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**Regional Research**  
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# **Book of Abstracts**

## **RRPP Annual Conference**

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### **Bosnia-Herzegovina**

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## **1. Workshop: Reconciliation and Transitional Justice**

**Name:** Lea David

**Institution:** Ben Gurion University in the Negev Israel

### **Managing a Difficult Past in Serbia: The State-Sponsored Project of Remembering and Forgetting**

Perceptions of countries stem not only from media reports, but also from how states publicly present their history and what they choose to commemorate. The Management of the past is thus not only a matter of national cohesion, but also an international and economic affair.

All post socialist Western Balkan states are engaged in the process of impression management, through state sponsored projects, whereas most of the work is done in a subtle and less visible and intrusive way, with the intention of imitating spontaneous, natural and authentic processes. The basic argument outlined in this paper is that Serbia has managed its contested past through covering and cultural reframing rather than public acknowledgement.

In this paper I show that the state sponsored practices in Serbia are part of impression management strategies which serve multiple functions and meanings: on the one hand they tend to present Serbia as a democratic and progressive state, but on the other hand, they reveal Serbia's problematic relationships with other nations. I analyze "The State Program for Commemorating the Anniversaries of the Historic Events of the Serbian Liberation Wars" protocol and its attempt to consolidate unified national memory and to implement desirable values into a new Serbian identity. This protocol reveals recently re-constructed master commemorative narrative which presents Serbia as nation state with deeply democratic foundations through the eternal struggle for freedom, antifascism and anti-Semitism.

I also emphasize here that the creation of the Serbian cosmology of otherness, as portrayed in this protocol of memory practices, discloses inner tensions and fractures, as well as contentious relationships with "significant others", in this case of Croatia and Kosovo Albanians.

**Name:** Jovanna Mihajlovic Trvboc

**Institution** University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia

**Transitional Justice Processes and the Perception of the Past: Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

This paper will question the problem of the capacity of transitional justice processes to change the dominant perception(s) of the past events it examines, and it will debate on the case of the dominant narratives of the 1992-1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The concept of transitional justice has evolved in the last twenty years to refer to the range of legal and political mechanisms applied in societies transforming from authoritarian regime to electoral democracy, and from violent conflict to post-conflict peace-building. In the case of post-conflict societies, the literature stressed out its particular goal – to research, establish and disclose the truth on the past war crimes and other human rights violations. Transitional justice literature generally approaches the issue of “truth” as gaining factual information, documenting it and presenting it to the public, consequentially primary focus of their debates is how to design best mechanisms to conduct this work.

On the other hand, in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, different actors, public and political, are presenting conflicting interpretations on the war of 1992-1995. Question how to name the war, who participated in it, how many people were killed, how many victims suffered other types of atrocities, and by whom, who is responsible, both politically and criminally, who started the war and who could have prevent its escalation, these are just some of the many disputed issues. These different interpretations are usually organised into coherent narratives of the recent war, most dominant of them being the ones promoted by the three ethno-national political elites (that is Bosniak, Croatian and Serbian).

The underlying assumption of the transitional justice truth-seeking efforts is that the facts themselves are self-explanatory and their very presentation should lead to change of the public perception of the violent past. I find the simplistic understanding of the truth envisioned by transitional justice framework as unable to explain how presentation of a factual truth does not necessarily change the pre-established perception of the past. Therefore I propose the concept of narrative instead of a “truth” as the one that should be at the centre of researcher’s attention, and particularly public narrative (as opposing to individual or private, familial or communal) as the one who most directly reflects the processes of social remembering – understood as a process of negotiation and deciding of what is going to be remembered/forgot, on the basis of power relations in a society.

**Name:** Ana Ljubojevic

**Institution:** Institute for Advanced Studies IMT Lucca, Italy

**What's the Story? Transitional Justice and Creation of Narratives in Serbia and Croatia**

Twenty years after the breakup of Yugoslavia relationships between transitional justice, political myths and narratives about the past in Serbia and Croatia are still contested and vague. This paper tries to analyze the impact transitional justice mechanisms (TJMs) have on the historical narratives and creation of collective memory about war. As the “existing empirical knowledge about the impacts of transitional justice is still limited”<sup>1</sup>, we explore indirect influence it has on local societies by means of political myths and historical narratives triggered by war crime trials.

War crimes trials have been the main mechanism of transitional justice in the region of Western Balkans. We argue that transitional justice, instead of triggering truth seeking and truth telling processes that would lead to reconciliation, multiplied mutually exclusive historical narratives that determined national collective identities. Taking Hegel's work on the direct relation of historical narrative and law as a theoretical framework, we explore the transformation and development of law narratives in media and society, by using critical discourse analysis. We approached the problem by analyzing trial transcripts and media reports about domestic war crimes trials held in Serbia and Croatia (Ovcara-Vukovar hospital and Medak pocket case).

This research compares notions of collective and individual responsibility, guilty and accountability and their relation with new post-modern political myths. Legal documents are describing only the context of war and represent easily manageable historical material.

New historical narratives are constructed simultaneously with the destruction of political alternatives willing to deal with the past. Thus, historical memory is used as a tool of power and comprises elements of compulsory forgetfulness, denial and silence about war crimes. Our research tries to track changes in media strategies that contribute to the variations of historical memory.

<sup>1</sup> Mark Freeman: “Truth Commissions and Procedural Fairness”, 2006

**Name:** Azra Hromadzic

**Institution:** Syracuse University, Syracuse NY, USA

### **Cartography of Democratization in Postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina**

One of the most important goals of post conflict reconciliation and democratization programs around the world is the establishment of a social order that would lead to peace and stability. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H), this includes careful planning of the spatial reorganization of people and territory. More specifically, the project of democratization in Bosnia and Herzegovina assumes a fixed relationship between people, understood as ethnic collectivities (Serbs, Croats, and Bosniaks), and territory, understood as ethnically homogenous spaces. The case of the Mostar Gymnasium, the first "integrated" high school in postwar B&H, is an instance of this process which remarkably reveals the workings of the International Community's political nexus between people, territory, and the state in B&H. Therefore, any interpretation of the spatial negotiations at the Mostar Gymnasium requires untangling and denaturalizing the nexus between identity of students and teachers, and "geography" of the school.

Building on 12 months of ethnographic fieldwork at the school, this paper demonstrates how a careful cartographic delineation of school's space has brought a particular school into being where certain features of belonging, such as interethnic student body, became "unmappable." Paying attention to the role of cartography (creation of the blueprint for the unified school) and geography (everyday experience of reunification) at the Mostar Gymnasium, this paper examines the "apartheid-like logic" of internationally directed reconciliation and democratization policies in B&H. Furthermore, placed within the political context of IC's governmentality, the "reunified" school emerges as a powerful symbol of a fragmented state and an "empty nation" in B&H.

**Name:** Lina Strupinskiene

**Institution:** Vilnius University, Lithuania

**Political Reconciliation: A Framework for Analysis**

Political reconciliation is widely recognized to be one of the most important challenges for societies emerging from periods of repressive rule or civil conflict characterized by widespread and systematic human rights violations and mass atrocities. Reconciliation, while prominent within the literature of moral and political philosophy, the multidisciplinary literature on transitional justice as well as on the agendas of international and national actors assisting different societies in dealing with their past, is an utterly problematic and controversial concept. There is still a significant lack of consensus regarding what the term means exactly, what activities it encompasses or what are the requirements for achieving such a state. In addition, reconciliation is often used as a normative term, suggesting that it is a pre-condition for successful conflict resolution. Despite its importance, reconciliation is not a pre-requisite for conflict resolution; however, it might be a pre-requisite for sustainable peace.

The central objective of this paper is to develop an analysis of what political reconciliation involves. It seeks to delineate the pre-conditions for reconciliation (including structural and institutional factors) and to identify both the external and the internal factors that contribute or hinder the reconciliation process. It also aims to explore the ways of measuring the success and failure of reconciliation on the background of three major themes – nondiscrimination, cooperation, and perceptions of the “other”. Though, theoretical analysis of this kind can never replace an adequate and timely action, it can play an important role in informing and shaping how people think about reconciliation and, hopefully, serve as a call for informed decisions.

## **2. Workshop: Minorities, Political and Social Discourses**

**Name:** Romy Woehlert

**Institution:** Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

### **The EU Enlargement to the Western Balkans: Current Reciprocal Perceptions between Western Balkan Countries and the EU**

The increasing EU enlargement fatigue among EU countries presents an unpredictable factor for the EU membership perspective of Western Balkan countries (WBC) - except for Croatia. As previous accession rounds have shown, an EU enlargement is not only a (re-)definition of EU borders; it also triggers off negotiations and (re-)definitions of EU collective identity concepts - not only within the EU but also in the candidate countries. Therefore, a comparative analysis of the reciprocal perceptions between EU and WBC allows us to trace, how distant or close both sides currently perceive each other, and may provide more details on the barriers the countries of the region have to face in the EU accession steps lying ahead.

Apart from population surveys we lack data for a systematic comparative analysis of WBC and EU countries with regard to the current reciprocal perceptions and their attitudes towards the EU enlargement to the region. As a first step to fill this research gap, the paper presents results of a pilot study that identified and compared the newspaper coverage on WBCs in three EU countries (Austria, Germany, UK) and on the EU region in two WBCs (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia) for the year 2009. Transnational collectivities like the EU are "imagined communities" (Anderson, 2005); they have to be continually reconsidered, negotiated, and recomposed in relation to other groups. Arguing with the agenda setting approach, mass media thereby form an essential *knowledge base*.

In a qualitative content analysis, we identified and compared the topics of the news coverage, dimensions of reciprocal relations focused on, and views communicated with regard to the reciprocal Other. Different perceived gaps and conflict lines between EU-side and WBC-side were identified, but also different conceptions of an EU were found, especially in the two WBC (Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia).



**Name:** Ana Milivojevic and Marijana Matovic

**Co-author:** Aleksandra Krstic

**Institution:** University of Belgrade, Serbia

**RRPP project:** Profession at the Crossroads - Journalism at the Threshold of Information Society

### **Media Owners as Agents of Journalism Transformation in Serbia**

This paper discusses issues of media ownership restructuring and search for new business strategies as an element of journalism transformation in Serbia. Rapid developments in ICTs, coupled with wider social changes and economic crisis, have enormous impact on the traditional media outlets worldwide. In that respect, media in Western Balkans share major pan-European tendencies (ownership concentration, technological convergence and audience fragmentation), but also face additional problems. Changes in the region are happening in transitional, post conflict context which is additionally complex in Serbia because of unfinished media privatization. All this makes a weak base for a necessary media and journalism transformation.

Media organizations provide basic setting and surroundings for journalism development and professional transformation. This paper maps out how major media outlets in Serbia respond to complex professional, organizational and normative transformation of journalism. The object of analysis is both institutional setting and professional changes fostered by ownership transformation. It follows the main research question: How leading media outlets provide for a working environment to accommodate development induced by profound political, economic and technological challenges. The analysis is based on the research project conducted within 30 selected media outlets in Serbia. Their institutional setting is analyzed through document-based and regulatory framework analysis. Professional transformation is analyzed by qualitative methods, primarily in depth interviews with owners or top managers of the same media.

Media owners/directors views will present a picture of Serbian media landscape as seen by one of its major stakeholders and important media reformers. Media reforms are an important dimension of the overall democratic reform of the society. Examination and understanding of ongoing changes in the media field is significant for decreasing potential threats and for using all opportunities of the emerging Information society. It is also a tool for fostering social, economic and institutional transition in Serbia.

**Name:** Emir Vajozovic

**Institution;** Media Plan Institute, Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina

**RRPP Regional Project:** Minority and Media in the Western Balkans

**Regional Comparative Research Project on Quality of Minority Media Content**

**Regional partners:**

- Novi Sad School of Journalism, Serbia
- School of Journalism and Public Relations, FYR Macedonia
- Nataša Ružić, Faculty of Political science in Podgorica, Montenegro

**Overall objective:**

Project aims to research and assess the quality of media content and information in the languages of national minorities in four Balkan countries (BiH, Serbia, Montenegro and FYR Macedonia). The purpose of this study is the evaluation of content of minority media and media in minority languages, to analyze (a) how and to what extent these media reports about their minority community, on the other minority communities, as well as the majority community in the society in which the act, and (b) how its work in these media fulfill its basic (legally defined) mission, or deviate much from it. The analytical process and final analysis will be in three parts: (1) Context Analysis; (2) Analysis of media practice, and; (3) Summarizing findings, noting trends and recommendations for better and different practices of minority media

**Methodology:**

Research will be conducted during 9 months (27/02/2012 – 27/11/2012) and will include the following elements of analysis: (1) Context Analysis: a. Analysis of media landscape, b. Analysis of legal framework (2) Analysis of minority media practices

The intention is to research practice of minority media both (a) on quantitative way and to (b) qualitatively evaluate their content by the following elements: (I) Authorship; (II) Topics; (III) Genres; (IV) Event / reason for publication; (V) audiovisual presentation; (VI) Sources; (VI) Location of the source; (VII) Value of the journalist effort; (VIII) Value of published content; (IX) Notes.

After first two activities, we will proceed with (3) summarizing findings, noting trends and recommendations for better and different practices of minority media.

Furthermore, a research using the method of in-depth interviews will also be conducted in each of these countries to give additional value to the content analysis results, which will provide explanation of the observed quality (of lack thereof) of the media, solution to problems, and suggestion of new ways of informing minorities in their respective languages.

**Name:** Dragana Prodanovic and Brankica Draskovic

**Institution:** University of Novi Sad, Serbia

**RRPP project:** Media discourse of poverty and social exclusion in Serbia

### **Media Discourse of Poverty and Social Exclusion in Serbia**

This paper presents results of analysis of dominant media (television, radio, newspapers) representations of poverty and the socially excluded groups in Serbia on one hand and citizens' discourses about poverty and social exclusion articulated in response to on-line news items on news sites on the other hand. Citizen's discourses are viewed as the key not only for understanding mass media texts, but also as a key for understanding popular attitudes about the problem, proposed solutions and immediate actions that are taken.

The main objective of this research is to deepen the preliminary findings from 2010/2011 and to provide comprehensive analysis of citizens' discourses about poverty and social exclusion articulated in response to online news items on news sites and on internet forums.

The central method used in the research was critical discourse analysis and sample included 'old' media and news sites, as well as on-line comments on news websites as a response to mass media texts about poverty and social exclusion.

**Name:** Tamara Petrovic

**Co-authors:** Predrag Cveticanin and Nemanja Krstic

**Institution:** Centre for Empirical Cultural Studies of South-East Europe, Serbia

**RRPP Project:** Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia

### **Classification Discourses in Serbia**

Our paper deals with classification discourses in Serbia – especially the public discourses produced in and by social institutions, political and cultural elites, and the media.

Using content analysis and discourse analysis we analyzed texts in three groups of media: daily newspapers (“Politika”, “Kurir” and “Danas”), magazines („Vreme“ and „NIN“) and semi-scientific journals (“Nova srpska politička misao“ and „Peščanik“). In the period of five years, from 2006 to 2011, we sampled 50 issues of daily newspapers (ten per year), 25 issues of the weekly magazines (five per year) and five issues each of the journals and conduct our analyses on this corpus.

In the paper we identify the basic actors and results of classification struggles in Serbia and the results of the struggle to establish the „dominant principle of domination“ in Serbian society. In this way we round off our analysis in the project „Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia“ of the ways in which the social reproduction of Serbian society takes place and the dynamics of its change.

**Name:** Milos Jovanovic

**Institution:** Faculty of Philosophy in Niš, Serbia

**Religion of Majority on Sexual Minorities: Serbian Orthodox Church and the LGBT Population**

The paper deals with the representation of the LGBT (lesbian-gay-bisexual-transgender) population in the discourse of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The declarations of church bodies and officials, as well as public statements of priests, nuns and monks, and prominent believers regarding non-heterosexual persons are being analyzed. Generally, there is an ambivalent attitude towards the LGBT people, which is usually expressed in the "hate the sin, love the sinner" formula. There is also a different kind of ambivalence: the Serbian Orthodox Church and its faithful either stick to the "policy of silence" regarding LGBT issues or they resort to a very strong moralistic judgment and condemnation. This was particularly noticeable around the time of a gay parade taking place in Belgrade in 2010, as well as during the public discussion before the passing of the anti-discrimination law in national assembly in the same year. The inclusion of philosophical and medical concepts in theological discourse can also be ascertained. In result, besides the expected "sin", there are often mentions of the categories of "unnatural/contrary to nature" and "(mental) illness" in the Church discourse, as well as a strong negative attitude towards the concept of "lifestyle", which is seen as being an imposed product of the modern secularized societies of the West.

**Name:** Bojana Bodroza

**Co-authors:** Nikoleta Gutvajn, Dejan Stankovic, Jelena Teodorovic, Vladeta Milin, IvanaDeric

**Institution:** Institute for Educational Research, Belgrade

**Education Reforms in Serbia, Learning from the Change**

After the political changes in Serbia in the fall of 2000, comprehensive reform was initiated at all levels of education as an effort to improve overall effectiveness, efficiency, and equity of the Serbian education system. Particularly important were changes in the fields of inclusive education, quality assurance, and professional development of teachers.

Based on the Policy cycle model as an underlying conceptual framework of educational change, the study will be conducted with the aim of providing thorough understanding of the process of education reforms in Serbia from the perspective of key stakeholders – teachers, school principals, and policy makers. Policy cycle model proposes that policy changes occur in six more or less distinct phases: identification of the problem, agenda setting, formulation of policy proposals, policy adoption, policy implementation, and policy evaluation. From this perspective, the main question to be addressed in this study is: What specific aspects / phases of education policymaking were perceived as well-executed or problematic by teachers, principals and policymakers in the three examined reforms. Also, we wanted to explore whether perception of policymaking in Serbia differs across the three groups of stakeholders, or across their socio-demographic and professional characteristics.

The research will be conducted on a nationally representative sample of one hundred and fifty elementary schools from Serbia, i.e. principals and teachers from these schools. The sample of policymakers will include representatives from the Serbian Ministry of Education and Science and other relevant institutions that participated in development of education reforms. For the purpose of this study, the questionnaires are constructed based on the relevant theoretical background and the results of previous research on educational change in Serbia.

The results of the study are expected to highlight areas in need of improvement and open the door for successful and sustainable undertaking of educational endeavors in Serbia.

**Name:** Elvin Gjevori and Gezim Visoka

**Institution:** Dublin City University, Ireland

**The Politics of Regional Reciprocity: a Discursive Analysis of the 2011 Census in the Western Balkans**

The mutual recognition of statehood and minority rights, as well as reciprocity in economic and political affairs pose serious challenges to the current political boundaries set on contested ethnic geographies in the Western Balkans.

Such contestation is manifested in direct and indirect and affirmative confrontation between the different social and political forces. A major arena of such contestation is the 2011 census which marks the first official population count since the end of the Yugoslav break up. This census has long been seen as a test for the new democracies of the region and their fragile interstate relations and difficult intra ethnic coexistence in post-conflict societies with ethnic grievances, state recognition, struggles, aggressive kin states and high ethnic rhetoric, census and population politics are a highly fragile issue, which can be quickly transformed into a political battle where different ethnic elites seek to articulate and generate power.

To understand the complex reciprocity interactions in the region we undertake a discourse historical analysis of the framing of the 2011 census by the host state minorities and kin state in Albania, Montenegro, Macedonia, Kosovo and Serbia. In doing this, we create a typology of different responses to the census that illustrates the politics of reciprocity in the Western Balkans. For instance in Macedonia the census has failed due to major grievances raised by the Albanian minority and the strong support of the kin state, while the census in Serbia has faced weak resistance from Albania's minority living in the Presheva valley due to weak support from their kin stat. On the other hand, Greek minority in Albania and Serb minority in Kosovo have boycotted the census due to strong support from their kin state. Notwithstanding this: the census in Montenegro is considered largely successful due to constructive moderate engagement and general acquiescence from kin state and host state. Deriving from these case studies, the paper will argue that census politics in the Western Balkans takes the form of a political device to entrench or transform ethnic geographies which could have systematic implications for mutual recognition and conditionality between borderline neighbours.

**Name:** Krisztina Racz

**Institution:** Central European University, Budapest

**Discourses of Multiculturalism: Hungarian Youth in Vojvodina**

Despite the fact that the concept of multiculturalism has been experiencing a crisis, in Serbia's Autonomous Province of Vojvodina its validity is still generally taken for granted as a social condition inherent to the region. I explore the (ab)use of the notion of multiculturalism by analyzing the semi-personal discourses of Hungarian youth in Vojvodina.

My research questions concern the following: What are the personal discourses of Hungarian youth in Vojvodina towards other ethnic groups and with regard to multiculturalism? Does the interpretation of multiculturalism differ significantly depending on the type (rural vs. urban) and the ethnic composition of the town or village (additive vs. segregative multiculturalism)? Is the multiculturalism in Vojvodina in crisis and has it ever been unproblematic?

To explore these issues, in terms of theory, I combine three bodies of literature: on the history, understandings and criticism of the concept of multiculturalism, on ethnicity and ethnic identification and on youth and identity building.

I am going to present the analysis of ethnographic interviews conducted with Hungarian young people from Vojvodina coming from both, ethnically homogenous and ethnically mixed environments and from both, towns and villages, about their social interactions and attitudes towards the other and the own ethnic group in what is considered a multicultural context and the discourse analysis of their narratives about their interethnic relations. With these methodological tools I aim to examine what multiculturalism means in its everyday practices for the social actors and whether their experiences of multiculturalism conflict with the public rhetoric that perpetuates it.

The general aim of my research is to explore the dynamism of ethnic identity negotiation in a multiethnic social context and contribute to the ongoing debate about the reasons of the salience of ethnic identification and the delineation of the social space according to ethnic categories despite the global environment.



### **3. Workshop: State-Structures, Networks and Informality**

**Name:** Marija Zurnic

**Institution:** University of Nottingham: School of Politics and International Relations

#### **Anti-Corruption Institutions and Political Scandals in Serbia**

The media in Serbia report about corruption scandals on a daily basis. According to my preliminary research of the media coverage in Serbia it can be argued that from the year 2000 to 2010 on average two high-profile corruption scandals occurred every month. In parallel with this, there have been an increasing number of institutional changes in the field of anti-corruption such as anti-corruption policies, institutions and relevant laws. This tendency raises the following questions: Is there a link between corruption scandals and anti-corruption policies in Serbia? To what extent has the discourse of corruption generated the institutional change?

Unlike the growing literature on the impact of political scandals on public opinion, significantly less research has been done on political scandals and institutional formation. Therefore, my research develops around the following hypothesis: the capacity to translate the rhetoric of anti-corruption into practical measures will have been directly influenced by the scale and extent of specific scandals; that is, very high-profile scandals are likely to have acted as the catalyst for political action. In order to test this hypothesis and within the theoretical framework of Discursive Institutionalism (Schmidt, 2010), my research will focus on two types of discourses – coordinative in the political sphere and communicative in the policy sphere. I will analyse the interconnectedness between the two discourses and the potential mutual impact. Main pattern of my research design is ‘a case study within a case study’. Therefore, in my presentation at the RRPP Scientific Conference I will address a particular corruption scandal that occurred in Serbia during the past decade and present the results of my empirical work relating the impact of the scandal on institutional change.

**Name:** Alba Jasini

**Institution:** SECED, Tirana

**RRPP Regional Project: Education-Specific Corruption in the Western Balkans**

In the context of transition and globalization, education arises as one of the key factors of success, as an essential fundament of economic and social advance of a society. Corruption in the education system undermines the development of this crucial fundament of the entire society and hence, hinders the creation of economic and social stability. There is consensus that corruption – widely defined as the abuse of public power for personal interest – has a negative impact on economic growth, equity and distribution. It hampers state efficiency and affects negatively human capital. Meanwhile corruption in the education sector may have an additional corrosive dimension in the long run. Elites are recruited mainly out of the national higher education system. Being educated in a corrupted system, students may leave universities with deficits in knowledge, a deficit which could have disastrous consequences in work life. Furthermore, students are also socialized to a certain extent at educational institutions. Hence, students may “learn” that it is an advantage to bribe, manipulate or use personal networks.

The focus of the research is on education-specific corruption. The objective of the study is to analyze the awareness and the behaviors toward corruption practices and the students’ perception on corruption costs and benefit based on different profiles and stages of higher education, types of education management and cultural and nationality background. Thereby we intend to explore the main practice in place of the education-specific corruption and how these differ according to the country and cultural indications. Furthermore, we intend to analyze if the outcome of corruption is mainly determined by the institution and its perceived level of corruption, or if there exists a self-selection process. In this context self-selection implies that students willing to accept corruption as part of the system are more frequently found in fields that are perceived as highly corrupt. Our hypothesis is that pro-corruption behavior is more prevalent among students who study on sectors with high Corruption Perception Index such as business administration, economics, law and medicine, and less prevalent among students in fields that are less associated to corruption such as art, natural sciences and military.

We intend to assess the questions in various public and private universities, in different disciplines, to measure significance of possible differences across countries, type of universities and disciplines, and assess/identify cases and consequences of such differences. This will be done based on a mixed method approach using semi-structured interviews and focus groups, structured questionnaires and experiments.

**Name:** Marko Zilovic

**Institution:** University of Belgrade, Serbia

**Costs of Justice: Politics of Compliance with the ICTY-related EU conditionality in Croatia and Serbia**

Progress of Croatia and Serbia in their EU membership bids has been slowed down by their erratic patterns of cooperation with the Hague tribunal (ICTY). This has sparked a small but theoretically interesting debate about the limits and mechanisms of the EU conditionality policy in Western Balkans. Authors of the constructivist stream suggest normative discrepancy between ideational norms in Brussels and in the region ought to be given central explanatory role. In contrast, I argue that rationalist explanatory framework – that dominates broader field of conditionality research – remains central for explaining dynamics of compliance with the ICTY-related EU conditionality. If the overall sum of different adoption costs did not exceed the value of EU rewards, politicians in Croatia and Serbia were able to overcome public lack of trust and cooperate with the ICTY.

My argument proceeds in three steps: (1) I offer a critique of constructivism that shows how simplistic appropriation of fashionable constructivist labels serves to mask reified notions of Western Balkan identities. (2) I develop a diversified typology of adoption costs by distinguishing four types of political costs (vote costs, counter-mobilization costs, coalition costs and coherence costs) and an additional category of hidden costs that denotes influence of informal networks in organized crime and in alienated segments of state security services. (3) Finally, I conduct two case studies of politics surrounding arrests and extraditions of generals Gotovina and Mladic. These episodes demonstrate how my richer conceptualization of adoption costs appreciates *politics* of ethnic identity and provides greater explanatory leverage than constructivist approach.

Broader implication of my argument is that regional politics cannot be reduced to analysis of ideological discourses. Common assumption about region's exceptionality borders on scholarly exoticisation. Instead, stronger engagement with theoretical, comparative and methodological developments in political science offers better insight into the regional affairs.

**Name:** Anna Danielson

**Institution:** Department of Government Uppsala University, Södertörn University, Sweden

**From Networks to Power Practices: The Informal Economy in Kosovo as a Bourdieusian Field**

Economic informality is a crucial factor in order to understand the bargains upon which any political order is built. Based on a case study of informality in Kosovo, this paper argues that current theorizations' unquestioning of how self-employed actors' interests are being formed, their de facto black-boxing of interest formation, implies that we miss out upon what actually goes on within the Kosovar informal sector, in particular the role of power within informal practices. Being theoretically informed by the economic sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, the paper suggests that rather than focus upon the individual informal enterprise, we should focus upon informal practices, i.e. informality on the intersubjective level which renders informal behavior the common-sensual way of acting.

A focus upon practices implies in turn greater attention to the temporality of each practice. Temporality is a central component in the work by Bourdieu; underlining the need to conduct diachronic rather than synchronic analyses of empirical phenomena. For Bourdieu, the implications of time on the distribution of power are crucial when assessing the structure and workings of any field. Hence, in contrast to previous theorizations of informality, which tend to form a synchronic outlook and explain interest formation in terms of exogenous forces, I show the need of paying more attention to power structures and how these structures have changed over time; contributing not to one but to a variety of logics conducive of the formation of actors' interest. In Kosovo, the 1990s together with the early years of the transition (from 1999 and onwards) was a decisive period in forming the future rationales of informality by structuring the distributions of power within society.

**Name:** Alexander Kleibrink

**Institution:** Free University Berlin, Germany

**Understanding the Relationship Between Decentralization and Patronage:  
Evidence from Post-Socialist Balkans**

Distinguishing between the goods and evils of patronage is difficult. While political appointments of public officials are a legitimate means to increase the control of political parties over policy making and implementation, excessive politicisation of the public sector is detrimental to the rule of law and the effective functioning of the state. Many post-socialist countries exhibit a rather high degree of politicisation in public and semi-public bodies which undermines citizen's trust in government the fulfillment of public tasks. The likelihood of politicization increases when decentralisation reforms assign more functions to subnational levels of government which is in most cases accompanied by a growing public sector. This paper argues that we still lack sufficiently sound data in order to understand how patronage unfolds at different levels government. Original data collected through an expert survey, from government sources and through document analysis for Serbia and Croatia provide a highly nuanced picture. State-owned enterprises are most prone to patronage practices. Political parties have systematically increased their reach into these enterprises because lax regulation and decentralization reforms have opened up ample opportunities for patronage.

#### **4. Workshop: Post-conflict Arrangements and Democracy**

**Name:** Livia Schubiger

**Co-authors:** Basil Schlaepfer and Daniel Bochsler

**Institution:** University of Zürich, Institute for Political Science, Switzerland

##### **Legacies of War and Voting Behaviour in Ethnically Divided Countries. The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a prime example for ethnically motivated voting behaviour. The ethnic split of the Bosnian party system has emerged in the first multi-party elections in 1990, and it remains a persisting pattern years after the war of 1992-5 has ended. Our paper investigates the long-term consequences of violence on political participation and ethno-nationalist mobilisation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We use information on variation in political violence across municipalities during the war, and we investigate how this violence affects the current political situation in the same places.

The existing evidence on the impact of war-time violence on post-war political behaviour remains mixed (see Blattman 2009, Bellows and Miguels 2008, Balcells 2007 for controversial evidence). We extend the study of the electoral legacies of violence to Bosnia, a country that has held a series of elections under international control since the civil war ended in 1995. Our novel dataset combines the results for elections up to 2008 with information on the intensity of political violence in Bosnian municipalities. Our data allow for a unique research design, not only looking at correlations between violence and internal displacement and nationalist radicalisation at the aggregate level, but distinguishing between different subgroups of voters. In contrast to previous research on the effect of violence on nationalist radicalisation, our data allow us to trace violence exposure and voting behaviour by both locality and ethnic group. Furthermore, we control for war-induced changes of the population.

Our results yield important implications in terms of the prospects of institutional arrangements to mitigate the disruptive effects of political violence.

**Name:** Damir Kapidzic

**Institution:** University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Democratization in Multi-ethnic States**

Democratization is a complex topic, and even more when looking at ethnically divided societies. Under such circumstances the introduction of democratic elements and processes has to be complemented with mechanisms for managing conflict potential. This paper synthesizes the arguments put forward in my dissertation that analyses which democratic models and institutional mechanisms enhance political stability enabling responsible and effective governance in multiethnic states. Guided by the research question "Which model of democracy enables greater institutional effectiveness and political stability in multiethnic states?", majoritarian, consensual, and hybrid models of democracy are assessed through a comparative study, based on various democracy indexes and supplemented by two in-depth case studies.

Working with a large sample the comparative study shall categorize cases according to the democratic model and degree of ethnic fragmentation, and analyze them for their conflict potential and governance output. Various existing democracy and governance indexes serve as the basis for this study (Polity IV, Freedom House, Bertelsman Transformations Index, Quality of Government Dataset, and World Bank World Governance Indicators). Further, two cases (BiH and Serbia) shall be analyzed in depth with regard to specific democracy instruments. Traditional forms of multiethnic governance and cross-ethnic ties. Combining these two approaches will give a broad view on the status of democracy in multiethnic states, the advantages and shortcomings of different democratic models, as well as highlight case specific issues and solutions to managing diversity in the Western Balkans.

Taking into account the limitations of the conference paper I plan to focus on the two in-depth case studies, and their comparison, while only giving a broad overview of the large-n study. The cases of BiH and Serbia that will be analyzed are of additional significance given the conferences topic.

**Name:** Milan Cakic

**Institution:** University of Belgrade, Serbia

**Law on Lustration in Serbia and Democratization Process: Strengthening of Democracy or Promoting Partial Interests?**

Lustration laws were causing a lot of controversy throughout post-socialist Europe ever since the first such law has been introduced in former Czechoslovakia in October 1991. Some social events' agents argued lustration was necessary to support "fragile democratic institutions", but others denied that, saying it's nothing more than a tool in political struggles. This paper is basically trying to answer the question is lustration needed to strengthen democracy or is it only an instrument to weaken political opponents. By analyzing Serbian Law on Lustration, official stenographic transcript of parliamentary debate on the law and political conditions in the country at the time of its enforcement this article attempts to understand motivation of main political stakeholders to support or oppose the law.

First part of the paper examines the relation of terms as well as phenomena of lustration and vetting, which are often confused and used interchangeably. This is followed by review of theoretical frame accepted for the purposes of the article. Second part of proposed paper is the analysis of the most important elements of Serbian lustration law and the debate that took place in the Parliament before its adoption.

The paper will also try to use comparative method and juxtapose settings in different countries when availability and comparability of data allows that. Main hypothesis around which whole paper evolves is that law on lustration was mostly used as a "weapon" in political contest rather than as a measure to deal with ethical, justice and democracy fostering issues.



**Name:** Ilire Agimi

**Institution:** Maastricht Graduate School of Governance, Netherlands

**Local Governance in Kosovo: A source of Democratic Change**

Local government reform is a critical measure of successful transition from an authoritarian to a democratic regime. Much of existing literature on democratization focuses on central government assuming a 'trickling-down' effect of good governance which eventually reaches the local level. Emerging out of a state-centric legacy of hierarchical control, local governments struggle to strengthen their position within the changing political arena. This paper makes a case for local governance as the foundation of successful socio-political reforms and challenges a prevailing assumption in literature that democratization efforts are mainly a top-down venture. Opening up local decision making to non-state actors, especially civil society, is critical in terms of reconstruction, building multi-ethnic societies, and reconstructing state authority. Testing for a model of multi-level governance, we analyze the main local government reforms implemented to distribute power and reconstruct decision-making pattern. The concern is that reform agendas, and in particular the process of Europeanization, actually reinforce centralized decision making.

**Name:** John Hulsey

**Institution:** James Madison University, USA

**Bucking Ethnic Representation: Election-jumping and Ticket-splitting in Bosnian Elections**

Ethnic representation seeks to defuse ethnic conflict by guaranteeing representation to ethnic groups through elections to executives and legislatures reserved for particular ethnic groups. However, voters in recent elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina are bucking ethnic representation by voting in elections for “other” ethnic groups in order to elect more moderate candidates. Despite the power of ethnic parties in divided societies, recent research points toward conditions under which voters do choose more moderate and non-ethnic parties (Chandra 2005). This paper posits a framework for understanding the institutional conditions under which mechanisms of ethnic representation may also create the possibility of moderation and multiethnic voting, despite the original intent of those institutions. Propositions derived from the framework are subsequently tested against precinct level voting patterns across time and across election types for the 2006 and 2010 General Elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Name:** Hinz Julia

**Institution:** Westfälische Wilhelms-University, Münster, Germany

**The War in Kosovo Continues – Diverse Experiences from Returnees of Minority Communities**

The civil conflict as well as the NATO-led military intervention in Kosovo caused many Kosovars to leave their homes. Apart from the 800,000 Albanians, more than 250,000 members of minority communities, such as Serbs, Roma, Ashkali, Egyptians, Gorans, Bosnians, and Croats, were displaced. Refugee return in post-conflict societies serves many essential purposes: In most cases, repatriation is “not a goal in itself but a means of establishing a legitimate successor government” (Adelman 2002: 277) which is still missing in Kosovo. While any post-conflict society might survive and progress without full refugee return, any national reconciliation process is only achievable with the return of the refugees. In Kosovo, most of the displaced members of minority communities, especially Serbs and Roma, continue to be displaced. Other members of minority communities, such as the Ashkali and Egyptians, largely returned to their homes. Thus, the question arises as to why some minorities return and others still refrain from doing so. According to the author, the decision to return depends on the conditions upon return.

Therefore, this paper seeks to identify these conditions and aims at clarifying the following questions: Are they able to maintain sustainable livelihoods without external support? Are they well integrated into the communities? Based on the definition of sustainable return by Black and Gent (2006), this paper explores seven criteria: security, economic opportunities, housing, education, health care, infrastructure, and legal conditions. Due to the lack of quantitative data, this survey is mainly based on qualitative reports of (non) governmental organizations. Furthermore, qualitative research interviews gave an additional insight into the current situation of returnees from minority communities in Kosovo. It is expected that the different ethnic minority communities face very un-like conditions upon their return. This is due to the (perceived) role they played during the war in the 1990s.

**Name:** Elias Dinas and Nikos Skoutaris

**Institution:** University of Oxford, UK

**Managing the Balkan post-conflict arrangements: Consolidating Consociationalism through the Electoral Systems**

Lijphart has argued that 'for divided societies, ensuring the election of a broadly representative legislature should be the crucial consideration, and P[roportionate] R[epresentation] is undoubtedly the optimal way of doing so.<sup>1</sup>

Despite this assertion, post-conflict arrangements have used a number of different electoral systems in order to effectively accommodate ethno-linguistic and religious cleavages in a consociational manner. The scope of the proposed paper is twofold.

On the one hand, it aims at mapping how consociationalism is echoed in the electoral systems of certain Balkan States, where power-sharing arrangements are in place. To achieve this goal, the paper describes the consociational variant in the constitutional structures of three Balkan divided societies ie. Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Macedonia and how the consensus model of democracy has been translated in their electoral systems.

On the other hand it consists of an effort to assess whether it consists of an effort and, if so, the extent to which the relevant electoral systems have been successful at consolidating the consociational principle by focusing on the elections that has taken place in those political systems. By looking closely at the interplay between public opinion and political actors issue stances in those societies we are able to test whether the chosen electoral systems in the aforementioned power-sharing arrangements have favoured parties with a more consociational agenda over time or whether parties with a more 'separatist' one have managed to dominate the political arena. Overall, the present paper questions the success of consociationalism to bridge the ethno-linguistic and/ or religious cleavages in the divided societies of Balkans.

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<sup>1</sup> A Lijphart, *Thinking about democracy* (London, Routledge, 2008), 78.

**Name:** Lejla Balic and Midhat Izmirlija

**Institution:** Law School of the University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

**The Role of Inter-party Cooperation in the Democratisation Process of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

This paper aims to analyse Bosnia-Herzegovinian (B&H) political party programmes with the purpose of defining a basic consensus that ought to be built on ideologically. In relation to this and through analyses of the competitive election system as one of the elements of democratic stability, a definition of fundamental issues and activities of B&H political parties shall be explored. The activities of political parties will act as one of the subjects of the democratisation process stemming from a connection based on related ideological paths that traverse particular interests and differences, and may serve as a model for transforming the political party system within Bosnia and Herzegovina. The research will begin from the presumption that there is a core problem besides the complementarities of political programmes; there is neither constructive cooperation nor bonding between ideologically-related political parties in B&H.

In light of this, the paper's focus will be directed towards inter-party cooperation, positions and the role of youth and woman branches within and between B&H political parties. Keeping in mind that the election system in Bosnia and Herzegovina favours participation of women in politics, the research shall include analyses of the real influence of women branches in decision-making within political parties, simultaneously including an analyses of inter-party democracy (if it exists). Conclusively, the results would indicate whether women equally participate in creating policies or if their political role is merely to satisfy the form. An analysis of the open list proportional representation system, in this sense, therefore becomes an item of interest that, in principle, contributes to the democratisation of the system as a whole. The question remains, however, whether [or not] this system yields benefits in electing women to legislative bodies. The research of possible inter-party cooperation among youth branches is based on the presumption of profiling young people as leaders that, in the future, may develop more effective mechanisms of cooperation in juxtaposition to the current political elite. However, exploring activities of youth branches may reveal a negative trend in creating a deepening of differences.

Quality of the sample used during processing will be achieved through analyses of political programmes enacted by the leading political parties; this also includes opposition parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, keeping in mind the geographical representation of political parties on the national and regional levels.

**Name:** Adis Arapovic

**Institution:** University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Election system in Bosnia and Herzegovina: catalyst of unsuccessful democratization**

Key role and aim of election legislation in countries of parliamentary democracy is the creation of institutional framework inside of which democratic order will be improved and strengthened, ensuring transparency of election process and holding of fair, free and just elections. However, in the election legislation in Bosnia exists a great number of significant deficiencies and anomalies which endanger the holding of transparent, democratic and fair elections. After the ruling of European Court for Human Rights in the case of 'Sejdic and Finci vs. B&H', it is evident that the election system in Bosnia is incomplete and that it is necessary to conduct major reform in this field, which would satisfy basic principles of contemporary democratic election systems, so that election system, together with Constitution of Bosnia would not be in contradiction with European Convention on Human Rights. Present election system in Bosnia, even though contributor towards establishment of the rule of law, democratization and political pluralism in the last decade, is still not grounded in general, equal and secret right of vote, and free and direct electability for all of the citizens, with equal electoral rights for all. Bosnia's election system has still not reached the standard of contemporary democratic systems which assumes five principles: secrecy of vote, free elections, direct elections, equal electoral rights and general electoral rights. Incomplete election system has contributed towards breach of Constitutional norms and international conventions on human rights, excess proliferation of political parties, recurrence of political crisis, unstable parliamentary majority, malversation and misuse of election law.

This paper, by combining instruments of theoretical and policy study, offers unique hypothesis that election system in Bosnia is catalyst of unsuccessful democratization, and as such implies slowed and blocked process of consolidation of parliamentary democracy, and democratization of society in general.

**Name:** Ana Stojanova

**Institution** MT Institute for Advanced Studies Lucca, Italy

**Reconsidering the Effects of Political Participation on Democracy: New Evidence from the Western Balkans**

It is commonly accepted view among the scholars that citizens' participation in politics is an essential ingredient for the success of the advanced democracies. As the collapse of the communist rule in Eastern Europe in the beginning of the 1990's has brought an economic and political opening of the new societies, the discussion on the political engagement became even more relevant, especially in the context of the new democracies. Namely, the weak participation in politics by ordinary citizens in the "young European democracies" is considered to be one of the main reasons for the prolonged political and economic transition in these countries. However, the empirical data show that there are significant differences in the political participation rates between the Western Balkan countries and the 10 new EU members. Based on the fact that the Western Balkan countries were far less successful in consolidating liberal democracy than most of the post-communist European states, the expectations are that they will have distinctively lower levels of political participation. Nevertheless, the empirical evidence shows that the levels of almost all dimensions of political participation (voter turnout, membership of political parties, signing petitions, joining in boycotts etc.) are higher in the Western Balkan states. Therefore, I argue that while the low citizens' participation rates leads to hollow or stagnant democracy in most democratic systems, higher rates of civic engagement is not necessarily indication for better democracy in post-communist Europe.

The two crucial questions that I address in this paper are: Which kind of political participation (if any) is particularly relevant for deepening of democracy in the Western Balkans, and what makes people participate in politics in the first place? By using pooled time series cross-sectional regression analysis, I statistically evaluate whether citizens' participation in public decision making is important attribute of the democratic performance in the Western Balkans. Furthermore, I put forward and test the determinants of political participation specific to the context of new post-communist democracies in Europe by placing Western Balkans and the rest of Eastern Europe in comparative perspective.

## **5. Workshop: Democratisation, Europeanization and State-Reforms**

**Name:** Martin Mendelski

**Institution** University of Luxembourg/University of Belgrade

### **Donor-driven promotion of the rule of law in Serbia**

This article deals with recent externally-driven judicial reforms in Serbia. It examines the impact of international donors (European Union, Council of Europe, and USAID) on the development of judicial quality (rule of law) across two key dimensions: judicial capacity and judicial impartiality. The article argues and shows empirically that, although external donors have been crucial in eliciting change in judicial capacity, they were largely unsuccessful in changing aspects of judicial impartiality. The author concludes that the involvement of international donors in Serbia has produced an asymmetrical development which has been of limited success: that is, these actors had a considerable impact on improving de jure judicial quality, but were unable to affect rule implementation and thus failed to create de facto judicial quality. Methodologically, the article makes use of a detailed case-study method with process-tracing. Data are drawn from a number of primary sources (interviews were conducted in Brussels) and secondary sources such as official governmental documents, reports, surveys and scholarly literature relevant to the topic.



**Name:** Soeren Keil and Zeynep Arkan

**Institution** University of Kent, Canterbury, UK

**EU Enlargement Policy towards Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Role of Discursive Consistency**

This study will assess the role of the European Union (EU) as a foreign policy actor in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It will discuss to what extent the enlargement process of the EU, framed in the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) has contributed to significant changes in the political, economic and social reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina over the last ten years. To assess the impact of the EU we will first clarify our research methodology and describe the role of EU actorness in foreign policy in general and more specifically in enlargement policy. We will then discuss the SAP and the different instruments the EU uses to influence the development of potential candidate countries in the Western Balkans. In contrast to its previous enlargements, the instruments that the EU uses in relation to the Western Balkans do not only focus on conditionality and incentives, but also include direct intervention, more robust actions through the presence of EU Military and Police Missions and direct support for selected partners, while naming and blaming other local actors.

Our analysis will focus on the importance of discursive consistency in the EU's enlargement policy. We claim that the EU is more likely to motivate local elites to implement sufficient reforms if its discourse on the need for reform is consistent and the discourse on reform focuses on technical rather than on political criteria. By comparing the Introduction of a country-wide Value-Added-Tax (VAT) in Bosnia in 2006 and the discussions around a police reform (2004-2008), we will be demonstrating why the former was successful, agreed upon and implemented without major opposition, while the Police Reform was discussed over a long period of time, faced substantial local opposition and was eventually implemented without meeting the stated EU criteria.

**Name:** Gentian Elezi

**Institution** University of Sussex, Brighton, UK

**Regional integration through trade cooperation: discussing trade integration impact in the Balkan countries.**

After the collapse of communism, the Balkan countries fell into a period of great instability and ethnic conflicts. The European Union couldn't help in preventing them but tried to be in the first line in the post-conflict period. Although the European Union tried to offer a clear perspective of membership to the Western Balkan countries, it is evident that these countries are not advancing rapidly and not following same trajectories. After the war of Kosovo, the EU decided to elaborate and implement a more concrete and structured path for the region. The idea of the Stability Pact aimed the creation of an integrated area, trying to use the previous successful practise of Central Europe countries, and with reference to the experience of the creation of the EU itself. Regional cooperation was included as a main element in the Agreements that the EU would sign with these countries. As in other past examples of integration of countries in troubled regions, main element of this strategy was the strengthening of economic relations, which would later bring a political cooperation and integration.

In this paper, I will try to analyze the path that the EU chose to adopt for the integration of this region, more than 10 years ago, and explain why that approach didn't give the expected results. The analysis will be based in both, theoretical and empirical approach. Firstly, the paper will review and discuss the main theories in regional integration and then analyze the missing pieces of the puzzle that didn't enable integration between the countries of the Balkan, although a similar approach as in other experiences was adopted (economic integration first, for political integration later). On the other hand, the biggest paradox is that the regional integration project was not part of an integrated platform with political, social, and economic cooperation, but merely procedural and trade related. I will explore and show more in depth this point and its implications.

In particular, the paper will argue that the lack of including free movement of citizens as a crucial factor and important condition for all other strategies to work, determined the low success that the so-called regional approach had in the region. Furthermore, without the clear involvement of other political agreements, judicial and legislative cooperation, the project was destined to a rather difficult process. Through a comparative approach, I try to analyze and point out the differences between the Balkan case and other successful regions in terms of integration strategies and how these differences determined the difficult feasibility of the integration model. Finally, I will draw some conclusions on the main reasons of the 'failure' of this policy of the EU in the Balkans and raise some question from the new perspectives of integration.

**Name:** Marko Kmezić

**Institution:** Institute for Democracy Societas Civilis Skopje

**RRPP Project: Europeanization by Rule of Law Implementation in the Western Balkans**

Strengthening of the rule of law and the accession to the European Union (EU) has been fraught with difficulties in the Western Balkans (WB) for over 20 years. In line with previous scholarship on “Europeanization”, we understand this phenomenon as a politically driven process, i.e. as a way how EU institutions, rules and policy-making processes impact the legal systems, institutional mechanisms and creation of collective cultural identity in non-EU member states. Hence, the research question of our multifactor comparative analysis remains the same: Whether and what kind of influence the EU institutions have on implementation of the rule of law in the WB. The central focus of the proposed research project will be the reform of the judiciary in the five selected case study countries. Namely, we want to study the institutional reform carried out in the judicial sector (identified for the need of this research as a functional triangle between the judiciary, prosecutor’s office and the police) by a content analysis of legal rules and administrative regulations adopted for this purpose and their implementation. Although there is no uniform EU standard regarding the rule of law, we observe that the rule of law as a constitutional principle and institutional mechanism in legal textbooks’ descriptions is quite different from practical requirements with regard to the conceptualization and operationalization of benchmarks for monitoring processes in the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP). Namely, during the monitoring process of the (potential) candidate countries’ compliance to the Copenhagen conditionality criteria related to the effective rule of law and democracy principle, the EU Commission tests and criticizes “effectiveness” of rule of law in the judiciary. Bearing this in mind, we propose to test whether the EU Commission uses “double standards” or whether a coherent framework of analysis is created and used in the monitoring process by making use of a study on the re-enforcement of rule of law in the Western Balkans, commissioned by EuropeAid and the benchmarks developed in this study, i.e. independence, responsibility, efficiency, and effectiveness.

From this basic analytical framework, a subset of more concrete research questions follows: What EU requirements are developed in the monitoring process? Which organizational-institutional reforms have been made? Which gate-keeper elites resisted against these reforms? Who (critical civil society actors) supported these reforms? What have been the effects and how did they change over the last decade with regard to independence, responsibility, efficiency, effectiveness benchmarks? By focusing specifically on the area of judiciary, the main findings of this research project will be: a) Specification of the conditionality criteria for the EU accession in the field of the rule of law, and b) Policy recommendations for future institutional settings in the WB countries.

The basic units of our analysis are the EU institutions and WB countries selected for comparative purpose: Macedonia and Montenegro, which enjoy candidate status; Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia, which have signed Stabilization and Association Agreements, but also have serious problems with their state institutions’ stability due to the unresolved statehood and nationality issues; and Kosovo, as a potential candidate country.

**Name:** Dusan Spasojevic

**Institution:** Faculty of Political Sciences University of Belgrade-Center for Democracy

**RRPP Project: Comparative Analyses of Democratic Performances of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro Parliaments**

The subject of this research project is comparative analyses of the position and performances of the parliaments in the political institutional system of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro, their legislative, control and transparency mechanisms.

The main hypothesis is that the parliament is weak and dominated by government and influential interests from the private sector in all of the three countries participating in the project. Our interest in this topic has developed from the belief that if parliaments are not acting as cornerstones of democracy and if citizens lack confidence in parliament then voting and active political participation will seem less reasonable to every citizen. Unfortunately, this is the case, as we suggest, in Western Balkan countries. We also argue that supremacy of executive branch in new democracies is a different phenomenon and more damaging for democracy than in the old democracies.

Our research is focused, first, on the detailed analyses of parliaments' functioning, and second, on giving recommendation to improve the position and work of parliaments. We plan to analyze carefully all documents regulating the position and role of the parliaments (Constitutions, Laws on Parliament, Rules of Procedure, etc.) and to investigate how the parliaments fulfill their competences in practice (how the laws are made, exercise of the oversight role, transparency of the parliamentary work, etc.). Also, important aspect of our research will be in-depth interviews with members of each of the three parliaments conducted in order to get insight about the parliaments' performances. Finally, we will look into international influence on parliaments and their performances, starting from EU accession process as the institutionalized form of influence. We will also include other international stakeholders since they exert significant influence regarding institutional design in general.

The aim of our research project is to strengthen parliament as a main institution of representative democracy. The parliament should be an institution for settling disputes, for public deliberation, negotiating about differences, realizing and accepting them. Therefore, this research aims to gather regional academics and practitioners at a conference on the role and position of the parliaments in Western Balkans. The result of this conference will be an edited volume with theoretical and empirical perspectives on the institution of parliament in Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Another output of our research will be three policy papers on each of the three parliaments researched with the analyses and recommendations. There will be three round tables organized before the publication of the policy papers to which members of parliaments and experts from the parliaments will be invited to give comments. After the policy papers publication three press conferences will be organized in Belgrade, Podgorica and Sarajevo in order to inform the public about the results of the project and to encourage reforms in the parliaments.

## **6. Workshop: Migration, Diaspora and Development**

**Name:** Ana Stojilovska

**Institution:** Analytica (Macedonia) and the Albanian Centre for Social-Economic Research (ACSER)

**RRPP Project: Migration and Development in Albania and Macedonia: the Effects of Remittances on Education and Health of Family Members Left Behind**

The project aims to contribute with novel research by tackling the topics of how the remittances affect health outcome and education performance. The research question on education outcomes is how remittances and migration experience effects educational outcomes of family members left behind and whether remittances increase the investments in human capital and educational attainments of family members due to the lift of the liquidity constraints. The research question on the health outcomes is whether remittances and migration experience deteriorate or improve health outcomes of the non-migrants or family members left behind (child health). The main hypothesis is that remittances have positive effect on child education and health outcomes due to the lift of liquidity constrains.

The research plan consists of drafting a comprehensive review of the literature on migration, remittances and the impact in Albania and Macedonia with respect to education and health; organisation of 2 surveys in Albania and Macedonia for the purpose of collecting new evidence on the impact of remittances on education and health; and preparing a comparative and econometric analysis of how remittances affect educational attainment. The final output is the policy paper containing policy recommendations from the main findings. It is expected the field research to confirm the main hypothesis. Therefore, the policy paper will promote policies that loosen the mentioned constrains.

Albania and Macedonia as small developing countries have highly dependency rate on remittances. In fact, the remittances play an important role providing complimentary social protection and correcting contribute to increases in consumption, poverty alleviation etc. Since there is very little research on the effect of remittances especially in education and health, the project outcome will be both of national and regional relevance.

**Name:** Edlira Narazani

**Institution:** Centre for Economic Development and Research (Bosnia and Herzegovina) in cooperation with Albanian Centre for Social-Economic Research (Albania)

**RRPP Project: Linking Rural Entrepreneurs & Diaspora in Albania and Bosnia-Herzegovina**

This project is motivated by the findings of several research report published on these two countries, which identified numerous obstacles for rural entrepreneurship. What is more important, it found also that first the main reason why our migrants do not return or reemigrate again is the lack of opportunity for employment or starting a new business and second almost no any investments are being made by Bosnian and Albanian Diaspora to their home country despite their high saving propensity in the destination countries. For these reasons, it is necessary to investigate what are the main factors encumbering rural entrepreneurship, and how the potential of Diaspora, such as savings, can be used to overcome problems that rural entrepreneurs are facing in a home country.

The key tasks of this project are to conduct investigation among rural entrepreneurs in the two countries and their Diaspora community, in order to identify their obstacles for rural entrepreneurship in Albania and Bosnia, and the potential of Diaspora that could be used for mitigation of these obstacles and promotion of entrepreneurial activities in the rural area. The survey of rural entrepreneurs will be used in order to collect the data for the econometric estimation of the model of determinants affecting success of entrepreneurial business in rural areas in the two countries. The first version of the model will be specified before the conference, and the conference will provide good opportunity to discuss remaining doubts about the model specification and alternative estimation methods. Additional research activities would involve interviews with rural entrepreneurs, including return migrants, analysis of several cases of successful small businesses in selected areas run or supported by (return) migrants and online survey of Diaspora. The Diaspora survey will be analysed mainly by using descriptive statistics, which will give use an insight into the potential of Diaspora that can be utilized for improving conditions for rural entrepreneurship in the two countries. Finally, round tables with different stakeholders in order to discuss possible solutions for improvement will be organized.

Based on the findings of these investigations, concrete policy proposals and solutions for linking rural entrepreneurs with the Diaspora will be developed. Implementation of these solutions would improve entrepreneurial activities in the rural areas of these two countries, increase employment opportunities, particularly of socially vulnerable groups, and attract larger involvement of Diaspora in economic development of its home country. The findings of this study will be presented in two workshops organized in both countries. As these activities should produce a positive impact on several vulnerable groups, such as return migrants, family members left behind, and potential migrants, this research is relevant for the implementation of the social inclusion strategies in the two countries. Moreover, this would help policy makers at the EU level to develop solution strategies for sustainable repatriation of migrants and reduction of potential migration pressure from these two countries.

**Name:** Florin Peci

**Institution:** Economic Development Group EDG, Prishtina and the Institute of Advanced Studies, Tirana

**RRPP Project: Migration and its impacts from the perspective of the economic development of the home country: with special reference to the case Kosovo and Albania**

**Objectives:**

To analyse the impact of migration on the economic development of the home country

- The determinants of the emigration propensity will be investigated by replicating the analysis in Kotorri (2010).
- The impact of migration on children's educational attainment will be explored deploying the empirical approach in Dabalen and Miluka (2010), which analyses whether investment in human capital of children growing up in households with international migrants is higher compared with children in households without migrants.
- The impact of migration on poverty will be analyzed by deploying the approach in Bhaumik et al. (2006).
- The examination of the determinants of migration duration from the perspective of the individual will focus on the probability of return, prior or in 2012 as opposed to not having returned up to 2012 (the year when the survey will be conducted), conditional on certain explanatory variables.

The empirical analyses will be based on data to be collected through the surveys in the two countries. Data collection methodology includes: 1) household surveys in Kosovo and Albania to collect individual, household and community characteristics; and 2) in-depth interviews with relevant institutions aiming at understanding the dynamics of migration and (financial and educational) investment decisions.

**Expected results**

Research results and policy recommendations will be written as papers to be submitted to academic journals and presented at relevant international conferences and seminars. Policy recommendations will be prepared as a special document and submitted to relevant policy makers in Kosovo and Albania.

**Relevance for specific policy fields:**

The macroeconomic situation in these two countries and the high rates of migration and migration propensity warrants detailed analysis of the determinants of migration and return, as well as the impacts of migration on educational attainment and poverty. The analysis aims at drafting policy recommendation focusing on how to better utilise migration and remittances given the current developmental challenge.

**Name:** Esmeralda Shehaj

**Institution** University of Tirana, Faculty of Economics

**Assessing the Potential of International Migration as a Poverty Reduction Tool**

Despite the steady improvement in the macroeconomic environment, Albania is still considered one of the poorest countries in Europe. Considerable improvement has been made, but according to the World Bank's Poverty Assessment in 2008, more than 12 percent of the population lived below the poverty line. The improvement has been attributed mainly to higher per capita GDP, but it is also generally recognised that international remittances have played an important role. On the other hand, the improved poverty rates in the country have not been accompanied by significant reductions in the Mountain area. Compared to 2005, by 2008 poverty in the Mountain region increased by 1 percentage point and the increase is even more pronounced in mountain rural areas. The rural poverty rate in the Mountain region was 14 percent higher than the national rural rate in 2005, and 104 percent higher in 2008, whilst rural poverty rates for other regions in 2008 are almost at the national rural poverty rate or lower (Albanian Institute of Statistics, UNDP and the World Bank, 2009).

This study estimates the impact of the international migration and remittances on poverty rates in the hypothetical case with additional migration and remittances in the Mountain region of Albania using data from the Albanian LSMS 2008. In this hypothetical case, the basic assumption is that the households that do not receive remittances from their members will send one (additional) member abroad and that this person will remit. A counterfactual of per capita consumption expenditure is constructed for the observed non recipient households by using the estimated coefficients of the determinants of per capita consumption of the households that receive remittances from their members abroad.

The results suggest that controlling for characteristics of the household, its head and location, the recipient and non-recipient households do not differ in their unobserved characteristics. In the Mountain region, the counterfactual with migration and remittances yields to considerably lower poverty rates. If given the opportunity to migrate the poverty headcount would have declined by 64 percent and the poverty gap and severity would have been almost inexistent.



## **7. Workshop: Gender Politics and Discourses**

**Name:** Jovan Zubovic

**Co-author:** Ivana Domazet

**Institution** Institute of Economic Sciences, Belgrade

**RRPP Project:** Macroeconomic Analysis and Empirical Evaluation of Active Labour Market Policies in Serbia

### **Effectiveness of government interventions in the labour market on women and youth in Serbia**

In the period of over 50 years, since 1960's there have been introduced many different types of state interventions in labour markets worldwide. Some of them have influenced demand side in the labour markets, while the others had a goal of improving the offer side. In this paper we have focused on analyzing the effectiveness of the group of such measures, today called as active labour market policies on two largest vulnerable groups in Serbian labour market - women and youth population. By the means of using previously developed methodology we will focus on the above named target groups with a goal of determining what policies bring most gains. Moreover by using PSM methodology we will perform micro evaluation of several different ALMP used in Serbia with a goal of obtaining precise information on the difference in effects among measures. The paper consists of four parts:

The first part describes in brief active policies that will be analysed. In the second part we present the methodology used in the paper, while in third we deliver the results collected from the Serbian labour market. In the fourth part we analyse and discuss our findings. Finally we give conclusions and recommendations in the fifth section of this paper.

**Name:** Suncica Vujic

**Institution:** Foundation for the Advancement of Economics, Belgrade

**RRPP Project: Gender Pay Gap in the Western Balkan Countries: Evidence from Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia**

This research examines the incidence and determinants of the gender earnings gap in a sample of Western Balkan Countries. The gender pay gap refers to a difference between the wages earned by women and by men. The gender pay gap is examined taking into account: (1) level of education; (2) occupation status; (3) part and full time work; (4) industry of work with special focus on agriculture and contributing family members (mostly women and children); (5) comparing employees, managers and self-employed (entrepreneurs); (6) private and public sector; (7) formal and informal work; (8) comparing periods of pre/after process of privatisation and restructuring (pre vs. post year 2001); (9) interaction of the afore mentioned transition process and period of financial crisis which started in 2008; and (10) zooming into marginalized social groups (Roma, refugees, people with disabilities, ex-offenders, etc.)

The motivation for this study comes from an inadequate labour market position of women in countries in the Western Balkans and the necessity to voice the importance of gender equality in the economic arena. "Women and men are legally equal, but they are not economically equal," (Apostolova, 2010). According to the UNDP Human Development Report (2009), the ratio of estimated female to male earned income is 0.49% in FYR Macedonia, 0.59% in Serbia, and 0.58% in Montenegro. In comparison, the average of female to male earned income in 27 EU Member States is 0.82% (Foubert, 2008). Further, women have lost out more than men in comparison to the situation before the transition and financial crisis periods, and their position is improving more slowly. Except for a few recent papers (Blunch, 2010; Blunch and Sulla, 2010; Angel-Urdinola, 2008), the current evidence in this area is largely descriptive and does not make a systematic comparison between the Western Balkan countries. Proposed research aims to fill this gap.

The country focus has been chosen according to the following criteria: (a) the focus of the Regional Research Promotion Programme (RRPP) Western Balkans; (b) common historical and geographical milieu; and (c) data availability and comparability. The research will involve appending/merging appropriate waves and variables of the Labour Force Surveys (LFS) of the three analysed countries. If necessary, additional data will be collected through appropriate survey design (semi-structured questionnaire and sampling method). Further, relevant statistic and econometric analysis (Mincer earnings regression (Mincer, 1974) and Oaxaca decomposition (Oaxaca, 1973)) will be performed in order to answer the proposed research questions. We expect to find large imbalances between earnings of men and women when compared across different industries, levels of management, private and public sectors, etc., controlling for socio-economic characteristics. On the base of the findings of this research, policy recommendation will be formulated.

The findings of this research will be promoted through website, international conferences, and workshops organised in participating countries, aimed at creating a platform for debate with key stake-holders in labour market policy making and implementation. Further, results will be distributed in the form of FREN's working papers, with an aim to publish them in one of the peer-reviewed economic journals

**Name:** Jelena Ceriman and Milena Mrdak Micovic

**Institution:** Center for ethics, law and applied philosophy, Belgrade and  
Society for Anglo-American Literary Studies, Podgorica

**RRPP Project: Gender Perspectives in Family Socialisation**

The overall objective of our research is to shed light on the process of social construction of gender by analyzing values and upbringing practices of fathers and mothers in the process of gender socialization of children in families. The values and upbringing practices of parents reflect the socio-cultural and historical context. The main motivation for examining the characteristics of values systems of contemporary families in Serbia and Montenegro comes from the fact that tendencies for re-patriarchalization and re-traditionalization of social life have been noticed in Serbia and in Montenegro. The patriarchal matrix and the patriarchal values pattern are still the modeling agent for the gender system of relations in families as well as in society as a whole.

The methodology that we use in the process of gathering data is a combination of in-depth interview and direct observation. The method for analyzing research data is "grounded theory". We expect our research to indicate the dominant patterns of gender socialization of children in families in Serbia and Montenegro.

Researching values and upbringing practices of parents (fathers and mothers) will indicate the cause of the gender inequality problem in Serbia and Montenegro. With this in mind, our research can be a reference for defining national development strategies in these countries.

**Name:** Maria Adriana Deiana

**Institution:** School of Politics, International Studies and Philosophy, Belfast, Ireland

**Citizenship, Identity and Belonging: Women's Narratives in Post-Dayton  
Bosnia - Herzegovina.**

A review of debates around the current constitutional set up in Bosnia-Herzegovina reveals that the notion of ethnic citizenship, achieved through the Dayton Peace Agreement, has entrenched ethno-national narratives as the dominant political discourse. This paper argues that such logic entails a notion of citizenship which not only produces exclusionary processes explicitly based on ethnicity, but also implicitly on gender. Drawing on a series of semi-structured interviews, this paper aims to explore how women interested in gender issues and active in different arenas of society position themselves in relation to this political discourse. With a specific focus on issues of identity, this paper is therefore dedicated to analyse how women's narratives intersect with the politicization of ethnic, national and religious affiliation which characterises dominant citizenship discourses in the context of Post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina. By examining whether interviewees embrace, resist or reformulate the categories and roles fostered by nationalist discourses, the paper seeks to explore the ways in which the women interviewed recast their identity as citizens and possibly challenge the politicisation of nationalist, religious and ethnic identities. At the same time, the interviews offer a complex picture of the fluid and multiple axes which define the interviewee's identity. Accordingly the paper makes a case for feminist theoretical formulations which provide a more nuanced understanding of citizenship as entailing multiple senses of belonging.

**Name:** Brikena Qafa-Osami

**Institution:** IIUM, Malaysia

**Women's Voices, Women's Pain: Experience of Marital Violence among Women in Berat City, Albania**

Violence against women in Albania is a serious human rights issue, and yet it is not a topic discussed openly in society. This study aims to investigate the seriousness of this problem within Albanian society with the purpose of providing valuable data on grounds. This thesis is based on case studies of women's experiences in violent relationships in Berat, Albania. Participants include fifteen married Albanian women who were once or currently being abused in their homes during the time of their interviews. A qualitative methodology is utilized for analysis while data collection is undertaken from the case study approach. Specifically, the research focuses on the forms and factors that cause marital violence, as well as coping strategies employed by the victims. Interviews with the participants indicate that most of the typical forms of abuse are prevalent in their abusive relationships. While the factors that trigger marital violence in Albania vary from cultural, social, and economical to interpersonal, findings dismiss the myth that marital violence is a problem limited to the poor or the uneducated. Probing inquiries reveal that Muslim culture per se has no direct connection to the growing problem of marital violence in Albania. In fact, the cultural factor contributing to the less-than-ideal treatment of women comes from the traditional patriarchal Albania norms that existed prior to even the advent of Islam. Against this backdrop, research suggests that what pushes traditionally inclined men is not so much the patriarchal tendencies alone but, much like other social ills found in Albania today, the economic and social changes that are gripping the country. !

**Name:** Marijana Misic

**Co-author:** Slobodanka Markov

**Institution:** University of Novi Sad, Serbia

**Women in Academic Leadership - Case Study University of Novi Sad**

University is a place where professionals are educated, innovations created and boundaries of knowledge expanded. That raises an important question on how women are involved in university activities and in academic leadership positions. This paper focuses on women representation in leadership positions at University of Novi Sad, its faculties and departments. The aim of the paper is to research into obstacles women face for advancing in academic leadership positions. Research analysis is based on empirical qualitative research (interviews and focus group interviews) and statistical data from official web sites of the University, faculties and departments, and other secondary sources.

The main research questions are:

1. Do official documents of the University and its faculties contain measures and norms to secure or encourage gender equality in management?
2. Are there any programs and policies to recruit more women in academic leadership positions (formal and non-formal)?
3. What abilities and traits qualify individuals to leadership positions in academic institutions at University of Novi Sad?

Analysis shows the Statute of University and faculties do not regulate gender equality in management. Official web sites and other documents contain no data on gender structure of students, teaching staff and management. Findings indicate the rule that as we look higher in the hierarchy of university leadership the presence of women is reduced (mandate 2009-2012).

Political organizations and activities are prohibited at universities in Serbia, but the realities point that political membership is an important factor in leadership selection. This limits and degrades the importance of academic achievements, organizational and other traits as criteria for leadership selection. Another limitation in women representation is masculine management culture and non-formal "men only" networks inside and outside of the university.

## **8. Workshop: Civil Society and International Intervention**

**Name:** Jelisaveta Vukelic

**Co-author:** Mina Petrovic

**Institution:** Faculty of Philosophy Belgrade, Serbia

### **Solving Environmental Issues in Local Community Settings – the Case Study of Two Towns in Serbia**

This paper aims at exploring the complex question of environmental decision making in local communities with alarming ecological problems. We present and analyze findings of the second round of the RRPP supported research “Public Participation in Environmental Decision-making – the cases of Bor and Pancevo”. During the second year of our research project we have conducted a number of focus groups in Pancevo and Bor, exploring the ways in which actors frame their own and positions, roles and responsibilities of other relevant actors in the field.

Our research employs an interactive analytical approach that cross examines and compares different actors’ perspectives and practices as well as their relative position in the environmental decision-making process. As the first phase of our research showed that relevant actors – citizens, local politicians, media, academia and environmental activists - generally tend to blame each other and to avoid their personal responsibilities and duties, we based the second phase of our research on the focus group method. That enables us to confront different actors’ interpretations of causes and possible remedies for existing environmental issues. Therefore our paper is based on the qualitative analysis aiming at understanding how different actors“ define their specific interests, possible role and position in environmental local governance in relation to other actors, on one hand, and how do they confront their interests, on the other. Special analytical attention is paid on the process of recognizing mutual interests among different actors, and possible establishment of mutual trust as a precondition for collective action.

In the concluding discussion, practical outcomes of our research findings will be reviewed and presented as a possible platform for an integral approach to local environmental decision-making and management.

**Name:** Natasha Wunsch

**Institution:** University College London, UK

**From Recipients to Users of Europeanisation: Western Balkan Civil Society Organisations in the Accession Process**

Strengthening civil society is one of the declared aims pursued by the EU institutions throughout the accession process. However, existing scholarship has pointed to the limits of external civil society engineering, suggesting instead that the EU tends to instrumentalise civil society organisations (CSOs) for its own purposes (Fagan 2009). In my paper, I propose to turn this analysis around to study how CSOs use the Europeanisation process as an opportunity structure in order to enhance their own position in the policy game. Adopting a bottom-up perspective, I complement the existing top-down approach to EU-civil society relations to offer a more comprehensive picture of the dynamics at play.

In drawing on established EU conditionality, CSOs can count on a powerful ally in their dealings with domestic policy-makers. Yet, even in the absence of concrete EU guidelines, CSOs can seek to mobilise EU-level actors in support of their claims, while expanding their capacities through EU funding and making use of the new forms of institutional channels for civil society involvement that were set up in response to the accession process. I propose to study these dynamics in relation to civil rights CSOs in Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia, with my empirical research spanning the fields of women's rights, LGBT rights, and ethnic and national minority rights.

How do CSOs use the new opportunities offered by the Europeanisation process? How has the presence of the EU affected domestic interactions between CSOs and policy-makers? And which effects can be observed regarding dynamics of cooperation and competition within the civil society sector? Addressing these questions in turn, I trace the development of Western Balkan CSOs from recipients to users of Europeanisation.



**Name:** Randall Puljek-Shank

**Institution:** Radboud University Nijmegen, Netherlands

**Contested legitimacy of Civil Society Organizations in Divided Societies**

This paper will examine various theoretical bases for understanding the social and political legitimacy of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in divided societies. Some of the factors related to legitimacy are funding sources and perceptions of goals, internal democracy and accountability, who they are (intrinsic) and what they do (performance), the constituency that they (claim to) represent, mobilizing potential, and relationship to well-established social structures and traditions. These forms of legitimacy will be located within discourses about the nature and role of civil society (Tocquevillian, Gramscian, neoliberal, Putnamesque) with particular attention to the role of CSOs in peacebuilding. A model that draws on systems thinking about how these factors relate together and affect linkages with other social actors will be proposed.

Using Bosnia and Herzegovina as a case study, the paper will make the argument that looking beyond the “usual suspects” of professional NGOs, CSOs such as veterans’, victims’, and religious groups as well as other CSOs that are often considered either apolitical or divisive but which operate within legal frameworks need to be examined more closely for their agency in maintaining or weakening divided political and social structures. The varied dimensions of legitimacy are proposed as a key component of how CSOs exhibit and construct agency. This is even despite the oft-observed realities of patronage and dominant discourse of nationalist division. The potential of CSOs to catalyze peace constituencies will be examined as a theory of change and contrasted to the view that agency in divided societies primarily lies in the hands of (ethnic) elites.

**Name:** Marko Kovacic

**Institution:** University of Zagreb, Croatia

**Local Civil Society in Croatia – Its Structure and Perspectives in the Context of Europeanization**

All relevant researches show the importance of local civil society in the development of certain local place. Civil society is the arena of active citizens where they freely participate, express their fears, wishes, satisfactions, and organize actions for increasing their rights and in that way influence politics, policies and polity. There are several possible functions (representation, subsidiarity, watchdog, socialization) that civil society can have in the community and a success of political and social development partially depends on the effectiveness in fulfillment of those tasks. In other words, if civil society is vibrant, well developed and responsive, the level of development will be higher due to its impact on formal politics.

In Croatia local civil society is weak, underdeveloped and less structured than on the national level. This paper analyses reasons for that. By determining the structure of local civil society and identification of the main ideas and mechanisms of local CSOs, I will present a comprehensive analysis of Croatian local civil society and offer policy recommendations for its development. Hence, I will analyze mechanisms that help strengthening of local civil society in order to increase welfare and prosperity in local community in Croatia in detail. The second part of the paper will link European policies regarding regional development with the Croatian case in order to see whether the current status of local civil society is compatible with the European tendencies in that area.

The process of Europeanization can help the consolidation of local civil society but it needs to be supported by relevant actors. This paper will show that serious structured policies for the development of local civil society in Croatia are necessary but they are not sufficient. Networking and coordination between civil society organizations are crucial for the fulfillment of all potentials of local civil society.

**Name:** Artan Karini

**Institution:** University of Manchester, UK

**The impact of Aid Policy on Public Service Reform and Capacity Building in Western Balkans**

The purpose of this abstract is to introduce an ongoing Ph.D. research study being undertaken at Institute for Development Policy and Management (IDPM) of the University of Manchester: 'The impact of aid policy on public service reform and capacity building in Western Balkans'. The study seeks to critically assess the impact of donor programs on enhancing capacities of public service in the research context as a missing gap in the available literature, which is a key motivating factor for the research. Public service capacity being instrumental not only to civil service reform agenda but closely linked to the goal of EU accession, the study is also intended to make a contribution to the debate over the internally versus externally motivated reform agenda.

The development literature on aid effectiveness offers perspectives and views on the political and economic dimensions of international aid policy mainly from the standpoint of donor countries, but it hardly offers any models in assessing its impact of aid on capacity building in developing countries. Yet, the criticism of the major international actors involved in public service reform in our research context has continuously blamed the public sector capacity for the weakness of institutions and the progress and failure of reforms in the Southeast European region. Therefore, the problem that my research paper will seek to address is the lack of contextual literature and research rigor in addressing a neglected factor in the reform process of those institutions: the impact of aid policies and programs on the public service capacity to implement reform.

Primarily designed as academic research, this study is intended not only for academics and researchers but also for development practitioners, public servants and policy-makers interested in reforms process in the SEE region. The idea behind the research is to produce findings and which in the future might be used to substantiate broader theoretical concepts on aid policy and public service capacity development in SEE.

## **9. Workshop: Identity, Cultural Diversity and Trust**

**Name:** Lana Srzic

**Institution:** Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Switzerland

### **New directions in Serbian Cultural Politics after 2000: Modernization or Restoration of the Nation?**

This paper will examine the cultural politics in Serbia after the regime changes of 2000 in relation to the questions and debates on national identity. We will argue that the issues of national identity continued to determine the direction in cultural policies, in parallel to the failure of the new governments to make a distinct break from the legacies of the 1990s. The theme of national culture as the refuge of national identity in the situation of territorial defeat remained strong, while the debates played out in relation to the questions of cultural distinctiveness of Montenegro, and the discussions and evaluations of recent past.

The division between modernization and Westernization as opposed to the supposed traditional national values in the post-2000 period was a continuation of the long-lasting modernity/tradition debate, central to the historical development of the Serbian national identity. This division presented the framework for discussing post-2000 cultural politics, to the extent of creating two dominant stereotypes of Serbian culture. The two poles of the imported Western global culture and the authentic traditional Serbian culture were reformulated in the new light, and reflected the political division between Euro-enthusiasts and nationalists.

**Name:** Ana Aceska

**Institution:** Humbolt University Berlin, Germany

**Space, place and identity formation: the role of „the city” in the boundary-work between native city dwellers and post-war newcomers in Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina**

Among the many images that the city of Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina has contributed to the world, the most striking one in recent times is the radical post-war (1992-1995) transformation from a multiethnic city with one of the highest percentage of mixed marriages in ex-Yugoslavia to a city divided along ethnic and religious lines. This paper will focus on the on natives/newcomers divide in post-war Mostar. The main body of data will be the publications in the local magazine “Most”, a monthly publication devoted to the urban change of Mostar, all branches of local art and the local and regional cultural heritage. The argument will focus on the boundary-work in the editorial politics and the publications in Most. While the position of the magazine in the divided Mostar – which is often accentuated in the editor’s note – is to bring anti-war message in which the spirit of tolerance and humanism prevails, the publications in the magazine and mainly the editor’s note itself, lead to a different kind of boundary-work and divide between rodjeni (native) and pridolsli (newcomers) Mostarians.

On a more theoretical level, this paper will analyze how boundary-work is accomplished among the native city dwellers and the post-war newcomers in Mostar and how they all negotiate the terrain of their various social identities in the post-division times. Using the concept of spatial boundaries as the central concept of analyses, this paper will focus on how people incorporate space, spatial practices and meanings, as well as the physical dimensions of the city around them, into the way they tell their story of who they are.

**Name:** Adnan Efendic

**Institution:** Sarajevo School of Economics and Business, Bosnia and Herzegovina

**RRPP Project: Ethnic Tensions, Institutional and Economic Performance in Bosnia and Herzegovina: What are (not) the Causal Links?**

BiH is probably the most complicated transition country in terms of interethnic relations. Its administrative and institutional structure was created in 1995 through the Dayton Peace Agreement reflecting primarily the ethno-established positions created during the Bosnian war 1992-1995. An underlying characteristic, and certainly a consequence of such a created state, is that the ethnic tensions between the three dominant nationalities, even 15 years after the war, are still present in the society; although, it was initially believed that the reconciliation of the society would be improved much faster. At the same time, its economic performance has greatly weakened (growth rates have reduced from around 6% 2000-2006 to around 0% over the last few years).

The main purpose of this research is to investigate the relationship between economic performance, ethnic tensions/diversity and institutional performance in BiH. The post-war experience in this country suggests that ethnic tensions seem strongly associated with the economic performance of the country in general and, possibly, with the economic fortunes of households, companies and individuals as micro-level agents. In addition, the weak institutional environment seems to influence negatively both the ethnic tensions and the economic performance, which nowadays is an issue of high importance in BiH and should be thoroughly investigated.

Interestingly enough, during economically better years the overall ethnic tensions between the three dominant ethnicities seems to be less present, while during economically worse years (especially over the period of the global economic downturn 2009-2010) ethnic and associated political tensions were much more pronounced in the society. Consequently, there is a possible spill-over on the micro level, where low-performing companies (business sector), families (household sector) and individuals (individuals) are more concerned with ethnicity issues, hence perceive and/or contribute to the rise in ethnic tensions. These potential (endogenous) links between ethnic tensions at the company and household level and the economic performance of these sectors will be assessed in order to explain the behaviour and the change in ethnic tensions that appeared in the most recent years. We will rely on a mixed method approach in which questionnaire surveys of the household and business sectors are supplemented by semi-structured interviews. An empirical econometric analysis will be used to investigate the relationships of interest.

**Research team:**

Efendic Adnan (project coordinator and researcher), Silajdzic Sabina (researcher), Atanasovska Viktorija (researcher); Pugh Geoff (mentor).

**Name:** Ilina Mangova

**Institution:** Ss Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje

**Deconstructing the Dominant Religious Identities in Macedonia**

Orthodox Christianity is considered an integral part of the Macedonian national identity. Similarly, Islam is the dominant religion among the Albanian ethnic community. The resurrection of the church and religion that has come about with the political liberalization of the country has allowed religious feelings and practices to surface into the public and social life of people. In this construction the smaller religious communities' Catholic, Protestant and Jewish hold an undefined position between their ethnic and the religious identity. In the last two decades the state has carefully maintained the separation between the state and the church, and at the same time not neglecting the role of the church for the Macedonian national ethos. Current governmental policies, however are favoring the role of religion in society and the position of the Macedonian Orthodox church. The proclaimed religious diversity in the country is not being protected and has influenced the inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations, seen with the incident at the Kale Fortress in February 2011.

This paper will seek to deconstruct the role of religion and the value it has to the personal and social life of Orthodox Christians and Muslims in Macedonia. These portraits will further try to answer how deep religion has entered into the lives of the people and to what level it is a factor of inter-religious tolerance or non-tolerance. The research will be based on a field survey inquiring people's religiosity, their practice of religion, their perception of position of the state towards religious communities and the inter-religious relations in the country. In-depth interviews will be conducted to further explain aspects of the religious identities and the practice of religion by the citizens.

**Name:** Marta Kolczynska

**Institution:** Graduate School for Social Research, Polish Academy of Science,  
Warsaw, Poland

**Social and Political Determinants of Trust: How the Western Balkans Change the Pattern?**

Trust is essential to sustain and strengthen political institutions (Putnam 1993, 2000, Brehm and Rahn 1997, Norris 2002). Since in democratic regimes citizens decisions in the process of delegating power are made in conditions of uncertainty about motivations and future actions of political leaders, trust in state institutions is one of the key principles providing sustainability and legitimacy of political systems (Gibson 1997, Klingemann 1999, Mishler and Rose 2001, Seligson 2002).

Empirical studies of trust usually focus on Western, democratically stable regimes with high levels of economic development, and conclude with some clear patterns of structural determinants of trust on the individual level, as well as positive correlation between average trust and the quality of democracy on the country level (Newton 1999, Miller and Listhaug 1990, 1999, Inglehart and Welzel 2005, Slomczynski and Janicka 2009). Meanwhile it is exactly the usually neglected non-Western countries that provide interesting insight into the studies of trust by questioning the hitherto established regularities.

The purpose of this paper is to closely examine trust in countries of the Western Balkans and its changes overtime by offering a quantitative analysis taking into account both the level of trust, as well as their individual and country-level determinants.

Data for this study will come from international survey projects which include Western Balkan countries in different points in time: the World Values Survey and the European Values Study. Both studies include equivalent instruments measuring the level of respondent's trust, social stratification position, as well as various opinions and attitudes, which eliminates the need for labor-intensive data harmonization. Contextual country data will include i.a GDP, Democratic Index of the Economist Intelligence Unit.

Results of this analysis will contribute to the knowledge of the concept of trust, as well as improve the understanding of trust in Balkan countries and encourage debate on the specific characteristics of societies and situation of democracies in the Western Balkans.