horse that were sidelined during the period of state-socialism. This is clearly the case with many international organisations that are offering aid for education purposes. For an example, this is the case with OEBS, The Council of Europe, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other international organisations that are offering loans specifically geared to enhance the system of professional education.

An important finding is that the system of Serbian professional education has witnessed a genuine modernization. These developments are made apparent with the stronger introduction of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and the quicker flow of information in the new knowledge-based economy, that is still one view of describing events. New educational resources are used in teaching a learning in higher education. Some outdated courses are withering away, whereas some courses that are seen as being

more useful are emerging. The examples of this important social change are manifold: Foreign Languages, as English, for an example, are taught more frequently and more intensively across Faculties and departments. In addition to this, Spanish, French and German are taught more intensively in many departments on professional education schemes. Courses are becoming more and more flexible, taught by persons well versed in these subjects.

Subsidiary Findings

Theoretically, it is difficult for many analysts and policy-makers to judge on the market responsiveness of the new system of professional education if there are no jobs available after graduation. In essence, this means that there are no firms, companies and enterprises to test if the new skills acquired on universities and colleges are useful for them and many analysts may be nonplussed. At an empirical level, unemployment means that parents and students will have difficulties in judging which professional education schemes to choose as a sustainable option for their future prospects.

The upbeat predictions come mainly from the belief that the positive traditions from state-socialism will be blended with the enthusiasm of educationists and policy-makers to form a new system of professional education in the country to serve as a key driver for future success and economic prosperity. To use Popper's *Open Society and its Enemies* as a theoretical link for this chapter, human progress depends on the progress and working of institutions (...). The institutions also provide checks on what would otherwise be the irresponsible power of individuals (cf Cornforth 1968:233).

There are positive developments in the form of 'finding out' the institution of the visiting lecturers, for an example. In addition to this, foreign professors and research groups are seeing Serbia as an important venue for their research projects. Cross-fertilization and the cooperation of specialists belonging to different 'disciplines and disciplinary others' is likewise becoming much more salient. To give a word of caution, it is important to highlight that any Occidental country has much more developed system of international cooperation in education in general and professional education in particular than Serbia. This initial advantage should be perceived as a good incentive and indication of likely trends, rather than as a signifier that internationalisation of Serbian education, as a process, has been concluded. Educationists and policy-makers should bear this in mind. The main bodies to encourage these important developments are the *Ministry of Education*, *The Ministry of Capital Investment* and the *Ministry of Finance*. To be more specific, these Ministries should invest more funds in order to help Serbian professors and lecturers go for conferences and seminars abroad, as well as to continue on with enriching their reservoir of personal contacts in Serbia. In addition to this, students should be encouraged to participate in conferences and seminars abroad and to get to know the colleagues in other countries better.

Contribution to Knowledge

This research project enables valuable contribution to knowledge in the field of educational sciences. It is important to explain how present findings inform practice and how findings relate to key theory. It does so by employing a detailed examination of the 'intellectual transition' in contemporary Serbia and by highlighting the difficulties and challenges that face the country in shaping the new system of professional and tertiary education. At the theoretical level, the key contribution to knowledge is the understanding on how the 'professionals', 'intellectuals' and 'technokrati' as the intelligentsia of the new, post-socialist system, interact in order to become midwives of the new societal system in general and education reform in particular. Popper's view was that the great superiority of the democratic system over a tyranny or dictatorship lies in the thorough elaboration of institutional mechanisms for controlling office holders and getting rid of them if they fail to give satisfaction (e.g. Cornforth 1968:249).

Further research that originates from this project is also a sensitive question to be answered. Analysts and educationists should be able to answer questions on how the later cycles of graduates fare on the emerging markets. Their task will probably be facilitated by the fact that the hypothesized diminishing levels of unemployment will offer many analysts a better picture on the market responsiveness. In addition to this, the introduction of the Bologna Declaration in the countries undergoing transition is unfolding slowly, and further research should shed light on the questions puzzling many educational analysts if the project is sustainable at all and what are the future directions. Consequently, it is a matter of further research to determine the future impact of globalization on equity in professional education provision and associated problems.

Lessons Learned

Lessons learned from the process are indeed many. Theoretically, the process has taught me that social analysis is a constant interplay of theoretical developments that is regularly updated with new additions from survey. Empirically, the project has clearly shown that survey, understood here as a broader social science research technique, rather than in its narrow anthropological form, is a process that is never-ending and complex, and its findings and results are obtained after the arduous and difficult cyclical phases of success and failure, cut and try.

Importantly, both theoretically and empirically, this research project suggests that the developments in Serbian professional education are not unequivocally positive and important efforts need to be made in order to make the system of education in general, more market-responsive, positive and available to collaborators from abroad.

To paraphrase Popper's *Open Society and its Enemies* once more, it is important to choose between utopian social engineering, grounded in the belief that nothing short of revolution will make the state of affairs in this

domain better, and piecemeal social engineering, where we would satisfy our ambitions bit by bit (Cornforth 1968:224). This should be the matter of further research and a point to consider for educationists and policy-makers.

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Appendix 1: Ethics Documents Participant Information Form Participant Consent Form.



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17th January 2010

To Whom it May Concern

This is to introduce Mr Dragoljub Kaurin, a Serbian national and a full-time doctoral student at the School of Education, the University of Nottingham. He holds a scholarship awarded by the School of Education which supports him in his studies. I am his main supervisor; his second supervisor is Professor Simon McGrath.

Mr Kaurin's doctoral research topic is: *Professional Education in Contemporary Serbia: an intellectual examination of the transition from state-socialism to post-socialism.*

He will be visiting Belgrade between 31st January and 4th April 2010 to conduct sociological survey; interviewing key informants, conducting focus groups, submitting a questionnaire and collecting relevant documentation.

He has received ethical approval for this research from the School of Education.

I should be glad if you would render him any assistance that you felt able to give in carrying out this sociological survey research successfully. Should you have any questions, please contact me at the address given above.

Yours faithfully,
W. J. Morgan.

Participant Consent/Information Form

This project explores the changing patterns of professional education in contemporary Serbia after a long period of reign of state socialism. Key research questions deal with the issues of market responsiveness, marketization and relationships between neoliberalism and higher education. The sample consists of 50 University Teachers and 50 Lawyers.

Informacije za učesnike u istraživanju

Ovaj projekat istražuje promene u profesionalnom obrazovanju u savremenoj Srbiji nakon dugog perioda državnog socijalizma. Glavna istraživačka pitanja se kreću na ravni veza profesionalnog obrazovanja i tržišta rada kao i veze neoliberalizma i visokog obrazovanja. Uzorak se sastoji od 50 Univerzitetskih profesora i 50 pravnika.

Appendix 2: Professional Education in Contemporary Serbia: an intellectual examination of the transition from state-socialism to post socialism

Project Overview

This project explores the changing patterns of professional education in contemporary Serbia, in the light of the advent of post-socialism, after a long period of reign of state-socialism. The key question is to determine changes, if any, that occurred during the advent of post-socialism. The main line of inquiry would be geared to answer questions on the cross-pollination at country and international level, rising specialization, educational management and quality enhancement, the relations by the neo-liberalism and higher education as well as other aspects of professional education.

Professional Education

Professional Education is intermediate between theory and practice, academia and society. In essence, it also shapes the views and policies at the level of the state. The importance of the latter for society is beyond dispute, in particular in the light of the advent of post-socialism.

Methods

The project used mixed methods approach. It uses both qualitative and quantitative methodology where appropriate. More particularly, it uses qualitative methodology for the process of gathering the data, and quantitative methods for analysis where appropriate.

Timetable for data collection

— The period for sociological survey is reserved for February-June 2010. This implies approximately 50 lawyers and 50 University teachers. The key aim of the sociological survey and data collection is to enable conclusions that can be generalized to professional education in Serbia.

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Serbian Society and Higher Education

Do you think that post-socialism within the specific Serbian context brings progress/regress or brings no change at all?

Do you think that privatization of the state-owned property conduces to better prosperity, diminishes it, or makes no substantial changes?

Does post-socialism bring greater political liberalism, diminishes it or brings no substantial change at all?

Do you think that political values have changed, and if yes, in what way, by the advent of post-socialism?

What is your opinion on the quality of Higher Education under state-socialism as opposed to post-socialism?

What is your opinion on the mushrooming of private universities in post-socialism?

How do you think they influence education?

What is your overall opinion on social and educational progress during post-socialism?

Professional Education

To what extent do you think education in your particular profession has changed with the advent of post-socialism? What do you understand by the term profession?

What particular funding bodies guide research in your particular profession? Can you tell us a little bit more about continual professional development?

Do you or do you not think that post-socialism brings greater open-mindedness with regard to professional education than state-socialism?

Do you think the advent of post-socialism introduces greater standardization/simplification of the educational curriculum in terms of professional education?

What is your opinion on the introduction of the Bologna Declaration? It implies competitiveness, lifelong learning, among many other changes?

Do you think that the Bologna Declaration makes professional education richer or poorer?

Do you or do you not think that the Bologna Declaration has influence on international cooperation?

Do you or do you not think that the market economy has impact on the shape of the curricula?

International cooperation, cross-pollination and multidisciplinarity

To what extent do you think the advent of post-socialism brings greater international cooperation?

Do you think that the Bologna Declaration brings stronger cross-pollination of disciplines?

Can you enumerate any recent examples?

What is your view on the future of Higher Education in Serbia with regard to this aspect?

Additional thoughts comments?

Thank you for your cooperation!

Pregled Projekta

Projekat istražuje promene na ravni profesionalne specijalizacije u postsocijalizmu posle dugog perioda socijalističkog društva. Glavna istraživačka pitanja se kreću na ravni sve veće specijalizacije i saradnje među stručnjacima iz različitih oblasti, odnosa neoliberalizma i visokog obrazovanja, te kvaliteta visokog obrazovanja i upravljanja obrazovnim resursima.

Profesionalna Specijalizacija

Profesionalna specijalizacija je posrednik između teorije i prakse, akademskog sveta i društva. U suštini, ona takodje usmerava mišljenja i stavove na nivou države. Važnost profesionalne specijalizacije je neosporna, u još većoj meri sa dolaskom post-socijalizma.

Metodologija

Projekat se zasniva na kombinovanju metoda. Naime, koristi se kvalitativna i kvantitativna metodologija, u zavisnosti od situacije. Preciznije, kvalitativna metodologija se koristi za process prikupljanja podataka, a kvantitativna za analizu istih u meri u kojoj je to odgovarajuće.

Period za prikupljanje podataka

Period za prikupljanje podataka je rezervisan za Februar-Jun 2010. Preciznije, to podrazumeva 50 ispitanika sa svih od 31 fakulteta na Beogradskom Univerzitetu, a takodje i 50 ispitanika sa drugog dela uzorka. Glavni cilj terenskog rada je da omogući donošenje zaključaka koji se mogu generalizovati na profesionalnu specijalizaciju u Srbiji u celini.

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Srpsko Društvo i Visoko Obrazovanje:

Da li mislite da postsocijalizam donosi napredak/nazadovanje ili ne donosi suštinski nikakve promene?

Da li mislite da privatizacija predstavlja napredak, nazadovanje ili ne donosi nikakve promene?

Da li mislite da postsocijalizam donosi veći politički liberalizam ili ne?

Da li mislite da su se političke vrednosti promenile sa dolaskom postsocijalizma?

Koje je vaše mišljenje o kvalitetu visokog obrazovanja u postsocializmu u poređenju sa periodom socijalizma?

Koje je vaše mišljenje o povećanju broja privatnih univerziteta u postsocijalizmu?

Koje je vaše mišljenje o uticaju tog trenda na obrazovanje?

Koje je vaše mišljenje o opštem socijalnom i obrazovnom progresu u post-socijalizmu ako je učinjen?

Profesionalna Specijalizacija:

Da li ili ne smatrate da se profesionalna specijalizacija u slučaju vaše profesije promenila sa dolaskom postsocijalizma? Šta podrazumevate pod pojmom profesije?

Koja tela/organizacije finansiraju istraživanja u vašoj profesiji/možete li reći nešto o kontinuiranom profesionalnom razvoju na primeru vaše profesije?

Da li ili ne smatrate da dolazak postsocijalizma donosi veću otvorenost uma u pogledu profesionalne specijalizacije?

Da li smatrate da postsocijalizam donosi veću standardizaciju i uprošćavanje obrazovnog programa u pogledu profesionalne specijalizacije?

Kakav je efekat donošenja Bolonjske Deklaracije na vašu profesiju? Bolonjska Deklaracija podrazumeva veću međunarodnu saradnju, celoživotno učenje, povećanu efikasnost studiranja, pored drugih promena).

Da li smatrate da Bolonjska Deklaracija obogaćuje/osiromašuje ili ne donosi nikakvu promenu u pogledu profesionalne specijalizacije?

Da li smatrate da Bolonjska Deklaracija ima uticaj, i ako ima kakav, u pogledu međunarodne saradnje na slučaju vaše profesije?

Da li mislite da tržište rada ima presudan uticaj na formiranje nastavnog plana (kurikuluma)?

Međunarodna Saradnja i Saradnja Među Disciplinama

U kojoj meri mislite da dolazak postsocijalizma donosi veću međunarodnu saradnju?

U kojoj meri mislite da postsocijalizam donosi veću saradnju među stručnjacima iz različitih oblasti?

Nabrojte skorašnje primere?

Vaše mišljenje o budućnosti visokog obrazovanja u Srbiji u pogledu gore navedenog?

Hvala na Saradnji!

Appendix 3: Sample Interview Transcript

The Interview was held with a Lawyer in the office in Belgrade. Below is the kernel of what the interviewee (s) have said

Do you think that the transition brings progress?

“Privatization is done in a selective manner as well as transition, so no genuine progress was made.” (Lawyer)

To what extent have political values changed with the advent of post-socialism?

“Values have changed progressively in many aspects.” (Lawyer)

Do you think that market economy influences professional education?

“It does. Strong market economy means that people can invest more in professional and tertiary education, and if the market economy is weak, the young do not see any perspective in undergoing tertiary education.” (Lawyer)

What is your opinion on the quality of education in post-socialism?

“The quality is much weaker.” (Lawyer)

What is your opinion on the mushrooming of private universities?

“Private universities behave as companies, profit comes first and not the education of students. There are too many students.” (Lawyer)

To what extent post-socialism brings changes to the professional education in your profession?

“It impacts the mode of thinking of lawyers. Our efforts center on the increase in profit. We are sometimes forced by the laws of the markets to accept jobs that we would not in different circumstances.” (Lawyer)

Which bodies fund research in your profession?

“The Institute of Criminology helps with funds, but these funds are clearly insufficient.” (Lawyer)

Can you tell more about the continual professional development?

“We get some funds from the Bar of Lawyers, and there are seminars, but these funds are insufficient.” (Lawyer)

To what extent do you think post-socialism brings greater open-mindedness?

“Yes it does bring greater open mindedness.” (Lawyer)

What is your opinion on the importance of political contacts as opposed to the period of state-socialism?”

“Contacts are equally important.” (Lawyer)

What is your view on the effects of the Bologna Declaration?

“The application is selective and partial. The number of professors is scarce, the number of students is vast. It introduces short courses, and that is the only thing that is certain. Subjective judgement of the professors is still very important.” (Lawyer)

Do you think that the Bologna Declaration has impact on the international cooperation on the example of your particular profession?

“There are a number of examples that I am acquainted with. For an example, the Serbian Association of Lawyers has joined the European Association of Lawyers. I am not sure if the Bologna Declaration has a decisive influence on this process.” (Lawyer)

Are you aware of any examples of international cooperation in your particular profession?

“Law is very specific as a subject. Legal systems differ from one country to another and I am not sure that the rules that exist in other countries are applicable here. However, some foreign academics and professors have held lectures when I studied.” (Lawyer)

Do you think that post-socialism brings stronger disciplinary cross-pollination?

“I would not say so. Criminology and anthropology do not cooperate sufficiently. Foreign countries have elaborated the systems of disciplinary cooperation quite well, and in contemporary Serbia these developments are not present.” (Lawyer)

What is your opinion on the future of higher education in Serbia?

“People know less and less. My spouse works in the domain of higher education and her view is that the quality of knowledge diminishes significantly.” (Lawyer)

“I am of the opinion that we do not have a wider, social incentive for individuals to learn more. Many enrolees work under significant pressure and this is the central cause for the diminished quality of knowledge (Lawyer)

Appendix 4: Sample Interview Transcript with a University Teacher

The interview was held with a University teacher at the Faculty of Teacher Training, Belgrade. Below is the kernel of what the interviewee (s) have said

In your own view, does post-socialism bring progress, regress or no change at all?

“Privatization is done in a selective manner. Individuals do not have benefits. Poverty has increased substantially.” (University Teacher)

To what extent have political values changed with the advent of post-socialism?

“My opinion is that value system has witnessed a genuine breakdown.” (University Teacher)

Do you think that market economy influences professional education?

“The market economy influences professional education. A number of professions emerged that did not exist within the context of state socialism.” (University Teacher)

What is your opinion on the quality of education in post-socialism?

“The quality diminishes.” (University Teacher)

What is your opinion of the growth in number of private universities?

“The key problem is that there are no clearly defined standards.” (University Teacher)

To what extent post-socialism brings changes to the professional education in your profession?

“The profession of teachers of languages has not been influenced by ideology. However, the profession of a university teacher has witnessed devaluation both in Public esteem and market worth.” (University Teacher)

Which bodies fund research in your profession?

“There is a general lack of organisation. Ministries help and there is some progress. Our own initiative is also important.” (University Teacher)

Can you tell more about the continual professional development?

“Ministries help greatly. The Department of Slavonic Studies gets funds and progresses through these schemes.” (University Teacher)

To what extent do you think post-socialism brings greater open-mindedness?

“It certainly brings greater open mindedness.” (University Teacher)

What is your opinion on the importance of political contacts as opposed to the period of state-socialism?

“Contacts are more important in post-socialism.” (University Teacher)

What is your view on the effects of the Bologna Declaration?

“Yes, Bologna Declaration brings stronger standardization of the curricula in general. Education will become more market orientated.” (University Teacher)

“The number of professors is scarce for the implementation of the Bologna Declaration.” (University Teacher)

Do you think that the Bologna Declaration has impact on the international cooperation on the example of your particular profession?

“It has a very positive impact on international cooperation.” (University Teacher)

“There are stronger chances of establishing contacts with foreign institutes.” (University Teacher)

Are you aware of any examples of international cooperation in your particular profession?

“Funds are the key problem for international cooperation. We have many chances of

international cooperation but funds are clearly lacking for these schemes.”
(University Teacher)

“Some of my students have gone to Brussels for continual professional development schemes and there are many more opportunities to engage in these schemes with the advent of post-socialism.” (University Teacher)

Do you think that post-socialism brings stronger disciplinary cross-pollination?

“There are strong chances. The World Congress for Applied Linguistics sent me an invitation for a conference in Canberra, but I can not do that because the funds are clearly lacking.” (University Teacher)

“There are chances to cooperate with professionals and students from abroad.”
(University Teacher)

What is your opinion on the future of higher education in Serbia?

“I hope the future will be much better than the present situation.” (University Teacher)