

**CHALLENGES OF QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY
IN THE STUDY OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ROMA
(On the Example of the Protestantization of Roma in Southeastern Serbia)***

Abstract: Previous research into the religious life of Roma in Serbia has mostly been based on questionnaires and surveys of sociologists of religion on their religious (current connection to religion and church) and confessional (belonging to a religion) self-identification, on the ritual celebration of two religious-ethnic holidays: Vlasuljica (January 14, St. Basil) and Đurđevdan (May 6, St. George), on the relationship between the religious majority and the Romani religious minority and religious discrimination against Roma, as well as on the influence of ethnic-religious factors on the social distance towards the Romani people. Researchers have not, however, engaged in more complex understanding of the Romani religious culture and nuanced systematization of the manner in which believers interpret their own religious experience in the context of their natural surroundings. Particularly in the case of more recent phenomena in the Serbian religious market, such as the conversion of Roma to small religious communities and the way in which this process has been unfolding: missionary activity (evangelization), conversion, that is, proselytism (drawing believers).

The paper describes a substantial research effort to detect Roma as a *religious-confessional reservoir* of Protestantization and the ways in which qualitative methodology is used to study the factors of the Romani association with Adventists, Baptists, Pentecostals, and Jehovah's Witnesses, the most numerous and agile representatives of the "third" branch of Christianity in southeastern Serbia.

Keywords: Roma, religious life of Roma, Protestantization of Roma, southeastern Serbia, qualitative methodology.

**INTRODUCTION: THE NIŠ SCHOOL OF ROMOLOGY AND THE STUDY
OF RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS OF ROMA**

It seems as though there is nothing left to learn about Roma, yet there still remains a lot to be discovered. Even though Roma are an ethnic minority in Serbia who share the same historical destiny with the majority population, the study of their economic position, specific culture, and diversity of religion and customs has not been met with understanding from our scientific and professional public. Rare is the experiential research where the focus is on an actual local, urban, or rural community, often the most representative for the areas where the Romani people live.

Serbs have shown a particularly troubling lack of knowledge of the Romani religious-confessional being: what does its palette look like, how is it formed, which are the major constituting factors, do Roma give more or take more cultural markers in the process? The study of religion, religiosity, and religious customs of Roma is important for at least two reasons: 1. the Romani religious culture is a significant segment of the unique Romani culture and 2. the emancipation in the religious-church field, apart from the socio-economic and political ones, is a crucial precondition for the overall emancipation of the Romani people. Despite this, the domestic sociology of religion has not shown much interest in the religious and faith life of Roma (Todorović 2008a; Ђорђевић 2012). As far as the efforts to in-

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tensify and deepen the theoretical and empirical research into the Romani “religious musicality” are concerned – namely, to modernize the study of Roma through sociologization at the expense of the old-fashioned and folkloristic ethnological approach – the *Niš School of Romology* stands out (Тодоровић 2006)¹.

Still in its constitutional phase, *romology* is a scientific discipline dedicated to the study of life and customs of Roma, and a scientist dedicated to the study of the Romani culture is called a romologist (Ђорђевић 2007b). Rajko Ђurić (2010, 542), the world’s most renowned Serbian Rom, is no stranger to this: “Its research subject are Roma and their life. That is, its subject is a group of people, who according to their ethnic and historical origin, social, cultural, linguistic, and other characteristics and historical fate and consciousness represent a specific social community.”

It has gained academic recognition in numerous countries where it is taught at graduate, master’s, and doctoral studies (Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Ukraine, Turkey, Italy, Germany, Great Britain, USA...), but not in Serbia (Ђорђевић 2006)².

The first reports dealt with the ritual celebration of two religious-ethnic holidays: Vlasuljica (January 14, St. Basil) and Ђurđevdan (May 6, St. George). It was determined that these holidays were traditionally adopted, with a hint of religious background, but with a clearly expressed importance for the confirmation of the patriarchal authority and preservation of strong and stable connections within the family (Ђуровић & Ђорђевић 1996). By conducting the first scientific research projects at the end of the 1990s and the start of the new millennium, the romologists from Niš began performing socio-empirical analyses of attitudes of the Serbian majority, but also Hungarians and Muslims, ethnic minorities, and, simultaneously, religious majorities, and Roma as conventional believers. Specific attention was paid to the introduction to the attitudes of Orthodox, Islamic, Catholic, and Protestant church dignitaries and the Romani elite on Roma as believers. The method of in-depth interviews was used to search for the answers to the questions whether they could be “good” church believers and whether their behaviour in the religious field could be treated as a good example of the intercultural practice in multiethnic and multireligious societies (Живковић, Тодоровић, Јовановић & Ђорђевић 2001).

By analyzing the phenomena of religion, confession, confessional belonging, mono-confessional mentality, religion of choice, religion of minorities, minority religions, and minority religious communities, the notion of *religious minority* was duly explained, drawing on Roma as the people who occupied a minority position in many ways, and whose example best reflected the position of religions of minorities (Ђорђевић, Todorović & Živković 2001). This was followed by the questions concerning the regularity of pious practice in religious temples, holiday habits, religious rites, faith in the divine creation of the world and afterlife. The interpretation of the empirical data confirmed the hypothesis that Roma were on their way to become good believers of classical Christian, Orthodox religiosity, i.e. classical believers of the Islamic religious community. Also examined was the influence of the ethnic-religious factors on the social distance towards the Roma in Serbia, Bulgaria, and

¹ Its backbone comprises sociologists, gathered around the founder, Dragoljub B. Ђorђевић, full professor of Sociology of Culture at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, University in Niš, joined by philosophers, politicologists, ethnologists, historians, linguists, and publicists (Ђokica Jovanović, Bogdan Ђurović, Dragan Todorović, Marijana Filipović, Vladimir Cvetković, Jovan Živković, Nenad Jašić, Iva Trajković, Nedeljko Bogdanović, Rade Vučković-Niški, Bajram Saitović...). Comprehensively on the activities and publications of the Niš School of Romology, from its foundation until today, in: Тодоровић 2006, 2008b, 2010.

² On the efforts of Svenka Savić to install postgraduate studies of romology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, see: Savić & Mitro 2006.

Macedonia, where religiosity was not singled out as a discriminatory factor of social distance from the Roma in these three Balkan countries (Đorđević, Todorović and Milošević 2004; Тодоровић 2007).

Apart from emphasizing the theoretical significance of the study of cult places as a crucial factor of religious expression of a people, the sociologists of religion from Niš offered to the public two original typologies of the Romani cult places (Đorđević 2003). A new field was opened in the romological literature and foundation was laid for socio-empirical research into the phenomena of death, manner of burial (funeral customs), cult of the grave, and types of graves in Roma (Ђорђевић & Тодоровић 1999; Đorđević 2005c; Todorović 2005b). To the scientific records of the dominant Sunni and rare manifestations of the Shia Islam, a complete examination of the Dervish tradition in the Romani mahallas of Niš was added (Đorđević and Todorović 2009).

The representatives of the Niš School of Romology participated actively in the resolution of the dilemma of the domestic sociology of religion over what is today considered missionary activity (evangelization), conversion, that is, proselytism (drawing believers), as well as various interpretations of these terms by representatives of majority and minority religions (Тодоровић & Ђорђевић 2004). The focus was also directed towards the position and behaviour of Roma, and it was shown that, due to their religious amorphousness, Roma are generally a fertile soil for the growth of conversion. The process of conversion is less conducted a) towards the change of the “ancestral” and adoption of a new religion – aside from the Muslim Roma, and more b) towards the change of the confessional branch, as a rule among the Orthodox and Catholic Roma. The Muslim Roma convert to all three Christian confessions, while the Orthodox and Catholic Roma convert to Protestantism.

The issue of the effect of conversion of Roma to various small religious communities was also opened gradually. Through easily noticeable changes in the behaviour of the converted Roma, the possibilities of emancipation were predicted, as well as the possibilities of deeper alterations of the traditional cultural identity (Todorović 2002; Đorđević 2004). Roma were recognized as a *religious-confessional reservoir* of Protestantization, and the factors which exerted crucial influence on this process were systematized into four groups: socio-economic, religious teaching, cultural, and political, and encompassed by the theory of rational choice (Ђорђевић 2007). The traditional and centuries-old Christian (Orthodox/Roman Catholic)/Islamic religious-confessional body of Roma was disturbed by a successful introduction of the “third branch” of Christianity. First reports on the existence of purely Romani Protestant churches were also submitted (Kurtić 2003).

In this way, the religious dignitaries of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Islamic Community were timely informed of some “new winds” blowing among the Roma, transforming their traditional confessional identity, rooted in Orthodoxy and Islam. On the other hand, a need grew in the domestic academic public for a comprehensive sociological study of the Romani association with Adventists, Baptists, Pentecostals, and Jehovah’s Witnesses, as the most numerous and agile representatives of the “third” branch of Christianity in this region.

The course of research

It was clear that the topic of mass conversion of Roma to Protestantism required a studious treatment in the shape of a dedicated researcher. The idea of this being the topic of my master’s thesis hung in the air. At the end of December 2004, with dr. Dragoljub B. Đorđević, I conducted the first visit to the Spiritual Centre of the Evangelical Church “Light” in Leskovac, the best-known Evangelical church in the south of Serbia, with the aim of explaining my intention to the pastorate and asking for support in its realization.

Thanks to the previous fruitful cooperation between professor Đorđević and the “new-born” Christians of Leskovac, the reply was more than positive, yet the realization of the plan did not occur due to various circumstances. Since this topic remained “free” even after the defence of the master’s thesis, i.e. not taken by any of the domestic sociologists of religion, I decided firmly to dedicate myself to it as the topic of my doctoral dissertation.

Thus, remembering the recommendation of the founder of the Niš School of Romology that “there is no task more urgent for sociologists of religion than to study the Protestantization of Roma... because the phenomenon is so complex, far-reaching, and defining, that it sums up all of that which should be the subject matter of the contemporary sociology of religion (Ђорђевић 2007, 145)“

I definitely undertook the research into the process of the *Protestantization of Roma*, that is, the more recent process of mass inclusion of Serbian Roma into small religious communities of Protestant provenience, particularly on the territory of southeastern Serbia.

As far as the spreading of the gospel message was concerned, preached in the might of the Holy Spirit, Neoprotestants, or more precisely Evangelical Christians, particularly excelled among Serbian Roma. By carrying out research projects at the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the new millennium¹, the sociologists from Niš got first introduced to the phenomenon of the so-called *Church under the Tent* in the Leskovac mahalla of “Slavko Zlatanović”.

Appreciating the established contact with the leaders of the Spiritual Centre of the Evangelical Church “Light” and the Protestant Evangelical Church “Community of Roma” in Leskovac, I intended to begin my preliminary field tour and project presentation with none other than the Leskovac Pentecostals. In the company of professor Dragoljub B. Đorđević² and Tane Kurtić³, I attended the worshipping service in the “Church under the Tent” on the first Sunday afternoon in October 2008.

After a one-hour religious rite we talked with the Romani pastor Selim Alijević, who was visibly exhausted from the preaching, asking him to permit us to interview in the following weeks the Pentecostal Roma from the “Slavko Zlatanović” settlement, but also from other Pentecostal churches in southeastern Serbia which he assisted in becoming independent and whose work he overlooked. With the request not to abuse the information that I might come upon and to respect the privacy of believers, I was given a “green light” to communicate with the believers within the largest Pentecostal Romani community in Serbia.

I visited the Spiritual Centre of the Evangelical Church “Light” as well, situated in the Maksima Gorkog street in the centre of the town, to talk with pastor Mija Stanković, founder of the Pentecostal movement in southeastern Serbia.⁴ After a warm welcome, I was carefully listened to while presenting my planned academic activities. I was once again asked to use the data that I might gather only for scientific purposes and to disperse the stereotypes that existed on the Evangelical Christians in the town on the Dubočica. I was relieved after

¹ Socio-cultural Adaptation of Roma in Serbia in the Transition Process – Integration, Assimilation or Segregation? (1998–2000) and Religious Life of Orthodox and Muslim Roma in Western-southeastern Serbia (2000–2002).

² The establishment of initial connections with the centrals of the selected small religious communities in Serbia was greatly facilitated by professor Dragoljub B. Đorđević, full professor of Sociology of Culture and Morality at the University of Niš, founder of the Niš School of Romology, and a diligent researcher of the mainstream and subsidiaries of the Romani religious life, who has watched over my sociological development continuously since 1994.

³ An agile Roma representative in the Leskovac town hall, long-term professor at the Secondary Chemical-Technological School in Leskovac.

⁴ In the beginning, the Protestant Evangelical Church “Community of Roma” was part of the unified Leskovac Pentecostal community, but a division occurred in 2005 and the Romani community gained its independence with pastor Selim Alijević at the front. One part of Roma, led by, now pastor, Šerif Bakić, remained in the community with the believers of Serbian nationality.

obtaining this permission to communicate with the believers of the most numerous minority religious community in southeastern Serbia without any obstacles.

In Niš I met with the principal of the Christian Baptist Church, mr. Čeda Ralević, the leader of Niš Baptists and the Baptist charity organization “Love Thy Neighbour”, previously a full-time missionary worker in Radoviš (Macedonia) until 1985. He explained that there were not many Roma in their order on the territory of southeastern Serbia, but that I can freely talk with those who reply positively to the interview invitation. I was glad to find out that there was a purely Romani Baptist community in Bela Palanka.

The eldership of the Jehovah’s Witnesses in Niš, responsible for the spreading of Charles Russell’s teachings to other towns in the south of Serbia, insisted on the acknowledgment of the formal procedure. The young principal Voja Kostić was quick to reply that there should be no problems in establishing healthy communication, but that he needed to inform the authority in Belgrade on the whole idea and to ask them for a permission to allow the Niš Assembly to fulfil my request. I had to submit a written endorsement from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, which ratified the writing of the doctoral dissertation, but also from the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš, the institution where I was employed, as well as a preliminary overview of planned activities. At one point, a request for an inquiry into the questions to be asked during the interview was also submitted, but I somehow managed to reduce that request to an introduction to the thematic wholes that would be discussed. Two or three weeks after all of this, I was able to formally start with the tour of Witnesses’ homes.

At the time of the preparation for the research, Aleksandar Macura was head of the Christian Adventist Church, previously a principal of the community in Leskovac. Youth and inexperience, respect of the hierarchy, and to some extent fear of making a hasty decision, as in the case of Jehovah’s Witnesses, led him to immediately direct us to the then first name of Adventists in Serbia, mr. Miodrag Živanović. After several attempts, I managed to schedule a meeting in the Belgrade church central with the number one person of the centre of the Southern Church Region of the Southeast European Union. He was duly attentive during the comprehensive report, finally replying that he had nothing against the Christian Adventist Church helping with the academic efforts of a young PhD candidate, but also with the formation of a more successful connection between the world of science and the world of theology.

Thus, the decisive contacts were established with the leading figures of the most numerous small religious communities and the road was paved for an unhindered three-month interviewing of sixty Baptist, Adventist, Jehovah’s Witnesses and Pentecostal Roma in five districts of southeastern Serbia, between December 2008 and March 2009.

The testing of the prepared questionnaires for conversation with Roma believers and non-Romani and Romani elders first began in the local environment, on the territory of the Nišava District, to which I belonged residentially. The winter semester was still not over at the Faculty, and there was no opportunity for a longer leave from the regular teaching duties. Furthermore, the lack of experience in conducting in-depth interviews implied settling down with a specific atmosphere during the interviews and a gradual mastering of the situation concerning the “interviewer-interviewee” relation.

The first contact with the religious community was made by attending the regular service on the church premises, usually scheduled by the communities once or twice a week at the same time. Preliminary observations were formed on the profile of religious population included in the programme (sex and age). Upon the completion of the church ceremony, I asked for a permission from the religious leaders to, according to the existing situation and

received impression, randomly select a number of believers to make the first contact with. The first reaction by the believers was an inquiring look directed towards their elders for a confirmation that they agreed with any sort of conversation; following such a confirmation, they would accept it without any restraints.¹ The meetings were scheduled for the hours which most suited the respondents themselves, whenever they were able to set aside an afternoon or an evening for an uninterrupted conversation. I insisted on visiting their families, led by the idea that at their home they would most easily relax and provide honest, and not wanted answers to the questions. If there were subjective or objective obstacles for such a meeting, it would be organized in the church.² Usually, not more than five days would pass between the first contact and the scheduled interview. At the same time, the interviews with non-Romani and Romani elders were also planned, since they asked for greater tolerance in setting aside the necessary time for conversation due to their everyday employment at the churches. The starting intention was to conduct the interview in a separate room, only with the selected interviewee, which was eventually the case with religious leaders,³ as well as in one go, without continuation, regardless of the duration of the interview.⁴ Only the baptized believers were eligible for the research.⁵

Research sample, methods, techniques, and instruments

1. Research sample

The research was carried out on the sample of baptized believers of the Romani nationality of several Protestant religious communities on the territory of southeastern Serbia (Christian Baptist Church, Jehovah's Witnesses, Christian Adventist Church, and Evangelical Pentecostal Church). The sample also included non-Romani and Romani elders of the above religious communities, as well as religious leaders of majority religions (Serbian Orthodox Church and Islamic Community).

The structure of the sample was as follows:

- believers of the Romani nationality of the Christian Baptist Church (5 interviews),

¹ During the entire field research, I encountered only two refusals by Jehovah's Witnesses in Leskovac. In fact, the permission was given at first, but the inability to meet was later justified by subsequently emerging everyday obligations.

² For example, when only the interviewee was a church member, while other household members were not, which led to a certain unpleasant atmosphere in the family home upon mentioning the "sectarian" religiosity. Or the household was conspicuously poor, a dozen people in a single room heated over the winter, which rendered the interview at the interviewee's address impossible to conduct. Or some unexpected circumstances (illness, cold feet) demanded a quick reaction on the spot and inviting new respondents to neighbours' homes. Or the church kindly offered a room where the interview with a chosen believer could be conducted in peace (the case of Pentecostals in Leskovac). Or the believers themselves felt most comfortable on the familiar premises of the church and insisted on the interview being conducted there. All in all, out of the sixty interviews, 16 were not conducted in the believers' homes (one Adventist, three Baptists, two Jehovah's Witnesses, and ten Pentecostals).

³ The problem occurred upon entering poor Romani homes during the winter days. The residents mainly gathered in one room (not rarely the only one that was lived in), heated with wood or coal. It was not possible to move the rest of the family out into the cold and snow, thus I would still attempt to conduct the interview, at the same time insisting on the minimal conditions for communication. I have to admit that the "audience" (both the rest of the family members and visiting neighbours or relatives) followed the conversation almost completely without a sound, entering it only when it was really necessary to add a material fact. I did not gain an impression that this caused the interviewees themselves to be less honest in their replies.

⁴ Only two interviews were paused and continued: one due to the exhaustion of a female believer caused by an entire day of work, and the other because of the visitation by unexpected guests, relatives of the interviewee. The shortest interview lasted 51 minutes, and the longest full five hours.

⁵ I started three interviews (one with the Baptist, and two with Pentecostal believers) having the original information that they were baptized believers, only to find out that they were not. However, they stressed the fact that they would get baptized certainly in the near future, and that they were usually hampered by the lack of money to travel on the scheduled day to larger churches that organize baptisms. After completing the research, I returned to the "problematic" respondents: in all three cases the baptism was subsequently performed.

- believers of the Romani nationality of Jehovah's Witnesses (10 interviews),
- believers of the Romani nationality of the Christian Adventist Church (15 interviews),
- believers of the Romani nationality of the Evangelical Pentecostal Church (30 interviews),
- Romani and non-Romani elders (14 interviews), and
- religious leaders of majority religions (SOC and Islamic Community) (6 interviews).

2. Research methods, techniques, and instruments

It was Jakov Jukić (1999, 24) who first warned, at the beginning of the 1990s, of the growing gap between the quantitative empirical sociology of religion, directed generally towards church religiosity, on the one hand, and an individual believer's own experience of the sacred and religious life, on the other. The profane language of numbers on religion, exclusively directed towards quantitative data from the research into religiosity surveys, threatened to transform into the "religion of numbers", as figuratively described by the renowned religiologist. He considered such a one-dimensional measure, which only fragmentarily encompassed the complexity of religiosity, insufficient in sociology of religion for a genuine understanding of the reasons behind one's commitment to a religious group (Marinović-Jerolimov 2009). Thus, he insisted on interdisciplinarity and theoretical and methodological pluralism in the sociological approach to the religious phenomenon.

It is not possible to observe contemporary religious changes without qualitative data, in the creation of both a comprehensive picture of the traditional church religiosity and the one which deals with minority or non-church religiosity, i.e. those layers of religiosity which are not available to survey questionnaires.¹ The path of the development of the Balkan sociology of religion, thus the Serbian one as well, should lead in that direction.²

The research employed various *techniques of qualitative methodology* (interview, content analysis, direct observation, photographing, audio and video recording):

1. *In-depth interviews based on the standardized procedure:*
 - a) the in-depth interview based on the standardized procedure with *Roma believers* of Protestant religious communities in southeastern Serbia,
 - b) the in-depth interview based on the standardized procedure with *non-Romani elders* of Protestant religious communities in southeastern Serbia,
 - c) the in-depth interview based on the standardized procedure with *Romani elders* of Protestant religious communities in southeastern Serbia,
 - d) the in-depth interview based on the standardized procedure with *religious leaders of majority religions* (SOC and Islamic Community) in southeastern Serbia;
2. *Content analysis* (a historical-sociological analysis was performed on the material concerning the formation and spreading of Protestantism in Europe, in the Balkans and in

¹ I would like to use this opportunity to extend my gratitude to the colleagues from the Ethnographic (Sanja Zlatanović) and Balkanological Institute of the SAAS (Biljana Sikimić, Svetlana Ćirković, Aleksandra Đurić) for their selfless help in providing the literature (Сикимић 2004, 2005, 2008; Златановић 2010) and useful advice from the standpoint of their disciplines, which greatly facilitated the mastering of the field work methodology on the principle of observation with participation and introduction to a more complex relationship between a researcher and a respondent in the research process.

² In conceiving the methodological framework we took into consideration the recommendations of the globally renowned sociologists (Miller 2007; Miller and Yamamori 2007) on the use of modern, including digital (auditory and visual), technologies among the new generations of researchers in acquiring information on the religious life today. The audio recording of the contents of interviews with Roma and non-Romani and Romani elders of small religious communities and majority religions, on the basis of the developed Conversation Procedures, was accompanied by a myriad of high resolution colour photographs of various forms of believers' religious practice, as well as by digital camera video recording of worshipping service in each of the Protestant religious community that we visited with the intention of getting to know the manner of organization of its religious life more closely.

Serbia, settlement paths and cultural and religious identity of Roma in Europe, in the Balkans and in Serbia, as well as the history of the acceptance of Protestant religion by the Roma in Serbia);

3. *Audio recording of the interview* (all in-depth interviews were permanently archived using digital audio recording);

4. *Observation with participation and without participation* (the time before and after the completion of in-depth interviews with Roma believers was used to observe a number of details which further described the level and character of adoption of the Protestant way of life in everyday activities);

5. *Photographic records* (rich photo-documentation was collected on various aspects of the religious life of Roma believers of Protestant religious communities in southeastern Serbia, exterior and interior look of the homes they lived in, as well as prayer houses they visited to satisfy their religious needs);

6. *Video recording* (digital video recording was used to permanently chronicle the regular religious service in prayer houses of religious communities of southeastern Serbia, both those visited by Roma together with other believers and the so-called “pure” Romani churches);

7. *Data comparison* (a comparative method was used to observe the process of Protestantization of Roma in southeastern Serbia, Macedonia, and Bulgaria);

8. *Qualitative data processing* (in the research into the process of Protestantization of Roma in southeastern Serbia a *qualitative analysis* was performed on the conducted in-depth interviews with: 1. Roma believers and 2. Romani leaders /Romani pastors, non-Romani pastors, religious leaders of majority religions/).

The first results of the analysis of in-depth interviews with Roma believers and Romani and non-Romani elders from the observed religious communities of Protestant provenience have already been published in several scientific papers (Todorović 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2012d). These papers dealt with topics such as: description of distribution and organization of small religious communities in southeastern Serbia, transformation of the Romani traditional cultural identity, emancipation of the Roma in southeastern Serbia under the influence of the process of Protestantization, the role of cultural factors in the process of Protestantization, etc.

With all the objections that can be addressed to the application of this research tradition (Шевкушић 2006; Јеђућ 2007; Ђурић 2010), qualitative methodology enables a more profound and complex *understanding* of the religious life of Roma, a layered and nuanced elaboration and systematization of the manners in which believers interpret their own religious experience in the context of their natural environment, and an insight into the changes in life experience occurring over time. This complements and enriches the scientific knowledge basis of this important aspect of the cultural identity of the Romani people, that has thus far been subjected to simplified conclusions using numbers, quantities, and intensities, as well as measuring the connection between the factors of various research phenomena and drawing accurate generalizations. Furthermore, future research endeavours should seriously consider a complementary application of quantitative and qualitative methodology.

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«ПАЛОМНИК И ОБРАЩЁННЫЙ» Д.ЭРВЬЁ-ЛЕЖЕ

Аннотация: Предложенный доклад освещает предложенные французским социологом Даниэль Эрвьё-Леже понятия Паломника и Обращенного в условиях современного западного общества. Дается оценка религиозной ситуации во французском обществе конца XX века, приводятся примеры. Материал представляется полезным для сравнительных исследований религиозной ситуации в России и западной Европе.

Ключевые слова: Даниэль Эрвьё-Леже, религия в движении, паломник, обращенный, современная религиозная ситуация, религиозные альтернативы

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DANIÈLE HERVIEU-LÉGER'S PILGRIM AND CONVERTED

Abstract: The proposed paper outlines concepts of the Pilgrim and the Converted in modern Western society analysed by the French sociologist Daniel Hervieu-Leger in “Religion in movement (1999)”. Author proposes an assessment of the religious situation in the French society at the end of the XX century and discuss some examples. The material is useful for comparative studies of the religious situation in Russia and Western Europe.

Keywords: Danièle Hervieu-Léger, Religion in movement, pilgrim, converted, modern religious situation, religious alternatives.

В традиционных обществах религиозная идентичность строится в значительной мере на передаче (transmission) основных институтов и ценностей одного поколения следующему, как в процессе социализации, так и посредством инициации. И в том, и в другом случае, религиозность носит «наследуемый» характер, а её принятие отмечает переход подростка в мир взрослых, которые разделяют общие религиозные установки. Д.Эрвьё-Леже отмечает, что идеальная передача приводила бы к тому, что на месте отцов возникала бы их точная копия в лице сыновей, что в действительности не происходит вследствие социокультурных изменений, протекающих в обществе. Однако эти изменения идут относительно медленно, а также скрашиваются различного рода социальными механизмами, обеспечивающими постоянный характер преемственности между поколениями.

В современных западных обществах институты, традиционно игравшие ведущую роль в передаче знаний и ценностей последующим поколениям, прежде всего, семья и церковь, переживают кризис, что радикально изменило природу социализации. Другие (школа и образование в целом, корпоративные взаимоотношения и т.д.)