



CECS
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POST-SOCIALISM:

HYBRIDITY, CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

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DAY ONE

Saturday, June 25th 2016.

09.00 – 9.45

REGISTRATION

09.45 – 10.15

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

10.15 – 11.00

KEYNOTE ADDRESS:

Vesna Vuk Godina (University of Ljubljana)

Survival Strategies of Households and Individuals in Post-socialist Societies between Hybridity, Continuity and Change: An Anthropological Account

11.00 – 12.30

SESSION 1: CONTOURS OF POST-SOCIALISM

Rudi Klanjšek (University of Maribor)

(Socio)Economic Realities in Four SEE Countries - From Crisis to Crisis. And Beyond

Marko Malović, Vesna Petrović & Aleksandar Zdravković

(Institute of Economic Sciences, Belgrade)

Misunderstanding of FDI in W. Balkans: Cart before the Horse and Wheels without Suspension

Predrag Cvetičanin (University of Niš), Inga Tomić-Koludrović

(Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, Split), Mirko Petrić, (University of Zadar) & Adrian Leguina Ruzzi (University of Manchester)

Hybridity of Social Structure in SEE Societies: From Occupational to Existential Class

Dmitry Rudenko (Tyumen State University)

Poverty and Inequality in Russia During the Post-socialist Transformation

12.30 - 13.45

LUNCH

13.45 – 14.30

KEYNOTE ADDRESS:

Eric Gordy (University College London)
Revisiting Post-socialist Teleology

14.30 – 16.00

PARALLEL SESSIONS 2 & 3:

SESSION 2: SONGS OF FREEDOM, NARRATIVES OF OPPRESSION AND NEW REALITIES I

Balázs Böcskei (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

**From Liberal Democracy to Illiberalism: New Authoritarian Regimes,
Hungarian Illiberalism and the Crisis of the “Real Existing Liberalism”**

Miran Lavrič, (University of Maribor), Danijela Gavrilović, (University of Niš),
Ivan Puzek (University of Zadar) & Rudi Klanjšek (University of Maribor)

**The Effects of the Economic Crisis on Values and Attitudes in Southeast Europe:
Erosion of Trust, Retraditionalization and the Decline of Public Good Morality**

Stefan Janković (University of Belgrade) & Jorn Koelemajj (Ghent University)

**A Peculiar Case of Post-socialist Urban Transformation: Analyzing
Processes and Struggles around the Belgrade Waterfront Project**

SESSION 3: SONGS OF FREEDOM, NARRATIVES OF OPPRESSION AND NEW REALITIES II

Snježana Ivčić, Ana Vračar, Lada Weygand (Organization for Workers Initiative
and Democratisation) & Aleksandar Džakula (University of Zagreb)

Privatization of Primary Health Care in Croatia

– Transition from Social to Free Market

Anna Calori (University of Exeter) & Kathrin Jurkat (Humboldt University)

**Workers’ Narratives and Property Transformations: Continuity
and Change in Post-socialist Bosnia and Serbia**

Milan Škobić (Central European University, Budapest)
**Acknowledging Precarity: Youth and Labor Relations
in a Small Town in Northern Vojvodina**

16.00 – 16.45

COFFEE BREAK

16.45 – 17.30

KEYNOTE ADDRESS:

Geoff Pugh (Staffordshire University Business School)
Informal Institutions: Good and Bad; and How to Tell the Difference

17.30 – 19.00

SESSION 4: INFORMALITY IN POST-SOCIALISM

Jan Bazyli Klakla (Jagiellonian University Kraków)
The Role of Customary Law in Maintaining Social Order in the Times of Transition

Endrit Lami (Budapest University of Technology and Economics, Hungary),
Luca J. Uberti (University of Otago, New Zealand), Drini Imami (Agricultural
University of Tirana, Albania), Geoffrey Pugh (Staffordshire University, UK)
**Good Governance and Corruption in Post-Conflict Kosovo, 2001-
14: Time Series Evidence from the Mining Sector**

Cristine Palaga (Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca)
**From Informal Exchanges to Dual Practices: The Shadows
of the Romanian Health Care Reform**

Marija Žurnić, (New Europe College, Bucharest)
**Transition and Corruption in Eastern Europe. The Role
of Political Scandals in Post-Milošević Serbia**

DAY TWO

Sunday, June 26th, 2016

10.00 – 10.45

KEYNOTE ADDRESS:

Alena Ledeneva (University College London)

Formal vs. Informal under Post-Socialism: Evidence from the Global Informality Project

11.00 – 12.30

SESSION 5: LIFE-STRATEGIES OF INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS IN POST-SOCIALISM

Urban Boljka (Social Protection Institute of the Republic of Slovenia)

Fight Against Poverty or Fight Against Welfare Dependency?

Augustin Derado (Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar

Split) & Nemanja Krstić (University of Niš)

Small Farmers in Post-socialist Serbia and Croatia – A Qualitative Analysis of Life-strategies in 10 Agricultural Households

Tamara Narat (Social Protection Institute of the Republic of Slovenia)

Child-centeredness as a Survival Strategy of Families With Children

Marija Obradović (Institute for Recent History of Serbia) & Nada

Novaković (Institute of Social Sciences, University of Belgrade)

Socio-economic Strategies of the Workers Employed in Public Enterprises, in Conditions of Ownership Transformation in Serbia: A Case Study of Srbijagas and EPS

12.30 – 14.00

LUNCH

14.00 – 16.00

PARALLEL SESSIONS 6 & 7:

SESSION 6: DEALING WITH THE PRESENT AND THE PAST (AT THE SAME TIME) I

Marcin Lubaś (Jagiellonian University in Krakow)

Politics beyond the Ethno-Religious Divide? Exclusion and Boundaries in a Western Macedonian Village

Ivana M. Milovanović (University of Novi Sad)

Some Characteristics of Daily Life of Women in Postwar Divided City (Life Conditions and Lifestyle of Bosniac Ethnicity Women)

Andrew Hodges (Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb)

The Importance of Being Patriotic: Croatian 'Minority' Negotiations of Veze in Serbia

SESSION 7: DEALING WITH THE PRESENT AND THE PAST (AT THE SAME TIME) II

Aleksandra Kolaković (Institute for Political Studies, University of Belgrade)

Dealing with Past in the Former Yugoslav States: Paradigms of History Textbooks and Culture of Remembrance

Roozbeh B Baker (University of Surrey)

Post-Socialist Continuity and Change: Legal Reform in BiH

Katja Kahlina (Marie Skłodowska Curie Fellow)

Political Homophobia in Post-socialist Context: The Case of Croatia

Bogdan Zawadewicz (Research Group "Frozen and Unfrozen Conflicts", Regensburg)

The Role of Symbolic Capital in Shaping the Separatists' Strategies – the Case of Bosnia and Ukraine

16.00 – 16.30

COFFEE BREAK

16.30 – 17.15

KEYNOTE ADDRESS:

Alan Warde (University of Manchester)

Re-assessing Cultural Capital: Some Theoretical Considerations

17.15 – 19.15

SESSION 8: EVERYDAY LIFE AND CULTURES IN POST-SOCIALISM

Tamara Petrović-Trifunović (Institute for Philosophy
and Social Theory, University of Belgrade)

**Intimations of the New Symbolic Struggles in
Contemporary Serbia: Subcultural Contributions**

Ivana Spasić (University of Belgrade)

**Citizen, User, Consumer, or Beneficiary: Changing Visions of the Individual
and the State on the Example of the Belgrade City Transport**

Željka Zdravković (University of Zadar), Mirko Petrić (University of Zadar),

Inga Tomić-Koludrović (Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar Split)

**Individual Lifestyle Consumption and Household Capitals in
Four South-East European Countries in the Times of Crisis**

Mina Petrović & Milena Toković (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade)

**Cultural Heritage and Searching for Identity in Post-
Socialist City: Two Case Studies from Serbia**

Krešimir Krolo, Sven Marcelić & Željka Tonković (University of Zadar)

Cultural Lifestyles and Values of Urban Youth in Adriatic Croatia

19.15 – 19.30

CLOSING OF THE CONFERENCE

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Vesna Vuk Godina

(University of Ljubljana)

Survival Strategies of Households and Individuals in Post-socialist Societies between Hybridity, Continuity and Change: An Anthropological Account

In my presentation I will offer an anthropological analysis of the changed survival strategies of households and individuals in post-socialist societies. Social and cultural anthropologists, especially anthropologists of postsocialism (such as Giordano, Kostova, Hann, Humphrey, Lampland and Verdery) described and analyzed several strategies and reactions that have begun to be used by households and individuals as a reaction and adaptation to the dramatic social change which occurred in postsocialist societies after the collapse of socialism. These changes are well-documented, especially for the unemployed, the ex-socialist working class, women and other social groups that experienced in the era of postsocialism the end of their prior social status and social practices and were forced to fabricate new social adaptations on postsocialism. I will present my field of research into Slovene postsocialism, combined with field-data collected by several other anthropologists of postsocialism, to show two typical characteristics of individual and household adaptation to postsocialism: first, how and why these new practices have constructed a new type of social hybridity, in which in many examples and aspects several elements of continuity with the past (not only the socialist past, but also the pre-socialist era), even re-traditionalization are present; and second, how and why individual and household adaptations represent examples of the 'indigenisation of modernity', or more precisely, the indigenization of westernization.

In the second part of my presentation I will compare individual and household adaptation to postsocialism with social change in post-colonial situations, to prove that the knowledge amassed by social and cultural anthropologists about the process of westernization and modernization in colonial and post-colonial situations is vitally important for understanding social change in postsocialism and the concomitant

I adaptation of households and individuals. I will present two basic logics practiced in societies that are undergoing westernization (the first is continuity with the past of the given society; the second is discontinuity with that same past) to show that many problems needing a solution by individuals and households in the postsocialist period are similar in many respects to those problems faced by individuals and households in post-colonial situations. The same is true for the answers and adaptations to those problems. This fact implies several questions. One of these is the question of whether postsocialism can be, or even should be understood as a new form/stage of colonialism. Some anthropologists of postsocialism (for example, Kalb, Kiedeckel and Verdery) believe the answer to this question is affirmative.

*Vesna Vuk Godina is a professor of social and cultural anthropology at the University of Ljubljana and the University of Maribor. Her research focuses on the history of social and cultural anthropology, anthropological theories, the anthropological analysis of socialization and acculturation processes, and particularly the anthropology of post-socialist societies with a focus on the successor states of former Yugoslavia. Vesna Vuk Godina founded and chaired the Commission on Theoretical Anthropology (COTA) at the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES), and was also one of the founding members of the Commission on Ethnic Relations (COER) at IUAES. Godina is one of the most widely read Slovenian social critics and columnists. Her latest work, *Zablode postsocializma (The Delusions of Postsocialism)* published in Slovenian in 2014, became a definite bestseller, and has been considered by critics as the seminal anthropological study of the postsocialist Slovenia.*

Rudi Klanjšek

(University of Maribor)

**(Socio)Economic Realities in Four SEE Countries -
From Crisis to Crisis. And Beyond**

It goes without saying that the global economic crisis of 2008/2009 changed social realities, not only of individuals, but of whole countries. This change spawned various responses (at the individual and country level) that could be identified as (survival) strategies aimed at “putting things back into their place”, restoring “the lost balance”, the feeling of order and stability. This variability in responses can be attributed to a great number of factors, but the fact that not all individuals or/and countries were affected in the same way because they “entered” the crisis at different “levels”, undoubtedly played (and still plays) an important role. For individuals, the “point of entry” (and exit) was largely determined by their position in the social space, which includes their socio-economic status, for countries by their position in a global social space that includes their level of socio-economic development and their structural (im)balances, that in turn all determine maneuvering space of individuals and countries. Of course, things are much more complex, but it is possible to argue that any attempt to understand the current realities of an individual or of a country, should include an effort to understand factors that determine the structural position of one and another. This is virtually impossible without historical analysis. The aim of the current paper is to analyze post-crisis socioeconomic realities of four countries that used to be a part of the former republic of Yugoslavia - Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia.

Marko Malović, Vesna Petrović & Aleksandar Zdravković

(Institute of Economic Sciences, Belgrade)

Misunderstanding of FDI in W. Balkans: Cart before the Horse and Wheels without Suspension

One of the key characteristics of the world economy in the last few decades has been the rise of foreign direct investments (FDI), which represent a major form of capital flow from developed to developing and transition countries. The aim of this paper is to investigate specificities of FDI inflow to small open transition economies of W. Balkans (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republic of Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Albania) during the 2004-2014 period. After exploring the stylised facts and contrasting them with theoretical predictions, we go on to debunk several misconceptions in regard to motives, modes of operation and economic effects of FDI confronted with inconsistent, partial or outright detrimental government policies. Moreover, preliminary empirical tests carried out in the paper hint that - contrary to widespread ideology - in Serbia, Albania and Balkans as a whole, GDP growth Granger causes FDI inflow rather than the other way around, while in remaining countries we failed to detect statistically significant causality at 5% level of significance and with up to two lags.

Predrag Cvetičanin

(University of Niš)

Inga Tomić-Koludrović

(Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar Split)

Mirko Petrić

(University of Zadar)

Adrian Leguina Ruzzi

(University of Manchester)

Hybridity of Social Structure in SEE Societies: From Occupational to Existential Class

Post-socialist societies of South-East Europe are hybrid societies and their social structure carries clear traces of this hybridity. In these societies there are at least four stratification mechanisms working in parallel, whose “beneficiaries” struggle between themselves for establishing “the dominant principle of domination”: market mechanisms; mechanisms of social closure according to group/party affiliation (social capital); mechanisms of social closure based on credentials (cultural capital); and mechanisms of social closure along the ethnic and religious lines - which results in the parallel existence of class-like, status group-like and elite-like social groups.

Since this multitude of stratification mechanisms is accompanied with a high level of unemployment, a large number of people who have part-time and seasonal jobs outside their occupation, a substantial share of informal economy, a substantial geographical stratification of the SEE societies, it becomes clear why a class analysis based on the position of individual (survey respondents) in the occupational system is unable to grasp the complexity of the social structure in SEE societies.

Instead, we have tried to analyse social inequalities in Serbia and Croatia by using the household as a unit of analysis and by measuring inequalities in their life conditions - identifying in the social space groups which differ not only according to the total volume of economic, social, cultural and political capital and the capital composition, but also according to gender composition of the household, age profile of

I the household and the place of permanent residence. We argue that this kind of conception of the “existential” class, as a measure of total social inequality, is close to Bourdieu’s understanding of the social class, if not in letter, then, at least, in spirit. Analysing whether these groups are actually in contact with each other, whether they socialize amongst themselves and marry each other, and where social boundaries between them are, we followed the footsteps of the Cambridge Stratification Group, performing the analyses by using data on education and occupation of the respondent’s three best friends and their marital partners.

In this paper, we used the data from the survey “Life-Strategies and Survival Strategies of Households and Individuals in South-East European Societies in the Times of Crisis” (2015, 1,000 respondents in both Serbia and Croatia), carried out within the SCOPES programme of the Swiss National Science Foundation.

Dmitry Rudenko

(Tyumen State University)

Poverty and Inequality in Russia During the Post-socialist Transformation

This research examines inequality and poverty in Russia during the post-socialist transformation period from 1992 to 2015. The income inequality rose dramatically over that period until the global financial crisis of 2008, after which changes in inequality and relative poverty respectively were negligible. The method applied is a descriptive-analytical method based on the official data provided by the Federal State Statistics Service, as well as survey data (RLMS-HSE). The aim of this study is to investigate the factors for change in poverty during the period. To understand this, we decompose the change in poverty by income and inequality components using backstopped poverty lines of 2015 and 1992 (the procedure of subsistence minimum calculation has been updated several times since 1992 and therefore poverty lines are inconsistent over time) and the Kolenikov-Shorrocks imitation

model. We also give particular attention to the choice of poverty line and poverty measure comparing Russian poverty with the poverty in other post-socialist countries.

The situation in Russia is paradoxical – the economic growth only reinforced inequality, was not conducive to the alleviation of poverty, and could be characterized by low quality. The oil prices drop in 2015 interrupted the process of the growth of income and led to a rise in the official poverty rate. The decrease of real income, high inflation rates pushing up the subsistence minimum, freezing of social transfers and wages in the public sector are the main factors of poverty in Russia now.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Eric Gordy

University College London

**Revisiting
postsocialist teleology**

We can trace the development of “postsocialist” discourse to the beginning of the dismantling of state-socialist regimes in 1989. The dominant expectation at the time was that new regimes would develop into democratic states that would quickly integrate into a Europe that was increasingly multilateral and democratic, and where market economies were balanced by a strong commitment to the maintenance of social welfare and policies of equality. In the meantime, many of the dominant assumptions of “postsocialist” discourse have been shattered. In states of Southeast Europe (visibly in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina) regimes with weak democratic legitimacy incline increasingly toward authoritarianism and are strongly contested by their own citizens. Similar moves toward authoritarianism are visible in other post-accession states (Hungary, Poland), while the rise of far-right movements and the entrenchment of neoliberal approaches has undercut Europe’s commitment to social welfare and equality.

This presentation seeks to explain postsocialist contested authoritarianism not as an aberration but as a defining tendency, and to generate explanations that can account for it. Two principal explanations are: 1) the role of external factors embodied in the contradiction between promoting political procedures (parliamentary democracy, media freedom) tending in a democratic direction and economic practices (austerity, marketisation) tending in an undemocratic direction, and 2) the role of internal factors embodied in the failure to address legacies emanating from large-scale abuses of power and violations of human rights.

*Eric Gordy is Senior Lecturer in Politics of Southeast Europe at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (SSEES) of University College London. He has taught at universities across Europe and North America. His publications include the books *The Culture of Power in Serbia: Nationalism and the Destruction of Alternatives* (1999) and *Guilt, Responsibility and Denial: The Past at Stake in Post-Milošević Serbia* (2013).*

Balázs Böcskei

(Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

From Liberal Democracy to Illiberalism: New Authoritarian Regimes, Hungarian Illiberalism and the Crisis of the “Real Existing Liberalism”

II

In post-2010 Hungary not only have institutional reforms been implemented, but also new patterns of the exercise of power have appeared. These changes have eventuated in a type of democracy which is based on the perception of the majority, and include less liberal and more authoritarian elements. This talk demonstrates that without the critical or slightly adjusted interpretation of waves of democracy- and democratization theories, understanding is hindered; authoritarian/populist regimes' characteristics, their social base, as well as the rupture with the hegemonic political thinking of the post-regime change after 2010 in Hungary are difficult to interpret. The democratization theories provide an adequate framework for certain institutional comparisons, but they are not sufficient to get the stagnation and variegation of the transitions to us. The governing party's (Fidesz) concept of politics breaks with the post-regime era's mainstream political thinking. This breakaway can be interpreted as an anti-liberal turn, within the framework of which the governing party rejects the normative-emancipatory concept of politics, the radicalization of the separation of power, neutralization of the concepts of state and welfare, the depolitization of the political leadership, the substantive and consensus-oriented perception of democracy. The outlined direction of the research relies less on the terminologies of Western political science when describing Hungarian illiberalism; opting for the ideas of David Ost and Ivan Krastev, it interprets the post-2010 Hungarian regime change as an answer to the crisis of the “enlightened, rationalized liberalism”. The talk, after the introduction of the dilemmas around democracy research and the characteristics of the new authoritarian regimes, continues with the presentation of the crisis of enlightened liberalism, then concludes with that of the post-2010 mainstream Hungarian political thinking.

Miran Lavrič

(University of Maribor)

Danijela Gavrilović

(University of Niš)

Ivan Puzek

(University of Zadar)

Rudi Klanjšek

(University of Maribor)

The Effects of the Economic Crisis on Values and Attitudes in Southeast Europe: Erosion of Trust, Retraditionalization and the Decline of Public Good Morality

Many influential theorists and researchers (e.g. Fukuyama, 1992; Inglehart and Welzel, 2009) argued that, along the universal patterns of modernization and economic development, the post-socialist period should be characterised by the rise of emancipative values like gender equality, tolerance, personal autonomy and civic participation. These changes should give rise to the development of democratic institutions and liberal democracy in general. The first two decades of post-socialist transformation largely confirmed such expectations (e.g. Savelyev, 2014), with some exceptions, most notably the countries of former Yugoslavia which experienced wars during the 1990's. Little is known, however, about how the recent economic crisis affected values and attitudes in post-socialist European countries. We tried to answer this question by a recent (2015) survey conducted on four national proportional random samples from Croatia (n=1000), Serbia (n=1000), Bosnia-Herzegovina (n=1002) and Slovenia (n=904), combined with a secondary analysis of data from the European values survey (EVS, 1992-2008). The results suggest that all these societies experienced pronounced retraditionalization of social attitudes and a substantial erosion of social trust. Further, a substantial shift has occurred in the direction of increased tolerance of practices like tax evasion and taking bribes, which can be interpreted as a decline in 'public good morality' (Sieben and Halman, 2015). Results also suggest that values of conformity and security prevail substantially over the values

of tolerance, social solidarity, self-expression and self-enhancement. Overall, the picture is one of a substantial shift in the direction of survival and traditional values. Within this situation, some interesting differences between the four countries occur. The situation is discussed in terms of social causes and effects of the most interesting trends.

Stefan Janković


(University of Belgrade)

Jorn Koelemaij

(Ghent University)

A Peculiar Case of Post-socialist Urban Transformation: Analyzing Processes and Struggles around the Belgrade Waterfront Project

In terms of both scope, size and governance practices, the Belgrade Waterfront project reveals a peculiar case of post-socialist urban planning and (trans)formation of urban space. While this project reflects a relative (dis)continuity in post-socialist urban planning in Belgrade, it simultaneously retains the dominance of state over spatial (trans)formation. Concurrently, the project clearly presents a submission to the new (neoliberal) political-economic logic and entrance into an inter-urban competitive arena of global cities. Furthermore, it continuously provokes a number of controversies making this project the subject of a genuine social struggle. Therefore, the BW project might help us to decipher the differentiated aims and goals of various socio-political actors and groups engaged in the processes of spatial (trans)formation and appropriation of means for producing the space in the course of post-socialist urban planning. Drawing on Lefebvre's concepts of the spatial triad and production of social space, as well as Bourdieu's matrix of differentiated social spaces and asymmetries of social power, the paper explores the peculiar logic of social struggles revolving around the BW project, particularly through spatial representations and (op)



positions concerning the project itself. Analysis is based on policy documents (General Urban Plan(s) and Laws) as well as in-depth interviews conducted in the summer of 2015 with the key actors and groups: politicians and state- and city officials, urban planning experts, representatives of the BW enterprise and NGO activists. Dominant spatial representations detected among the key actors and groups revolve around the designation of this project as either valid or illegitimate. As our research illustrates, however, particular content and the structure of spatial representations reveal the more profound social differences emerging from the positions these actors and groups have in the hierarchy of social power and their social backgrounds – such as political and professional affiliations, showing that the BW project evokes deeper social gaps and struggles determining spatial production.

Snježana Ivčić

(Organization for Workers Initiative and Democratisation)

Ana Vračar

(Organization for Workers Initiative and Democratisation)

Lada Weygand

(Organization for Workers Initiative and Democratisation)

Aleksandar Džakula

(University of Zagreb)

Privatization of Primary Health Care in Croatia – Transition from Social to Free Market

This paper is a contribution to the research of privatisation of primary health care in Croatia. We located and analysed the roots of privatisation in the 1980's as a new dimension of the privatisation process explanation. Based on finding about health care in 1980's, in this paper we focus on the privatisation processes and outputs in primary health care since 1991. This period was characterized by the parallel rise of neoliberalism, inputs from WHO and was influenced by the Homeland War from 1991 – 1995. Although the beginning of the transformation/transition from the social to the free market system was regularly linked with the first democratic elections in 1990, the first indications could be noted years ago. The massive privatisation process was disrupted because of the war which stopped “big-bang” privatisation, but a number of reforms have taken place and introduced novelties such as private practice, gradual privatisation of primary health care, voluntary and private health care insurance, etc. In this paper we will show that privatisation changes by two key processes, which could be used also as „free market“ indicators; first the terminology used in the health care system; second the economy which shifted from socialist to free-market, all of which had a great impact on the relationships within the healthcare system. In this paper we will discuss some expressions/terms like health as a public good/value/right vs health as expendable and capital good/health care protection vs health care service/collective responsibility vs individual responsibility for health and terms like participation, free

market, and free choice of doctor, but also the possibility that change in the vocabulary is connected with the change in relationships within the healthcare system.

III

Anna Calori

(University of Exeter)

Kathrin Jurkat

(Humboldt University)

Workers' Narratives and Property Transformations: Continuity and Change in Post-socialist Bosnia and Serbia

With the decline of real socialism across the Eastern Bloc and the mounting economic crisis of the 1980s, Yugoslavia approached an ambitious set of reforms aimed at democratising not only the political system, but also changing the economic setting. A demand for change emerged within workplaces, and was challenged or accepted at different degrees across the federation.

The system of self-management and associated labour came to be increasingly questioned in the public sphere, as contributing to the inefficiencies of the socialist economic system. This criticism partly penetrated within the very loci of self-management actualisation, i.e. the industrial workplaces. In this context, workers became increasingly open towards a reformulation of property relations and decision-making which would concretise their rights as self-managers.

At the beginning of the economic “transition”, which coincided with the collapse of the Yugoslav socialist system, workers’ shareholding was opted as the most viable model of property transformation. This initiated a two-decade long-term process of property transformation towards an increasingly neoliberal framework, which has often kept workers’ status suspended between two systems.

When investigating contemporary workers’ narratives about property transformations, their recent experience of “neoliberal” transitions, the

wars in Ex-Yugoslavia and the UN-sanctions are often entangled with the memories of both tentative reforms and self-management.

Through a sample of oral history interviews with industrial workers, collected in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia, the paper will explore the nuances of “experienced transition”, as emerging vividly from overlapping but also contradictory accounts. It will finally argue that precisely through – sometimes convoluted – narratives it is possible to grasp the complexity of the post-socialist space, and further challenge a dichotomous opposition between an irrecoverable past, and a grim present.

Milan Škobić

(Central European University, Budapest)

Acknowledging Precarity: Youth and Labor Relations in a Small Town in Northern Vojvodina

This research deals with youth and work experience in a small town in Northern Vojvodina and how they use this experience in their social and ideological positioning. Research has been carried out in April 2016 and consists of interviews with youth with work experience mostly in agriculture, but also in other sectors of economy, such as factories and services. The findings are analyzed through looking at the process of fragmentation which is understood in a three-fold sense: fragmentation of economy – that stems from consequences of neoliberal restructuring, informal labor, coping strategies, and labor migration; fragmentation in the sense of social boundaries constructed through various identity markers such as gender, ethnicity, education, age and work-related identities; and, fragmentation of life prospects, perspectives, and self-perceptions in relation to work, which leads to a heterogeneous field of sometimes conflicting ideological positions which, as research shows, people can hold simultaneously. The research explores different interpretations of labor conditions, which are then brought into relation with the economic conditions at the local level. It is argued that, while fragmentation is reproduced through their accounts of local labor relations and

experiences, it leaves room for the articulation of certain emancipatory narratives. This enables assessing the points of dialectic between larger socio-economic processes and local symbolic histories, and how it is accounted for by the youth. The paper concludes with pointing toward possible responses and interpretations of coming processes such as land concentration and formalization of seasonal labor.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Geoff Pugh

(Staffordshire University Business School)

**Informal Institutions: Good and Bad;
and How to Tell the Difference**

IV

Over the past 30 years or so, institutional economics has become integrated into the mainstream of economic enquiry. For example, no contemporary researcher would specify a model of economic growth without reference to institutional development. However, the institutional focus of economists has been somewhat narrow, mainly concerned with formal institutions. Increased recognition of the social dimension of economic decision making and performance can also be seen in the dissemination of theories of social capital from other social sciences into economics. With these observations as the point of departure, this contribution focuses on informal institutions. We consider the relationship between formal and informal institutions. Are they separate, complements or substitutes? Assuming that informal institutions embody the elements of social capital – networks, norms and trust – we use the concepts of “weak” (“bridging”) ties and “strong” (“bonding”) ties from the social capital literature to distinguish between “bad” and “good” informal institutions. We try to explain what it is that distinguishes institutions that promote economic development (e.g. business associations) from those that are generally considered to be an obstacle to competition and efficiency. We will ask whether this perspective yields any insights into the economic effects of corruption and clientelism. Finally, some specific micro-level examples will be discussed in the context of topics in educational policy. These will raise two issues: whether social capital concepts can be operationalised to inform policy decisions; and, if so, how formal institutions may contribute to enhancing the effectiveness of informal institutions. This contribution draws mainly but not exclusively on research in the context of transition.

Geoff Pugh is Professor of Applied Economics at Staffordshire University Business School. Geoff has recently led evaluation projects for both the UK Government (on school performance) and for the EU Commission (on

innovation support programmes). His particular commitment to the Western Balkans arises from teaching and supervising many former and current MSc and PhD students (supported by the Open Society Foundation) and, most recently, from involvement in research projects supported by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (Regional Research Promotion Programme) and the European Union Office in Kosovo. Since December 2011, Geoff has been a member of the Advisory Committee to the Council of the Central Bank of Montenegro.

Jan Bazyli Klakla

(Jagiellonian University Kraków)

The Role of Customary Law in Maintaining Social Order in the Times of Transition

Since 1989 Central and Eastern Europe have experienced sudden and profound social changes which have had an impact on almost every aspect of social life. The foundations of social order based on the socialist ideology collapsed and new ones were slowly emerging. This presentation will address the issue of customary law and its role in maintaining a social order in the times of transition. In the beginning, such a transition generates a lack of legal certainty, it may often undermine the reliance on state institutions and it may sometimes result in some sort of social anomy (described by Emile Durkheim) i.e. the lack of norms which may be applied by an individual in specific social situations. The previous social order is already gone and the future one is not fully developed yet. This normative gap needs to be filled. In certain circumstances (e.g. with underlying historical conditions) the customary law which was a normative base for the society before the socialist period can take the same place again, providing clear, simple and deeply-rooted rules for people looking for safety, certainty and predictability. The customary law becomes then an important historical and cultural factor affecting the process of change and providing a stable and internally consistent

normative guidance for the members of society who have been marginalized by the transition process.

In Europe, the model example of such a process is Albania in the 1990s and its path of transformation. The rapid disintegration of the socialist order in Albania in 1991 and the lack of a functioning new administration led to the breakdown of the state authority. During this time, people in the north once again began to practise the customary law called Kanun. They adopted the rules coming from the middle-ages to a post-socialist context and turned them into the foundation of a social order. This presentation covers the causes of the renaissance of the customary law in Albania in a moment of transition. Both classic and contemporary sociological and anthropological theories will be used to provide the most holistic answer possible. The most visible manifestations of the customary law in society will be pointed out. The emphasis will be placed on the institution of blood feud, decollectivisation of the land and rights in the forest.

Endrit Lami

(Budapest University of Technology and Economics, Hungary)

Luca J. Uberti

(University of Otago, New Zealand)

Drini Imami

(Agricultural University of Tirana, Albania),

Geoffrey Pugh

(Staffordshire University, UK)

Good Governance and Corruption in Post-Conflict Kosovo, 2001-14: Time Series Evidence from the Mining Sector

Using a dynamic Poisson model to identify a pronounced pre-election effect in the issuing of mining licenses in post-war Kosovo, and interpreting this as a corruption effect, we examine the impact of political and legal regime change. While the “good governance” approach

IV predicts that the post-independence repeal of the donor-promoted mining law should have increased corruption, we find that legal regime type has no significant effect on the level of corruption. This is consistent with the view that corruption may have more to do with informal networks of trust and patronage than with formal institutions. The policy corollary is that anti-corruption strategies may prove ineffective if the informality context of corruption is not taken into account. In addition, the lack of a corruption effect in a mining sub-sector dominated by foreign investors suggests that attracting inward FDI may contribute to anti-corruption strategy.

Cristine Palaga

(Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca)

From Informal Exchanges to Dual Practices: The Shadows of the Romanian Health Care Reform

The current frailties of the Romanian health care system are often explained by resorting to the previous regime's institutional framework, rarely accepting that they are also the product of post-1990 reforms and the neoliberal means of system reconfiguration. This paper provides an ethnographic account of the ways in which two "products" of these reforms actively contribute to the augmentation of private medical services and to the diminishing access to quality care in the public system: the bureaucratization of primary medicine and the "dual medical practice". More specifically, I use the concept of "informal exchanges" in order to explore the variety of transactions that occur between patients and the health care staff and to document the means through which its main social actors understand, reproduce, legitimize or blame the very existence of these practices. Then, I analyse how referrals to private medical units increasingly replace informal payments, simultaneously laying down even more difficult obstacles to be overcome in the access to health care for those in need.

Marija Žurnić

(New Europe College, Bucharest)

Transition and Corruption in Eastern Europe. The Role of Political Scandals in Post-Milošević Serbia

The research focuses on six high-profile corruption scandals in post-Milošević Serbia (2000–2012) in order to explore the concept of corruption in public debates and identify the practices which were perceived as corruption. The research also aims to explain the influence of the selected scandals on institutional change in the area of anti-corruption. Discourse is conceptualised in line with Discursive Institutionalism both as a content or idea, and as a process of communicating an idea. The findings suggest a lack of consensus on what constitutes an act of corruption due to the opposing view on the sub-concepts discursively linked to the concept of corruption, such as justice, property, interest. For example, in the early 2000s, the concept of corruption included the issue of the nationalist-political agenda of the Milošević regime. Later, the concept was linked to abuse of power and political decision-making in privatisation and employment. The findings also suggest that no institutional change has been identified as a direct result of the selected scandals. In fact, the major force behind the institutional change was the process of EU accession and Serbia's compliance with international anti-corruption initiatives (UN, Council of Europe and other).

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Alena Ledeneva

(University College London)

**Formal vs. Informal under Post-Socialism:
Evidence from the Global Informality Project**

In order to approach the conceptualization of informality, I take issue with the notion of formality, defined as written or codified rules. I argue that no rule or law can be followed without meta-rules of 'how to' follow the rules, and no organization can operate according to its own declared principles. Formality is inseparable from informality, at least in practice, and thus presents a conundrum for researchers: how to conceptualize the ways of getting things done best.

The interplay between formal and informal institutions has been articulated as a two by two matrix of informal institutions – complementary, substitutive, accommodating or competing (Helmke, Levitsky 2004) – or as a dichotomy pointing to the gap between formal and informal institutions (Helmke, Levitsky 2006). A number of assumptions are implied in such top-down, a-historical framing.

1. Formal institutions are presumed to be working according to formal rules and are given priority over the informal ones.
2. The degree of effectiveness of formal institutions is central in determining the nature of informality; hence its correlation with poverty, corruption, oppressive regimes.
3. It is presumed that informality is a feature of communist, socialist or post-socialist regimes, where democracy and market do not ensure the quality of governance, and thus predominates in the second and third world.
4. It is presumed that 'good' and 'bad' informality can be established. 'Good' informality is associated primarily with the response mode: survival strategies and the 'weapon of the weak', while the 'bad' informality is associated with the predatory mode: 'gaming of the system' and 'weapon of the wealthy'

The evidence from the Global Informality Project (www.in-formality.com) will be presented to question these assumptions.

Alena Ledeneva is Professor of Politics and Society at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies of University College London in the United Kingdom.

*She is an internationally renowned expert on informal governance in Russia. Her research interests include corruption, informal economy, economic crime, informal practices in corporate governance, and role of networks and patron-client relationships in Russia and around the globe. Her books *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking, and Informal Exchange* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), *How Russia Really Works: Informal Practices in the 1990s* (Cornell University Press, 2006), and *Can Russia Modernize? Sistema, Power Networks and Informal Governance* (Cambridge University Press, 2013) have become must-read sources in Russian studies and social sciences.*

She received her PhD in Social and Political Theory from Cambridge University (1996). Currently, she is the pillar leader of the multi-partner ANTICORRP.eu research project and works on the Global Encyclopedia of Informality.

Urban Boljka

(Social Protection Institute of the Republic of Slovenia)

Fight Against Poverty or Fight Against Welfare Dependency?

The paper deals with the survival strategies of low income families in Slovenia. It analyses subjective perceptions of causes for poverty and consequences of deprivation in different areas of everyday life. The analysis derives from the complexity of the phenomenon of poverty and social exclusion where material and non-material aspects have been taken into account. The data were obtained through qualitative research methods: 6 focus groups with professionals dealing with the focus in question directly or indirectly and 25 in-depth individual interviews with parents from low income families. Results show that the professionals' views of low income families is one of assigning the blame for poverty to them. Poverty is perceived as the fault of individuals and not an inherent part of the capitalist system that is bound to generate inequalities. Precisely the opposite is the case when analysing views

and perceptions of individuals from low-income families. Here the society's structural factors are to be blamed for their unfavourable socio-economic situation. The view of professionals indicates an extremely passive attitude of low-income families towards designing their survival strategies. This view is further challenged and mirrored by the views gathered in in-depth interviews. They, on the contrary, picture rather active attitudes of low-income families towards designing a relevant set of survival strategies. What the findings show is that the longer the families are exposed to poverty, the higher the number of all survival strategies used and more predominant is the mix of passive and active strategies. The shorter the period of deprivation, the lower the number of all survival strategies, and so more active strategies are used. These findings are reflected upon within the paradigmatic development of the welfare activation regime (in post-socialist societies) that places the activation principle at the heart of social intervention, making entitlement to social rights more conditional and dependent on activation, personal behaviour and conditions of the state.

Augustin Derado

(Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar Split)

Nemanja Krstić

(University of Niš)

Small Farmers in Post-socialist Serbia and Croatia – A Qualitative Analysis of Life-strategies in 10 Agricultural Households

Small farmer households in both Croatia and Serbia are exposed to the influences of various unfavorable structural factors, which establishes them as a vulnerable social group marked by constant existential insecurity. In this study we analyze the interviews conducted with the members of 10 small farmer households, aiming to identify and describe their life-strategies as well as situate them within the broader social context.

The in-depth analysis of strategies and practices of interviewed households is conducted for multiple social fields and combined with

the description of the types and levels of capitals they have (Bourdieu, 1998). The practices are analyzed in relation to particularities of local geographies (Caldwell, 2004). Strategies will be situated within in the context of the changed role of the state as well as in the framework of “diverse economic practices” (Smith and Stenning, 2006).

One of the study findings is the compatibility of the capital and practices of interviewed small farmers with the concept of the “poverty of resources” (de la Rocha, 2001). In that context, the study examines the use of social capital, the changes of quality and intensity of social networks brought on by the economic crisis and the importance of non-monetary exchanges.

Paradoxically, the interviewed small farmers perceived the state primarily as a constraining and penalizing factor instead as an enabling and supportive factor in both Croatia and Serbia. In the context of their insecure market position and fluctuating demands, a few of the interviewed small farmer households developed an entrepreneurial identity and used various strategies to adapt, while those with more traditional strategies expressed severe existential insecurity and hardships in coping with their insecure economic position.

Tamara Narat

(Social Protection Institute of the Republic of Slovenia)

Child-centeredness as a Survival Strategy of Families With Children

Child-centeredness is defined as the centralizing of the family around children in the sense of emotional, financial and time investment into them. Here, the hierarchy of the needs is vital: due to the source limitation, parents fulfil the children's needs with self-sacrifices, that is, at the cost of limiting their own needs. Considering the importance of having economic and cultural capital to perform child-centred practices, numerous studies emphasise that families deprived at the income level cannot follow the values of a child centred construct, that is, they are in an unequal position compared to others. We believe that child-centred practices certainly exist

V among families with lower income. It is true that they have a harder time fulfilling them compared to others; limited abilities to offer optimal conditions for the well-being of children at the desired level triggers feelings of stress and powerlessness in them. We find that child-centeredness presents one of the important survival strategies for poor families. This is the case because a) it helps them design their self-consciousness and thereby their identity (the identity of a “good parent”) that exceeds the identity of a social class and b) secondly, it gives purpose to their life and brings hope for a better life in the future. Child-centeredness is a construct aimed at the future and in this way it represents a long-term survival strategy. It is a new survival strategy of families with children that can only form in competitive, neo-liberalistic systems as they are driven by elements typical for a capitalist system (for example consumerism and achieving educational success). Here, the responsibility for successful implementation of a personal biography is distinctly individualised, that is, shrunk to a narrow cell of society (which is a family), and the aforementioned meaning of a community is narrowed.

Marija Obradović

(Institute for Recent History of Serbia)

Nada Novaković

(Institute of Social Sciences, University of Belgrade)

Socio-economic Strategies of the Workers Employed in Public Enterprises, in Conditions of Ownership Transformation in Serbia: A Case Study of Srbijagas and EPS

The market and redistributive, that is, state-regulatory and active state-interventionist paradigm of the capitalist and socialist models of social reproduction in the historical-structural meaning overlapped in different hybrid forms of social integration. However, after the “breakdown of socialism” in 1989 the structural-systemic limitations of capitalist social relations, as well as the specific manifestations of its crisis in Eastern

Europe have rarely been the subject of scientific analysis in Serbia. It is often highlighted that capitalism is a dynamic and internally changeable system, so that despite the crisis of its current historical neoliberal form that stresses the significance of private property for an effective economy, this form of reproducing society is becoming stronger on a general level.

On the other hand, the frequent financial crises, the last being in 2008, the increase of the scope and importance of informal economic activities and the increase of unemployment and poverty on a global scale suggest that the global capitalist economic system and the economic efficiency of private property the system is based on have reached certain limits.

In the ruling capitalist production relations of reproduction in Serbia today, the public (state-owned) enterprises represent one of the “surviving” socio-economic structures from the previously toppled socialist system of production.

The structuring of the capitalist system of social reproduction in Serbia was carried out by the process of privatizing social capital, that is, the public enterprises. However, the established capitalist institutional-normative order in Serbia has not led to a dynamic economic development (investment and growth). Thus, the present day socio-economic context in Serbia is characterized by deindustrialization, a drop in industrial and agricultural production when compared to the period of socialist economy, unemployment and poverty.

In spite of that, the process of privatization of social capital continues. The oligarchic structures of the state, where the economic and political power is concentrated, advocate the privatization of public enterprises. The aim of this paper is to explore the general socio-economic strategies of the management and the independent trade union organizations of public enterprises in the given socio-political context, primarily their stance towards privatization.

Empirical research will be carried out on the bases of two case studies: Srbijagas (Serbia Gas) and EPS (Electric Power Industry of Serbia). We will try to establish the public enterprises' strategies towards their announced organizational, financial and ownership restructuring by analyzing the contents of both business and trade union available documents and the scientifically conducted interviews with both representatives of the management and trade unions.

Marcin Lubaś

(Jagiellonian University in Krakow)

Politics beyond the Ethno-Religious Divide?

Exclusion and Boundaries in a Western Macedonian Village

Recent political protests in the Republic of Macedonia and in other Balkan countries have attempted to transcend the ethno-religious divisions that have so deeply influenced political life in South-Eastern Europe since the end of the Cold War. Citizens irrespective of religion and ethnicity have joined ranks to protest against corruption and discriminatory politics.

Having conducted ethnographic fieldwork in the multi-religious region of Dolna Reka in the western part of the Republic of Macedonia, I have been observing a continuous lack of structural resonance between the religious boundaries and the political divisions since the beginning of my research in 2006.

This by no means illustrates a local politics founded on inclusiveness. Power relations have been as discriminatory against any specific group of local citizens as has been the case in many other parts of the Balkans. What makes the situation in this region remarkable is that political clientelism has been founded on party membership – often antagonizing or uniting local people irrespective of their religious identification. Patronage party networks in the Balkans have sometimes utilized ethno-religious differences as idioms for the handling of exclusions, yet they may alternatively use other significant cultural differences (such as relationships to the communist past) as a key to the exclusion practice. This case casts light on the intersection of party patronage, exclusions, and ethno-religious diversity in South-Eastern Europe.

Ivana M. Milovanović
(University of Novi Sad)

Some Characteristics of Daily Life of Women in Postwar Divided City (Life Conditions and Lifestyle of Bosniac Ethnicity Women)

This paper presents results of empirical research into the daily life of women in a post-war divided city of Kosovska Mitrovica. It is only a fraction of a wider field of research, but our focus in this paper is to present the characteristics of the daily life of women who in both parts of the divided city are actually a minority (Bosniac) community. The research was implemented through semi-structured in-depth interviews with twenty women and girls, including topics such as living conditions, family (partner and parent) relations, free time and security circumstances. Results show that women, as well as other citizens are, in the given socio-spatial frame and due to a set of cumulative daily political pressures, “forced” to make primary identification with their ethnic background, and their daily life is reduced to routinized behavioral patterns, movement along a pre-planned route (with lower security risk level), regular socializing with female members of the same ethnicity or occasionally with neighbors/members of some other ethnicity in a “controlled”/ home environment. Having in mind that this paper presents only a part of a wider research project, the main conclusion is that the female members of ethnic (Bosniac) minority are two-fold marginalized compared to female members of “majority” communities (Serbian and Albanian), which makes all the negative characteristics of ethnic minorities’ daily life in post-war social conditions more visible and longer lasting.

Andrew Hodges

(Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb)

**The Importance of Being Patriotic:
Croatian 'Minority' Negotiations of Veze in Serbia**

Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in a school in a village in Vojvodina, Serbia where teaching in Croatian has been introduced, this article analyses relationships maintained between Croatian minority activists, the teaching staff at the school and representatives from Croatian state institutions who visited. This minority context is especially sensitive as, following the wars which accompanied the break-up of the Socialist Yugoslav state into primarily nationally defined states, Serbo-Croatian split into two mutually intelligible standards, Serbian and Croatian. I examine the contexts of such visits, with a focus on what was at stake in the encounters and how different participants in minority politics manage various connections (veze) with Croatian state institutions. In particular, I describe how a hegemonic register consisting of tropes, or ideologemes, relating to domoljublje (patriotism) and caring for/preserving Croatian national identity featured in these interactions. Amongst minority activists, I suggest that this register was hegemonic, but not dominant. Rather, in eliding the referential aspect of these tropes, several activists focused on the indexical use of such tropes as a means of pursuing connections (veze) with Croatian state institutions. Nevertheless, when disputes occurred, what I term 'pro-national' activists used such tropes referentially to disrupt the networks of activists who used them in a primarily indexical sense.

Aleksandra Kolaković

(Institute for Political Studies, University of Belgrade)

Dealing with Past in the Former Yugoslav States: Paradigms of History Textbooks and Culture of Remembrance

The foundations of modern Europe were built on the reconciliation of France and Germany, which also symbolized a joint Franco-German history textbook launched in 2006. Simultaneously, the construction of common European memory places started with the founding of a joint past of the European nations. During this period, the Yugoslav post-socialist societies (that were affected by wars in the last decade of the 20th century) were faced with the need to create the basis for common historical consciousness among their people (especially young people) in the process of European integration. This paper would analyze the strategies, competencies and practice of developing “a common historical awareness” through the paradigms of history textbooks and culture of remembrance. Also, the paper will explore the path of writing a common history textbook and the reactions to this project in the states of the former Yugoslavia, which is connected with the context of the hybrid nature of the cultural practices of post-socialist societies. The main aim of this paper is to detect limiting factors and challenges of dealing with past and implications on regional stability, as well as to answer the issue why the experience of France or Germany could (not) be applied to the case of Serbia and Croatia. The paper would be based on analysis of narratives, the press, existing history textbooks and practices of culture of remembrance in the former Yugoslav states.

Roozbeh B Baker

(University of Surrey)

Post-Socialist Continuity and Change: Legal Reform in BiH

In 2003 Bosnia-Herzegovina attempted a reorganization of the legal model that had been in place since its time as a republic in Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ). Old procedures and institutions were eliminated and replaced with new ones that attempted a wholesale transformation. Though initiated with the agreement of local Bosnian political forces, these changes were championed and spearheaded by outside transnational actors. The independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the early 1990s from the disintegrating Yugoslavia was marred by civil war, horrific violence, and a myriad of large-scale crimes. The prosecution of these crimes has been one of the key issues in the country's post-war reconstruction. The stated goal of the transnational and Bosnian actors in 2003 was to begin a process of legal reform in a country wracked by post-war corruption and negligence in its legal system. Were these actors successful in their attempts to change the procedure through which crimes were adjudicated in Bosnia-Herzegovina? Are there any particular factors that assist transnational actors in their efforts to influence domestic state behavior in post-Socialist societies? Can these various interactions between international and domestic level actors be modeled? The answers to these questions may reveal useful insights into when, and under which conditions, transnational actors are successful in their attempts to forge deep and lasting policy changes in targeted states.

Katja Kahlina

(Marie Skłodowska Curie Fellow)

Political Homophobia in Post-socialist Context: The Case of Croatia

The widespread presence of anti-LGBT attitudes in a number of post-socialist countries has often led to the perception of homophobia as a marker of 'Eastern European difference' associated with the legacy of undemocratic and homophobic communist regimes. Such an assumption has particularly been present in the EU policy discourse, but it also surfaced in scholarly debates (e.g. O'Dwyer, 2013). This paper would like to complicate this common perception that views the manifestations of homophobia in post-socialist countries as a heritage of state socialism and to further explore the socio-political and cultural factors which made post-socialist contexts such a fertile ground for anti-LGBT attitudes. In order to do so, the paper will focus on the political aspects of homophobia (Weiss and Bosia, 2013) and examine the ways in which homophobia has been deployed in the political rhetoric and used as a means of political mobilisation in post-Yugoslav Croatia. Special attention will be paid to the role of sexual politics in the processes of nation-building and EU accession, to the social position of the Catholic Church and its role in the promotion of anti-LGBT attitudes, and to the transnational character of local religion-informed civil initiatives against the rights of sexual minorities. In order to account for the possible role of the state socialist past in the political uses of homophobia, political homophobia in Croatia will also briefly be compared to similar developments taking place in other post-socialist contexts.

Bogdan Zawadewicz

(Research Group “Frozen and Unfrozen Conflicts”, Regensburg)

The Role of Symbolic Capital in Shaping the Separatists’ Strategies – the Case of Bosnia and Ukraine

The symbolic position of Bosnia and the Ukraine in international hierarchies as semi-peripheral countries determines the character of their political cleavages. The global symbolic inequalities are translated into the local hierarchies of power which exist between different entities. Since the state-building processes in both countries are driven by external actors, the attitude towards the West is the main axis of political divisions. It shapes to a great extent the strategies of the local elites which belong to different political entities. A lack of recognition and the threat of discrimination are the prevailing emotions which are incorporated into collective narratives of the separatist elites. The process of power centralization (“Europeanisation” as a discourse) which has been set up by the elites that are close to the West is contested by Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and some members of the Russian-speaking minority in the Ukraine as forms of institutional violence and symbolic domination. The separatist elites expect to gain symbolic recognition not only from their local rivalries but also from external elites.

The theoretical model I build upon relies on the analysis of three levels of social reality: macro-, meso- and micro. Depending on the level of analysis, I apply the proper theory. At the macro level it is the world-systems theory which I find the most useful for describing the structural and symbolic factors that define the position of the Ukraine and Bosnia in the global hierarchy and show how these inequalities are translated in domestic politics. At the meso level, I define the political cleavages which are linked to the actors’ attitudes to the West and their commitment to the existing institutional arrangements. At the micro level, I examine the actors’ discursive practises and positions in the peripheral field of power by applying Bourdieu’s theory of capitals and Lindemann’s theory of non-recognition – both of which provide a powerful explanation for the separatist strategies of the local elites.

There are historical, symbolic and geopolitical commonalities between Bosnia and the Ukraine. Institutional legacies have been inherited from the period during which these two states were parts of larger, multi-ethnic political entities, i.e. Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, and in which the existing political and cultural identities were suppressed by the one-party regimes which used communist ideology (along with means of coercion) as a vehicle for legitimizing power and creating unity within the state. After the collapse of communism these countries followed different paths of transition - in the case of Bosnia, full independence was preceded by ethnic strife and war, while in the Ukraine conflict has arisen some time after independence resulting not only in power shifts but also in territorial loss. In both cases, the externally driven state-building process has not yet finished and the two countries consist of highly polarized societies and face institutional deadlock.

In the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the internal ethnic divisions are institutionalized in the form of a federal state which consists of the Republic of Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The existing institutional arrangements are challenged by the Bosniak elite which tends to centralize the country and constrain the autonomy of the Republic of Srpska. On the other hand, the Serbian elite seeks to keep the current status of its entity but often uses the threat of disintegration of the country (separatist tendency). In the Ukraine the institutional arrangements have been challenged by some Russian-speakers who identify with Russian culture as opposed to a Ukrainian identity, mainly inhabiting Eastern Ukraine. As a result the Ukrainian central government lost its authority not only in Crimea (annexed by Russia) but also two new so-called 'people's republics' of Donetsk and Luhansk.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Alan Warde

(University of Manchester),

**Re-assessing Cultural Capital:
Some Theoretical Considerations**

My talk reflects on the use and abuse of the concept of cultural capital. The argument runs as follows. The concept of cultural capital has been widely used but in an ill-disciplined and unsystematic manner. This is partly the result of its imprecise formulation by Bourdieu. The concept has been employed usefully to examine education, the culture industries and social stratification, where it describes differential patterns of cultural taste and their association with particular social groups. It is, however, more important to attend to the way in which it operates as an asset for the transmission of privilege. That requires attention to its convertibility into other assets. Conversion depends more upon the institutional framework or environment than is commonly acknowledged – scholarly attention has been paid primarily to the strategies of individuals, with or without reference to the maximisation of ‘capitals’. Attention should be paid to the processes which establish that some cultural capacities are virtuous and worthy of exceptional reward. The High Culture system has done that in the past. However, times are a-changing and sociology is not yet certain how. It is possible that cultural capital has come to have much diminished value in the contemporary world. It is also possible that it operates in a similar fashion to the past but with a different content. Or it may be that change in content has engaged new mechanisms of conversion and transmission. The sociological enterprise should be to examine institutional change in order to estimate how goods, activities and orientations in the cultural sphere contribute to the perpetuation of inter-generational privilege. I will try to draw out some of the implications for the analysis of post-socialist societies.

Alan Warde is Professor of Sociology in the School of Social Sciences and Professorial Fellow of the Sustainable Consumption Institute at the University of Manchester. His research interests include the application of theories of

*practice to the sociological analysis of culture, consumption and food. He is currently conducting a re-study of eating out in Britain. He recently published *The Practice of Eating* (Polity, 2016) and has recently completed a book to be published later in the year by Palgrave, *Consumption: a sociological analysis*. He is also co-author with Lydia Martens of *Eating Out; social differentiation, consumption and pleasure* (Cambridge University Press, 2000); and *Culture, Class, Distinction* (Routledge, 2009) with Tony Bennett, Mike Savage, Elizabeth Silva, David Wright and Modesto Gayo.*

Tamara Petrović-Trifunović

(Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, University of Belgrade)

Intimations of the New Symbolic Struggles in Contemporary Serbia: Subcultural Contributions

Previous research of symbolic struggles in Serbia has shown that there are few distinctions in the discursive arena of contemporary Serbian society as tenacious as the cultural one. During the dramatic period of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and its aftermath, the element of ‘culture’ (comprising manners, education, cosmopolitanism, urbanity and ‘good taste’) was, beside ethnicity, articulated as the most important form of identification (Jansen 2005a, 2005b; Spasić 2006; Simić 2010; Čolović 2011). Symbolic conflicts rooted in different political orientations were intertwined with discourses of ‘culture’ and discursive positioning along the lines of symbolic geography of the Balkans, which have created political cleavages in society as well as the antagonism of two cultural models (the two discursive ‘Serbias’). Following this line of work, I will show in this paper how, during the last decade, the previously identified boundaries — between the educated and the uneducated, urban and rural, cosmopolitan and nationalist, but also between the listeners of different types of music — have been maintained in the public sphere (especially in the discourse produced in and by the conventional media). Yet, aside from this discursive continuity that might present a reflection of the underlying value scales in society, my primary goal here is to shed

light on changes in the symbolic sphere of contemporary Serbia. More precisely, the focus will be on the new discursive developments in the treatment of cultural practices and symbolic affiliation as present on the margins of public discourse, in the recent subcultural production in Serbia. The analysis primarily rests on the corpora of photo-collages and textual posts published on the Facebook page of FESRAM (Festival of Shitty Music), which provide an illustrative example of how creating a sort of ‘Frankenstein of Serbian national and subcultural imagery’ might introduce new lines of division for symbolic struggles to be fought along.

Ivana Spasić

(University of Belgrade)

Citizen, User, Consumer, or Beneficiary: Changing Visions of the Individual and the State on the Example of the Belgrade City Transport

The aim of this paper is to use the example of Belgrade public transportation, particularly the widespread practice of free riding, as a window into the changing social realities in socialist and postsocialist Serbia. The focus will be on the dominant constructions of how the individual is/ought to be inserted into the collective, institutional structures. Public transport passengers can be, in Serbia as elsewhere, defined in different terms: as beneficiaries of a social provision, as consumers in a market, as rightful citizens of a (more or less) ordered and just polity. While all these, and more, framings have been available for several decades in the case of Belgrade, their relative salience shifted, from socialist times through a “blocked” to “unblocked” postsocialist transition. Still, some remarkable continuities remain. One is that public transportation is taken as a powerful symbol of and proxy for the “state”, especially in its ability to provide “gridding”, in Jansen’s (2015) terms. The other is the sense that public transport is an entitlement, with the obligation

residing exclusively on the side of the “system”. The third is the construction of free riding as inconsequential mischief and/or as an almost laudable way to “beat the system”.

Željka Zdravković

(University of Zadar)

Mirko Petrić

(University of Zadar)

Inga Tomić-Koludrović

(Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar Split)

Individual Lifestyle Consumption and Household Capitals in Four South-East European Countries in the Times of Crisis

This paper presents comparative lifestyle typologies based on cluster analysis of data on individual cultural consumption and household economic capital in four South-East European (SEE) countries (Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina). The data were obtained by nationally representative surveys carried out in 2015 within the project “Life-Strategies and Survival Strategies of Households and Individuals in South-East European Societies in the Times of Crisis” (SCOPES 152626). Central to the analysis are cultural and economic dimensions that figure prominently in Bourdieuan class theory. Cultural dimension is analyzed through individual cultural consumption (practices and preferences). The distinction between “omnivores” and “univores”, as used in the work of Peterson and his co-authors, as well as Donnat, has also proved helpful in the analysis. The economic dimension is approached at the household level because – in the researched context – this is judged to be the locus where choices, decisions and strategies relating to income are made. The analysis includes data on satisfaction with the economic status and strategies resorted to in the times of crisis. The resulting lifestyle typologies in four SEE countries bear resemblances that can in some respects be related to the socialist past

and in some to the current (post-socialist or post-transitional) crisis context. Some of the divergences between the typologies seem to be attributable to longer-term trajectories of social development.

Mina Petrović

(Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade)

Milena Toković

(Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade)

Cultural Heritage and Searching for Identity in Post-Socialist City: Two Case Studies from Serbia

Post-socialist cities are challenged to recreate their identity by relying on a complex cultural heritage, structured according to rather different social principles and values. Conceptually, we understand cultural heritage both as a physical and intangible phenomenon that is simultaneously (re)produced through local actors' narratives and the meanings they ascribe to urban (public) space in contesting present city identity. Our paper illustrates the experience of two Serbian middle size cities: Kragujevac and Užice, and focuses equally on citizens' memories and everyday habits in using public space, and on experts' perception of public space as suitable for city branding. Therefore, the paper is informed by questionnaire research (on a representative sample for citizens in each city) and interviews (with experts in local administration/institutions). Our findings disclose Kragujevac as a city that tries to combine old and new places of memory by finding their common denominator in modernist (cultural) heritage. That includes pre-socialist (cradle of modern state institutions), socialist (monuments of resistance to fascism during the WWII, industrial heritage) and (re)created (auto industry) heritage of the post-socialist period. Therefore, there is no dispute whether socialist traces should be reinterpreted or displaced. Such disputes emerge regarding new symbols that recreate the nationalist and religious tradition. Užice appears as a city that disgraced

old places of memory without creating new ones, which has shaken its identity considerably. Numerous socialist monuments are displaced, the role of significant socialist industrial heritage diminished in local actors' memory, while they lack any heritage linked to the pre-socialist public space to rely on. Consequently, almost half of the citizens could not name any city symbol, while experts' narratives concentrate on the process through which Užice is becoming a peripheral city. However, they perceive socialist monuments as neglected heritage that should be (re)displayed in order to revitalize urban public space and city identity.

Krešimir Kroló

(University of Zadar)

Sven Marcelić

(University of Zadar)

Željka Tonković

(University of Zadar)

VIII

Cultural Lifestyles and Values of Urban Youth in Adriatic Croatia

This presentation is based on empirical data from a survey carried out in the period from November 2015 to March 2016 among high-school students in the Adriatic region (Croatia). The data were collected from a representative sample of 2600 third and fourth grade high school students in six larger cities on the Adriatic coast (Pula, Rijeka, Zadar, Šibenik, Split and Dubrovnik). The main goal of the research project was to explore the structure of cultural preferences and cultural consumption as well as the effects of value orientations and parental economic and cultural capital. Relying on the concept of cultural capital (Bourdieu) and on other important theoretical approaches, this presentation explores and provide interpretation for the patterns of youth cultural consumption. In order to determine different patterns of cultural preferences, an exploratory factor analysis was used,

which identified four types of musical taste and five types of cultural consumption. After establishing these factors, a hierarchical regression analysis was used to determine the effects of socio-demographic and socio-economic variables, value orientations, institutionalized cultural capital of respondents and parental cultural capital. The obtained results suggest not only the existence of specific groups of cultural consumers but also the moderate relationship between value orientations and cultural taste. In particular, our results indicate the cultural and ideological divide along the line of modern and anti-modern identities in Croatian society. In addition, the results of a multivariate analysis clearly corroborate the idea of intergenerational transmission of cultural capital. The implications of the findings are interpreted and discussed in relation to previous studies of cultural consumption and lifestyle in Croatia and other post-socialist societies