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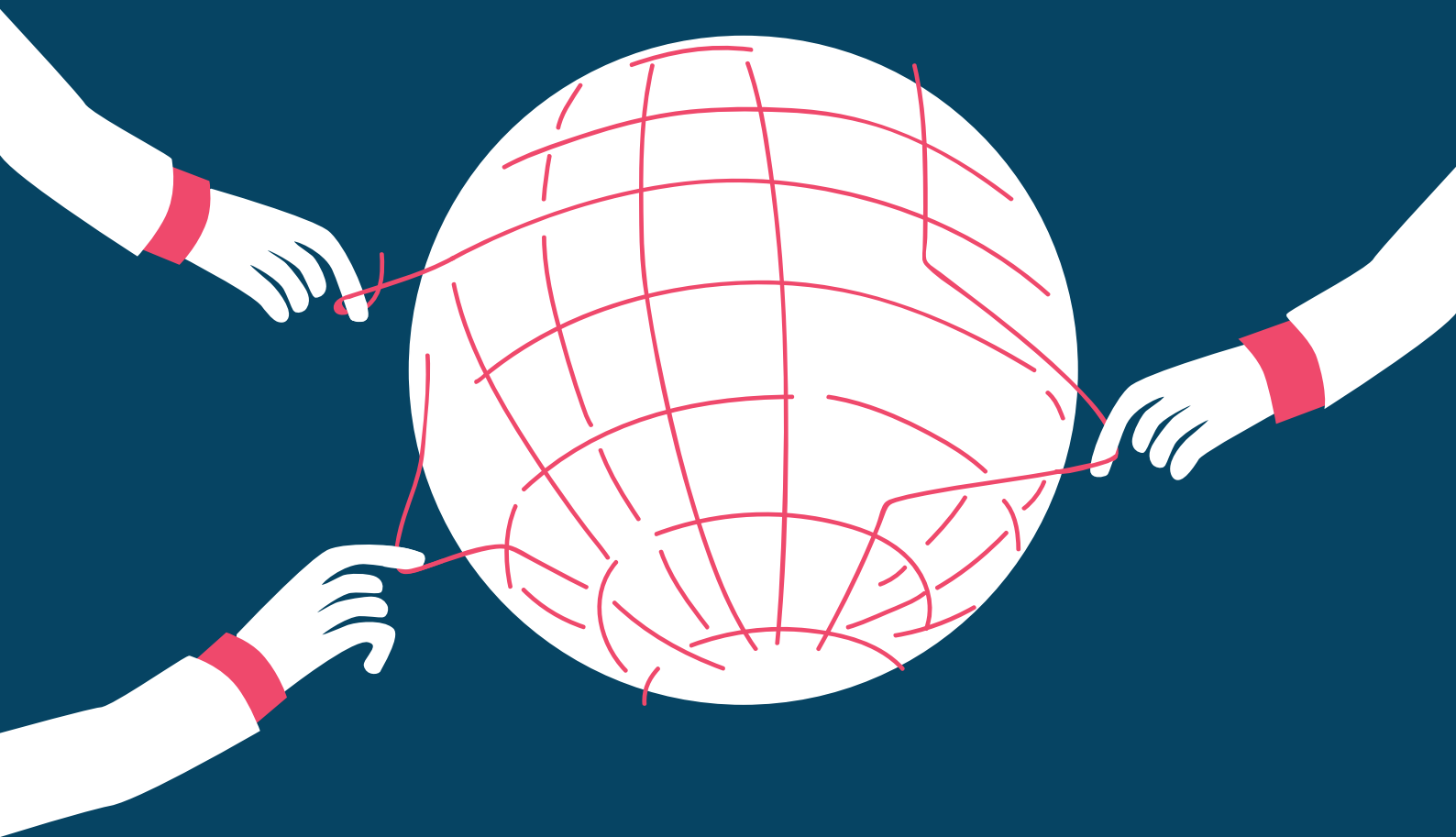
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СУКОБИ. СТАБИЛНОСТ. ДЕМОКРАТИЈА?

CONFLICT. STABILITY. DEMOCRACY?



In cooperation with the Balkan Political Science Association

ОРГАНИЗАТОРИ



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ПОЛИТИЧКЕ НАУКЕ СРБИЈЕ
The Serbian Political Science
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**ABSTRACTS
KNJIGA SAŽETAKA**

CONFLICTS. STABILITY. DEMOCRACY?

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ABSTRACTS
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Perceiving, Understanding and Interpreting Democracy Today – The Case of Serbia

In contemporary literature and research, negative authoritarian and populist trends are indicated. The negative trends in question are not identified only in post-socialist societies, but they are noted all over traditionally strong western democracies in many countries. These trends set the question about the possible new meanings of democracy itself. Since the new ruling models and political practices in general significantly shapes political attitudes and behavior, it is assumed that the very idea of democracy could be filled up with different dimensions and contents. This notion was one of the main factor of introducing the new set of questions and items in the last European Value Survey (EVS) 2017-2018 wave; the questions, which examine estimation of different understanding, perception and interpretation of democracy as political system. In this paper, we will present the last European Value Survey data from Serbia regarding estimation and understanding democracy as political system. First, we will present trends in democratic orientation by comparing EVS 2008 and EVS 2018 results. Second, we will analyze and present different perception and understanding of democracy as political system in Serbia today. Third, we will analyze main value orientations as predictors of the attitudes toward democracy.

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Democracy and Interethnic Conflicts in the North Caucasus

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union the North Caucasus, a multi-ethnic region in the south of Russia strategically important for the Kremlins' foreign and domestic policy, has experienced interethnic and territorial conflicts. It is undeniable that the North Caucasus plays a strategic role in the international arena because it is a 'bridge' between Europe and Asia and a 'frontier/barrier' between the Christian and the Muslims world and for these reasons Russia has always tried to control the region. In fact, since the Tsarist Empire but also during the Soviet period the Russian central authority has tried to rule the North Caucasus through military force, 'Russification', 'Sovietisation', anti-religion and anti-ethnic identity campaigns, and deprivation of civil rights. Thus, after the collapse of the USSR the past ethnic tensions and the desire of independence from the Russian government exploded in inter-ethnic conflicts (i.e. the Eastern Prigorodny conflict) and the confrontation between local governments and the Kremlin (i.e. the Chechen conflict). This paper aims at analysing the Russian strategy to control the region and avoid any kind of inter-ethnic and territorial conflicts and any attempt of independence from the central authority underlining the Kremlin's attitude to justify the reduction of democracy and civil rights in favour of the regional stability and safety. Using the threat of terrorism, militancy, and ethnic conflicts, Moscow has reduced the participation of the local population to the democratic process imposing its favourite regional leaders and arbitrarily deciding the regional policies without considering ethnic minorities' request and needs.

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The Referendum on Macedonia Name Change: Does it Solve or Deepen the Divisions in Society?

The name dispute was uncommon (sometimes referred even as “bizarre”) issue in European diplomacy. Greece objected the use of term “Macedonia” as constitutional name of its northern neighbor. Without going deeper into arguments vocalized by both sides, it is worth mentioning that this bilateral dispute was burdening the relations between two countries for almost 27 years. The name issue could probably continue to stigmatize the relations between the two countries for at least another several decades, if the newly elected Macedonian Government didn’t prioritize its resolution, completely devoting all of its efforts towards this problem, assuming new initiatives and intensifying the negotiation process. The Government was well aware that this would lead towards asymmetric and rather unpopular settlement with Greece. After Macedonian government agreed to change the name of the country to *North Macedonia* for *erga omnes*, (also including internal official communication), the treaty known as “*Prespa Agreement*” was signed in June 2018. The main reason for accepting the name change, strongly promoted by the Macedonian Government, was clearing the path for the Euro-Atlantic integration of the country, a process obstructed for more than a 10 years by Greece, due to the unanimous vote rule for NATO membership and opening the EU negotiation talks. Nevertheless, in order to soften the strong opposition of the Agreement in Macedonia, the Government make a commitment to organize a referendum in which the people could decide either in favor or against the *Prespa Agreement*. The main aim of this Referendum was to prevent the further divisions of society, but also to legitimize and back up the decision taken by the Government with a popular vote, in order to produce a shared responsibility and to ease its burden of the name change.

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Captured States or Captured Societies?

Working on the Horizon 2020 project “Closing the Gap Between Formal and Informal Institutions in the Balkans” (2016 – 2019) we noticed that the concept of state capture has limited descriptive and explanatory power for analyzing the mode of governance employed in the contemporary societies of the Western Balkans. What we encountered during our research were clientelistic systems of mass proportions that engage a large part of the population. These systems do not only serve for exploitation of state and public resources by individuals and groups (state capture), but also for providing bogus democratic legitimation for ruling oligarchies. Primarily through control of economic resources - employment and career promotions in the public and private sectors, fraudulent public procurement contracts and loans, impunity from inspections and court procedures - political parties establish a mechanism which perpetuates their dominance in society. The main “currency” with which the clients have to pay for access to resources are votes at elections. The key difference between “captured” post-socialist societies and totalitarian societies is that in totalitarian societies there is no possibility that the ruling group could lose power at elections, while in post-socialist societies this is possible. The entire gigantic system of clientelistic exchange is aimed at preventing this. In this paper, we argue that state capture and society capture are

analytically distinct concepts - the first referring to the capturing of state institutions with the goal of extracting benefits from the state, the second being a mechanism of dominance, whose aim is to reproduce the rule of the oligarchic groups. In developing this new concept, we relate to the literature on state capture in transition regimes (e.g. Karklins 2002, Hellman et al. 2003, Grzymala-Busse 2008).

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North Kosovo Under EU-promoted “Normalization” Between Serbia and Kosovo

The status of Serb-majority North Kosovo (henceforth the North) is a key issue within the EU-mediated “normalization” of relations between Serbia and Kosovo – which is at the center of Western efforts to stabilize the Balkans in recent years. After Kosovo’s 2008 declaration of independence, the North rejected integration into Kosovo’s political order, keeping a system of self-rule supported by and to a considerable extent integrated with Serbia. In line with their support for Kosovo’s territorial integrity (as understood in Pristina), the Western powers supported the North’s absorption by Kosovo and pressured Serbia to take steps in that direction. These efforts resulted in a series of agreements by which Serbian governments, mainly those led by the Serbian Progressive Party, began to promote the North’s (partial) integration into Kosovo’s institutional and territorial framework, making “normalization” a relative success in its own terms. Drawing on the literature and the journalistic coverage of the region, this paper argues, however, that this process has been undemocratic, by not meaningfully including the North’s population – which was overwhelmingly against integration with Kosovo – into discussions and subjecting it to the authoritarian features of Belgrade’s policies of engagement with Kosovar institutions – which meant constraints to political pluralism in the region. Finally, “normalization” did not significantly address certain problematic aspects of the North, like rule of law weaknesses. It is argued in this work that these factors, by generating mistrust, dissatisfaction and insecurity, generated latent challenges to the legitimacy and sustainability of the EU-Serbia-Kosovo “normalization” approach.

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Why Experience and Legacies of Civil War Inevitably Lead to Illiberal Democracy?

Recent studies highlight the crisis of democracy globally. Balkan countries are not exception, while still struggling to achieve stability following the brutal wars of the 1990’s. This part of Europe as well as the broader Eurasia region is overwhelmed by circumstances where oppressive, autocratic regimes rule in illiberal democracies and where political participation is often oppressed and lacks influence. Autocratic leaders tend to infringe civil rights, a practice that most often affects minority groups, their political participation and possibility to have significant influence. This paper aims to expand our current understanding of illiberal democracy and its determinants in the Balkans by placing analysis in the context of post-war democratization. By observing state of affairs of social transformation and post-war civil rights, it aims to explain some root causes of the democratic decline and explore whether experience of civil war can be directly linked to it. This paper argues that because of the experience of the civil war and its legacies, including the country partition, rigid and artificially imposed ethnic segregation and the principle of informality in social order create conditions where it is impossible to have healthy democracy. The paper contributes to the emerging

scholarly literature on illiberal democracy and democratization after the civil war in general and more specifically in the Balkans.

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Advancing Democracy Through Protest in the South and East of Europe

Contentious action that social movements undertake to enhance popular control over collective decisions represents the crucial space for democratisation in the 21st century (Fung and Wright 2003). In this paper we focus our attention on dynamics of contention in the European semi-periphery, as some of the most innovative experiments with deepening democracy occurred in Southern (Hughes 2011, Taibo 2012, Castaneda 2012, Castells 2015, Della Porta et al. 2017) as well as in Southeastern Europe (Horvat and Štiks 2014, Dolenc, Doolan and Tomašević 2017). In order to draw comparative lessons from these experiences, we compare four cases: Spain, Portugal, Croatia and Serbia. Our empirical strategy relies on an original and previously unpublished dataset of protest events (Protest Event Analysis), collected from reports of newspapers published in the four countries between the start of 2000 and the end of 2017. Within this timeframe, the data enables us to outline two significant historical trends. First, the wave of the early 2000s, during which all four countries reached relatively high levels of mobilisation. In Spain and Portugal, it was mostly articulated through anti-war and global justice movement; in Croatia and Serbia, it mostly problematized labour issues. Second, in the years following the 2008 economic crisis, when the level of mobilisation rose significantly in Spain and Portugal, in Croatia and Serbia it remained relatively low. The divergence in the protest mobilisation related to the consequences of the crisis opens relevant questions about the social make-up of protests, their organisational basis and other characteristics.

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Challenges of Representation in the Republic of Serbia

The way parliamentary elections reflect the distribution of citizens' political preferences is the fundamental issue for the representativeness of a political system - especially at a time of increasing socio-economic inequalities and a wave of social protests against state authorities. The deformation of voters' will is however inevitable since it is caused by various elements of the electoral system, and by the party-switching (Heller and Mershon, 2009, Nohlen, 2013). Within a parliamentary term the following situations can arise: 1) a seat in Parliament expires as a result of particular circumstances (deputies resign owing to the assumption of other official positions, health reasons or death); 2) some deputies change their party affiliation unprompted; 3) some deputies are excluded from their parties due to their disloyalty. Initial studies show that during three consecutive terms of the Serbian parliament the level of representational inclusion declined significantly. The aim of the paper is to examine the phenomenon and main factors influencing the scope of MPs' replacements during the current term of Skupstina. In the light of aforementioned research problems, I would like to verify

two research hypotheses: H1. The greater the relevance of a political party in a system, the lower the level of intraparlimentary volatility of that party; H2. The less representative the electoral system, the lower the level of intraparlimentary volatility in a given parliament. For operationalization of independent variables, this database with categorized data will be created.

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Democratic Innovations Between Agonism and Deliberation

In this paper I compare core concepts, principles and values of agonistic and deliberative democracy in order to assess similarities and differences between two strands of democratic thought especially in terms of implications for the institutional design. Contemporary agonism suffers from institutional deficit, that is, the lack of proposed solutions for the rules and procedures of agonistic political decision-making in conflictual situations as well as in conditions of deep disagreement. While it may be argued that agonism is not supposed to be institutionalized (as there are certain conflicts and disagreements that cannot be settled via public reasons), and that it is better suited for theoretical analysis of protests, social movements or anti-systemic political actors, few attempts offering such institutional proposals will be evaluated. One of the major critiques charged against deliberative democracy is the inadequate treatment of conflict, the key concept for the agonistic understanding of the political and politics – while agonists envision democracy as either invigorated by conflict or with the goal of taming it, transforming antagonism into agonism, the deliberativists aim to rationally resolve it and overcome it, taking consensus as an ideal of democratic decision-making. The institutional design of deliberative democracy is thriving mostly through expanding practice of mini-publics but also other forms of democratic innovations aiming to exemplify some of the basic values of deliberative and participatory democracy. Whether they are successful at it or not or, they end up as top down technocratic applications that displace conflict and do not sufficiently include actors involved in social conflicts, will be critically appraised.

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Crna Gora i Evropska unija – od demokratizacije do evropeizacije

Rad se bavi procesom demokratizacije Crne Gore i pitanjem evropeizacije spoljne politike Crne Gore kako u pogledu spoljnopolitičkih ciljeva u okviru politike proširenja EU, tako i po pitanju sveukupnih promjena u crnogorskoj političkoj kulturi. Rad obuhvata analizu političke dimenzije procesa uslovljavanja EU, odnos Crne Gore i Unije kroz regionalno komparativnu perspektivu, sa posebnim naglaskom na analizu dosadašnjih postignuća Crne Gore u procesu evropskih integracija. Sa druge strane, danas je Evropska unija podijeljena usljed pojave mnogobrojnih kriza, od „zamora od proširenja“, brojnih unutrašnjih političkih i ekonomskih problema, migrantske krize, posljedica rezultata referendumu o izlasku Velike Britanije iz EU i drugih. S tim u vezi, rad analizira implikacije aktuelnih kriza na proces evropeizacije spoljne politike Crne Gore, sagledavajući pitanje da li krize i u kojoj mjeri predstavljaju rizik za integraciju Crne Gore u Evropsku uniju.

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Worker Ownership and the Current Crisis

The current situation in Central and Southeast Europe may be illuminated by looking at it in light of the denationalization and privatization policies of the 1990s. State socialism had failed and the West had triumphed. The people of the East had lost “the will to be different” and just wanted to be “like in the West.” With many local variations, this neoliberal vision was the controlling narrative for the post-socialist transition in Central and Southeast Europe (not to mention the countries further to the East). One alternative strategy was to legally recognize the de facto property rights that ordinary people had acquired under state socialism to their places of living and their places of work. Today, ‘the chickens have come home to roost.’ As producers, the vast majority of the people have been disenfranchised by the neoliberal privatization policies. Studies have recently found a strong relationship between the lack of individual autonomy, economic disempowerment, and precarity on one side, and the growing populism and xenophobic political discourse on another.

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Putting the Context Back in the Game: Challenges of Implementation of Democratic Ideals in Deliberative Mini Publics

Although the design, setting and purpose of deliberative mini-publics can vary from one to another, they are all structured to follow the rules that should ensure the achievement of the ideals of deliberative democracy. These involve a sample of the population that should be representative of a plurality of opinions necessary for reflection on the different positions on the issue during discussion. The inclusive briefing materials and balanced panel of experts and politicians further ensures the exposure to the justification of different opinions and preferences. Therefore, what deliberation should actually look like is inherent in the institutional setting of mini publics. Still, since the way in which all elements of deliberative treatment (framing of the issue through briefing materials, selection of participants, experts and politicians, discussion in small groups and plenary sessions) are manipulated influence of deliberative democratic capacity of the setting. At the same time, this variation is likely to affect the transformation of individual opinions and preferences and finally – the political decision that is formulated.

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Medijska slika vladavine Viktora Orbana – analiza sadržaja listova „Politika“ i „Danas“

Vladavina Viktora Orbana u Mađarskoj često se javlja u kontekstu pojmova „autokratije“, „populizma“, „stabilokratije“, itd. U našem slučaju nemamo nameru da ulazimo u teorijske rasprave adekvatnosti upotrebe navedenih pojmova na primeru Mađarske, odnosno njenog političkog lidera. U radu ćemo analizirati sve novinske tekstove u dnevnim listovima „Politika“ i „Danas“ koji se odnose na Viktora Orbana i njegovo političko delovanje. Našom analizom će biti obuhvaćen period od januara do avgusta 2019. godine. Dva dnevna lista nisu izabrana na osnovu visine tiraža, već uticaja i značaja u medijskom polju. „Politika“ i „Danas“ nisu dnevni listovi koji se na bilo koji način dovode u vezu sa ‘tabloidnom’ ili ‘bulevarskom’ štampom. Takođe, u odnosu na ostale dnevne novine, posvećuju više pažnje izveštavanju u oblast

spoljne politike. Na kraju, moglo bi se reći da su ova dva lista interesantna i zbog njihovog odnosa prema vladajućim strukturama u Srbiji. U tom pogledu će biti posvećena pažnja razlikama koje se javljaju između ove dve dnevne novine.

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The Impact of Hybrid Threats on Democracy

Today's geopolitical environment is getting more complex due to the cultural, political, economic, and technological and above all social changes in the world. Due the fast changes of these world trends traditional scientific approach and gradual transformation and decision making are either inefficient or in some cases wrong. We are entering in new era where fast tempo of detecting and acting to counter the threats are paramount. These seemingly chaotic approach, enables our state or non-state opponents/enemy to exploits our weaknesses. The goal of these fast pace changes is to create “window of opportunity” which can be used against our national interests. In the past decade stronger states, capable of leading the industrial development, influential in economic and energy market, which has strong political and judicial system have develop capabilities to exploit conventional and unconventional methods of influencing geopolitical arena. In other words, they have developed political, military and informational capacities to act in whole spectrum of conflicts. The goal of these hybrid capacities is to influence, control or manipulate democratic system of target country in order to act accordingly or desired actions. Having said that hybrid threats needs to be analyze as threat to democratic system. Usually countries with slow economic development and weak or unstable democratic system are target. The goal is to exploit weaknesses of their target countries like corrupted governments weak judicial system without rule of law to control the electorate in order to delegitimize governmental institutions and to make them submissive to given requirements. These hybrid capacities give them a freedom of manoeuver outside of international law in the grey zone in order to achieve geopolitical advantage.

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The Interplay of Populism with Mobilization: Case of Turkey

Protests have long been the tool of the ‘voiceless’, those groups who does not have direct impact on the policy making processes or the policy outcomes in a local, national and/or transnational level. Recently, some developments in various settings with populist governments such as in Turkey and Hungary, showed us that not only the voiceless mobilize, but also ‘the people’, who has a significant role in populism. Based on the political style approach (Moffitt and Tormey 2014) to populism, this paper aimsto understand how the thin ideology of populism thickens (Kotwas and Kubik 2019) through the repertoires of performance (Moffitt and Tormey 2014) including marches, rallies, demonstrations. What is the relationship between social movements/protests and populism? How do the populists mobilize the streets to strengthen their rule? The paper is going to answer these questions departing from the case of Turkey. To be more precise, it will focus on ‘Respect to National Will’ demonstrations organized by the ruling Justice and Development Party in Turkey in 2013in response to Gezi Park protests whose participants were blamed to be ‘looters’,

‘puppets of foreign powers’ etc. (as opposed to ‘the people’) by the ruling party. In order to do so, the paper employs protest event analysis method using the archives of state-owned Anadolu Agency. The findings will help us to further our understanding about the way populism works on the streets, and how the populist ideology is thickened. jova

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Populist Political Communication in Hungary During the 2019 European Elections

Populism as a political communication strategy has been described by many authors (eg.: Jagers&Walgrave, 2007; Aalberg et.al 2017, 2019). Based on Jagers and Walgrave work three elements of the populist political communication can be described: (1) populism refers to the people and justifies its actions by appealing to and identifying with the people; (2) it is rooted in anti-elitist feelings; and (3) it considers the people as a monolithic group without internal differences except for some very specific categories who are subject to an exclusion strategy. These three elements constitute four different types of populism: (1) empty populism, (2) anti-elitist populism, (3) exclusionary populism, (4) complete populism. In this study, I analyse how these categories appear in the Facebook communication of the five Hungarian parties that got mandate during the European Union Elections. The data collection started from the 28th of April and ended on the 26th of May 2019. The dataset is based on the collection of the European Elections Monitoring Center. The human-coded analysis covered the direct messages of the parties themselves on their own official pages. Although all kinds of populist posts have been identified, their proportion differs by parties. Anti-elitist populist rhetoric is more common in the posts of the opposition parties; meanwhile complete populism appears more frequently on the side of the government party.

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Dijalektika etnodeterminizma: Biopolitičko konstruiranje narativa otpora

Ovaj rad hoće ispitati da li i na koji način politički poredak u Bosni i Hercegovini snažno determiniran logikom etnopolitike sadrži i spram samog sebe producira subverzivni potencijal za vlastitu negaciju. Ideja za ovu misao postepeno se javljala u kontekstu različitih protesta proteklih pet godina, ali se kao naučno pitanje tek ozbiljnije oblikovala stapanjem protesta „Pravda za Dženana“ i „Pravda za Davida“ 2018. godine. Kroz proteste je, pored egzistencijalne, uočljiva izražena biopolitička crta sa potpisom etnodeterminizma. Od jedinstvenog matičnog broja i pitanja zdravlja, preko radničkih prava i demobiliziranih boraca kao politiziranih tijela par excellence, pa sve do institucionalizirane instrumentalizacije smrti, kroz proteste se po prvi put se nakon rata, istina tiho, počeo artikulirati novi, integrirajući politički prostor s onu stranu etno-entitetskog. Tekst nastoji dati politološko čitanje odnosa između kreiranja kontra-hegemonskih narativa odozdo, te njihove sve vidljivije kriminalizacije i otpora odozgo. Čini se kako su stapanje dvaju posljednjih protesta i njihova biopolitička pozadina, nesvjesno, osvjetlili naličje sistema, noseći sa sobom društvenu i političku katarzu koja istovremeno dovodi u pitanje osnovu njegove legitimacije. Za pitati se, u konačnici, da li ono što ovdje hoću nazvati biopolitikom etnodeterminizma producira narativ otpora i postoji li mogućnost da ga se uvede u polje političkog kao integrirajuću i transformativnu snagu?

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Demarcation in the Yugoslphere: (De)mystification of the Concept and Stability in the Region

Demarcation was one of the buzzwords in the Yugoslphere in 2018 and continued to be exploited even in 2019. Political leadership in Serbia used this word persistently in the course of a process of negotiation with representatives of Kosovo authorities mediated by the EU. Even though the President of Serbia publicly declared that demarcation is Serbia's official stance on the "final status of Kosovo", none of the state officials has ever explained this standpoint in details. Furthermore, there were even some rumors that a part of Kosovo's political leadership is also willing to accept demarcation as the solution for normalization of Serbia-Kosovo relation. There are two main goals of this contribution. On the one hand, it will demystify the substance of the concept of demarcation from the international law perspective - by doing that it will demonstrate that the concept of demarcation is (deliberately) wrongly used as an euphemism in the process of negotiation between Serbia and Kosovo. On the other hand, the contribution will analyze the lack of delimitation, demarcation and numerous border disputes as a potential cause of instability in the Yugoslphere. Finally, this contribution will argue that twenty years after the last armed conflict in Yugoslavia, the political establishments of ex-Yugoslav countries are still reluctant to resolve their border issues not because they are complicated from the international law perspective, but because these can be used for legitimization of right-wing populism.

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Sekularisti VS islamisti ili demokrate VS nedemokrate? Analiza dometa, posledica i rezultata procesa demokratizacije nakon Jasmin revolucije u Tunisu

Autore koji su proučavali političke promene nakon pada autoritarnog režima Zin el Abidin Ben Alija u Tunisu možemo, u analitičke svrhe, grupisati u dve teorijske struje - u prvu grupu spadaju oni koji Jasmin revoluciju, prve slobodne parlamentarne i predsedničke izbore, donošenje novog Ustava (2014. godine) i lokalne izbore (2018. godine) interpretiraju u ključu relativno stabilnog i pravolinijskog procesa konsolidovanja demokratije. Za ove autore (Afred Stepan, Olivier Roy) Tunis je jedan od boljih primera konvergencije između modernih demokratskih institucionalnih i socijalnih tekovina sa jedne, i islamske religije i tradicije sa druge strane. Dok ova grupa autora ističe Tunis kao dobar primer kontinuiteta sekularizacijskih tendencija u muslimanskom kontekstu, druga struja mišljenja (Anne Wolf) sklonija je da dihotomiju između sekularista i islamista nazove pseudoideloškim konstruktom koji je posledica zapadnog tumačenja podela u tunišanskom društvu čime se zamagljuje inherentnost islamskog u tom društvu koje, prema njihovom mišljenju, nedvosmisleno utiče na čitavu političku dinamiku u toj zemlji pa samim tim i na proces demokratizacije. Taj proces je, kako oni tvrde, nedovršen i suočava se sa ukorenjenom autoritarnom političkom kulturom. U ovom radu nastojaćemo da kritički preispitamo oba stanovišta i da damo jedan zaokružen pogled na proces demokratizacije u Tunisu, osvrćući se na genealošku perspektivu očitavanja kontinuiteta sa liberalnom i pluralističkom tradicijom Tunisa koja je važna na simboličkom i identitetskom nivou, ali i na analizu savremenih događaja od 2011. (to svakako podrazumeva i istraživanje značaja islamskog u političkom polju). No, u fokusu će, pre svega, biti analiza brojnih socijalnih i ekonomskih izazova sa kojima se tunišansko društvo suočava a za koje verujemo da su umnogome zanemareni u prethodnim analizama. Pomenuti izazovi igraju

veoma važnu ulogu, kako u čitavoj društvenoj dinamici, tako i u areni u kojoj se bore političke elite.

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Partije kao protagonisti stagnacije: Slučaj Srbija

Produžena tranzicija/socijalna transformacija društva i države u Srbiji, koja je od 2012. godine evoluirala u "stabilokratsku" strukturu, uspostavila je i kvalitetno drugačiji partijski sistem, izmenjenu strukturu partija, političkih pokreta i ostalih političkih opcija. Dešavaju se procesi ujedinjavanja partija, kako onih na vlasti, tako i korpusa sa opozicionim predznakom, političkih partija, društvenih pokreta, sindikata, određenih segmenata demokratskog građanskog društva, eksperata i nezavisnih intelektualaca, kao i određenu novost u političkom životu Srbije – povezivanje lokalnih političkih i aktera civilnog društva, u nameri da se političkoj sceni vrati impuls za poimanje osnovnih političkih izazova, kao i organizovano zalaganje za veće učešće građana u političkim procesima. Autori će analizirati egzistenciju političkih partija u Srbiji, od pomenute godine do danas, njihove domete i učinke, kroz četiri bitna momenta: 1) predominantnu poziciju i međusobnu isprepletenost nacionalizma i neoliberalizma (primitivni kapitalizam); 2) razlozi brojnosti političkih partija u Srbiji; 3) partije kao surogati društvenih sistema; 4) deficiti političke kulture. Ukrštanjem dobijenih rezultata, moći ćemo da sagledamo mogućnosti za prevladavanje slabosti partijskog sistema u Srbiji, kao i nužne preduslove za izgradnju efikasnijeg i društvu primerenije partijskog sistema.

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Postkonfliktna izgradnja mira u Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji: Negativni mir u komparativnoj perspektivi

Kroz rad se analiziraju teorijski koncepti *pozitivnog* i *negativnog mira* i njihova primjena u Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji. Cilj rada je da uvažavajući realni kontekst ispita dostignute domete postkonfliktne izgradnje mira i države i izvrši komparativnu analizu *negativnog mira* u ovim zemljama. U radu se krenulo od pretpostavke da su BiH, Hrvatska i Srbija, zemlje *negativnog mira* i ta teza je komparativnom analizom relevantnih indikatora i podataka u dobroj mjeri potvrđena. Obzirom da je prelazak iz *negativnog* u *pozitivni mir* dugoročni proces u radu se analiziraju i dostignuti elementi *pozitivnog mira* u ovim državama. U tom smislu predstavljaju se indikatori pozitivnog mira i njihova međusobna komparacija u ove tri zemlje kako bi se dobio odgovor na sljedeća dva pitanja: prvo, koliko su ove zemlje u svom postkonfliktnom bivstvovanju blizu da iz negativnog dostignu ključne elemente pozitivnog mira, i drugo, koji su ključni indikatori koje je neophodno poboljšati da bi se promijenio trenutni status quo. Imajući u vidu da je izgradnja mira u ovim državama međusobno uslovljena posebno su istaknute specifičnosti svake zemlje ponaosob u procesu postkonfliktne izgradnje mira i njihova međusobna povezanost kroz Dejtonski mirovni sporazum. Takav pristup daje uvid u ključne determinante mirovnog procesa u ovim zemljama i pokazuje međusobnu uslovljenost i zavisnost takvih aktivnosti. Srbija i Hrvatska kao supotpisnici opšteg okvirnog sporazuma za mir u BiH imaju svoje odgovornosti i obaveze koje se između ostalog nalaze u domeni izgradnje mira i osnaživanja mirovnog procesa u BiH. Da bi taj proces dobio željeni ishod nužno je detektirati ključne prepreke na tom putu i iskoristiti

sve raspoložive resurse kako bi izgradnja pozitivnog mira u ovim zemljama bila komplementaran proces.

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Vojvodina između etničkih i kolektivnih identiteta

Druga decenija dvadeset prvog veka otvorila je nova identitetska pitanja u Vojvodini, što je, mišljenja smo, potencijalno polje budućih sukoba. U Vojvodini već postojeće etničke razlike, koje, izražavaju pre svega kulturne razlike, strukturiraju pojedince u okvirima određenog etnosa, sa osnovnim ciljem uvažavanja od strane većine ili pak akomodaciji većini, i ovaj oblik gradnje identiteta možemo uslovno i aproksimativno tretirati kao gradnja idntiteta odozgo. Sa druge strane, sve je prisutnija praksa kolektivne konstrukcije identiteta odozdo, dakle, identiteta koji prevazilazi etnički nivo, što po sebi vodi novim arenaima političke borbe. Osnovno liberalno načelo o neutralnosti države na primeru Vojvodine bilo je neprimenjivo i više je služilo „kao fasada za dominaciju jedne kulture nad ostalima” (Kejt Neš). Ako su određene kulturne norme, u našem kategorijalnom aparatu, „prisilno” nametnute članovima određenog etnosa, ove druge promene stvaraju identitete koje im pripisuju njihovi članovi, koji su, dakle, u procesu, koji se „konstruišu i rekonstruišu”. Ovo poslednje viđenje, sugerije potrebu razumevanja kolektivnih identiteta kao procesa, u slučaju regiona Vojvodine, on se stalno obnavlja ali saobraženo kretanjima koji prevazilaze regionalni i državni karakter. Proces razumemo i kao hibridan jer se i novi kolektivni identiteti često grade na postojećim matricama, ili, preuzimaju već postojeće kulturne simbole, pridajući im nova značenja. Napetost koju hoćemo da prikažemo, počiva na uslovno rečeno krutim razlikama koje ističe etnos, što Gilroj označava kao „etnički apsolutizam” i na novim oblicima diferenciranih kolektivnih identiteta znatno fleksibilnijih, koji traže oblike priznavanja i participacije. Tako posmatrano, držimo da postoje i limiti demokratskog modela „homogenizacije objektivno postojećih razlika”, gde usled dodatne diferencijacije i fragmentacije društva, treba nalaziti modele buduće demokratizacije regiona. U radu ćemo se služiti analizom sadržaja koja će kao kontestacija potvrditi ili opovrgnuti gore iznete pretpostavke. Ograničenje na jedan region može biti i paradigma za razumevanje problema koji isti i nadilaze.

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Subnational Illiberal Politics and Ethnic Party Dominance in Bosnia and Herzegovina

This paper aims to explore the systemic causes of illiberal politics, understood as deliberate attempts by governing parties to change the rules of democratic competition, and their rise in the contemporary political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Established as a consociational democracy in 1995 with the Dayton Peace Agreement, the political system of the country institutionalized guarantees of ethnic representation for Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs. In addition, it devolved significant policy-making competences to subnational levels of government where ethnic parties representing a single group dominate politics. It is possible to identify several ethnically based parties that use access to power and state resources at subnational levels to deliberately create an uneven playing field. The opposition they compete against is not composed of parties from different groups but are rather their co-ethnic competitors. The paper examines proposed or enacted policies of the governing SNSD, SDA, and HDZ parties aimed at restricting freedom of assembly, controlling media, weakening the judiciary, and providing patronage to key constituents, respectively. Thereby it is relevant

to note subnational differences in the scope of illiberal politics, them being especially pronounced in Republika Srpska. Structural flaws stemming from a dominant executive and weak institutions are identified as the main causes of illiberal politics. This results in a heavy reliance on intra-ethnic informality and clientelism in governing practices, along with weak or subverted independent institutions and checks and balances.

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Demokratija u kavezu – politička vizija zauzdavanja političkog Džemsa Medisona i Žana Monea

Borba političkih mislilaca protiv političkog koju je otpočeo Platon na samrti grčkog polisa traje sve do danas. Potraga za idealnim kavezom koji će građane odvojiti od avanture pitanja o smislu i svrsi nikada nije prestajala. Istovremeno, pak, građani nikada nisu trajno odustajali od jednom probuđene sokratovske težnje lutanja, preispitivanja u stvarima opšteg dobra. Prilika za to ukazivala se onda kada je iščezavanje materijalnog blagostanja, životnih udobnosti i građanske sigurnosti otvorilo kapije kaveza postojećeg poretka. To se uvek dešavalo u situacijama krize. Pokušaji fašizma i komunizma da demokratiju formalno ukinu a političko trajno proteraju iz poretka završili su neuspehom. U radu analiziramo nastojanja da se ono političko, što luta, sumnja, preispituje i u potrazi za pravičnim dobrim i lepim sa strašću se zaleće u grešku, odvoji od stvarnog procesa donošenja političkih odluka a da se pri tom formalno ne ukinu demokratija, izbori, političke partije različiti ideološki pogledi na svet. Osnovna teza jeste da su dva istorijski najuspešnija eksperimenta zauzdavanja političkog i obeshrabrivanja demokratije proistekla iz vizija Džemsa Medisona (*James Madison*) i Žana Monea (*Jean Monnet*). Posmatrajući u uporednom istorijskom kontekstu odnos političkog i poretka u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama i Evropskoj uniji rasvetljavamo načine na koje se dva sistema suočavaju sasituacijom krize.

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Uloga „kosovskog problema“ u porastu populizma u Srbiji

Trend porasta populizma u Srbiji ima svoje uzroke u nizu faktora uticaja. Jednu od specifičnosti vidnijeg populizma predstavlja upotreba teme Kosova i Metohije. Reč je o senzitivnom identitetskom, kulturnom i nacionalnom problemu čija upotreba u javnom prostoru dovodi do direktne manifestacije populizma. Osnovna teza ovog rada je da pitanje Kosova i Metohije i rešavanje konačnog statusa sporne teritorije značajno utiče na porast populizma u Srbiji. Populističke tendencije se po jasnom obrascu baziraju na nekoliko pretpostavki. Prva od njih je formiranje harizmatškog lidera zasnovanog na predsedniku države kao čuvaru ustavnog poretka i očuvanja Kosova i Metohije. Ova tema daje šefu države ulogu branioca ključnog nacionalnog interesa, a od prisustva pitanja Kosova i Metohije u društveno-političkom životu zavisi stepen podrške koju uživa kod građana. Druga pretpostavka je očuvanje izvorne ideje „otadžbine“ sjedinjene s populističkim obrascem vezanosti za teritoriju. Treća pretpostavka je konflikt elite i mase u kome se populistu identifikuje s narodom protiv korumpiranih elita koje urušavaju poredak i suverenitet države. Tema Kosova i Metohije uklapa se i u druge karakteristike populizma među kojima je i kameleonski karakter, čiji se obrisi prepoznavaju u diskurzivnom kretanju od „Kosova kao autonomne pokrajine“ do „realnosti da Srbija nema ni metar na Kosovu“. Uz proizvodnju čestih vanrednih i kriznih situacija koje održavaju

međuetničke tenzije uviđa se nedvosmislen populistički obrazac primenjen upotrebom spornog status Kosova i Metohije.

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Evropska unija i Zapadni Balkan: kako raskinuti “prećutni pakt stabilokratije”?

Nakon dvadeset godina politike proširenja Evropske unije (EU) na Zapadni Balkan demokratska transformacija regiona ostaje izazov. U nastojanju da očuva stabilnost regiona, EU je davala prioritet efektivnoj vlasti nad demokratskim upravljanjem, čime je pre doprinela učvršćivanju nedemokratskih i korumpiranih balkanskih režima nego njihovoj transformaciji. Stvoren je svojevrsni “prećutni pakt” između EU umorne od unutrašnjih problema i lokalnih lidera nesklonih demokratizaciji, a stagnacija Zapadnog Balkana u pogledu demokratizacije je već nekoliko godina unazad okarakterisana kao “stabilokratija”. Cilj ovog rada je da razmotri mogućnost raskidanja ovog prećutnog pakta. Kako je perspektiva proširenja dug i neizvestan proces, osnovna teza rada je da se, pored bilateralnih pregovora u okviru procesa pristupanja, u međuvremenu mogu primeniti i dodatni mehanizmi koji bi doveli do nametanja veće odgovornosti lokalnim liderima za postizanje rezultata. U radu se predlaže modifikovana primena mehanizma koji je već bio korišćen u procesu pristupanja zemalja Centralne i Istočne Evrope. Reč je o tzv. Evropskoj konferenciji kao multilateralnom forumu za razmatranje pitanja od zajedničkog interesa, od kojih bi proces demokratizacije trebao da zauzima vodeće mesto. Ukoliko bi se u radu Evropske konferencije koristilo šire angažovanje društava Zapadnog Balkana, na primer po modelu rada konvencije o budućnosti Evrope, kao i instrumenti otvorenog metoda koordinacije koji se primenjuje u EU, to bi moglo znatno da doprinese raskidanju “prećutnog pakta stabilokratije”.

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Reporting Democratization Conflicts: Journalists’ Ethical Dilemmas and Challenges

This paper examines how ethical values and ethical code of conduct are interpreted and practiced by professional journalists reporting on non-violent democratization conflicts in Serbia. Building on theoretical concepts which approach to journalism ethics from normative, organizational and individual level (Hanitzsch, 2007; Hanitzsch et al., 2011; Neverla et al., 2015; Ward, 2009, 2010), this study shows how journalists perceive ethical reporting of democratization conflicts, which ethical dilemmas they have faced and how those challenges influenced overall media coverage. Empirically, this paper draws on in-depth interviews with 28 journalists working in national news organizations and four conflict cases studied within the EU-FP7 funded project “Media, Conflict and Democratization” (MeCoDEM): the arrest and extradition of Slobodan Milošević to the ICTY (2001), EU integration/Kosovo’s secession debate during parliamentary election campaign (2008), Belgrade Pride Parade (2010) and the smear campaign against Serbia’s Ombudsman (2015). The main results of qualitative content analysis and interpretation of interviews show that across all conflict types journalists face numerous ethical dilemmas which impact their reporting and perceptions of conflicts. The most problematic issues challenging journalists’ ethical orientations are trust in news sources, fabrication of news, filtering information, balancing between individual emotions and detachment, external and internal pressures to run the story, media censorship, as well as national, religious, political and personal bias towards a certain topic.

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Post-conflict Security Arrangements: Lessons from Bosnia and Herzegovina for Cyprus

The issue of security and guarantees is considered to be among the most significant obstacles to a Cyprus peace agreement. From a historical perspective, this paper will evaluate the resolution attempts to Cyprus conflict, the proposed security arrangements before and after the Annan Plan, and the current security and guarantees dossier of the negotiation process. It will also address the security concerns across the divide; namely the security perceptions of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Within this context, this paper will examine how other conflict-affected societies addressed security challenges, broadly conceived, the need for external guarantees, reform of central security forces, and protection of human security. Based on comparative post-conflict security arrangements in a similar case as Bosnia and Herzegovina, it aims to draw lessons for Cypriot context and to contribute resolution of the security aspect, which is a main stumbling block in the Cyprus peace talks.

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The Backlash Against “Gender Ideology”: Anti-Gender Discourses in Serbia

Women in Serbia are *de jure* equal, but *de facto* they face high rates of discrimination, violence and marginalization, although there are state mechanisms and national strategies implemented to protect gender equality. Official statistical data show that women are more educated, but also more often unemployed than men; there is a gender pay gap; women spend twice the time in unpaid housework more than men; and the comparative rate of femicide is high. However, during the last decade the notion of *gender* (gender equality, mainstreaming, theory & studies) increasingly began to figure as a threat to the common man, family, nation and the state – despite the fact that gender equality has not been fully reached anywhere in the world. Gender functions as a “symbolic glue” or an obscure source for divergent, and at times contradictory grievances. Although anti-gender discourses tend to present them as particular to a given nation, the trend is pointedly international. The presentation will demonstrate that anti-gender discourses belong to an arsenal of right-wing populist political tools aimed at dismantling democracy, equality and attained liberties. We will focus on the Serbian case, bearing in mind the specificities of a post-conflict and a post-socialist society, comparing it to the cases of the neighbouring Central and East European countries, such as Bulgaria, Croatia and Hungary. We aim to discern the discursive patterns that frame anti-gender attitudes, and to show that the context in which they appear replicates itself in different national settings.

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Dinamika demokratije između dve krize: borbe s one strane reprezentativne demokratije

Koncept reprezentativne demokratije je neizostavni aspekt modernog samorazumevanja. No kriza, koja je izbila 2007. godine, obnovila je ionako stare kritike dotičnog koncepta. Antinomija između strukturalnih determinacija kapitalizma, njegove krizne određenosti i demokratskog oblikovanja politike dobila je nove impulse. Ovde se javlja ne samo pitanje između komplikovanog odnosa između krize i demokratije, nego i pitanje kapaciteta

eventualnih demokratskih subjekata između dve krize. Naime, za razliku od pomenute krize kojoj je prethodilo samouverenje da su sadašnji poreci nepovratno pronašli mehanizme anuliranja kriznih oscilacija, te da kriza može biti tek iskliznuće iz redovnog toka stvari, sada je diskurzivni prostor zasićen profetskim naracijama o nadolazećoj krizi. Pri tome treba uzeti u obzir: a) kriza je kao proces rekonpozicije moći uvek ispunjen kontingentnim ishodima i za vladajuće subjekte, kao i za oponirajuće subjekte, b) profetski diskurs o nadolazećoj krizi ima performativne efekte, jer se pomoću anticipacije budućnosti interveniše u sadašnjost. Shodno tome, na rekonfiguraciju demokratije danas utiču mnogobrojni faktori koji se ukrštavaju, te čine sazdanost demokratije antinomičnom. Pokazujem, koristeći „*power-resources approach*“, demokratsku mobilizaciju različitih subjekata kao repliku i protest u odnosu na krizu iz 2007. godine, što je podrazumevalo mnogobrojne mikroforme otpora, kao i razvijanje „prefigurativnih“, alternativnih oblika kolektivne organizacije života. Prema tome, kriza je uslovila snažnu dinamiku demokratske energije, ali bitno je videti da se to dešavalo posredstvom kritike reprezentativne demokratije čija kriza izaziva mnogobrojna tumačenja. Najzad, pokušavam pokazati da će forme demokratije zavisiti od toga u kolikoj meri će izborena demokratska subjektivnost (od dole) istrajavati spram neutralizacije kapaciteta nosioca pomenute energije u situaciji između dve krize.

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Socijalno isključivanje državljana trećih zemalja sa evropskih tržišta rada – oživljavanje koncepta „ograničenog državljanstva“?

Politički odgovor Evropske unije na posledice ekonomske i migrantske krize u proteklim godinama je bio fokusiran na uključivanje u tržište rada kao ključ za razrešenje narastajućeg siromaštva i socijalnog isključivanja. Sistemi socijalne sigurnosti u državama članicama odgovorili su na posledice ekonomske krize pružanjem naknada i usluga građanima, dok su programi prema migrantskoj populaciji formulisali u skladu sa pravnim okvirom i preporukama EU u pravcu integracije. Socijalne nejednakosti u evropskom kontekstu su se počele povezivati sa imigrantskim statusom čime se reaktuelizuje koncept „ograničenog državljanstva“ (Cross, 1998). Osnovno istraživačko pitanje jeste: koji faktori sa supranacionalnog i nacionalnog nivoa u Evropskoj uniji uzrokuju isključivanje državljana trećih zemalja sa evropskih tržišta rada? Primenjujući institucionalni pristup u odgovoru na istraživačko pitanje, kao i metod analize sadržaja dokumenata, u radu će biti odgovoreno na postavljene naučne ciljeve: opis i analiza osnovnih indikatora tržišta rada za državljanke trećih zemalja u EU; sistematizacija i analiza legislativnog okvira zajedničkog evropskog sistema azila u oblasti radnih i socijalnih prava migranata u EU; opis i analiza nacionalno specifičnih legislativa i programa u pravcu socijalnog uključivanja migrantske populacije. Rezultati ukazuju na to da minimalni konsenzus postignut u zakonodavstvu EU ostavlja široka diskreciona ovlašćenja državama domaćinima u formulisanoj politici unapređenja pristupa tržištima rada za migrante. U skladu sa tim, postoje značajne varijacije u nacionalnim kontekstima, dok je zajednički ishod viša stopa nezaposlenosti migranata u odnosu u domicilno stanovništvo, nepriznavanje njihovih kvalifikacija i sa time povezano angažovanje u niskokvalifikovanim i slabo plaćenim poslovima, kao i nedovoljna zastupljenost programa koji smanjuju jezičke i druge barijere za uključivanje u tržište rada.

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Međunarodno pravo i regionalni pristupi rešavanju sukoba: Instrumentalizacija nasleđa oružanog sukoba iz 1999. godine

Nasleđe oružanih sukoba snažno boji političke procese u regionu Balkana proizvodeći nestabilnosti u društvima koja se, bar deklarativno, zalažu za ostvarenje demokratije. Unutrašnja i regionalna politička instrumentalizacija ovog nasleđa ima i svoju međunarodnopravnu dimenziju u kojoj se prepliću i zapliću interesi država, naroda i pojedinaca. Zahtevi za poštovanjem suvereniteta i ljudskih prava, koji se ističu u političkom diskursu, podrazumevaju određeni odnos prema ulozi međunarodnog prava u razmatranju izvora sukoba i u njihovom rešavanju. Da bi utvrdili kakav je taj odnos napravićemo istorijski osvrt na oružani sukob u SRJ 1999. godine, koji i dalje generiše nestabilnosti u unutrašnjem i regionalnom političkom životu. Predmet istraživanja su pozicije regionalnih aktera iznete u radu Saveta bezbednosti Ujedinjenih nacija, jer je on prvenstveno odgovoran za održanje međunarodnog mira i bezbednosti. U regionalne aktere ne ubrajamo samo države regiona, već i države i organizacije koje su bile i još su zainteresovane da utiču na političke procese u regionu (UN, EU, NATO). Analiza sadržaja njihovih izjava pokazaće da li su i koliko su svoje pozicije o izvorima i načinima rešavanja posmatranog sukoba gradili na osnovu međunarodnog prava. Razmotrićemo kakve su bile njihove pozicije o povredama međunarodnih pravila koja štite pojedinca i koja štite državu, kao i da li su i koliko koristili argument prava naroda na samoopredeljenje. Značaj istraživanja ne iscrpljuje se u pravnoj analizi jednog istorijskog događaja. Rezultati istraživanja predstavljaju instrument za utvrđivanje doslednosti u zagovaranju poštovanja vrednosti koje štiti međunarodno pravo, odnosno instrument za prepoznavanje (zlo)upotrebe međunarodnog prava u unutrašnjem i regionalnom političkom diskursu.

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Proces stabilizacije i pridruživanja kao temelj stabilokratije na Zapadnom Balkanu

Evropska unija pokrenula je 1999. godine Proces stabilizacije i pridruživanja sa ciljem da uredi odnose sa državama Zapadnog Balkana koje su nastale raspadom bivše Jugoslavije. Sama činjenica da je u trenutku formalizovanja odnosa prevaga bila na elementu stabilizacije bila je u neskladu sa osnovnim političkim kriterijumom – stabilne institucije koje su usmerene ka promovisanju demokratije - kojim je regulisan pretpristupni tok država koje apliciraju za članstvo u Evropskoj uniji. Ovo je posebno uticalo na stavljanje pitanja stabilnosti na Zapadnom Balkanu ispred izgradnje institucija, promocije demokratije i vladavine prava čime je Evropska unija jedan transformativni proces (što je bio slučaj u procesu pristupanja država Centralne i Istočne Evrope) stopila sa realpolitičkim zahtevima. Namera izlaganja je da ukaže pre svega na to da je pojava stabilokratije posledica nedefinisanog pristupa Evropske unije prema državama Zapadnog Balkana što se posebno može videti u nepotpuno definisanim elementima koji služe za ocenu napretka država Zapadnog Balkana. Najbolji primer ovakvog nedostatka jeste način merenja i ocene usklađenosti u oblasti vladavine prava što ukazuje na to da je odnos između stabilnosti i demokratije, vladavine prava itd. u slučaju država Zapadnog Balkana pod izvesnom tenzijom. Na taj način Proces stabilizacije i pridruživanja postavio je temelje odnosa, koji funkcioniše po principu jednostranog uslovljavanja, te u okviru kojeg je stabilnost primarni cilj na uštrb kriterijuma kojima je regulisan pretpristupni proces. Svakako da deo odgovora za pojavu stabilokratije treba tražiti i u nespremnosti i

nedovoljno razvijenim kapacitetima država Zapadnog Balkana. Međutim, obzirom na ulogu Evropske unije odgovornost za pojavu stabilokratije treba svakako tražiti i u njenom nejasnom, nedefinisanoj i protivrečnom odnosu prema državama Zapadnog Balkana.

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The Cartel Party Model and Cartelization in Serbia

Katz and Mair (1995) famously advanced the cartel party model which spurred considerable amount of scholarly literature. This model describes an evolutionary step in party development and a form of inter-party collusion. The literature so far was focused on its first aspect: how parties have changed over the years to adapt to decreasing supporter engagement and how they derive resources from states. The other cartel's aspect, collusion of parties, has received less attention. Scholars have readily assumed that policies of parties within a cartelized political market would converge. Based on spatial analysis of political competition, this work seeks to further our understanding of policy shifts that cartelized parties make. Forming a cartel is a rational strategy for office seeking parties. It is suggested how and when rational actors would diverge in issue-space. Furthermore, this work seeks to account for all three motives of party behavior (office, vote, and policy seeking) to overcome intuitive weakness of models which are based on a single one of these assumptions. Two cases of party collusion in Serbia are examined: from 2008 and 2011. It is claimed that the *Demokratska stranka* (DS) and the *Srpska napredna stranka* (SNS) have colluded in the former case, while the SNS and the *Demokratska stranka Srbije* (DSS) colluded in the later. Their selection of strategies was constrained by EU's actions. These cases suggest that the same party makes different policy shifts based on the choice of parties to collude with. This work analyzes political discourse to substantiate arguments.

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Novi mediji - prijatelji i/li neprijatelji demokratije

Tehnološki razvoj, širenje interneta i novih medija odrazio se dvostuko na demokratske procese. Sa jedne strane, omogućio je građanima brže, bolje i jeftinije dolaženje do informacija, lakši nadzor političkih predstavnika i otkrivanje korupcije, lakše komuniciranje, povezivanje, organizovanje i mobilisanje, olakšao političku komunikaciju i participaciju i doveo do (privida) veće slobode. Preko društvenih mreža mogu da se čuju kritike, zahtevi za promenama i da se poveže veliki broj aktivista. Na sceni je vituelna „revolucija asocijativnosti“. Olakšana je neka nova forma, makar i simulacija, neposredne demokratije i političke participacije. Taj novi način političkog aktivizma ostavlja utisak da su klasične predstavničke institucije zastarele i neefikasne. Međutim, angažman „na mreži“ nije supstitucija za angažman u institucijama i na ulici. Građani zadovoljavaju svoje političke strasti na internetu i društvenim mrežama, umesto da se angažuju u institucijama, kroz procedure, na poslu, i ako treba i na ulici. Istovremeno, postoje paralelni procesi koji vuku u suprotnom pravcu. Sadržaji, koji se olakšano nude i šire mogu biti i nedopustivo nedemokratski. Novi mediji sada postaju sredstva neprijateljima liberalne demokratije. Problem je što nove mogućnosti koje nude novi mediji i društvene mreže još uvek nisu stigle do većine. Populisti su poslednjih godina koristili internet i društvene mreže kako bi iskoristili cinizam i rezignaciju građana u odnosu na očekivanja i razočarenja liberalnom demokratijom. Istovremeno, društvene mreže građanima služe da kontrolišu svoje političare, ali i političarima da nadziru

svoje građane. Političari i stranke nastoje da uđu u društvene mreže kako bi proširile prisustvo i uticaj. Ako smo svesni svega ovoga, onda ćemo lakše i opreznije da koristimo mogućnosti interneta i društvenih mreža. Interenet širi prostor za alternativu, olakšava inkluziju, povećava transparentnost i deliberaciju. Da li je uz pomoć interneta demokratija potpunija i bliža građaninu ili se samo stvara predstava o tome ostaje da se prati i istražuje. Neposredno konsultovanje (svih) građana ostaje ideal.

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The Politics of Scandals and Democratic Consolidation in Montenegro

Since the fall of the semi-authoritarian regime, Montenegro is still considered as defective and not as a consolidated democracy. There are several key determinants that have slowed down the consolidation process. Therefore, this paper examines the questions why and what are the reasons that the consolidation of democracy, 13 years after the solution of the statehood problem, still cannot be achieved? It is based on the hypothesis that one of the main reasons for the stagnation of democratic development is the abuse of power by the government, which prevents a creation of the democratic environment of trust and a society structured around the rule of law. It argues that the country's desire to join the European Union on one side and the European Union with its "carrot and stick" method, to promote stability and democracy in the region, on the other, creates space for other issues. These issues are very often swept under the carpet in order to achieve the tangible statistical expectations required for European Union membership. This paper aims to analyse the effect of the political scandals in Montenegro's transition and the role of the actors such as government elites, civil society and the European Union in democratic consolidation. Furthermore, it aims to contribute to the debate over the effectiveness of the externally driven anti-corruption policies and thus supplements the Europeanization with a critical perspective of top down policies, which fail to become functional at the national level.

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Antimigracijski diskurs kao politički narativ

Migrantska kriza sa kojom se Evropa suočava duži niz godina pokrenula je lavinu ksenofobije i disperziju antimigracijskih sentimenata koji su postali referentna matrica za populistički diskurs. Antimigracijski diskurs se paralelno javlja u svojstvu forme upotrebe jezika i oblika socijalne i političke interakcije. Antagonistički stereotipski narativ o migrantima polazi od teze da oni konstituišu retrogradnu socijalnu skupinu (pežorativno hordu) koja predstavlja ekonomsku i bezbednosnu pretnju po domicilno stanovništvo, te koja nije kadra da se kulturološki asimiluje u državama tranzita, prijema i krajnjeg odredišta (dihotomija mi vs. oni). Širenje anti(i)migracijskog diskursa postaje strategija osvajanja izbornog tela i važna alatka za mobilisanje političke podrške. Politički inženjering evropskih političkih partija pokazuje da antimigracijski diskurs nije ekskluzivitet desno profilisanih partija političkog spektra (iako je njima najrodniji) već postaje i sve značajnija tema na političkoj agendi levog populizma. Antimigracijski diskurs se reflektuje kroz nacionalistički i hostilan pristup imigraciji, veličanju nacionalnih i suverenističkih narativa i neprijateljskom odnosu prema neoliberalizmu. Antimigracijski narativi su našli svoje uporište u političkom delovanju mnogih evropskih partija koje su mahom suverenistički profilisane, poput Švedskih demokrata, italijanske Severne lige, nemačke Alternative za Nemačku, poljske Prava i pravde, mađarske Alijanse

mladih demokrata (Fides), francuskog Nacionalnog fronta i mnogih drugih. Navedena zakonomernost se preslikava i na rezultate najnovijih izbora za Evropski parlament na kojima su partije krajnje desnice kao i nacionalistički profilisane partije ostvarila najbolje rezultate. Ovakav politički svod rezonance migranta pretvara u stranca i govori o trijumfu komunitarizma u odnosu na kosmopolitizam čime geslo Evropske unije „ujedinjeni u različitosti“ (in varietate concordia) postaje upitno i podleže dekonstrukciji.

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Voter Turnout at European Elections in Freshly Joined Member States

Since 1979 the representatives of the European Parliament are elected directly by voters. This brought a new dimension to the political cycle of the member states of the European Union. The elections are held at every state simultaneously, but each country chooses its own representatives, so the European Elections could not be categorized as a single election, but as 28 different second order elections. Numerous researches have made the point that the elections to the European Parliament are second order compared to general elections. Reif and Schmitt in their publications (1980; 1984) listed several possible reasons why elections to the European Parliament attract the voters less likely. Among these probably the most notable is the “less at stake” factor, which means the voters do not feel the impact of their choice. In my current research I examine how voter turnout in freshly joined European Union member states has taken shape. 19 countries have joined since 1979 and I analyse how the turnout for the first European Election in these countries measures. Which factors increase and which ones decrease the people’s intention to vote? Does a close in time general elections have an effect on the turnout of a European Election? Are the first EU elections in newly joined states attract more voters? By comparing the voter turnout data of these countries, I make possible explanations to these theoretical questions. Using the research above I make prediction to Serbia: how many voters can be expected in a future European Elections in Serbia? I chose this state for my experimentation, because currently this country is the closest to join the European Union.

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The Case of Unrecognized Minorities in Slovenia

Even though Slovenia is considered to be an ethnically plural country, it is visible that this statement is very complex. According to Slovenian constitution, there are only three legally recognized minorities in the Republic of Slovenia, respectively Italian and Hungarian minority as well as Roma, who have a special status. All of these minorities are considered to be “autochthonous” ethnic minorities. On the other hand, in Slovenia exist other minorities, mainly from former Yugoslav states, which, even though they are fairly the largest, are not recognized as ethnic minorities, but are treated as a “process of modern migrations”. Also, according to the Article 63 of Slovenian Constitution, “any incitement to national, racial, religious or other inequality is defined as unconstitutional”, which shows the great privilege of the Italian and the Hungarian minorities in regard to the Yugoslav minorities, respectively, discrimination against the latter nations. The two problems which appear here are, firstly, the term “autochthonous” is nowhere legally defined in Slovenian legislation, and secondly, because the ethnic communities of the people of the former Yugoslavia who are living in

Slovenia, are not recognized as minorities, they do not enjoy any rights or privileges, as for example financing their cultural societies and communities or ability to use media in their native languages. The first part of the paper will try to examine the complexity of this situation by exploring the terms and definitions of “autochthonous and nonautochthonous minorities” in regard to migrants and migrations, while the second part will primarily be focused on examples and proofs which are showing that all of the above-mentioned ethnic communities are discriminated from the state.

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Politics of Fear and the Rise of „New Despotism“

Although global wave of populism – false friend of democracy – brought people to the central stage of political arena – for many sides we are witnessing an age-old phenomenon of citizens „voluntary servitude“ to the repressive order. Citizens hand a carte blanche to the state of violence, cruelty, humiliation, nepotism and corruption. While that new type of regimes relies on violence for control, this violence is rarely targeted toward average citizens. Rather, a paradox of this kind of regime is that it relies on citizens „passion“ (fear) and psychological isolation (Tocqueville), making them anxious to gain meager favors of regime. Mutual suspicion form the cornerstone of this new kind of political technology preventing any organized political opposition. Starting from such underlying assumptions this paper calls for rethinking of the political concept of despotism, the normative construct that had fallen out of political language by the end of nineteenth century. In the twentieth century the terms that superseded despotism were absolutism, autocracy, dictatorship, sultanism and totalitarianism. However, in the current era of pseudo-democracy these terms are becoming archaic and no longer adequately explain the evolution of political regimes. The political concept of „new despotism“ warns normative political theory how to address the growing anti-democratic patterns taking shape in many countries including the Balkan region and underscores the use of despotism as a political and organizing concept.

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Democratic Innovations Between Top-Bottom to Bottom-Up Inclusion of Citizens

Empirical examples demonstrate that innovative democratic practices can be utilized by social movements as a platform for realization of their policy demands. In order to offer the connecting points between social movements, active citizenship and democratic innovation, it is necessary to investigate the state-of-the-art in regard to application of different forms of democratic innovation as top-bottom instrument of policy making institutional arenas and as bottom-up platforms of social movements for channelling citizens’ voices. I will focus on Serbia as a state with a series of active social movements and with some degree of (donors driven) implementation of democratic innovations in policy making. This paper is based on qualitative research among social movements and desk research of existing institutional practices throughout Serbia. Its ambition is to identify potential convergence spots between movements and institutions that invoke higher levels of citizens’ participation.

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Proizvodnja regionalnih sukoba po raspadu Jugoslavije: Povodi, upotrebe, rešavanja

Autori analiziraju činioce proizvodnje regionalnih sukoba po raspadu Jugoslavije, odnosno grupe faktora koje im doprinose, koji ih objašnjavaju i ishode istih. Neki od njih su: a. *mape sukoba*, gde se problematizuju sadržaji Srbije na Balkanu i u Jugoslaviji; Kosovski okidač; Antikomunizam i rat; te, Urušavanje poretka i raspad države; b. *etnonacionalizam, teritorije i religijski razlozi*, gde ćemo analizirati sadržaje Nacionalno nad klasnim; Politizacija etnosa i etnizacija politike; Odnos religije i politike; c. *sukobi kao osnova homogenizacije novih vlasti*, sa osloncem na analizu fenomena Marginalci na delu – prevrtači i epizodisti – partijski pluralizam, demokatura, institucionalni sunovrat; Uništavanja, razgradnja i krađa društvenog bogatstva – ratna privreda, svojinska transformacija, hiperinflacija, dezindustrijalizacija; Socijalna raslojavanja i beznade – nestanak srednje klase; d. *problemi suočavanja sa prošlošću i potiskivanje nove kulture sećanja* – analiza faktora opravdanja zločina u funkciji unutrašnjih održavanja na vlasti; te, Populistička demagogija kao opravdanje nečinjenja; e. *nepravednosti ostavinske rasprave*, analiza faktora koji uzrokuju nemogućnost političke, ekonomske i smislene saradnje u uslovima manipulativne zasnovanosti političkih opcija o opljačkanosti, razrušenosti i rušenja pesrpektiva od strane *drugih*, što se ne može nadoknaditi mirnim, trezvenim i objektivno zasnovanim propozicijama zajedničkog nastupa u navednim oblastima delovanja, dok se ne sačini *realan* popis počinjenih nam nepravdi; f. *moгуćnost regionalnog rešenja sukoba*, da li je ex-Yu prostoru dostatan "Prljavi mir"(Dejton) i prateće aktivnosti oko njega, da li je to nova vrsta Pax-Balcanica, ili smo osuđeni na regionalne sukobe, odnosno politiku Štapa i šargarepa - Evrope i SAD; g. *EU – provokacija ili rešenost rešavanja problema*, koliko je izvesna mogućnost pacifikovanja regiona Ex-Yu aktivnim pristupom i ubrzanom apsorpcijom od strane EU, u veoma kratkom roku.

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Institucionalne, ekonomske i geostrateške krize kao ograničavajući faktori u promovisanju demokratije na međunarodnom planu

Glavne međunarodne i regionalne organizacije predstavljaju promociju demokratije kao svoj politički prioritet (UN, EU, OEBS, Svetska banka, Međunarodni monetarni fond, Organizacija za ekonomsku saradnju i razvoj) i kao jedno od glavnih sredstava za stabilizaciju postkonfliktnih društava. Pomoć u razvoju demokratije je istovremeno i instrument spoljne politike država. U teoriji međunarodnih odnosa demokratizaciju, kao osnovu stvaranja miroljubivog sveta, zastupaju pristalice liberalne teorije, iz koje su proistekle i međunarodne organizacije. Nasuprot tome, teorija realizma smatra da državni oblici vladavine ne utiču na spoljnu politiku država jer će sve vlade slično odgovoriti na slične bezbednosne pretnje. Kao nastavak sučeljavanja dve škole međunarodnih odnosa, početkom XXI veka pojavila se teorijska hipoteza da će „globalna politika pre zaustaviti demokratiju nego što će demokratizacija uticati na svetsku politiku“. To se desilo, na primer, kada su i demokratske države došle u situaciju da ograničavaju ljudske slobode u borbi protiv terorizma. Autor ovog rada smatra da je tu polazište „stabilokratije“, koja, iz mnogobrojnih razloga (institucionalne promene organizacija u posthladnoratovskom periodu, nedostatak njihovog političkog i organizacionog kapaciteta da spreče sukobe u SFRJ-u, Avganistanu, Iraku, Libiji, Ukrajini,

suočavanje sa svetskom finansijskom krizom 2008. i nove asimetrične i hibridne bezbednosne pretnje) ukazuje na potrebu da se prioritet pruži stabilnosti država i društava (održavanje mira) u odnosu na demokratizaciju (karakter vlasti i demokratske slobode). Demokratija protiv stabilokratije – to je postala paradigma postkonfliktnih društava, posebno u regionu Zapadnog Balkana. Cilj ovog rada jeste da analizom dokumenata i prakse navedenih organizacija, koja se temelji na vladajućim teorijama međunarodnih odnosa, i komparacijom pokaže stepen međusobne povezanosti međunarodnog i regionalnog političko-ekonomskog ambijenta i demokratskog funkcionisanja unutrašnje pravne države. Rad će pokušati da nađe odgovor i na pitanje koliko međunarodne inicijative za podsticanje jačanja pravne države (Globalna strategija EU, Smernica OEBS-a o upravljanju i reformi sektora bezbednosti) i ljudskih prava (Agenda UN 2030 za održivi razvoj) mogu da učvrste demokratiju i bezbednost u jednoj državi ili regionu.

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My Kind of Justice: The Role of Self-Interest in Transitional Justice Deliberation

The self is at the centre of processes of transitional justice, yet the role of self-interest remains unexplored. Antagonistic and self-interested aspects of transitional justice are ignored because they critique key tenets of reconciliation following conflict. No consideration is given to how disagreement, or at least difference of opinion expressed through self-interest, may be an inherent and constructive part of the process. This paper uses deliberative democracy theory to explore how transitional justice is debated in the group setting and what role self-interest plays in this. The approach can identify the presence of conditions necessary for peaceful dialogical mechanisms that simultaneously build trust and allow for disagreement. The empirics are based on twelve multi-ethnic focus groups with youths in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and Serbia. Results from the initial four groups, from Croatia and Bosnia, are presented in this paper. The analysis is inspired by Conversation Analysis, a qualitative and micro-analytic method that shows how conversations and other interactions are managed and constructed in real time by focusing on the sequential organisation of talk. This enables the study to capture sequences of conflict and clarification across ethnic lines that result in healthy deliberation. It shows that in a pluralist conceptualisation of deliberation, self-interest is both morally and politically legitimate, as well as necessary to clarify conflict and facilitate consensus. Self-interest can thus be an observable sign of success in transitional justice processes, when it shows that citizens are willing to acknowledge each other as members of a common democracy.

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Democratization after Interventions: Is a Reversed Democratic Peace an Obsolete Idea?

Democracies are perceived in literature as more stable societies both in domestic and international level. Many studies found that level of violence proneness negatively correlate with democracy level within a country. While academic endeavours are mostly being focused to identify a link between the regime type and countries' war proneness, not many of them put these two variables in a reverse order. This article aims at determining links between the interventions and democratization processes which took place in targeted states. So-called "reverse democratic peace" casts an argument according to which an ongoing war would lead to democratization. To inspect the specifics of interventions, author shall deploy cases which

will be subject to comparison include Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Sudan and Yugoslavia (Kosovo). Empirical part will involve two main variables, foreign policy similarity to determine whether the intervening actor (state/coalition) has had similar or different foreign policy goals at the beginning of interventions. In case of a coalition, an aggregated score shall be divided by the number participating states. The second variable to be tested is political regime similarity. This variable will indicate whether there were any deviations of the quality of political regime between the intervening actor and the targeted state, as indicated by the democratic peace postulates. For the foreign policy score author will use S score dataset developed by Curtis S. Signorino and Jeffrey M. Ritter, while for the political regime quality, the author will deploy Polity IV data. Statistical analysis including Pearson's correlation, logistic regression and descriptive statistics, will be presented for specific dyad as well as for the alliance level. Initial results indicate that interventions mostly did not lead to further democratization of the post conflict societies.

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Media in the Western Balkans: Who Controls the Past Controls the Future.

The contribution assesses the role of the media in the countries of the Western Balkans and the development of press freedom over the long run. The author closely analyses the legislative framework and its implementation in practice and focuses in particular on the economic and political pressure on the media in the region. The analysis includes aspects of media ownership, its shady and opaque structures often linked to local politicians. What we can observe is the continuous misuse of power in the last decade by the extremely strong executive slowly usurping supremacy and control over the media. The control is indirect and subtle in order to preserve the image of democracy. This is not always so – it depends on country, time, type of media institution and the specific government. We also see in many instances direct abuse of power towards media as killings, physical attacks and threats. Media are used as means to cement the illiberal regimes. Whoever controls the past, controls the future, under the banner of those who are not with us are against us. Control over the media is one of the essential puzzles in the whole illiberal picture that provides legitimacy to the authoritarian leaders and helps to bolster the regimes. The media in the Balkans are under serious constraints and this has serious impact on the quality of democracy in the region; the media are used as means to cement the illiberal regimes and no longer serve as watchdogs of democracy. The media serve as means to spread governmental propaganda, twist the information and undermine the accountability of the politicians.

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Electoral (Dis)Order – Examining the Second-Order Characteristics of the 2019 European Parliament Election

Since its inception in 1980 the second-order elections model of Reif and Schmitt has been the main theoretical framework used by political scientists to analyze elections to the European Parliament. Although, the international context, the internal functioning of its institutions and with the eastern enlargement even the composition of the European Union has changed drastically in the past decades, we still use the same model to interpret the results. The experiences of the 2019 race indicate a turning point, or at the very least a slight change in this aspect, with an upturn in turnout and the appearance of various EU topics in national

political discourse. Overarching motives like immigration and populism revitalized the discussion about how people vote on the European elections and why they do so. The aim of this paper is to examine this change from an empirical point of view by the quantitative analysis of the 2019 results. Fortunately, the second-order model provides ample opportunity for data based scientific examination. Characteristics like lower turnout, protest voting and the so-called honeymoon effect can all be quantified and compared to assess if they still hold true in 2019. The final goal is to decide whether we can still consider the European elections second-order. Results of this research can be of interest not only to the EU institutions and the member states who wish to strengthen participation and representation but also to nations looking at accession in the future and designing their national regulations for elections to the European Parliament.

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Enemy Construction and the Rule of Law

Since political leaders in power have a significant impact on the citizens' attitudes towards democratic values, the aim of this paper is to identify the specifics of the criminalizing and fear-mongering rhetoric used by the Hungarian government since the announcement of the illiberal turn by PM Viktor Orbán. According to the findings of political discourse studies political leaders in power consistently disregarding certain values, while also criminalizing groups who represent them (e.g. NGOs) could lower the societal resistance against illiberal and/or autocratic tendencies, while also threatening the essential cultural conditions for the operation of the rule of law. In accordance with the decline in media freedom and political competition, the political communication of the governing parties has been gradually, but identifiably shifted from treating its rivals as opponents to publicly framing them as enemies of the state. Additionally, the illiberal political environment is not only extremely hostile towards its supposed enemies, but by using a populist communication style and the *Us versus Them* dividing rhetoric, it also facilitates a discouraging effect on citizens accustomed to occupying neutral positions in political affairs. Furthermore, as the media market is getting more and more monolithic as more and more media outlets are owned by stakeholders affiliated with the government, the messages of governmental communication are getting amplified. This also poses the risk that political leaders with similar goals might also see the 'Hungarian model' as an example that is worthy of imitation in other countries in Central Europe and the Balkans as well.

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The Referendum as a Political Instrument – Hijacking Direct Democracy

The referendum is the most direct manifestation of the ideas of democracy and popular sovereignty, in spite of this in modern political regimes of representation referendum became an exceptionally practised, supplementary institution. There is a serious reason behind the fact that the referendum is not a widely used form of political decision making in most countries: direct voting may be an ideal solution for social problems but the implementation can cause several difficulties. The usage of referendums brings up numerous questions about sovereignty, authority, legitimacy, political control, equality, mobilization, ability for compromise or the problem of parties participating and making referendum their political instrument. The debate is not about the conflict of idealism and elitism but about the

entitlement and execution of a voting form that ultimately relies on the masses. In the majority of cases, the main purpose and reason of holding a referendum is beyond choosing between yes and no. The primal factor of the voter's decision-making is their party affiliation instead of rational grounding or personal opinion for what the institute of referendum was established. In the toolbox of modern political regimes and actors, direct voting has become an instrument of asserting interests, gaining votes, creating or weakening the legitimacy of a political party. In such cases the referendum is not an institution of direct democracy but another means of gaining political control over the electorate. In my paper I would like to explore the advantages and disadvantages of direct democracy and the strategic usage of this institute by political regimes, introducing relevant examples of referendums across Europe.

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Sub-državni politički identiteti i entiteti i međunarodni poredak

Kraj hladnog rata, ubrzavanje globalizacije i slabljenje vladavine značajno su doprinijeli i slabljenju političkih autoriteta u mnogim zemljama „trećeg svijeta“ koji su se suočile sa slabljenjem administrativnih kapaciteta i socijalnog legitimiteta. Zbog toga su dobile karakteristike „slabih“ ili čak – „kvazi“ država. Postavlja se pitanje – šta se dešava kad pokažu da su nesposobne da održe stabilnost režima i kada dođu u situaciju da im prijete kolaps? U mnogim takvim slučajevima kada prestaje funkcionalnost države one počinju da stvaraju atmosferu u kojoj se pokazuje da prelaze u stanje haosa. U tom stanju pojavljuju se politički entiteti na sub-državnom nivou što otvara mogućnost uspostavljanja, održavanja i pojavljivanja anarhije u međunarodnom poretku i daju nazanke početka uspostavljanja nekog novog međunarodnog poretka. U nekim slučajevima sub-državni entiteti postavljaju se kao izrazito oštra suprotnost prema međunarodno priznatim državama u kojima su nastali postavljajući izazove principima na kojima međunarodno-pravno priznate država funkcionišu poput ostvarivanja teritorijalnog integriteta, prikupljanja poreza i uspostavljanja poslovnih odnosa s međunarodnim i transnacionalnim akterima. Postojanje i funkcionisanje ovih entiteta postavlja ozbiljne izazove stabilnom okviru međunarodnog poretka i procesima koji vode do njegovih promjena. Odgovore na moguće promjene treba tražiti u kontekstima u kojima se ovakvi entiteti pojavljuju, promjenama u odnosima moći i shvatanjima međunarodno priznatih normi suvereniteta koje podržavaju postojanje brojnih „kvazi država“. Pokazuje se potreba da se analizira kako sub-državni entiteti poput „de facto država“ ili „država-u-državi“ utiču na postojeći međunarodni poredak.

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The Role of Modern Conservatism in Restraining Extreme Right Populism in Balkans

Considering that extreme right populism is a political and social phenomenon widely met all over the western communities, numerous theories and research have been made not only to decipher its true origins but also to find alternative political attitudes and active party politics in order to normalize the democratic momentum. European Union's state democracies attempt to manage the situation at both domestic and intra-European levels. However, two objectives need to be examined: (i) how Balkan democracies react to populism, and (ii) is modern conservatism an effective restraining approach to the extreme right populism in the region? By attempting to address the above issues, there needs to be a thorough study of incidents of Balkan populism in the recent years, starting from the Eurozone crisis as a

milestone moment in time for generating populist rhetorics in Europe. Then, we need to explore the literature on how the political systems in the regional countries reacted to this kind of populism. Finally, the final step is to recognize the role of modern conservatism in the political spectrum and whether this ideology can act as a restraint to the extreme right populism. The conclusion of such a study may lead to fruitful results about elaborating on the political status in Balkans, and this study could also be a guide to motivate researchers on other regions in Europe (or else), on which this phenomenon is not limited only to political theory.

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(Un)planning the City – Geographies of Inequalities

Drawing upon Edward Soja's concept of *socio-spatial dialectics*, spatial configurations of the city and its development reflect and intertwine with the dominant political and economic processes and relations. However fragmented and incoherent contemporary city might seem, it is possible to map consistent patterns and mechanisms that produce and maintain different forms of classifications and hierarchisations, supporting the continual expansion of capital. From the particular question of commodification of housing to the issue of lack of democratic decision-making in urban planning procedures, despite of seemingly increasing introduction of *new regulatory* mechanisms, they in fact mask continual *deregulation* as a common thread, securing less participation and citizen's control, while at the same time opening the "faster lane" for land-grabbing, speculative construction and investment-led urbanism. Such transformation of planning regulations, presents itself as "unleashing" of the economic potential of cities and a pre-condition for further economic growth for the benefit of *all* citizens. Consequences of such processes, however, call for an urgent critical re-questioning of such logic. This paper aims to map various mechanisms of so-called neoliberal form of urbanisation that fall within this notion of *regulated deregulation* (Aalbers, 2016), present in the regional context, as well as the ways in which these mechanisms produce new and intensify existing social inequalities in the city.

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Utjecaj primordijalnih društvenih forma na suvremene interpretacije demokratije na Balkanu

Ovaj će referat bazirati na teoriji primordijalne forme, koju su razvijali pogotovo Zavaleta (2009) i De Castro (2009) za postkolonialna društva Južne Amerike, a definisali su primordijalnu formu kao društvenu organizaciju i prakse koje su postojale prije kolonizacije i su zato, ako opet prihvaćene u postkolonialno doba na razini države, najotpornije na navodni neoliberalni univerzalizam u obliku nezaobilaznog zapadnog modela političkog i ekonomskog sustava. Primordijalne forme moguće je detektirati u historičkim izvorima, pa i kontekstualizirano aplicirati, i u drugim postkolonialnim sredinama kao što je Balkan. Društvene prakse, koje je moguće interpretirati kao nasledak slovenske predkršćanske i predkolonialne »primordijalne forme«, a ističu pogotovo klasni egalitarizam i lokalni autonomizam, u slovenskom društvu još su i danas razvidne kao neke specifične političke kulture i političkog ponašanja. Slovenski slučaj poslužit će kao uvod u komparativnu raspravu o primordijalnim formama u drugim balkanskim društvima da bi na kraju dobili odgovor na pitanje, da li postoji nešto kao »balkanska paradigma« skroz preispitivanje zajedničke

kolonialne prošlosti tog regiona i kako danas ta paradigma utječe na interpretacije i aplikacije predstavničke demokratije kao uvezenog političkog sustava.

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Affective Engagement and Social Change: Are Personal Narratives Important for Democratic Innovations?

Starting from the premise that any democratic innovation that seeks to make a positive and lasting impact has to take into account the agency and efforts of local social movements, in this paper I further argue that equally important are local activists' *personal accounts* and *lived experiences* of activism and social engagement. Additional premise is that insights into these personal narratives can help us better understand how social movements frame local and wider societal problems, how they perceive and understand democratic change, and who their potential allies could be. All this is arguably very helpful in designing a democratic innovation set to take place in a local context, and to incorporate existing bottom-up social initiatives. The paper is based on personal interviews with several activists from Serbia, and the context in which it is situated is the ongoing research process aimed at designing and implementing a democratic innovation experiment in Serbia.

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Revolucija, demokratizacija i Peti oktobar

Nasuprot preovlađujućim pristupima u literaturi koji naglašavaju značaj umerenosti i tolerancije, u ovom radu se istraživanju demokratizacije prilazi iz ugla teorija revolucija. Novije teorije ističu posebna obeležja revolucionarnih događaja u poslednje tri-četiri decenije u odnosu na klasične revolucije: odsustvo (ili minimalnu ulogu) nasilja, kao i politička i urbana, a ne socijalna i klasna obeležja. Ipak, pitanje karaktera i stabilnosti političkih režima koji neposredno izvire iz revolucija i danas počiva gotovo isključivo na istraživanju klasičnih (nasilnih) revolucionarnih događaja. U ovom radu se taj problem osvetljava iz ugla protivrečnih posledica nenasilnih revolucija tokom trećeg talasa demokratizacije. S jedne strane, nenasilna revolucionarna mobilizacija podstiče obrazovanje i učvršćivanje političkih identiteta inspirisanih pluralizmom i demokratijom i na njima zasnovanih širokih koalicija; temeljno rekonfiguriše političku scenu trajno smanjujući moć nedemokratskih snaga; i proizvodi legitimno i autoritativno političko vođstvo. S druge strane, revolucionarna mobilizacija obično nastaje i ima uspeha u miljeu ličnih režima; posle pada takvih režima nasleđe urušenih političkih ustanova dugoročno ometa demokratizaciju. Te pretpostavke ilustrujem na primeru političkih posledica Petog oktobra u Srbiji (2000). Prvo, revolucionarna mobilizacija je polarizovala politički život sužavajući politički prostor za neopredeljene snage, okrnjila podršku vlastima i učvrstila ranije opozicione identitete i blokove i tako cementirala podelu političke scene na demokratski blok i snage starog režima u dužem razdoblju. Drugo, institucionalno nasleđe neopatrimonijalizma – u vidu preklapanja saveznih i republičkih vlasti koje su delovale gotovo isključivo na teritoriji Srbije, autoritarnih izbornih ustanova i personalizovane kontrole nad uzajamno suprotstavljenim delovima bezbednosnog sektora – i zloupotreba tog nasleđa u sukobima unutar nove vladajuće koalicije ozbiljno su ugrozili domete demokratizacije.

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Vrednosni prediktori podrške protestima „1 od 5 miliona“ među mladima

U savremenim društvima analiza političke participacije mladih pokazuje prisutnost dva suprotstavljena trenda. S jedne strane, mlade osobe se manje angažuju u formalnoj politici što se najbolje ogleda u sniženoj izbornoj participaciji mladih, umanjenom stepenu partijske identifikacije i niskim nivoima članstva u političkim partijama. Sa druge strane, mladi su spremniji na učešće u „neformalnim“ političkim aktivnostima kao što su bojkoti i demonstracije. Jedno od uobičajenih objašnjenja ovakve promene ponašanja zasniva se na pretpostavci da mlade osobe na drugačiji način shvataju politiku, istovremeno osećajući otuđenje od formalnih političkih procesa. Rad koji predstavljamo zasnovan je empirijskim podacima iz istraživanja Politički aktivizam i participacija mladih u Srbiji. Uvidi iz istraživanja potvrđuju navedenu tezu o dijalektičnom odnosu mladih prema aktivizmu i participaciji. Kada je reč o tradicionalnim oblicima aktivizma i participacije možemo videti da je tek svaka osma mlada osoba član neke od političkih partija, dok tek nešto više od 10% ispitanih tvrdi da je spremno da radi kampanju od vrata do vrata za neku političku partiju. Sa druge strane, skoro polovina ispitanih spremna je da uzme učešće u neformalnim oblicima političke participacije, poput učešća u političkim demonstracijama. U dosadašnjim analizama protesta „1 od 5 miliona“ uglavnom se isticala izuzetna šarolikost, kako ideoloških, tako i programskih stavova učesnika protesta, ali i ogromna fragmentiranost organizacija koje, direktno ili indirektno, učestvuju u realizaciji protesta. U radu analiziramo ne samo vrednosne orijentacije koje mladi u Srbiji koji učestvuju na protestima dele, već i da li se i kako oni razlikuju od pripadnika mladih generacija koji na protestima ne učestvuju.

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Italy and USA: The Populist Case

Alexis de Tocqueville describes democracy as “always an unfinished goal” (Mansfield, 2010, 19). In a similar vein, Chantal Mouffe suggests that we should cease to perceive democratic regimes as static (33). Victor Orban and Donald Trump attest to the fragility of modern democracies and serve to confirm fluidity suggested by Tocqueville and Mouffe. In times in which Western democracies are experiencing an upsurge of the right-wing populist demagogues threatening to curb democratic values, scholars have been competing to pinpoint the very reason for their rise. Taking Italy and the United States as case studies, this paper will attempt to show that drifts within democratic societies created by rising inequalities have set the stage for the leaders like Donald Trump and Matteo Salvini to lead the way. Globalization and digitalization, along with intensified migration have all shaken people’s sense of self, creating an identity crisis. These changes have prompted various groups to feel left behind: in Italy both the young and the well-off took to the polls in the 2018 elections to express their dissatisfaction with the status quo. In the United States, Trump gathered the support of the white elderly from Florida, as well as those from Michigan in the north. Through the analyses of Italy and the United States, this paper will attempt to highlight the challenges of modern democratic societies and assess the role of the civil society organizations and international bodies as democratic safeguards.

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Stabilokratija kao kvazilegitimacija tranzicionih post-konfliktnih režima

Cilj rada je da preispita osnov legitimacije poretka u savremenom kontekstu. Premda klasična teorija podrazumijeva da su poreci interno legitimisani, novi međunarodni kontekst nameće potrebu drugačijeg razumijevanja suvereniteta, a sljedstveno i legitimiteta poretka. U međuzavisnom svijetu, u kontekstu razvijenih normi međunarodnog prava, izraženog spoljnog i unutrašnjeg suvereniteta, poredak biva dvostruko legitimisan: interno i eksterno. Interno, prihvatanjem normi i praksi političkog poretka od strane građana, eksterno kroz prihvatanje normi i politika međunarodnog poretka od strane režima. Stabilokratija odustaje kako od interne legitimacije poretka kroz vizuru građana o suštini i karakteru vlasti, jer ga mijenja utvrdivim kriterijumom stabilne vlasti, a eksternoj legitimaciji pretpostavlja se puko slijeđenje spolja-prihvatljive spoljne i ekonomske politike režima date države. Nosiocima vlasti stabilokratija omogućuje kompenzaciju legitimacijskih osnova, u kontekstu međunarodne međuzavisnosti i upotrebu nedemokratskih politika, proizvodeći za uzvrat stabilnost. Problem je u činjenici da se stabilokratija predstavlja kao jedini mehanizam unutrašnjeg upravljanja društvenim pluralizmom i spoljnog upravljanja istorijski konfliktnim regionom koji u viđenju spoljnih aktera garantuje izvjesni rezultat: mir i stabilnost. Premda izmiče potpunom razumjevanju moderne političke teorije, jasno je da su u ovoj šmitijanskoj koncepciji društva i države, pluralizam i disenzus su neprihvatljivi, a decizionizam i anti-institucionalizam osnovni mehanizmi političke reprodukcije čiji se sadržaj može upotpuniti različitim neliberalnim i nedemokratskim ideološkim diskursima. Stabilokratija tako ostaje „pretpostavljeni“ model očuvanja mira i stabilnosti, nedvosmisleno podrivajući temelje demokratske reprodukcije i posljedično temelje samog poretka.